"For so long he has never lied or spoken harsh words. Nor has he been rude or dishonest, or sought to humiliate others. Nor has he been unpleasant, or attacked others' weak points. Instead he has practiced love and compassion and applied himself to making others feel happy and fulfilled. With sympathetic joy, he has spoken words that cause happinessloving, pleasant, and soft words that have touched others, satisfied them, and refreshed their senses. In this way he has applied himself to proper talk and therefore he is the One with the Voice of Brahma.

"For so long he has regarded sentient beings, with his unhindered vision, as his mothers, fathers, and children Looking at beggars as if they were his only children, he has been filled with love and compassion and has never disappointed them. With his senses still, he has looked at the memorials of the thus-gone ones with unblinking eyes. He has made a firm resolve to inspire other beings to meet the Thus-Gone One, and therefore he is the One with Deep Blue Eyes.

"For so long he has given up unintelligent and lowly attitudes and instead has applied himself perfectly to the lofty and vast. He has inspired beings with the feeling of delight for the Dharma. He has never frowned at others but always showed a smiling face. He has sought the presence of all spiritual teachers and, being so predisposed, he has transformed himself into a collection of everything auspicious Therefore he is said to have eyelashes like a cow.

"For so long he has given up all faults of speech. Instead he has expounded elaborately on the virtues of the listeners, the solitary buddhas, and all who teach the Dharma. He has copied the sutras of the thus-gone ones, read them, recited them, and explained them to others. Regarding the teachings contained in them, he has been able to differentiate between the words and the meaning, and has been skilled in making others understand the same. Therefore he is the One with a Well-Developed Tongue.

"For so long he has venerated parents, monks, priests, spiritual teachers, and worthy ones by putting his head to their feet. He has praised those who have gone forth and greeted them respectfully, shaved their hair, and anointed their heads with scented oils. To all the beggars he has offered coloured powders, chaplets and garlands, and head ornaments. Therefore he is called the One with the Invisible Crown Protuberance.

"For so long he has encouraged others to make liberal offerings of all sorts and admonished them to follow the teachings of all spiritual friends. Entrusted by those who teach the Dharma, he has gone in all directions without feeling weary in order to serve the buddhas the bodhisattyas the solitary buddhas, the noble listeners. Dharma teachers, parents, teachers, and all worthy ones. He has offered them lamps with scented oils of many kinds, and lights and lamps made with oil, ghee, or grass that dispel darkness. He has beautified the statues of the thus-gone ones with the most exquisite, pleasing things, and adorned them with heaps of milky-white iewels. Because he has made others develop the mind of awakening, his accumulation of virtue has been exceptional. Therefore he is known as the One with the Beautiful, Glowing Tuft of Hair between the Eyebrows That Curls Clockwise and Has an Exquisite Colour.

"Because he is endowed with the great strength of Narayana, he is called the Great Narayana. Because he is endowed with power to tame many millions of demons, he is called the Destroyer of All Adversaries.

"Because he is endowed with the ten powers of the thusgone ones, he is called the One with the Ten Powers of a Thus-

"He is skilled in knowing what is proper and improper. He gives up the low and minor vehicle and possesses the power of accomplishing the qualities of the Great Vehicle. He employs its inexhaustible power. Therefore he is the One Who Is Skilled in Knowing What Is Proper and Improper.

"He has the strength that comes from knowing the cause and result of all actions in the past, present, and the future. Therefore he is the One with the Strength That Comes from Knowing the Cause and Effect of All Actions in the Past, Present, and the Future.

'He has the power to know the capacities of all sentient beings and their levels of diligence. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know the Capacities of All Sentient Beings and Their Levels of Diligence.

"He has the power to know how one enters various types of worlds. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know How One Enters Various Types of Worlds.

'He has the power to know what liberates various inclinations, many inclinations, and all inclinations. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know What Liberates Various Inclinations, Many Inclinations, and All Inclinations

"He has the power to know the path that leads everywhere. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know the Path That Leads Everywhere.

"He has the power to know all contemplations, liberations, concentrations, and absorptions, as well as the way of purifying and stopping the disturbing emotions.

Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know All Liberations. Concentrations. Contemplations. and Absorptions, as well as the Way of Purifying and Stopping the Disturbing Emotions.

"He has the power to know all previous situations without attachment. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know All Previous Situations without Attachment.

"He has the power of knowledge stemming from his divine eve that sees clearly all forms without exception. Therefore he is the One with the Power of Knowledge Stemming from His Divine Eye That Sees Clearly All Forms without Exception.

"He has the power to know how all habitual tendencies are formed and how all defiled states without exception are exhausted. Therefore he is the One with the Power to Know How All Habitual Tendencies Are Formed and How All Defiled States without Exception Are Exhausted.

"He has attained the confidence that results from his declaration of realizing all dharmas without exception; a confidence that outshines the entire world, including the realm of gods. Therefore he is the One Who Has Attained the Confidence That Results from His Declaration of Realising All Dharmas without Exception: a Confidence That Outshines the Entire World, including the Realm of Gods.

"He declares that 'All disturbing emotions are obstacles for passing beyond suffering,' and thus discovers a confidence that the entire world, including the gods, cannot destroy. Therefore he is the One Who Declares, 'All disturbing emotions are obstacles for passing beyond suffering,' and Thus Discovers a Confidence That the Entire World, including the Gods, Cannot Destroy.

"With his claim that 'Passing beyond suffering is attained when the path of renunciation is accomplished,' he has attained a fearlessness that the entire world, including its gods, cannot overturn. Therefore he is the One Who Claims That 'Passing beyond suffering is attained when the path of renunciation is accomplished,' and Thereby Has Attained a Fearlessness That the Entire World, Including Its Gods, Cannot Overturn.

"He has attained a fearlessness that the entire world, including the gods, cannot reverse, which is expressed through a statement concerning knowledge of the way to abandon all defilements. Therefore he is called the One Who Has Attained a Fearlessness That the Entire World, Including the Gods, Cannot Reverse, which Is Expressed in a Statement Concerning Knowledge of the Way to Abandon All Defilements

"Because he is a Dharma teacher who never stammers or falters, therefore he is the One Who Teaches the Dharma without Stammering or Faltering.

"He keeps in his heart the essence of the Dharma, which is beyond being spoken or heard. Therefore he is the One Who Keeps in His Heart the Essence of the Dharma, which Is beyond Being Spoken or Heard.

'He is beyond cessation and therefore he is the One beyond Cessation

"He is able to bless the countless sounds of sentient beings and transform them into the Dharma language of the Buddha. Therefore he is called the One Who Is Able to Bless the Countless Sounds of Sentient Beings and Transform Them into the Dharma Language of the Buddha.

"He is the one who does not forget, therefore he is the One Who Does Not Forget.

"He does not perceive differences, and therefore he is the One Who Does Not Perceive Differences.

"He has one-pointed concentration in all his thoughts as well as in all his absorptions, and therefore he is the One Who Has One-Pointed Concentration in All His Thoughts as well as in All His Absorptions.

"He has developed an equanimity that does not differentiate, and therefore he is the One Who Has Developed an Equanimity That Does Not Differentiate.

'He never loses his absorption in the formation of faith, and therefore he is the One Who Does Not Lose His Absorption in the Formation of Faith.

'With uninterrupted absorption in the formation of diligence, he never loses his diligence. Therefore he is the One Who Does Not Lose His Diligence, Having One-Pointed Absorption in the Formation of Diligence.

"He never loses his mindfulness, and therefore he is the One Who Never Loses His Mindfulness.

"He never loses his wisdom, and therefore he is the One Who Never Loses His Wisdom.

"He never loses his liberation, and therefore he is the One Who Never Loses His Liberation.

"He never loses his vision of liberated wisdom, and therefore he is the One Who Does Not Lose His Vision of Liberated Wisdom

"He lets wisdom inform all his physical, verbal, and mental actions, and he possesses the wisdom that is guided by wisdom. Therefore he is the One Who Lets Wisdom Inform All His Physical, Verbal, and Mental Actions, and Who Possesses the Wisdom That Is Guided by Wisdom.

"He is endowed with the unimpeded wisdom vision that sees the past, the future, and the present without attachment. Therefore he is the One Who Is Endowed with the Unimpeded Wisdom Vision That Sees the Past, the Future, and the Present without Attachment.

"He has attained stainless freedom, and therefore he is the One Who Has Attained Stainless Freedom.

"He is continuously skilled in inspiring the activities of sentient beings, and therefore he is the One Who Is Continuously Skilled in Inspiring the Activities of Sentient Beings.

"He is skilled in teaching the Dharma to others according to their capabilities, and therefore he is the One Who Is Skilled in Teaching the Dharma to Others according to Their Capabilities.

"He has perfected the sacred environment of all aspects of melodious speech, and therefore he is the One Who Has Perfected the Sacred Environment of All Aspects of Melodious

"He is skilled in articulating all sounds and echoes, and therefore he is the One with a Voice like a God, a Naga, a Yaksa, a Gandharva, a Demigod, a Garuda, a Kimnara, and a Mahoraga.

"He is the one whose voice resounds like the voice of Brahma. He is the one with the voice of a cuckoo bird. He is the one with a voice like a great drum. He is the one with the voice like the resounding of the earth. He is the one with the rumbling voice of a thundercloud of the naga king Sagara.

"He is the one with a voice like the roar of a lion or a bull. He is the one with a voice that satisfies, because it is in accord with the languages of all sentient beings.

He is the one with a voice that delights the circle of his audience without impediment or obstruction. He is the one with a single voice that is understood in all languages.

"He is the one who is honoured by the lord of the Brahma realm. He is the one who is respected by the lord of the gods. He is the one to whom the lord of the nagas bows. He is the one upon whose face the lord of the yaksas gazes. He is the one who the lord of the gandharvas praises in song. He is the one who is gazed upon by the lord of the demons, who beholds him with bright and unblinking eyes. He is the one to whom the lord of the demigods bows. He is the one who is unharmed by the gaze of the lord of the garudas. He is the one who is praised by the lord of the kimnaras.

He is the one who the lord of the mahoragas longs to see. He is the one who is venerated by the lord of the humans.

"He is the one who is supported by large gatherings of worthy ones. He is the one who inspires the bodhisattvas, who energizes them and makes them happy. He is the one who teaches the Dharma free from worldliness. He is a venerable teacher of the Dharma who never mistakes any words or syllables. He teaches the Dharma in a timely manner.

"Maitreya, this turning of the wheel of Dharma is merely a brief teaching that praises just a few of the qualities the Thus-Gone One. Maitreya, to list them in an elaborate manner, the Thus-Gone One would need an eon or more. And still that would not be enough to list them all.'

Then at that time the Blessed One spoke these verses:

"The wheel of Dharma has been turned, Which is profound, hard to behold, and subtle.

It is not understood by the non-Buddhists, Nor by the demons.

'The wheel of Dharma has been turned.

Which is without an all-ground and beyond concepts,

Unborn and without origination, Unique and empty of inherent nature.

"The Buddha has turned the wheel

That teaches the Dharma of equality

Without anything to accept and reject,

Causeless and without characteristics.

The Protector of the World Has turned the wheel that is like

An illusion, a mirage,

A dream, an echo, or a moon reflected in water. "It leads beyond conditioned phenomena:

It is not nihilistic and neither is it permanent,

But cuts through all views-

So is the wheel of Dharma described.

"It is an infinitely vast teaching,

Ever equal to space,

Luminous and nonconceptual-

So is the wheel of Dharma described. "It is free from existence and nonexistence.

Beyond self and no self,

A teaching that is naturally unborn-That is what we call the wheel of Dharma.

"In the truth of suchness,

It is the final end, yet it is without an end, This nondual teaching of the Dharma-That is what we call the wheel of Dharma

"The eye is essentially empty,

So are the ear and the nose.

The tongue, the body, and also the mind Are empty and inert.

"Such a wheel is the wheel of Dharma

That has now been turned. He awakens unawakened beings: That's why he is called the Awakened One. "By myself have I realized this nature-

The nature defined as Dharma-Without instructions from others,

And so I am the self-arisen possessor of the wisdom eye.

"The one who masters all Dharmas

Is called a lord of Dharma.

The one who knows the genuine Dharma from the incorrect, That is what we call a guide.

"As many beings as there are to be trained,

That many limitless beings I train

I have perfected my training, And so I am called the Perfect Guide.

'All beings that have strayed from the path,

I show the supreme path.

I guide them to the other shore,

And therefore I am the Guide.

"Since I know the way to magnetize,

I gather beings at my side.

Since I save beings from the wasteland of cyclic existence,

I am their leader.

"I master all phenomena,

And so I am the Victorious One, the Master of Dharma.

Since I turn the wheel of Dharma, I am known as a king of Dharma.

"I am the generous giver of the Dharma, the Teacher, The unexcelled Lord of the Dharma.

My offering was well performed and the goal accomplished;

My aim is fulfilled and goodness accomplished.

"I am the one who consoles and gives comfort,

The hero who has conquered disturbing emotions.

I am victorious in all battles,

A liberated one who liberates beings.

"I am the light of the world.

I spread the light of knowledge wisdom;

I conquer the darkness of ignorance.

I hold the torch; I am the bright light.

"With great wisdom I am the skillful doctor, A great healer of the wounds of disturbing emotions.

For all those afflicted with disturbing emotions,

I am the remover of pain.

"All the signs are complete,

And all the marks of goodness adorn me.

Yet, with this body, excellent in every way,

I adapt to the ways of the worldly ones.

"I am powerful with the ten powers Confident with the four confidences.

And possessor of the eighteen unique qualities-

The great sage who turns the wheel of Dharma of the Supreme Vehicle.

This brief explanation

Will set in motion the wheel of Dharma.

This praise of the qualities of the Thus-Gone One

Has listed just but a few.

"For the limitless wisdom of the Buddha

Is as vast as the sky.

Even if one were to speak for an eon,

One would not exhaust the Buddha's qualities."

This concludes the twenty-sixth chapter on turning the wheel of Dharma.

## LALITA-VISTARA CHAPTER 27 — Epilogue

[This marks the end of the teaching proper. Finally, in the epilogue, the Buddha encourages his retinue of gods and humans to take this sutra as their practice and propagate it to the best of their abilities.

The story ends at the very moment when the Buddha has finally manifested all the qualities of awakening and is fully equipped to influence the world, as he did over the next fortyfive years by continuously teaching the Dharma and establishing his community of followers.]

The divine sons, who had requested this Dharma teaching from the Thus-Gone One, were now gathered for the turning of the wheel of Dharma. In total there were more than 18,000 divine beings from the pure realms, led by such beings as Mahesvara, Nanda, Sunanda, Candana, Mahita, Santa, Prasanta, and Vinitesvara. At that point the Thus-Gone One addressed the divine beings, headed by Mahesvara, who had come from the pure realms, in the following way:

"Friends, this sutra known as The Play in Full is a very extensive account of the Bodhisattva's playful activity. It constitutes an introduction to the play that is the domain of the Buddha. The Thus-Gone One has taught it to introduce himself. [439] So now you should absorb it, preserve it, and cause it to be retold. In this way, this Dharma-method of mine will spread

"When the followers of the Bodhisattva Vehicle hear this teaching, they will develop an extremely steadfast diligence. Those beings that develop a strong inclination to attain unsurpassable and perfect awakening will develop a strength that brings down a rain of the great teaching. The demons will be destroyed. All those who proclaim different doctrines will not make their appearance. Your request to teach this Dharma will become a root of virtue—very valuable, yielding great benefits, and earning great praise.

"Friends, whoever joins his palms to this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full will attain eight supreme attributes. What are these eight? These are to attain a supreme body, supreme strength, supreme retinue, supreme presence of mind, supreme renunciation, supreme purity of thoughts, supreme level of meditative concentration, and supreme manifestation of insight. These are the eight supreme attributes that one will

"Friends, whoever sets up a throne for the Dharma teacher who wishes to expound this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full will attain eight desirable positions as soon as he sets up the throne. What are these eight? They are the position of a businessperson, a householder, a universal monarch, a world protector, Sakra, Vasavartin, Brahma, a nonreturning bodhisattva who has reached the supreme essence of awakening, sits on a lion throne, and vanquishes the attacks of demons, and a buddha who has reached perfect and unsurpassable awakening and sits on the throne of turning the wheel of Dharma. These are the eight desirable positions that

"Friends, whoever applauds a Dharma teacher expounding this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full will attain eight purities of speech. What are these eight? With the pure action of speech that accords with the truth, others will do as one says. With the pure action of speech that overwhelms one's audience, one's words will be accepted.

With the pure action of not being ignored, one's words will be heeded. By peacefully gathering beings, one will speak pleasantly and softly. By satisfying bodies and minds, one's voice will be like the voice of the cuckoo bird. By uniting beings, one will have one's say. By outshining all voices, one will have a voice like Brahma. By not being dominated by any propagators of other doctrines, one will have a voice like the roar of a lion. By satisfying the sense faculties of all sentient beings, one will have the voice of a Buddha. These are the eight purities of speech that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever puts this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full into writing, and carries, venerates, respects, honours, and pays homage to it while praising this Dharma teaching into the four directions without any feeling of miserliness, saying, 'Come here! Write this teaching down! Hold it! Pass it on! Reflect on it! Memorize it well!' he shall attain eight great treasures. What are these eight great treasures? They are: the treasure of unfailing recall because of not forgetting, the treasure of intelligence by careful analysis, the treasure of realisation by assimilating enthusiastically the meaning of all the sutras, the treasure of memorisation by remembering everything that one hears, the treasure of confidence by satisfying all sentient beings with good counsel, the treasure of Dharma by preserving the true Dharma, the treasure of the mind of awakening by maintaining the lineage of the Three Jewels, and the treasure of accomplishment by developing receptiveness to the truth of nonorigination. These are the eight great treasures that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever teaches this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full and explains it will perfect eight accumulations. What are these eight? They are: generosity by being free of miserliness, discipline by perfecting all virtuous intentions, learning by accomplishing unattached knowledge, calm abiding through actualizing all meditative states and equilibriums, insight through perfecting knowledge by means of the threefold knowledge, merit by refining the excellent marks and the adornments of the buddha realms, wisdom by satisfying the inclinations of all sentient beings, and great compassion because of never tiring of ripening all sentient beings. These are the eight accumulations that one will perfect.

"Friends, whoever has this outlook and, thinking that other sentient beings should receive this instruction, teaches this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full elaborately, will attain eight great forms of merit through this virtuous cause. What are these eight? The first of these eight great types of merit results in becoming a universal monarch. The second great merit results in becoming a supreme ruler in the Heaven of the Four Great Kings. The third great merit results in becoming Sakra, lord of the gods. The fourth great merit results in becoming the divine son Suyama.

The fifth great merit results in becoming Santusita. The sixth great merit results in becoming Sunirmanarati. The seventh great merit results in becoming Vasavartin, the king of gods. The eighth great merit results in becoming Brahma from the Maha-Brahma Heaven. Finally one becomes a thusgone one, a worthy one, a perfectly awakened one, free from all unvirtuous dharmas and endowed with all the virtuous ones. These are the eight great merits that one will attain.

"Friends, whoever listens attentively to this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full as it is being explained will gain eight pure mind states. What are these eight? They are: love in order to conquer all anger, compassion in order to abandon all ill will, sympathetic joy in order to clear away all depression, equanimity in order to abandon desire and anger,

the four concentrations in order to master the entire desire realm, the four equilibriums of the formless realm in order to master the mind, the five types of higher knowledge in order to travel to other buddha realms, and the ability to conquer all traces of habitual tendencies in order to attain the meditative concentration of the heroic gait. These are the eight pure mind states that one will attain.

"Friends, wherever this Dharma teaching of The Play in Full is found, whether in a village, a city, a market, an inhabited place, a district, a courtyard, or a temple, the eight fears will not manifest except from the ripening of past actions. What are these eight? They are: the fears of the troubles caused by (1) rulers, (2) thieves, (3) malicious beings, (3) starvation in a wilderness, (4) fights, (6) quarrels and disputes, (7) divine beings, nagas, yaksas, and (8) all types of misfortune. Other than the ripening of previous actions, my friends, these eight fears will no longer occur.

"Friends, in short, even if the lifespan of the Thus-Gone One were to last for an eon, and even if he were to praise this Dharma teaching uninterruptedly day and night, he would not be able to end his praise of this Dharma teaching, and his inspired speech would still continue.

'Friends, the discipline, absorption, knowledge, liberation, and wisdom vision of liberation of the Thus-Gone One is immeasurable and boundless. For this reason, my friends, if anyone develops the wish that others receive this vast teaching, and subsequently memorizes this Dharma teaching, carries it, propagates it, writes it down, or commissions it to be written, comprehends it, and teaches it elaborately to his congregation, then their merit shall also be boundless.

Then the Thus-Gone One spoke to venerable Mahakasyapa, venerable Ananda, and the bodhisattva great being Maitreya:

"Friends, the unsurpassable and perfect awakening that I have accomplished through limitless billions of eons, I now place in your hands. I entrust you with a supreme entrustment. Now you should keep this teaching with you and teach it elaborately to others.

When he had said this, the Blessed One uttered the following verses in order to pass on his Dharma teaching more fully:

"If the beings whom I see with my buddha-eye Were all worthy ones equal to Sariputra. And if someone would make, for millions of eons, Offerings to them, equal in number to sand grains in the

Ganges, "The merit of this would be surpassed

If one would joyfully make offerings of garlands and the

To a single solitary buddha. Even for just a single day and night. "If all sentient beings were solitary buddhas, And someone were to offer with great attention Flowers, perfumes, and ointments Continually over several eons.

"That merit would be greatly surpassed If someone were to offer a single thus-gone one A single prostration accompanied by a devoted attitude

And say, 'Homage to the worthy one!' "If all sentient beings were buddhas,

And someone were to worship as just explained,

With divine flowers and the most precious flowers of this world.

For many eons, with many kinds of offerings,

"That merit would be greatly surpassed

If someone, at the time when the sacred Dharma is degenerating,

Gives up concern for his body and life And recites this sutra for a single day and night. 'Whoever wishes to venerate the guides,

And likewise the solitary buddhas and the listeners, Should give steady rise to the mind of awakening

And always keep this sutra firmly in mind. 'This is the king of all good advice

Given by all thus-gone ones. Wherever this jewel of a sutra is found,

In that house the Thus-Gone One always resides.

Whoever gives this sutra to others or recites just a single

For millions of eons he shall never stray Either from its words or its meaning, And thus attain limitless eloquence and virtue. 'Whoever hears this teaching and puts it into practice Shall not only be an unsurpassable guide of humans, But a being without equal, Inexhaustible like the ocean."

When the Blessed One, the Exalted Lord, had said these words, the divine sons from the pure abodes headed by Mahesvara; all the bodhisattvas, the great beings, headed by Maitreya; the great listeners headed by Mahakasyapa; and the entire world with its gods, humans, demigods, and gandharvas rejoiced at the speech of the Blessed One.

This concludes the twenty-seventh chapter, the epilogue This completes the Great Vehicle Sutra, The Play in Full.

Colophon to the Sanskrit Edition The Thus-Gone One explained the causes Of those dharmas that have a cause And also their cessation. This is the teaching of the Great Ascetic.

May there be good goodness! May there be goodness in every way!

Colophon to the Tibetan Translation

This was taught and translated by the Indian scholars Jinamitra, Danasila, and Munivarma

and the translator-editor Yeshé Dé, who proofed and finalized the translation.

## THE BUDDHA-KARITA OF ASVAGHOSHA.

or The Acts of the Buddha Translation: Edward Byles Cowell, 1894 Estimated Range of Dating: c. 100-150 A.D.

(The Buddha Karita or Buddhacharita or Buddhacaritam (which means "Acts of the Buddha") is an epic poem in the Sanskrit mahakavya style on the life of Gautama Buddha by Ashvaghosha, composed in the early second century AD. Of the poem's 28 cantos, the first 14 are extant in Sanskrit complete (cantos 15 to 28 are in incomplete form). In 420 AD, Dharmaksema made a Chinese translation, and in the 7th or 8th century, a Tibetan version was made which "appears to be much closer to the original Sanskrit than the Chinese".

Ashvaghosha (c.80–150 AD) was a Sarvāstivāda Buddhist philosopher, dramatist, poet and orator from India. He was born in Saketa in northern India. He is believed to have been the Iirst Sanskrit dramatist, and is considered the greatest Indian poet prior to Kālidāsa. He was the most famous in a group of Buddhist court writers, whose epics rivalled the contemporary Ramayana. Whereas much of Buddhist literature prior to the time of Ashvaghosha had been composed in the Pāli and Prakrit languages, Ashvaghosha wrote in the Classical Sanskrit language. At that time, Emperor Ashoka's Brahmi Script was used.

The Buddha-Karita is an early Sanskrit poem written in India on the legendary history of Buddha, and therefore contains much that is of interest for the history of Buddhism, beside its special importance as illustrating the early history of classical Sanskrit literature. It is ascribed to Asvaghosha; and, although there were several writers who bore that name, it seems most probable that our author was the contemporary and spiritual adviser of Kanishka in the first century of our

Xuan Zang [Hiouen Thsang, fl. 602–664 AD, born Chen Hui / Chen Yi, was a Chinese Buddhist scholar, traveler, and translator, a monk who traveled to India in the seventh century and described the interaction between Chinese Buddhism and Indian Buddhism during the early Tang dynasty.], who left India in 645 AD, mentions him with Deva, Någårguna, and Kumarålabdha, 'as the four suns which illumine the world;' but our fullest account is given by I-tsing, who visited India in 673. He states that Asvaghosha was an ancient author who composed the Alamkâra-sâstra and the Buddha-karita-kâvya,—the latter work being of course the present poem.

Beside these two works he also composed the hymns in honour of Buddha and the three holy beings Amitābha, Avalokitesvara, and Mahāsthāma, which were chanted at the evening service of the monasteries. In the five countries of India and in the countries of the Southern ocean they recite these poems, because they express a store of ideas and meaning in a few words.' A solitary stanza (8, 13) is quoted from the Buddha-karita in Rāyamukuta's commentary on the Amarakosha 1, 1. 1, 2, and also by Uggvaladatta in his commentary on the Unâdi-sûtras 1, 156; and five stanzas are quoted as from Asvaghosha in Vallabhadeva's Subhāshitavali, which bear a great resemblance to his style, though they are not found in the extant portion of this poem.

The Buddha-Karita was translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha in the fifth century, and a translation of this was published by the Rev. S. Beal in the present series; it was also translated into Tibetan in the seventh or eighth century. The Tibetan as well as the Chinese version consists of twentyeight chapters, and carries down the life of Buddha to his entrance into Nirvâna and the subsequent division of the sacred relics. The Tibetan version appears to be much closer to the original Sanskrit than the Chinese; in fact from its verbal accuracy we can often reproduce the exact words of the original, since certain Sanskrit words are always represented by the same Tibetan equivalents, as for instance the prepositions prefixed to verbal roots. I may here express an earnest hope that we may still ere long have an edition and translation of the Tibetan version if some scholar can be found to complete Dr. Wenzel's unfinished labour. He had devoted much time and thought to the work; I consulted him in several of my difficulties, and it is from him that I derived all my information about the Tibetan renderings. This Tibetan version promises to be of great help in restoring the many corrupt readings which still remain in our faulty Nepalese Manuscripts.

Only thirteen books of the Sanskrit poem claim to be Asvaghosha's composition; the last four books are an attempt by a modern Nepalese author to supply the loss of the original. He tells us this honestly in the colophon, -- 'having searched for them everywhere and not found them, four cantos have been made by me, Amritânanda,--the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.' He adds the date 950 of the Nepalese era, corresponding to 1830 A.D.; and we have no difficulty in identifying the author. Râgendralâl Mitra in his 'Nepalese Buddhist Literature' mentions Amritânanda as the author of two Sanskrit treatises and one in Newârî; he was probably the father of the old pandit of the Residency at Kâtmându, Gunânanda, whose son Indrânanda holds the office at present. Dr. D. Wright informs me that the family seem to have been the recognised historians of the country, and keepers of the Manuscript treasures of sundry temples. The four books are included in this translation as an interesting literary curiosity. The first portion of the fourteenth book agrees partly with the Tibetan and Chinese, and Amritânanda may have had access to some imperfect copy of this portion of the original; but after that his account is quite independent, and has no relation to the two versions.

In my preface to the edition of the Sanskrit text I have tried to show that Asvaghosha's poem appears to have exercised an important influence on the succeeding poets of the classical period in India. When we compare the description in the seventh book of the Raghuvamsa of the ladies of the city crowding to see prince Aga as he passes by from the Svayamvara where the princess Bhogyâ has chosen him as her husband, with the episode in the third book of the Buddhakarita (slokas 13-24); or the description of Kâma's assault on Siva in the Kumârasambhava with that of Mâra's temptation of Buddha in the thirteenth book, we can hardly fail to trace some connection. The Sanskrit Manuscripts of Nepal are always negligently transcribed and abound with corrupt passages, which it is often very difficult to detect and restore. There is a similar resemblance between the description in the fifth book of the Râmâyana; where the monkey Hanumat enters Râvana's palace by night, and sees his wives asleep in the seraglio and their various unconscious attitudes, and the description in the fifth book of the present poem where Buddha on the night of his leaving his home for ever sees the same unconscious sight in his own palace. Nor may we forget that in the Râmâyana the description is merely introduced as an ornamental episode; in the Buddhist poem it is an essential element in the story, as it supplies the final impulse which stirs the Bodhisattva to make his escape from the world, These different descriptions became afterwards commonplaces in Sanskrit poetry, like the catalogue of the ships in Greek or Roman epics; but they may very well have originated in connexion with definite incidents in the Buddhist sacred

- 1. That Arhat is here saluted, who has no counterpart,—who, as bestowing the supreme happiness, surpasses (Brahman) the Creator,—who, as driving away darkness, vanquishes the sun,—and, as dispelling all burning heat, surpasses the beautiful moon.
- 2. There was a city, the dwelling-place of the great saint Kapila, having its sides surrounded by the beauty of a lofty broad table-land as by a line of clouds, and itself, with its high-soaring palaces [perhaps Kailâsa], immersed in the sky.
- 3. By its pure and lofty system of government it, as it were, stole the splendour of the clouds of Mount Kailâsa, and while it bore the clouds which came to it through a mistake, it fulfilled the imagination which had led them thither.
- 4. In that city, shining with the splendour of gems, darkness like poverty could find no place; prosperity shone resplendently, as with a smile, from the joy of dwelling with such surpassingly excellent citizens.
- 5. With its festive arbours, its arched gateways and pinnacles [Or towers? (simhakarnaih).], it was radiant with jewels in every dwelling; and unable to find any other rival in the world, it could only feel emulation with its own houses.
- 6. There the sun, even although he had retired, was unable to scorn the moon-like faces of its women which put the lotuses to shame, and as if from the access of passion, hurried towards the western ocean to enter the (cooling) water.
- 7. 'Yonder Indra has been utterly annihilated by the people when they saw the glories acquired by the Sâkyas,'--uttering this scoff, the city strove by its banners with gay-fluttering streamers to wipe away every mark of his existence.
- After mocking the water-lilies even at night by the moonbeams which rest on its silver pavilions,—by day it assumed the brightness of the lotuses through the sunbeams falling on its golden palaces.
- 9. A king, by name Suddhodana, of the kindred of the sun, anointed to stand at the head of earth's monarchs,—ruling over the city, adorned it, as a bee-inmate a full-blown lotus.
- 10. The very best of kings with his train ever near him [Also: 'through the highest of mountains, yet bearing his wings

- (uncut).'],--intent on liberality yet devoid of pride; a sovereign, yet with an ever equal eye thrown on all,--of gentle nature and yet with wide-reaching majesty [Or 'like the moon, yet widely burning (like the sun).'].
- 11. Falling smitten by his arm in the arena of battle, the lordly elephants of his enemies bowed prostrate with their heads pouring forth quantities of pearls as if they were offering handfuls of flowers in homage.
- 12. Having dispersed his enemies by his preeminent majesty as the sun disperses the gloom of an eclipse, he illuminated his people on every side, showing them the paths which they were to follow.
- 13. Duty, wealth, and pleasure under his guidance assumed mutually each other's object, but not the outward dress; yet as if they still vied together they shone all the brighter in the glorious career of their triumphant success.
- 14. He, the monarch of the Sâkyas, of native pre-eminence, but whose actual pre-eminence was brought about by his numberless councillors of exalted wisdom, shone forth all the more gloriously, like the moon amidst the stars shining with a light like its own [Or perhaps 'shining with undiminished splendour.']
- 15. To him there was a queen, named Mâyâ, as if free from all deceit (mâyâ)—an effulgence proceeding from his effulgence, like the splendour of the sun when it is free from all the influence of darkness,—a chief queen in the united assembly of all queens.
- 16. Like a mother to her subjects, intent on their welfare,--devoted to all worthy of reverence like devotion itself,--shining on her lord's family like the goddess of prosperity,--she was the most eminent of goddesses to the whole world.
- 17. Verily the life of women is always darkness, yet when it encountered her, it shone brilliantly; thus the night does not retain its gloom, when it meets with the radiant crescent of the moon.
- 18. 'This people, being hard to be roused to wonder in their souls, cannot be influenced by me if I come to them as beyond their senses,'--so saying, Duty abandoned her own subtile nature and made her form visible.
- 19. Then falling from the host of beings in the Tushita heaven[1], and illumining the three worlds, the most excellent of Bodhisattvas suddenly entered at a thought into her womb, like the Någa-king entering the cave of Nandâ.
- 20. Assuming the form of a huge elephant white like Himâlaya, armed with six tusks, with his face perfumed with flowing ichor, he entered the womb of the queen of king Suddhodana, to destroy the evils of the world.
- 21. The guardians of the world hastened from heaven to mount watch over the world's one true ruler; thus the moonbeams, though they shine everywhere, are especially bright on Mount Kailâsa.
- 22. Mâyâ also, holding him in her womb, like a line of clouds holding a lightning-flash, relieved the people around her from the sufferings of poverty by raining showers of gifts.
- 23. Then one day by the king's permission the queen, having a great longing in her. mind, went with the inmates of the gynaeceum into the garden Lumbinî [Lumbini, Nepal, is the birthplace of Siddharta Gautama Buddha.].
- 24. As the queen supported herself by a bough which hung laden with a weight of flowers, the Bodhisattva suddenly came forth, cleaving open her womb.
- 25. At that time the constellation Pushya was auspicious, and from the side of the queen, who was purified by her vow, her son was born for the welfare of the world, without pain and without illness.
- 26. Like the sun bursting from a cloud in the morning,—so he too, when he was born from his mother's womb, made the world bright like gold, bursting forth with his rays which dispelled the darkness.
- 27. As soon as he was born the thousand-eyed (Indra) wellpleased took him gently, bright like a golden pillar; and two pure streams of water fell down from heaven upon his head with piles of Mandâra flowers.
- 28. Carried about by the chief suras, and delighting them with the rays that streamed from his body, he surpassed in beauty the new moon as it rests on a mass of evening clouds.
- 29. As was Aurva's birth from the thigh [Mahābharata I, 2610.], and Prithu's from the hand, and Māndhātri's, who was like Indra himself, from the forehead [According to the Mahābharata 3, 1. 10450, he was born from his father's left side, but cf. Vishnu Pur. 4, 2.], and Kakshîvat's from the upper end of the arm,—thus too was his birth (miraculous).
- 30. Having thus in due time issued from the womb, he shone as if he had come down from heaven, he who had not been born in the natural way,--he who was born full of wisdom, not foolish,--as if his mind had been purified by countless aeons of contemplation.
- 31. With glory, fortitude, and beauty he shone like the young sun descended upon the earth; when he was gazed at, though of such surpassing brightness, he attracted all eyes like the moon.
- 32. With the radiant splendour of his limbs he extinguished like the sun the splendour of the lamps; with his beautiful hue as of precious gold he illuminated all the quarters of space.

- 33. Unflurried, with the lotus-sign in high relief, farstriding, set down with a stamp,—seven such firm footsteps did he then take,—he who was like the constellation of the seven rishis.
- 34. 'I am born for supreme knowledge, for the welfare of the world,--thus this is my last birth,'--thus did he of lion gait, gazing at the four quarters, utter a voice full of auspicious meaning.
- 35. Two streams of water bursting from heaven, bright as the moon's rays, having the power of heat and cold, fell down upon that peerless one's benign head to give refreshment to his body.
- 36. His body lay on a bed with a royal canopy and a frame shining with gold, and supported by feet of lapis lazuli, and in his honour the yaksha-lords stood round guarding him with golden lotuses in their hands.
- 37. The gods in homage to the son of Mâyâ, with their heads bowed at his majesty, held up a white umbrella in the sky and muttered the highest blessings on his supreme wisdom.
- 38. The great dragons in their great thirst for the Law,-they who had had the privilege of waiting on the past Buddhas,-gazing with eyes of intent devotion, fanned him and strewed Mandâra flowers over him.
- 39. Gladdened through the influence of the birth of the Tathāgata, the gods of pure natures and inhabiting pure abodes were filled with joy, though all passion was extinguished, for the sake of the world drowned in sorrow.
- 40. When he was born, the earth, though fastened down by (Himálaya) the monarch of mountains, shook like a ship tossed by the wind; and from a cloudless sky there fell a shower full of lotuses and water-lilies, and perfumed with sandalwood.
- 41. Pleasant breezes blew soft to the touch, dropping down heavenly garments; the very sun, though still the same, shone with augmented light, and fire gleamed, unstirred, with a gentle lustre.
- 42. In the north-eastern part of the dwelling a well of pure water appeared of its own accord, wherein the inhabitants of the gynaeceum, filled with wonder, performed their rites as in a sacred bathing-place.
- 43. Through the troops of heavenly visitants, who came seeking religious merit, the pool itself received strength to behold Buddha, and by means of its trees bearing flowers and perfumes it eagerly offered him worship.
- 44. The flowering trees at once produced their blossoms, while their fragrance was borne aloft in all directions by the wind, accompanied by the songs of bewildered female bees, while the air was inhaled and absorbed by the many snakes (gathering near).
- 45. Sometimes there resounded on both sides songs mingled with musical instruments and tabours, and lutes also, drums, tambourines, and the rest,—from women adorned with dancing bracelets.
- 46. 'That royal law which neither Bhrigu nor Angiras ever made, those two great seers the founders of families, their two sons Sukra and Vrihaspati left revealed at the end.
- 47. 'Yea, the son of Sarasvati\* proclaimed that lost Veda which they had never seen in former ages,—Vyåsa rehearsed that in many forms, which Vasishtha helpless could not compile; [\* The Vishnu Purana (3, 3) says that Sårasvata arranged the Vedas in the ninth age, as Vasishtha in the eighth.]
- eighth.]
  48. 'The voice of Vâmîki uttered its poetry which the great seer Kyavana could not compose; and that medicine which Atri never invented the wise son of Atri proclaimed after him;
- 49. 'That Brahmanhood which Kusika never attained,--his son, O king, found out the means to gain it; (so) Sagara made a bound for the ocean, which even the Ikshvâkus had not fixed before him.
- 50. 'Ganaka attained a power of instructing the twice-born in the rules of Yoga which none other had ever reached; and the famed feats of the grandson of Sûra (Krishna) Sûra and his peers were powerless to accomplish.
- 51. 'Therefore it is not age nor years which are the criterion; different persons win pre-eminence in the world at different places; those mighty exploits worthy of kings and sages, when left undone by the ancestors, have been done by the sons.'
- 52. The king, being thus consoled and congratulated by those well-trusted Brahmans, dismissed from his mind all unwelcome suspicion and rose to a still higher degree of joy;
- 53. And well-pleased he gave to those most excellent of the twice-born rich treasures with all due honour,—'May he become the ruler of the earth according to your words, and may he retire to the woods when he attains old age.'
- 54. Then having learned by signs and through the power of his penances this birth of him who was to destroy all birth, the great seer Asita in his thirst for the excellent Law came to the palace of the Sâkya king.
- 55. Him shining with the glory of sacred knowledge and ascetic observances, the king's own priest,--himself a special student among the students of sacred knowledge,--introduced into the royal palace with all due reverence and respect.
- 56. He entered into the precincts of the king's gynaeceum, which was all astir with the joy arisen from the birth of the

- young prince,--grave from his consciousness of power, his preeminence in asceticism, and the weight of old age.
- 57. Then the king, having duly honoured the sage, who was seated in his seat, with water for the feet and an arghya offering, invited him (to speak) with all ceremonies of respect, as did Antideva[In allusion to a festival in parts of India] in olden time to Vasishtha:
- 58. 'I am indeed fortunate, this my family is the object of high favour, that thou shouldst have come to visit me; be pleased to command what I should do, O benign one; I am thy disciple, be pleased to show thy confidence in me.'
- 59. The sage, being thus invited by the king, filled with intense feeling as was due, uttered his deep and solemn words, having his large eyes opened wide with wonder:
- 60. This is indeed worthy of thee, great-souled as thou art, fond of guests, liberal and a lover of duty,--that thy mind should be thus kind towards me, in full accordance with thy nature, family, wisdom, and age.
- 61. This is the true way in which those seer-kings of old, rejecting through duty all trivial riches, have ever flung them away as was right,—being poor in outward substance but rich in ascetic endurance.
- 62. 'But hear now the motive for my coming and rejoice thereat; a heavenly voice has been heard by me in the heavenly path, that thy son has been born for the sake of supreme knowledge.
- 63. 'Having heard that voice and applied my mind thereto, and having known its truth by signs, I am now come hither, with a longing to see the banner of the Sâkya race, as if it were Indra's banner being set up.'
- 64. Having heard this address of his, the king, with his steps bewildered with joy, took the prince, who lay on his nurse's side, and showed him to the holy ascetic.
- 65. Thus the great seer beheld the king's son with wonder, --his foot marked with a wheel, his fingers and toes webbed, with a circle of hair between his eyebrows, and signs of vigour like an elenhant.
- 66. Having beheld him seated on his nurse's side, like the son of Agni (Skanda) seated on Devi's side, he stood with the tears hanging on the ends of his eyelashes, and sighing he looked up towards heaven.
- 67. But seeing Asita with his eyes thus filled with tears, the king was agitated through his love for his son, and with his hands clasped and his body bowed he thus asked him in a broken voice choked with weeping,
- 68. 'One whose beauty has little to distinguish it from that of a divine sage, and whose brilliant birth has been so wonderful, and for whom thou hast prophesied a transcendent future,--wherefore, on seeing him, do tears come to thee, O reverend one?
- 69. Is the prince, O holy man, destined to a long life? Surely he cannot be born for my sorrow. I have with difficulty obtained a handful of water, surely it is not death which comes to drink it
- 70. 'Tell me, is the hoard of my fame free from destruction? Is this chief prize of my family secure? Shall I ever depart happily to another life,--I who keep one eye ever awake, even when my son is asleep?
- 71. 'Surely this young shoot of my family is not born barren, destined only to wither! Speak quickly, my lord, I cannot wait; thou well knowest the love of near kindred for a son.'
- 72. Knowing the king to be thus agitated through his fear of some impending evil, the sage thus addressed him: 'Let not thy mind, O monarch, be disturbed,—all that I have said is certainly true.
- 73. If have no feeling of fear as to his being subject to change, but I am distressed for mine own disappointment. It is my time to depart, and this child is now born,—he who knows that mystery hard to attain, the means of destroying birth.
- 74. Having forsaken his kingdom, indifferent to all worldly objects, and having attained the highest truth by strenuous efforts, he will shine forth as a sun of knowledge to destroy the darkness of illusion in the world.
- 75. 'He will deliver by the boat of knowledge the distressed world, borne helplessly along, from the ocean of misery which throws up sickness as its foam, tossing with the waves of old age, and rushing with the dreadful onflow of death.
- 76. The thirsty world of living beings will drink the flowing stream of his Law, bursting forth with the water of wisdom, enclosed by the banks of strong moral rules, delightfully cool with contemplation, and filled with religious yows as with ruddy geese.
- 77. 'He will proclaim the way of deliverance to those afflicted with sorrow, entangled in objects of sense, and lost in the forest-paths of worldly existence, as to travellers who have lost their way.
- 78. 'By the rain of the Law he will give gladness to the multitude who are consumed in this world with that fire of desire whose fuel is worldly objects, as a great cloud does with its showers at the end of the hot season.
- 79. 'He will break open for the escape of living beings that door whose bolt is desire and whose two leaves are ignorance and delusion,--with that excellent blow of the good Law which is so hard to find.

- 80. 'He, the king of the Law, when he has attained to supreme knowledge, will achieve the deliverance from its bonds of the world now overcome by misery, destitute of every refuge, and enveloped in its own chains of delusion.
- 81. 'Therefore make no sorrow for him,--that belongs rather, kind sire, to the pitiable world of human beings, who through illusion or the pleasures of desire or intoxication refuse to hear his perfect Law.
- 82. 'Therefore since I have fallen short of that excellence, though I have accomplished all the stages of contemplation, my life is only a failure; since I have not heard his Law, I count even dwelling in the highest heaven a misfortune.'
- 83. Having heard these words, the king with his queen and his friends abandoned sorrow and rejoiced; thinking, 'such is this son of mine.' he considered that his excellence was his own.
- 84. But he let his heart be influenced by the thought, 'he will travel by the noble path,'--he was not in truth averse to religion, yet still he saw alarm at the prospect of losing his child
- 85. Then the sage Asita, having made known the real fate which awaited the prince to the king who was thus disturbed about his son, departed by the way of the wind as he had come, his figure watched reverentially in his flight.
- 86. Having taken his resolution and having seen the son of his younger sister\*, the saint, filled with compassion, enjoined him earnestly in all kinds of ways, as if he were his son, to listen to the sage's words and ponder over them. [\* This was Naradatta, see Lalitavistara, ch. 7, pp. 103, 110 (Foucaux).
- 87. The monarch also, being well-pleased at the birth of a son, having thrown off all those bonds called worldly objects, caused his son to go through the usual birth-ceremonies in a manner worth of the family
- manner worthy of the family.

  88. When ten days were fulfilled after his son's birth, with his thoughts kept under restraint, and filled with excessive joy, he offered for his son most elaborate sacrifices to the gods with muttered prayers, oblations, and all kinds of auspicious ceremonies.
- 89. And he himself gave to the brahmans for his son's welfare cows full of milk, with no traces of infirmity, golden-horned and with strong healthy calves, to the full number of a hundred thousand.
- 90. Then he, with his soul under strict restraint, having performed all kinds of ceremonies which rejoiced his heart, on a fortunate day, in an auspicious moment, gladly determined to enter his city.
- 91. Then the queen with her babe having worshipped the gods for good fortune, occupied a costly palanquin made of elephants' tusks, filled with all kinds of white flowers, and blazing with gems.
- 92. Having made his wife with her child enter first into the city, accompanied by the aged attendants, the king himself also advanced, saluted by the hosts of the citizens, as Indra entering heaven, saluted by the immortals.
- 93. The Sâkya king, having entered his palace, like Bhava well-pleased at the birth of Kârttikeya, with his face full of joy, gave orders for lavish expenditure, showing all kinds of honour and liberality.
- 94. Thus at the good fortune of the birth of the king's son, that city surnamed after Kapila, with all the surrounding inhabitants, was full of gladness like the city of the lord of wealth, crowded with heavenly nymphs, at the birth of his son Nalakûvara.

- 1. From the time of the birth of that son of his, who, the true master of himself, was to end all birth and old age, the king increased day by day in wealth, elephants, horses, and friends as a river increases with its influx of waters.
- Of different kinds of wealth and jewels, and of gold, wrought or unwrought, he found treasures of manifold variety, surpassing even the capacity of his desires.
- 3. Elephants from Himavat, raging with rut, whom not even princes of elephants like Padma could teach to go round in circles, came without any effort and waited on him.
- 4. His city was all astir with the crowds of horses, some adorned with various marks and decked with new golden trappings, others unadorned and with long flowing manes,-suitable alike in strength, gentleness, and costly ornaments.
- And many fertile cows, with tall calves gathered in his kingdom, well nourished and happy, gentle and without fierceness, and producing excellent milk.
- 6. His enemies became indifferent; indifference grew into friendship; his friends became specially united; were there two sides,--one passed into oblivion.
- 7. Heaven rained in his kingdom in due time and place, with the sound of gentle winds and clouds, and adorned with wreaths of lightning, and without any drawback of showers of stones or thunderbolts.
- 8. A fruitful crop sprang up according to season, even without the labour of ploughing; and the old plants grew more vigorous in juice and substance.
- Even at that crisis which threatens danger to the body like the collision of battle, pregnant women brought forth in good health, in safety, and without sickness.

- 10. And whereas men do not willingly ask from others, even where a surety's property is available,--at that time even one possessed of slender means turned not his face away when solicited.
- 11. There was no ruin nor murder, --nay, there was not even one ungenerous to his kinsmen, no breaker of obligations, none untruthful nor injurious, --as in the days of Yayâti the son of Nahusha.
- 12. Those who sought religious merit performed sacred works and made gardens, temples, and hermitages, wells, cisterns, lakes, and groves, having beheld heaven as it were visible before their eyes.
- 13. The people, delivered from famine, fear, and sickness, dwelt happily as in heaven; and in mutual contentment husband transgressed not against wife, nor wife against husband.
- 14. None pursued love for mere sensual pleasure; none hoarded wealth for the sake of desires; none practised religious duties for the sake of gaining wealth; none injured living beings for the sake of religious duty.
- 15. On every side theft and its kindred vices disappeared; his own dominion was in peace and at rest from foreign interference; prosperity and plenty belonged to him, and the cities in his realm were (healthy) like the forests.
- 16. When that son was born it was in that monarch's kingdom as in the reign of Manu the son of the Sun, --gladness went everywhere and evil perished; right blazed abroad and sin was still.
- 17. Since at the birth of this son of the king such a universal accomplishment of all objects took place, the king in consequence caused the prince's name to be Sarvârthasiddha.
- 18. But the queen Maya, having seen the great glory of her new-born son, like some Rishi of the gods, could not sustain the joy which it brought; and that she might not die she went to heaven.
- 19. Then the queen's sister, with an influence like a mother's, undistinguished from the real mother in her affection or tenderness, brought up as her own son the young prince who was like the offspring of the gods.
- 20. Then like the young sun on the eastern mountain or the fire when fanned by the wind, the prince gradually grew in all due perfection, like the moon in the fortnight of brightness.
- 21. Then they brought him as presents from the houses of his friends costly unguents of sandalwood, and strings of gems exactly like wreaths of plants, and little golden carriages voked with deer:
- 22. Ornaments also suitable to his age, and elephants, deer, and horses made of gold [Cf. Satyavat's toy horses in Mahâbh. 3, 16670.], carriages and oxen decked with rich garments, and carts gay with silver and gold.
- 23. Thus indulged with all sorts of such objects to please the senses as were suitable to his years,--child as he was, he behaved not like a child in gravity, purity, wisdom, and dignity.
- dignity.

  24. When he had passed the period of childhood and reached that of middle youth, the young prince learned in a few days the various sciences suitable to his race, which generally took many years to master.
- 25. But having heard before from the great seer Asita his destined future which was to embrace transcendental happiness, the anxious care of the king of the present Sâkya race turned the prince to sensual pleasures.
- 26. Then he sought for him from a family of unblemished moral excellence a bride possessed of beauty, modesty, and gentle bearing, of wide-spread glory, Yasodharâ by name, having a name well worthy of her, a very goddess of good fortune
- 27. Then after that the prince, beloved of the king his father, he who was like Sanatkumāra, rejoiced in the society of that Sâkya prinoess as the thousand-eyed (Indra) rejoiced with his bride Sakī.
- 28. 'He might perchance see some inauspicious sight which could disturb his mind,'--thus reflecting the king had a dwelling prepared for him apart from the busy press in the recesses of the palace.
- 29. Then he spent his time in those royal apartments, furnished with the delights proper for every season, gaily decorated like heavenly chariots upon the earth, and bright like the clouds of autumn, amidst the splendid musical concerts of singing-women.
- 30. With the softly-sounding tambourines beaten by the tips of the women's hands, and ornamented with golden rims, and with the dances which were like the dances of the heavenly nymphs, that palace shone like Mount Kailãsa.
- 31. There the women delighted him with their soft voices, their beautiful pearl-garlands,—their playful intoxication, their sweet laughter, and their stolen glances concealed by their brows.
- 32. Borne in the arms of these women well-skilled in the ways of love, and reckless in the pursuit of pleasure, he fell from the roof of a pavilion and yet reached not the ground, like a holy sage stepping from a heavenly chariot.
- 33. Meanwhile the king for the sake of ensuring his son's prosperity and stirred in heart by the destiny which had been

- predicted for him, delighted himself in perfect calm, ceased from all evil, practised all self-restraint, and rewarded the good.
- 34. He turned to no sensual pleasures like one wanting in self-control; he felt no violent delight in any state of birth; he subdued by firmness the restless horses of the senses; and he surnassed his kindred and citizens by his virtues.
- 35. He sought not learning to vex another; such knowledge as was beneficent, that only he studied; he wished well to all mankind as much as to his own subjects.
- 36. He worshipped also duly the brilliant (Agni) that tutelary god of the Angirasas, for his son's long life; and he offered oblations in a large fire, and gave gold [Or pearls? (krisana.)] and cows to the Brahmans.
- 37. He bathed to purify his body and mind with the waters of holy places and of holy feelings; and at the same time he drank the soma-juice as enjoined by the Veda, and the heartfelt self-produced happiness of perfect calm.
- 38. He only spoke what was pleasant and not unprofitable; he discoursed about what was true and not ill-natured, he could not speak even to himself for very shame a false pleasant thing or a harsh truth.
- 39. In things which required to be done, whether they were pleasant or disagreeable, he found no reason either for desire or dislike; he pursued the advantageous which could be attained without litigation; he did not so highly value sacrifice.
- 40. When a suppliant came to him with a petition, he at once hastened to quench his thirst with the water sprinkled on his gift; and without fighting, by the battle-axe of his demeanour he smote down the arrogant armed with a double pride
- 41. Thus he took away the one, and protected the seven; he abandoned the seven and kept the five; he obtained the set of three and learned the set of three; he understood the two and abandoned the two.
- 42. Guilty persons, even though he had sentenced them to death, he did not cause to be killed nor even looked on them with anger; he bound them with gentle words and with the reform produced in their character,--even their release was accompanied by no inflicted injury.
- 43. He performed great religious vows prescribed by ancient seers; he threw aside hostile feelings long cherished; he acquired glory redolent with the fragrance of virtue; he relinquished all passions involving defilement.
- 44. He desired not to take his tribute of one-sixth without acting as the guardian of his people; he had no wish to covet another's property; he desired not to mention the wrong-doing of his enemies; nor did he wish to fan wrath in his heart.
- 45. When the monarch himself was thus employed his servants and citizens followed his example, like the senses of one absorbed in contemplation whose mind is abstracted in profound repose.
- 46. In course of time to the fair-bosomed Yasodharâ,--who was truly glorious in accordance with her name,--there was born from the son of Suddhodana a son named Râhula, with a face like the enemy of Râhu [i.e. the sun or the moon, as eclipsed by the demon Râhu.]
- 47. Then the king who from regard to the welfare of his race had longed for a son and been exceedingly delighted [at his coming],—as he had rejoiced at the birth of his son, so did he now rejoice at the birth of his grandson.
- 48. 'O how can I feel that love which my son feels for my grandson?' Thus thinking in his joy he at the due time attended to every enjoined rite like one who fondly loves his son and is about to rise to heaven.
- 49. Standing in the paths of the pre-eminent kings who flourished in primaeval ages, he practised austerities without laying aside his white garments, and he ordered in sacrifice only those things which involved no injury to living creatures.
- 50. He of holy deeds shone forth gloriously, in the splendour of royalty and the splendour of penances, conspicuous by his family and his own conduct and wisdom, and desirous to diffuse brightness like the sun.
- 51. Having offered worship, he whose own glory was secure muttered repetitions of Vedic texts to Svayambhû for the safety of his son, and performed various ceremonies hard to be accomplished, like the god Ka in the first aeon wishing to create living beings.
- 52. He laid aside weapons and pondered the Sâstra, he practised perfect calm and underwent various observances, like a hermit he refused all objects of sense, he viewed all his kingdoms like a father.
- 53. He endured the kingdom for the sake of his son, his son for his family, his family for fame, fame for heaven, heaven for the soul,--he only desired the soul's continuance for the sake of duty.
- 54. Thus did he practise the various observances as followed by the pious and established from revelation,--ever asking himself, 'now that he has seen the face of his son, how may my son be stopped from going to the forest?'
- 55. The prudent [Lit. 'self-possessed,'] kings of the earth, who wish to guard their prosperity, watch over their sons in

the world; but this king, though loving religion, kept his son from religion and set him free towards all objects of pleasure.

56. But all Bodhisattvas, those beings of pre-eminent nature, after knowing the flavour of worldly enjoyments, have departed to the forest as soon as a son is born to them; therefore he too, though he had accomplished all his previous destiny, even when the (final) motive had begun to germinate, still went on pursuing worldly pleasure up to the time of attaining the supreme wisdom.

- On a certain day he heard of the forests carpeted with tender grass, with their trees resounding with the kokilas, adorned with lotus-ponds, and which had been all bound up in the cold season.
- 2. Having heard of the delightful appearance of the city groves beloved by the women, he resolved to go out of doors, like an elephant long shut up in a house.
- 3. The king, having learned the character of the wish thus expressed by his son, ordered a pleasure-party to be prepared, worthy of his own, affection and his son's beauty and youth.
- 4. He prohibited the encounter of any afflicted common person in the highroad; 'heaven forbid that the prince with his tender nature should even imagine himself to be distressed.'
- 5. Then having removed out of the way with the greatest gentleness all those who had mutilated limbs or maimed senses, the decrepit and the sick and all squalid beggars, they made the highway assume its perfect beauty.
- 6. Along this road thus made beautiful, the fortunate prince with his well-trained attendants came down one day at a proper time from the roof of the palace and went to visit the king by his leave.
- 7. Then the king, with tears rising to his eyes, having smelt his son's head and long gazed upon him, gave him his permission, saying, 'Go;' but in his heart through affection he could not let him depart.
- 8. He then mounted a golden chariot, adorned with reins bright like flashing lightning [or 'rays.'], and yoked with four gentle horses, all wearing golden trappings.
- 9. With a worthy retinue he entered the road which was strewn with heaps of gleaming flowers, with garlands suspended and banners waving, like the moon with its asterism entering the sky.
- 10. Slowly, slowly he passed along the highway, watched on every side by the citizens, and beshowered by their eyes opened wide with curiosity like blue lotuses.
- 11. Some praised him for his gentle disposition, others hailed him for his glorious appearance, others eulogised his beauty from his fine countenance and desired for him length of days.
- 12. Hump-backed men coming out from the great families, and troops of foresters and dwarfs, and women coming out from the meaner houses bowed down like the banners of some procession of the gods.
- 13. Hearing the news, 'the prince is going out,' from the attendants of the female apartments, the women hastened to the roofs of the different mansions, having obtained the leave of their lords.
- 14. Hindered by the strings of their girdles which had slipped down, with their eyes bewildered as just awakened from sleep, and with their ornaments hastily put on in the stir of the news, and filled with curiosity, they crowded round;
- 15. Frightening the flocks of birds which lived in the houses, with the noise of their girdles and the jingling of their anklets which resounded on the staircases and roofs of the mansions, and mutually reproaching one another for their hurry.
- 16. Some of these women, even in their haste as they rushed longing to see, were delayed in their going by the weight of their hips and full bosoms.
- 17. Another, though well able to go herself, checked her pace and forbore to run, hiding with shame her ornaments hitherto worn only in seclusion, and now too boldly displayed.
- 18. There they were restlessly swaying about in the windows, crowded together in the mutual press, with their earrings polished by the continual collision and their ornaments all jingling.
- 19. The lotus-like faces of the women gleamed while they looked out from the windows with their earrings coming into mutual proximity, as if they were real lotuses fastened upon the houses.
- 20. With the palaces all alive with crowds of damsels, every aperture thrown open in eager curiosity, the magnificent city appeared on every side like heaven with its divine chariots thronged with celestial nymphs.
- 21. The faces of the beautiful women shone like lotuses wreathed in garlands, while through the narrowness of the windows their earrings were transferred to each other's cheeks.
- 22. Gazing down upon the prince in the road, the women appeared as if longing to fall to the earth; gazing up to him with upturned faces, the men seemed as if longing to rise to heaven.
- 23. Beholding the king's son thus radiant in his beauty and glory, those women softly whispered, 'happy is his wife,' with pure minds and from no baser feeling.

- 24. 'He with the long sturdy arms, who stands in his beauty like the flower-armed god visibly present, will leave his royal pomp and devote himself to religion,' thus thinking, full of kindly feelings towards him, they all offered reverence.
- 25. Beholding for the first time that high-road thus crowded with respectful citizens, all dressed in white sedate garments, the prince for a while did feel a little pleasure and thought that it seemed to promise a revival of his youth.
- 26. But then the gods, dwelling in pure abodes, having beheld that city thus rejoicing like heaven itself, created an old man to walk along on purpose to stir the heart of the king's son.
- 27. The prince having beheld him thus overcome with decrepitude and different in form from other men, with his gaze intently fixed on him, thus addressed his driver with simple confidence:
- 28. 'Who is this man that has come here, O charioteer, with white hair and his hand resting on a staff, his eyes hidden beneath his brows, his limbs bent down and hanging loose,--is this a change produced in him or his natural state or an accident?"
- 29. Thus addressed, the charioteer revealed to the king's son the secret that should have been kept so carefully, thinking no harm in his simplicity, for those same gods had bewildered his mind.
- 30. 'That is old age by which he is broken down,--the ravisher of beauty, the ruin of vigour, the cause of sorrow, the destruction of delights, the bane of memories, the enemy of the senses.
- 31. 'He too once drank milk in his childhood, and in course of time he learned to grope on the ground; having step by step become a vigorous youth, he has step by step in the same way reached old age.'
- 32. Being thus addressed, the prince, starting a little, spoke these words to the charioteer, 'What! will this evil come to me also?' and to him again spoke the charioteer:
- 33. 'It will come without doubt by the force of time through multitude of years even to my long-lived lord; all the world knows thus that old age will destroy their comeliness and they are content to have it so.'
- 34. Then he, the great-souled one, who had his mind purified by the impressions of former good actions, who possessed a store of merits accumulated through many preceding aeons, was deeply agitated when he heard of old age, like a bull who has heard the crash of a thunderbolt close by.
- 35. Drawing a long sigh and shaking his head, and fixing his eyes on that decrepit old man, and looking round on that exultant multitude he then uttered these distressed words:
- 36. 'Old age thus strikes down all alike, our memory, comeliness, and valour; and yet the world is not disturbed, even when it sees such a fate visibly impending.
- 37. 'Since such is our condition, O charioteer, turn back the horses,--go quickly home; how can I rejoice in the pleasure-garden, when the thoughts arising from old age overpower me?'
- 38. Then the charioteer at the command of the king's son turned the chariot back, and the prince lost in thought entered even that royal palace as if it were empty.
- 39. But when he found no happiness even there, as he continually kept reflecting, 'old age, old age,' then once more, with the permission of the king, he went out with the same arrangement as before.
- 40. Then the same deities created another man with his body all afflicted by disease; and on seeing him the son of Suddhodana addressed the charioteer, having his gaze fixed on the man.
- 41. Yonder man with a swollen belly, his whole frame shaking as he pants, his arms and shoulders hanging loose, his body all pale and thin, uttering plaintively the word "mother," when he embraces a stranger,—who, pray, is this?"
- 42. Then his charioteer answered, 'Gentle Sir, it is a very great affliction called sickness, that has grown up, caused by the inflammation of the (three) humours, which has made even this strong man no longer master of himself.'
- 43. Then the prince again addressed him, looking upon the man compassionately, 'Is this evil peculiar to him or are all beings alike threatened by sickness?'
- 44. Then the charioteer answered, 'O prince, this evil is common to all; thus pressed round by diseases men run to pleasure, though racked with pain.'
- 45. Having heard this account, his mind deeply distressed, he trembled like the moon reflected in the waves of water; and full of sorrow he uttered these words in a low voice:
- 46. 'Even while they see all this calamity of diseases mankind can yet feel tranquillity; alas for the scattered intelligence of men who can smile when still not free from the terrors of disease!
- 47. 'Let the chariot, O charioteer, be turned back from going outside, let it return straight to the king's palace; having heard this alarm of disease, my mind shrinks into itself, repelled from pleasures.'
- 48. Then having turned back, with all joy departed, he entered his home, absorbed in thought; and having seen him thus return a second time, the king himself entered the city.

- 49. Having heard the occasion of the prince's return he felt himself as deserted by him, and, although unused to severe punishment, even when displeased, he rebuked him whose duty it was to see that the road was clear.
- 50. And once more he arranged for his son all kinds of worldly enjoyments to their highest point; imploring in his heart, 'Would that he might not be able to forsake us, even though rendered unable only through the restlessness of his senses.'
- 51. But when in the women's apartments his son found no pleasure in the several objects of the senses, sweet sounds and the rest, he gave orders for another progress outside, thinking to himself, 'It may create a diversion of sentiment.'
- 52. And in his affection pondering on the condition of his son, never thinking of any ills that might come from his haste, he ordered the best singing-women to be in attendance, as well-skilled in all the soft arts that can please.
- 53. Then the royal road being specially adorned and guarded, the king once more made the prince go out, having ordered the charioteer and chariot to proceed in a contrary direction (to the previous one).
- 54. But as the king's son was thus going on his way, the very same deities created a dead man, and only the charioteer and the prince, and none else, beheld him as he was carried dead along the road.
- 55. Then spoke the prince to the charioteer, 'Who is this borne by four men, followed by mournful companions, who is bewailed, adorned but no longer breathing?'
- 56. Then the driver,--having his mind overpowered by the gods who possess pure minds and pure dwellings,--himself knowing the truth, uttered to his lord this truth also which was not to be told:
- 57. 'This is some poor man who, bereft of his intellect, senses, vital airs and qualities, lying asleep and unconscious, like mere wood or straw, is abandoned alike by friends and enemies after they have carefully swathed and guarded him.'
- 58. Having heard these words of the charioteer he was somewhat startled and said to him, 'Is this an accident peculiar to him alone, or is such the end of all living creatures?'
- 59. Then the charioteer replied to him, 'This is the final end of all living creatures; be it a mean man, a man of middle state, or a noble, destruction is fixed to all in this world.'
- 60. Then the king's son, sedate though he was, as soon as he heard of death, immediately sank down overwhelmed, and pressing the end of the chariot-pole with his shoulder spoke with a loud voice.
- 61. Is this end appointed to all creatures, and yet the world throws off all fear and is infatuated! Hard indeed, I think, must the hearts of men be, who can be self-composed in such a
- 62. 'Therefore, O charioteer, turn back our chariot, this is no time or place for a pleasure-excursion; how can a rational being, who knows what destruction is, stay heedless here, in the hour of calamity for misfortune?'
- 63. Even when the prince thus spoke to him, the charioteer did not turn the chariot back; but at his peremptorily reiterated command he retired to the forest Padmakhanda.
- 64. There he beheld that lovely forest like Nandana itself. full of young trees in flower with intoxicated kokilas wandering joyously about, and with its bright lakes gay with lotuses and well-furnished with watering-places [for cattle]
- 65. The king's son was perforce carried away to that wood filled with troops of beautiful women, just as if some devotee who had newly taken his vow were carried off, feeling weak to withstand temptation, to the palace of the monarch of Alakâ, gay with the dancing of the loveliest heavenly nymphs.

- 1. Then from that city-garden, with their eyes restless in excitement, the women went out to meet the prince as a newly-arrived bridegroom;
- 2. And when they came up to him, their eyes wide open in wonder, they performed their due homage with hands folded like a lotus-calyx.
- 3. Then they stood surrounding him, their minds overpowered by passion, as if they were drinking him in with their eyes motionless and blossoming wide with love.
- 4. Some of the women verily thought that he was Kâma incarnate,—decorated as he was with his brilliant signs as with connate ornaments.
- 5. Others thought from his gentleness and majesty that it was the moon with its ambrosial beams as it were visibly come down to the earth.
- Others, smitten by his beauty, yawned as if to swallow him, and fixing their eyes on each other, softly sighed.
- 7. Thus the women only looked upon him, simply gazing with their eyes,--they spoke not, nor did they smile, controlled by his power.
- 8. But having seen them thus listless, bewildered in their love, the wise son of the family priest, Udâyin, thus addressed them:
- 9. 'Ye are all skilled in all the graceful arts, proficients in understanding the language of amorous sentiments, possessed

- of beauty and gracefulness, thorough masters in your own styles
- 10. 'With these graces of yours ye may embellish even the Northern Kurus, yea, even the dances of Kuvera, much more this little earth.
- 11. 'Ye are able to move even sages who have lost all their desires, and to ensnare even the gods who are charmed by heavenly nymphs.
- 12. 'By your skill in expressing the heart's feelings, by your coquetry, your grace, and your perfect beauty, ye are able to enrapture even women, how much more easily men.
- 13. 'You thus skilled as ye are, each set in her own proper sphere,--such as this is your power,--I am not satisfied with your simplicity [when you profess to find him beyond your reach]
- reach].

  14. 'This timid action of yours would be fit for new brides, their eyes closed through shame,--or it might be a blandishment worthy even of the wives of the cowherds.
- 15. 'What though this hero be great by his exalted glory, yet "great is the might of women," let this be your firm resolve.
- 16. In olden time a great seer, hard to be conquered even by the gods, was spurned by a harlot, the beauty of Kâsi, planting her feet upon him.
- 17. The Bhikshu Manthâlagautama was also formerly spurned by Bâlamukhyâ with her leg, and wishing to please her he carried out dead bodies for her sake to be buried.
- 18. 'And a woman low in standing and caste fascinated the great seer Gautama, though a master of long penances and old in years.
- 19. 'So Sântâ by her various wiles captivated and subdued the sage's son Rishyasringa, unskilled in women's ways.
- 'And the great seer Visvâmitra, though plunged in a profound penance, was carried captive for ten years in the forests by the nymph Ghritâkî.
- 21. 'Many such seers as these have women brought to shame,--how much more then a delicate prince in the first flower of his age?
- 22. 'This being so, boldly put forth your efforts that the prosperity of the king's family may not be turned away from
- 23. 'Ordinary women captivate similar lovers; but they are truly women who subdue the natures of high and low.'
- 24. Having heard these words of Udâyin these women as stung to the heart rose even above themselves for the conquest of the prince.
- 25. With their brows, their glances, their coquetries, their smiles, their delicate movements, they made all sorts of significant gestures like women utterly terrified.
- 26. But they soon regained their confidence [Lit. 'dispelled their want of confidence.'] through the command of the king and the gentle temperament of the prince, and through the power of intoxication and of love.
- 27. Then surrounded by troops of women the prince wandered in the wood like an elephant in the forests of Himavat accompanied by a herd of females.
- 28. Attended by the women he shone in that pleasant grove, as the sun surrounded by Apsarasas in his royal garden.
- 29. There some of them, urged by passion, pressed him with their full firm bosoms in gentle collisions.
- 30. Another violently embraced him after making a pretended stumble,-leaning on him with her shoulders drooping down, and with her gentle creeper-like arms dependent.
- 31. Another with her mouth smelling of spirituous liquor, her lower lip red like copper, whispered in his ear, 'Let my secret be heard.'
- 32. Another, all wet with unguents, as if giving him her command, clasped his hand eagerly and said, 'Perform thy rites of adoration here.'
- 33. Another, with her blue garments continually slipping down in pretended intoxication, stood conspicuous with her tongue visible like the night with its lightning flashing.
- 34. Others, with their golden zones tinkling, wandered about here and there, showing to him their hips veiled with thin cloth.
- 35. Others leaned, holding a mango-bough in full flower, displaying their bosoms like golden jars.
- 36. Another, coming from a lotus-bed, carrying lotuses and with eyes like lotuses, stood like the lotus-goddess Padmâ, by the side of that lotus-faced prince.
- 37. Another sang a sweet song easily understood and with the proper gesticulations, rousing him, self-subdued though he was, by her glances, as saying, 'O how thou art deluded.'
- 38. Another, having armed herself with her bright face, with its brow-bow drawn to its full, imitated his action, as playing the hero.
- 39. Another, with beautiful full bosoms, and having her earrings waving in the wind, laughed loudly at him, as if saying, 'Catch me, sir, if you can!'
- 40. Some, as he was going away, bound him with strings of garlands,—others punished him with words like an elephant-driver's hook, gentle yet reproachful.

- 41. Another, wishing to argue with him, seizing a mangospray, asked, all bewildered with passion, 'This flower, whose is it?'
- 42. Another, assuming a gait and attitude like those of a man, said to him, 'Thou who art conquered by women, go and conquer this earth!'
- 43. Then another with rolling eyes, smelling a blue lotus, thus addressed the prince with words slightly indistinct in her excitement,
- 44. 'See, my lord, this mango covered with its honeyscented flowers, where the kokila sings, as if imprisoned in a golden cage.
- 45. 'Come and see this asoka tree, which augments lovers' sorrows,--where the bees make a noise as if they were scorched by fire.
- 46. 'Come and see this tilaka tree, embraced by a slender mango-branch, like a man in a white garment by a woman decked with yellow unguents.
- 47. 'Behold this kuruvaka in flower, bright like fresh ['just exuded,'] resin-juice, which bends down as if it felt reproached by the colour of women's nails.
- 48. 'Come and see this young asoka, covered all over with new shoots, which stands as it were ashamed at the beauty of our hands.
- 49. 'See this lake surrounded by the sinduvâra shrubs growing on its banks, like a fair woman reclining, clad in fine white cloth.
- 50. 'See the imperial power of females,--yonder ruddy-goose in the water goes behind his mate following her like a slave.
- 51. 'Come and listen to the notes of this intoxicated cuckoo as he sings, while another cuckoo sings as if consenting, wholly without care.
- 52. 'Would that thine was the intoxication of the birds which the spring produces,--and not the thought of a thinking man, ever pondering how wise he is!'
- 53. Thus these young women, their souls carried away by love, assailed the prince with all kinds of stratagems.
- 54. But although thus attacked, he, having his senses guarded by self-control, neither rejoiced nor smiled, thinking anxiously, 'One must die.'
- 55. Having seen them in their real condition, that best of men pondered with an undisturbed and stedfast mind.
- 56. 'What is it that these women lack that they perceive not that youth is fickle? for this old age will destroy whatever has beauty.
- 57. 'Verily they do not see any one's plunge into disease, and so dismissing fear, they are joyous in a world which is all pain.
- 58. 'Evidently they know nothing of death which carries all away; and so at ease and without distress they can sport and laugh.
- 59. What rational being, who knows of old age, death and sickness, could stand or sit down at his ease or sleep, far less laugh?
- 60. 'But he verily is like one bereft of sense, who, beholding another aged or sick or dead, remains self-possessed and not
- 61. '(So) even when a tree is deprived of its flowers and fruits, or if it is cut down and falls, no other tree sorrows.'
- 62. Seeing him thus absorbed in contemplation, with his desires estranged from all worldly objects, Udâyin, well skilled in the rules of policy, with kindly feelings addressed him:
- 63. 'Since I was appointed by the king as a fitting friend for thee, therefore I have a wish to speak to thee in this friendliness of my heart.
- 64. 'To hinder from what is disadvantageous,--to urge to what is advantageous,--and not to forsake in misfortune,-these are the three marks of a friend.
- 65. 'If I, after having promised my friendship, were not to heed when thou turnest away from the great end of man, there would be no friendship in me.
- 66. 'Therefore I speak as thy friend,--such rudeness as this to women is not befitting for one young in years and graceful in person.
- 67. 'It is right to woo a woman even by guile,--this is useful both for getting rid of shame and for one's own enjoyment.
- 68. 'Reverential behaviour and compliance with her wishes are what binds a woman's heart; good qualities truly are a cause of love, and women love respect.
- 69. 'Wilt thou not then, O large-eyed prince, even if thy heart is unwilling, seek to please them with a courtesy worthy of this beauty of thine?
- 70. 'Courtesy is the balm of women, courtesy is the best ornament; beauty without courtesy is like a grove without flowers
- 71. 'But of what use is courtesy by itself? let it be assisted by the heart's feelings; surely, when worldly objects so hard to attain are in thy grasp, thou wilt not despise them.
- 72. 'Knowing that pleasure was the best of objects, even the god Puramdara (Indra) wooed in olden time Ahalyâ the wife of the saint Gautama.
- 73. 'So too Agastya wooed Rohinî, the wife of Soma; and therefore, as Sruti saith, a like thing befell Lopâmudrâ

- [Agastya's wife. This seems to refer to Lopâmudrâ's words to her husband in Rig-veda I, 179; cf. also Mahâbharata 3, 97.].
- 74. 'The great ascetic Vrihaspati begot Bharadvâga on Mamatâ the daughter of the Maruts, the wife of Autathya [This should be Utathya (cf. Mahâbh. I, civ). Mamatâ had Dîrghatamas by her husband and Bharadvâga by Vrihaspati. The Manuscripts read Samatâ.].
- 75. 'The Moon, the best of offerers, begat Budha of divine nature on the spouse of Vrihaspati as she was offering a libation [She is called Târâ, Vishnu Pur. 4, 6.].
- 76. 'So too in old time Parâsara, overpowered by passion on the bank of the Yamunâ, lay with the maiden Kâlî who was the daughter of the son of the Water (Agni).
- 77. 'The sage Vasishtha through lust begot a son Kapingalâda on Akshamâlâ a despised low-caste woman [Manu 9, 23.]
- 78. 'And the seer-king Yayâti, even when the vigour of his prime was gone, sported in the Kaitraratha forest with the Apsaras Visvâkî.
- 79. 'And the Kaurava king Pându, though he knew that intercourse with his wife would end in death, yet overcome by the beauty and good qualities of Mâdrî yielded to the pleasures of love.
- 80. 'And so Karâlaganaka, when he carried off the Brâhman's daughter, incurred loss of caste thereby, but he would not give up his love.
- 81. 'Great heroes such as these pursued even contemptible desires for the sake of pleasure, how much more so when they are praiseworthy of their kind?
- 82. 'And yet thou, a young man, possessed of strength and beauty, despisest enjoyments which rightly belong to thee, and to which the whole world is devoted.'
- 83. Having heard these specious words of his, wellsupported by sacred tradition, the prince made reply, in a voice like the thundering of a cloud:
- 84. This speech manifesting affection is well-befitting in thee; but I will convince thee as to where thou wrongly judgest me.
- 85. 'I do not despise worldly objects, I know that all mankind are bound up therein; but remembering that the world is transitory, my mind cannot find pleasure in them.
- 86. 'Old age, disease, and death--if these three things did not exist, I too should find my enjoyment in the objects that please the mind.
- 87. 'Yet even though this beauty of women were to remain perpetual, still delight in the pleasures of desire would not be worthy of the wise man
- worthy of the wise man.

  88. 'But since their beauty will be drunk up by old age, to delight therein through infatuation cannot be a thing approved even by thyself [Or 'even by the soul.']
- 89. 'He who himself subject to death, disease, and old age, can sport undisturbed with those whose very nature implies death, disease, and old age, such a man is on a level with birds and beasts.
- 90. And as for what thou sayest as to even those great men having become victims to desire, do not be bewildered by them, for destruction was also their lot.
- 91. 'Real greatness is not to be found there, where there is universally destruction, or where there is attachment to earthly objects, or a want of self-control.
- 92. 'And when thou sayest, "Let one deal with women even by guile," I know nought about guile, even if it be accompanied with courtesy.
- 93. That compliance too with a woman's wishes pleases me not, if truthfulness be not there; if there be not a union with one's whole soul and nature, then "out upon it" say I.
- 94. 'A soul overpowered by passion, believing in falsehood, carried away by attachment and blind to the faults of its objects,—what is there in it worth being deceived?
- 95. 'And if the victims of passion do deceive one another,are not men unfit for women to look at and women for men?
- 96. Since then these things are so, thou surely wouldest not lead me astray into ignoble pleasures,—me afflicted by sorrow, and subject to old age and death?
- 97. 'Ah! thy mind must be very firm and strong, if thou canst find substance in the transitory pleasures of sense; even in the midst of violent alarm thou canst cling to worldly objects, when thou seest all created beings in the road of death.
- 98. But I am fearful and exceedingly bewildered, as I ponder the terrors of old age, death, and disease; I can find no peace, no self-command, much less can I find pleasure, while I see the world as it were ablaze with fire.
- 99. 'If desire arises in the heart of the man, who knows that death is certain,--I think that his soul must be made of iron, who restrains it in this great terror and does not weep.'
- 100. Then the prince uttered a discourse full of resolve and abolishing the objects of desire; and the lord of day, whose orb is the worthy centre of human eyes, departed to the Western Mountain
- 101. And the women, having worn their garlands and ornaments in vain, with their graceful arts and endearments all fruitless, concealing their love deep in their hearts, returned to the city with broken hopes.

- 102. Having thus seen the beauty of the troop of women who had gone out to the city-garden, now withdrawn in the evening,—the prince, pondering the transitoriness which envelopes all things, entered his dwelling.
- 103. Then the king, when he heard how his mind turned away from all objects of sense, could not lie down all that night, like an elephant with an arrow in its heart; but wearied in all sorts of consultation, he and his ministers could find no other means beside these (despised) pleasures to restrain his son's purpose.

- He, the son of the Sâkya king, even though thus tempted by the objects of sense which infatuate others, yielded not to pleasure and felt not delight, like a lion deeply pierced in his heart by a poisoned arrow.
- 2. Then one day accompanied by some worthy sons of his father's ministers, friends full of varied converse,--with a desire to see the glades of the forest and longing for peace, he went out with the king's permission.
- 3. Having mounted his good horse Kamthaka, decked with bells and bridle-bit of new gold, with beautiful golden harness and the chowrie waving\*, he went forth like the moon mounted on a comet. [\* The white bushy tail of the Tibet cow, fixed on a gold or ornamented shaft, rose from between the ears of the horse.' Wilson, Hindu Drama, 1, p. 200.]
- 4. Lured by love of the wood and longing for the beauties of the ground, he went to a spot near at hand on the forestoutskirts; and there he saw a piece of land being ploughed, with the path of the plough broken like waves on the water.
- 5. Having beheld the ground in this condition, with its young grass scattered and torn by the plough, and covered with the eggs and young of little insects which were killed, he was filled with deep sorrow as for the slaughter of his own kindred.
- 6. And beholding the men as they were ploughing, their complexions spoiled by the dust, the sun's rays, and the wind, and their cattle bewildered with the burden of drawing, the most noble one felt extreme compassion.
- 7. Having alighted from the back of his horse, he went over the ground slowly, overcome with sorrow,—pondering the birth and destruction of the world, he, grieved, exclaimed, 'this is indeed pitiable.'
- 8. Then desiring to become perfectly lonely in his thoughts, having stopped those friends who were following him, he went to the root of a rose-apple in a solitary spot, which had its beautiful leaves all tremulous (in the wind).
- 9. There he sat down on the ground covered with leaves [or sharp-pointed leaves,'], and with its young grass bright like lapis lazuli; and, meditating on the origin and destruction of the world, he laid hold of the path that leads to firmness of
- 10. Having attained to firmness of mind [Query], and being forthwith set free from all sorrows such as the desire of worldly objects and the rest, he attained the first stage of contemplation, unaffected by sin, calm, and 'argumentative.'
- 11. Having then obtained the highest happiness sprung from deliberation [Two syllables are lost in this line.], he next pondered this meditation,—having thoroughly understood in his mind the course of the world:
- 12. It is a miserable thing that mankind, though themselves powerless and subject to sickness, old age, and death, yet, blinded by passion and ignorant, look with disgust on another who is afflicted by old age or diseased or dead.
- 13. 'If I here, being such myself, should feel disgust for another who has such a nature, it would not be worthy or right in me who know this highest duty.'
- 14. As he thus considered thoroughly these faults of sickness, old age, and death which belong to all living beings, all the joy which he had felt in the activity of his vigour, his youth, and his life, vanished in a moment.
- 15. He did not rejoice, he did not feel remorse; he suffered no hesitation, indolence, nor sleep; he felt no drawing towards the qualities of desire; he hated not nor scorned another.
- 16. Thus did this pure passionless meditation grow within the great-souled one; and unobserved by the other men, there crept up a man in a beggar's dress.
- 17. The king's son asked him a question,—he said to him, 'Tell me, who art thou?' and the other replied, 'Oh bull of men, I, being terrified at birth and death, have become an ascetic for the sake of liberation.
- 18. 'Desiring liberation in a world subject to destruction, I seek that happy indestructible abode, isolated from mankind, with my thoughts unlike those of others, and with my sinful passions turned away from all objects of sense
- 19. 'Dwelling anywhere, at the root of a tree, or in an uninhabited house, a mountain or a forest,--I wander without a family and without hope, a beggar ready for any fare, seeking only the highest good.'
- 20. When he had thus spoken, while the prince was looking on, he suddenly flew up to the sky; it was a heavenly inhabitant who, knowing that the prince's thoughts were

other than what his outward form promised, had come to him for the sake of rousing his recollection.

- 21. When the other was gone like a bird to heaven, the foremost of men was rejoiced and astonished; and having comprehended the meaning of the term dharma, he set his mind on the manner of the accomplishment of deliverance.
- 22. Then like Indra himself, and having tamed his senses,-desiring to return home he mounted his roble steed; and having made him turn back as he looked for his friends, from that moment he sought no more the desired forest.
- 23. Ever seeking to make an end of old age and death, fixing his thoughts in memory on dwelling in the woods, he entered the city again but with no feelings of longing, like an elephant entering an exercise-ground after roaming in a forest-land.
- 24. 'Happy truly and blessed is that woman whose husband is such as thou, O long-eyed prince!' So, on seeing him, the princess exclaimed, folding her hands to welcome him, as he entered the road.
- 25. He whose voice was deep-sounding like a cloud heard this address and was filled with profound calm; and as he heard the word 'blessed' he fixed his mind on the attainment of Nirvâna.
- 26. Then the prince whose form was like the peak of a golden mountain,—whose eye, voice, and arm resembled a bull, a cloud, and an elephant,—whose countenance and prowess were like the moon and a lion,—having a longing aroused for something imperishable,—went into his palace.
- 27. Then stepping like a lion he went towards the king who was attended by his numerous counsellors, like Sanatkumāra in heaven waiting on Indra resplendent in the assembly of the Maruts.
- 28. Prostrating himself, with folded hands, he addressed him, 'Grant me graciously thy permission, O lord of men,--I wish to become a wandering mendicant for the sake of liberation, since separation is appointed for me.'
- 29. Having heard his words, the king shook like a tree struck by an elephant, and having seized his folded hands which were like a lotus, he thus addressed him in a voice choked with tears:
- 30. 'O my son, keep back this thought, it is not the time for thee to betake thyself to dharma; they say that the practice of religion is full of evils in the first period of life when the mind is still fickle.
- 31. The mind of the thoughtless ignorant young man whose senses are eager for worldly objects, and who has no power of settled resolution for the hardships of vows of penance, shrinks back from the forest, for it is especially destitute of discrimination.
- 32. 'It is high time for me to practise religion, O my child of loved qualities[1], leaving my royal glory to thee who art well worthy to be distinguished by it; but thy religion, O firmstriding hero, is to be accomplished by heroism; it would be irreligion if thou wert to leave thine own father.
- 33. 'Do thou therefore abandon this thy resolution; devote thyself for the present to the duties of a householder; to a man who has enjoyed the pleasures of his prime, it is delightful to enter the penance-forest.'
- 34. Having heard these words of the king, he made his reply in a voice soft like a sparrow's: 'If thou wilt be my surety, O king, against four contingencies, I will not betake myself to the forest.
- 35. 'Let not my life be subject to death, and let not disease impair this health of mine; let not old age attack my youth, and let not misfortune destroy my weal.'
- 36. When his son uttered a speech so hard to be understood, the king of the Sâkyas thus replied: 'Abandon this idea bent upon departure; extravagant desires are only ridiculous.'
- 37. Then he who was firm as Mount Meru addressed his father: 'If this is impossible, then this course of mine is not to be hindered; it is not right to lay hold of one who would escape from a house that is on fire.
- 38. 'As separation is inevitable to the world, but not for Dharma [This accompanies the soul at death; cf. Manu 8, 17.], this separation is preferable; will not death sever me helplessly, my objects unattained and myself unsatisfied?'
- 39. The monarch, having heard this resolve of his son longing for liberation, and having again exclaimed, 'He shall not go,' set guards round him and the highest pleasures.
- 40. Then having been duly instructed by the counsellors, with all respect and affection, according to the sâstras, and being thus forbidden with tears by his father, the prince, sorrowing, entered into his palace.
- 41. There he was gazed at by his wives with restless eyes, whose faces were kissed by their dangling earrings, and whose bosoms were shaken with their thick-coming sighs,--as by so many young fawns.
- 42. Bright like a golden mountain, and bewitching the hearts of the noble women, he enraptured their ears, limbs, eyes, and souls by his speech, touch, form, and qualities.
- 43. When the day was gone, then, shining with his form like the sun, he ascended the palace, as the rising sun ascends Mount Meru, desiring to dispel the darkness by his own splendour.

- 44. Having ascended, he repaired to a special golden seat decorated with embellishments of diamond, with tall lighted candlesticks ablaze with gold, and its interior filled with the incense of black aloe-wood.
- 45. Then the noblest of women waited during the night on the noblest of men who was like Indra himself, with a concert of musical instruments, as the crowds of heavenly nymphs wait on the son of the Lord of wealth upon the summit of Himavat, white like the moon.
- 46. But even by those beautiful instruments like heavenly music he was not moved to pleasure or delight; since his desire to go forth from his home to seek the bliss of the highest end was never lulled.
- 47. Then by the power of the heavenly beings most excellent in self-mortification, the Akanishthas, who knew the purpose of his heart, deep sleep was suddenly thrown on that company of women and their limbs and gestures became distorted.
- 48. One was lying there, resting her cheek on her trembling arm; leaving as in anger her lute, though dearly loved, which lay on her side, decorated with gold-leaf.
- 49. Another shone with her flute clinging to her hand, lying with her white garments fallen from her bosom,—like a river whose banks are smiling with the foam of the water and whose lotuses are covered with a straight line of bees [The bees represent the flute held in the lotus-like hand.].
- 50. Another was sleeping, embracing her drum as a lover, with her two arms tender like the shoot of young lotus and bearing their bracelets closely linked, blazing with gold.
- 51. Others, decked with new golden ornaments and wearing peerless yellow garments, fell down alas! helpless with sleep, like the boughs of the Karnikâra broken by an elephant.
- 52. Another, leaning on the side of a window, with her willow-form bent like a bow, shone as she lay with her beautiful necklace hanging down, like a statue[1] in an archway made by art.
- 53. The lotus-face of another, bowed down, with the pinguent-lines on her person rubbed by the jewelled earrings, appeared to be a lotus with its stalk bent into a half-circle, and shaken by a duck standing on it [This is a hard verse, but the woman's face above the bent body seems to be compared to the duck standing on the flower and bending its stalk.].
- 54. Others, lying as they sat, with their limbs oppressed by the weight of their bosoms, shone in their beauty, mutually clasping one another with their twining arms decorated with golden bracelets.
- 55. And another damsel lay sound asleep, embracing her big lute as if it were a female friend, and rolled it about, while its golden strings trembled, with her own face bright with her shaken earrings.
- 56. Another lay, with her tabour, .
- 57. Others showed no lustre with their eyes shut, although they were really full-eyed and fair-browed,--like the lotus-beds with their buds closed at the setting of the sun.
- 58. Another, with her hair loose and dishevelled, and her skirts and ornaments fallen from her loins, lay with her necklace in confusion, like a woman crushed by an elephant and then dropped.
- 59. Others, helpless and lost to shame, though naturally self-possessed and endued with all graces of person, breathed violently as they lay and yawned with their arms distorted and tossed about
- 60. Others, with their ornaments and garlands thrown off,-unconscious, with their garments spread out unfastened,-their bright eyes wide open and motionless,--lay without any beauty as if they were dead.
- 61. Another, with fully-developed limbs, her mouth wide open, her saliva dropping, and her person exposed, lay as though sprawling in intoxication,--she spoke not, but bore every limb distorted.
- 62. Thus that company of women, lying in different attitudes, according to their disposition and family, bore the aspect of a lake whose lotuses were bent down and broken by the wind.
- 63. Then having seen these young women thus lying distorted and with uncontrolled gestures, however excellent their forms and graceful their appearance,—the king's son felt moved with scorn.
- 64. 'Such is the nature of women, impure and monstrous in the world of living beings; but deceived by dress and ornaments a man becomes infatuated by a woman's attractions.
- 65. 'If a man would but consider the natural state of women and this change produced in them by sleep, assuredly he would not cherish his folly; but he is smitten from a right will and so succumbs to passion.'
- 66. Thus to him having recognised that difference there arose a desire to escape in the night; and then the gods, knowing his purpose, caused the door of the palace to fly open.
- 67. Then he went down from the roof of the palace, scorning those women who lay thus distorted; and having descended, undauntedly he went out first into the courtyard.
- 68. Having awakened his horse's attendant, the swift Khamdaka, he thus addressed him: 'Bring me quickly my horse Kamthaka, I wish to-day to go hence to attain immortality.

- 69. 'Since such is the firm content which to-day is produced in my heart, and since my determination is settled in calm resolve, and since even in loneliness I seem to possess a guide, --verily the end which I desire is now before me.
- 70. 'Since abandoning all shame and modesty these women lay before me as they did, and the two doors opened of their own accord, verily the time is come to depart for my true health.'
- 71. Then, accepting his lord's command, though he knew the purport of the king's injunctions, as being urged by a higher power in his mind, he set himself to bring the horse.
- 72. Then he brought out for his master that noble steed, his mouth furnished with a golden bit, his back lightly touched by the bed on which he had been lying, and endued with strength, vigour, speed, and swiftness:
- 73. With a long chine, and root of the tail and heel,—gentle, with short hair, back, and ears,—with his back, belly, and sides depressed and elevated, with broad nostrils, forehead, hips, and breast.
- 74. The broad-chested hero, having embraced him, and caressing him with his lotus-like hand, ordered him with a gentle-toned voice, as if he were desirous to plunge into the middle of an army:
- 75. 'Oftentimes have evil enemies been overthrown by the king when mounted on thee; do thou, O best of steeds, so exert thyself that I too may obtain the highest immortality.
- 76. 'Companions are easy to be found in battle or in the happiness obtained by winning worldly objects or in attaining wealth; but companions are hard for a man to find who has fallen into misfortune or when he flies for refuge to Dharma.
- 77. 'And yet all those who in this world are companions, whether in sinful custom or in seeking for Dharma,--as my inner soul now recognises,--they too are verily sharers in the common aim.
- 78. 'Since then, when I attain this righteous end, my escape from hence will be for the good of the world,--O best of steeds, by thy speed and energy, strive for thine own good and the good of the world.'
- 79. Thus having exhorted the best of steeds like a friend to his duty, he, the best of men, longing to go to the forest, wearing a noble form, in brightness like fire, mounted the white horse as the sun an autumnal cloud.
- 80. Then that good steed, avoiding all noises which would sound startling in the dead of night and awaken the household,—all sound of his jaws hushed and his neighing silenced,—went forth, planting his hurrying steps at full speed.
- 81. With their lotus-like hands, whose fore-arms were adorned with golden bracelets, the Yakshas, with their bodies bent down, threw lotuses and bore up his hoofs as he rushed in startled haste.
- 82. The city-roads which were closed with heavy gates and bars, and which could be with difficulty opened even by elephants, flew open of their own accord without noise, as the prince went through.
- 83. Firm in his resolve and leaving behind without hesitation his father who turned ever towards him, and his young son, his affectionate people and his unparalleled magnificence, he then went forth out of his father's city.
- 84. Then he with his eyes long and like a full-blown lotus, looking back on the city, uttered a sound like a lion, 'Till I have seen the further shore of birth and death I will never again enter the city called after Kapila.'
- 85. Having heard this his utterance, the troops of the court of the Lord of wealth[3] rejoiced; and the hosts of the gods, triumphing, wished him a successful accomplishment of his nurpose
- 86. Other heavenly beings with forms bright like fire, knowing that his purpose was hard to fulfil, produced a light on his dewy path like the rays of the moon issuing from the rift of a cloud.
- 87. But he with his horse like the horse of Indra, the lord of bay horses, hurrying on as if spurred in his mind, went over the leagues full of many conflicting emotions [Or perhaps 'six leagues.']--the sky all the while with its cloud-masses checkered with the light of the dawn.

- 1. Then when the sun, the eye of the world, was just risen, he, the noblest of men, beheld the hermitage of the son of Bhrian
- Its deer all asleep in quiet trust, its birds tranquilly resting,--seeing it he too became restful, and he felt as if his end was attained.
- 3. For the sake of ending his wonder and to show reverence for the penances observed, and as expressing his own conformity therewith, he alighted from the back of his horse.
- 4. Having alighted, he stroked the horse, exclaiming, 'All is saved,' and he spoke well-pleased to Khamdaka, bedewing him as it were with tears from his eyes:
- 5. Good friend, thy devotion to me and thy courage of soul have been proved by thy thus following this steed whose speed is like that of Târkshya [An old mythic representation of the sun as a horse.].

- Bent even though I am on other business, I am wholly won in heart by thee,--one who has such a love for his master, and at the same time is able to carry out his wish.
- 7. 'One can be able without affection, and affectionate though unable; but one like thee, at once affectionate and able, is hard to find in the world.
- 8. I am pleased with this noble action of thine; this feeling is seen towards me, even though I am regardless of conferring rewards.
- Who would not be favourably disposed to one who stands to him as bringing him reward? but even one's own people commonly become mere strangers in a reverse of fortune.
- 10. The son is maintained for the sake of the family, the father is honoured for the sake of our own (future) support; the world shows kindness for the sake of hope; there is no such a thing as unselfishness without a motive.

  11. 'Why speak many words? in short, thou hast done me a
- 11. 'Why speak many words? in short, thou hast done me a very great kindness; take now my horse and return, I have attained the desired wood.'
- 12. Thus having spoken, the mighty hero in his desire to show perfect gentleness unloosed his ornaments and gave them to the other, who was deeply grieved.
- 13. Having taken a brilliant jewel whose effect illumined his diadem, he stood, uttering these words, like the mountain Mamdara with the sun resting on it:
- 14. 'By thee with this jewel, O Khamda, having offered him repeated obeisance, the king, with his loving confidence still unshaken, must be enjoined to stay his grief.
- 15. "I have entered the ascetic-wood to destroy old age and death,--with no thirst for heaven, with no lack of love nor feeling of anger.
- 16. "Do not think of mourning for me who am thus gone forth from my home; union, however long it may last, in time will come to an end.
- 17. "Since separation is certain, therefore is my mind fixed on liberation; how shall there not be repeated severings from one's kindred?
- 18. "Do not think of mourning for me who am gone forth to leave sorrow behind; it is the thralls of passion, who are attached to desires, the causes of sorrow, for whom thou shouldst mourn.
- 19. "This was the firm persuasion of our predecessors,--I as one departing by a common road am not to be mourned for by my heir.
- 20. "'At a man's death there are doubtless heirs to his wealth; but heirs to his merit are hard to find on the earth or exist not at all.
- 21. "Even though thou sayest, 'He is gone at a wrong time to the wood,'—there is no wrong time for religious duty (dharma), life being fragile as it is.
- 22. "Therefore my determination is, 'I must seek my supreme good this very day;' what confidence can there be in life, when death stands as our adversary?"
- 23. 'Do thou address the king, O friend, with these and such-like words; and do thou use thy efforts so that he may not even remember me.
- 24. 'Yea, do thou repeat to the king our utter unworthiness; through unworthiness affection is lost,--and where affection is lost, there is no sorrow.'
- 25. Having heard these words, Khamda, overwhelmed with grief, made reply with folded hands, his voice choked by tears:
- 26. 'At this state of mind of thine, causing affliction to thy kindred, my mind, O my lord, sinks down like an elephant in the mud of a river.
- 27. To whom would not such a determination as this of thine cause tears, even if his heart were of iron,—how much more if it were throbbing with love?
- 28. 'Where\* is this delicacy of limb, fit to lie only in a palace,--and where is the ground of the ascetic forest, covered with the shoots of rough kusa grass? [\*A common expression (which occurs also in Persian poetry) to imply the incompatibility of two things.]
- 29. 'When, on hearing thy resolve, I first brought thee this horse,--it was fate only, O my lord, which made me do it, mastering my will.
- 30. 'But how could I, O king, by mine own will, knowing this thy decision,--carry back the horse to the sorrow of Kapilavastu?
- 31. 'Surely thou wilt not abandon, O hero, that fond old king, so devoted to his son, as a heretic might the true religion?
- 32. 'And her, thy second mother, worn with the care of bringing thee up,--thou wilt not surely forget her, as an ingrate a benefit?
- 33. 'Thou wilt not surely abandon thy queen, endowed with all virtues, illustrious for her family, devoted to her husband and with a young son, as a coward the royal dignity within his reach?
- 34 'Thou wilt not abandon the young son of Yasodharâ, worthy of all praise, thou the best of the cherishers of religion and fame, as a dissolute spendthrift his choicest glory?

- 35, 'Or even if thy mind be resolved to abandon thy kindred and thy kingdom, thou wilt not, O master, abandon me,--thy feet are my only refuge.
- 36. 'I cannot go to the city with my soul thus burning, leaving thee behind in the forest as Sumitra left the son of Raphu
- Raghu.

  37. 'What will the king say to me, returning to the city without thee? or what shall I say to thy queens by way of telling them good news?
- 38. 'As for what thou saidst, "thou must repeat my unworthiness to the king"--how shall I speak what is false of thee as of a sage without a fault?
- 39. 'Or even if I ventured to speak it with a heart ashamed and a tongue cleaving to my mouth, who would think of believing it?
- 40. 'He who would tell of or believe the fierceness of the moon, might tell of or believe thy faults, O physician of faults.
- 41. 'Him who is always compassionate and who never fails to feel pity, it ill befits to abandon one who loves;--turn back and have mercy on me.'
- 42. Having heard these words of Khamda overcome with sorrow,--self-possessed with the utmost firmness the best of speakers answered:
- 43. 'Abandon this distress, Khamda, regarding thy separation from me,--change is inevitable in corporeal beings who are subject to different births.
- 44. 'Even if I through affection were not to abandon my kindred in my desire for liberation, death would still make us helplessly abandon one another.
- 45. 'She, my mother, by whom I was borne in the womb with great thirst and pains,-where am I now with regard to her, all her efforts fruitless, and where is she with regard to
- 46. 'As birds go to their roosting-tree and then depart, so the meeting of beings inevitably ends in separation.
- 47. 'As clouds, having come together, depart asunder again, such I consider the meeting and parting of living things.
- 48. 'And since this world goes away, each one of us deceiving the other,—it is not right to think anything thine own in a time of union which is a dream.
- 49. 'Since the trees are parted from the innate colour of their leaves, why should there not still more be the parting of two things which are alien to each other?
- 50. 'Therefore, since it is so, grieve not, my good friend, but go; or if thy love lingers, then go and afterwards return.
- 51. 'Say, without reproaching us, to the people in Kapilavastu, "Let your love for him be given up, and hear his resolve
- 52. "Either he will quickly come back, having destroyed old age and death; or else he will himself perish, having failed in his purpose and lost hold of every support."
- 53. Having heard his words, Kamthaka, the noblest of steeds, licked his feet with his tongue and dropped hot tears.
- 54. With his hand whose fingers were united with a membrane and which was marked with the auspicious svastika, and with its middle part curved, the prince stroked him and addressed him like a friend:
- 55. 'Shed not tears, Kamthaka, this thy perfect equine nature has been proved,--bear with it, this thy labour will soon have its fruit.'
- 56. Then seizing the sharp jewelled sword which was in Khamdaka's hand, he resolutely drew out from the sheath the blade decked with golden ornaments, like a serpent from its hole.
- 57. Having drawn it forth, dark blue like a blue lotus petal, he cut his decorated tiara and his hair, and he tossed it with its scattered muslin into the air as a grey goose into a lake.
- 58. And the heavenly beings, with a longing to worship it, seized it respectfully as it was thrown up; and the divine hosts paid it due adoration in heaven with celestial honours.
- 59. Having thus divorced his ornaments and banished all royal magnificence from his head, and seeing his muslin floating away like a golden goose, the stedfast prince desired a sylvan dress.
- 60. Then a celestial being, wearing the form of a hunter, pure in heart, knowing his thoughts, approached near him in dark-red garments; and the son of the Sâkya king thus addressed him:
- 61. 'Thy red garments are auspicious, the sign of a saint; but this destructive bow is not befitting; therefore, my good friend, if there is no strong preference in the matter, do thou give me that dress and take this of mine.'
- 62. The hunter replied, 'It has given me my desire ['from essence of desire.']. O giver of desires, as by this I have inspired animals with confidence and then killed them; but if thou hast need of it, O thou who art like Indra, accept it at once and give me the white dress.'
- 63. With extreme joy he then took that sylvan dress and gave away the linen one; and the hunter, assuming his heavenly form, having taken the white garment, went to heaven
- 64. Then the prince and the attendant of the horse were filled with wonder as he was thus going, and forthwith they paid great honour anew to that sylvan dress.

- 65. Then the great-souled one, having dismissed the weeping Khamda, and wearing his fame veiled by the sign of the red garment, went towards the hermitage, like the king of mountains wrapped in an evening cloud.
- 66. While his master, thus regardless of his kingdom, was going to the ascetic-wood in mean garments, the groom, tossing up his arms, wailed bitterly and fell on the ground.
- 67. Having looked again he wept aloud, and embraced the horse Kamthaka with his arms; and then, hopeless and repeatedly lamenting, he went in body to the city, not in soul.
- 68. Sometimes he pondered, sometimes he lamented, sometimes he stumbled, and sometimes he fell; and so going along, wretched through his devoted attachment, he performed all kinds of actions in the road without conscious will

- 1. Then having left the weeping tear-faced Khamda,-indifferent to all things in his longing for the forest he by whom all objects are accomplished, overpowering the place by his beauty, entered that hermitage as if it were fully blessed.
- 2. He the prince with a gait like the lion's, having entered that arena of deer, himself like a deer,—by the beauty of his person, even though bereft of his magnificence, attracted the eyes of all the dwellers in the hermitage.
- 3. The drivers of wheeled carriages also, with their wives, stood still in curiosity, holding the yokes in their hands,—they gazed on him who was like Indra, and moved not, standing like their beasts of burden with their heads half bent down.
- 4. And the Brâhmans who had gone outside for the sake of fuel, having come with their hands full of fuel, flowers, and kusa grass,--pre-eminent as they were in penances, and proficients in wisdom, went to see him, and went not to their calls.
- 5. Delighted the peacocks uttered their cries, as if they had seen a dark-blue cloud rising up; and leaving the young grass and coming forward, the deer with restless eyes and the ascetics who grazed like deer\* stood still. \*A form of ascetic observance, see Mahâbh. 1, 3644; V, 4072. Cf. infra, sloka 15.]
- 6. Beholding him, the lamp of the race of Ikshvåku, shining like the rising sun,--even though their milking was over, being filled with joy, the oblation-giving cows poured forth their milk.
- 7. 'It is one of the eight Vasus or one of the two Asvins, descended here,'--these words arose, uttered aloud by the sages in their astonishment at seeing him.
- 8. Like a second form of the lord of the gods, like the personified glory of the universe, he lighted up the entire wood like the sun come down of his own accord.
- 9. Then he, being duly honoured and invited to enter by those dwellers in the hermitage, paid his homage to the saints, with a voice like a cloud in the rainy season.
- 10. He, the wise one, longing for liberation, traversed that hermitage filled with the holy company desirous of heaven,—gazing at their strange penances.
- 11. He, the gentle one, having seen the different kinds of penance practised by the ascetics in that sacred grove,-desiring to know the truth, thus addressed one of the ascetics who was following him:
- 12. 'Since this to-day is my first sight of a hermitage I do not understand this rule of penance; therefore will your honour kindly explain to me what resolve possesses each one of you.'
- 13. Then the Brâhman well-versed in penance told in order to that bull of the Sâkyas, a very bull in prowess, all the various kinds of penance and the fruit thereof.
- 14. 'Uncultivated food, growing out of the water, leaves, water, and roots and fruits,—this is the fare of the saints according to the sacred texts; but the different alternatives of penance vary.
- 15. 'Some live like the birds on gleaned corn, others graze on grass like the deer, others live on air with the snakes, as if turned into ant-hills [Cf. the legend of the princess Sukanyâ, given in Wilson's note, Hindu Drama, I, p. 263.].
- 16. 'Others win their nourishment with great effort from stones, others eat corn ground with their own teeth; some, having boiled for others, dress for themselves what may chance to be left.
- 17. 'Others, with their tufts of matted hair continually wet with water, twice offer oblations to Agni with hymns; others plunging like fishes into the water dwell there with their bodies scratched by tortoises.

  18. 'By such penances endured for a time,--by the higher
- they attain heaven, by the lower the world of men; by the path of pain they eventually dwell in happiness,—pain, they say, is the root of merit.'
- 19. The king's son, having heard this speech of the ascetic, even though he saw no lofty truth in it, was not content, but gently uttered these thoughts to himself:
- 20. The penance is full of pain and of many kinds, and the fruit of the penance is mainly heaven at its best, and all the worlds are subject to change; verily the labour of the hermitages is spent for but little gain.

- 21. 'Those who abandoning wealth, kindred, and worldly objects, undertake vows for the sake of heaven,--they, when parted, only wish to go to a still greater wood of their own again [Their desired heaven will only be a fresh penancegrove.].
- 22, 'He who by all these bodily toils which are called penances, seeks a sphere of action for the sake of desire,--not examining the inherent evils of mundane existence, he only seeks pain by pain.
- 23. There is ever to living creatures fear from death, and they with all their efforts seek to be born again; where there is action, there must inevitably be death,--he is always drowned therein, just because he is afraid.
- 24. 'Some undergo misery for the sake of this world, others meet toil for the sake of heaven; all living beings, wretched through hope and always missing their aim, fall certainly for the sake of happiness into misery.
- 25. 'It is not the effort itself which I blame, which flinging aside the base pursues a high path of its own; but the wise, by all this common toil, ought to attain that state in which nothing needs ever to be done again.
- nothing needs ever to be done again.
  26. 'If the mortification of the body here is religion, then the body's happiness is only irreligion; but by religion a man obtains happiness in the next world, therefore religion here bears irreligion as its fruit.
- 27. 'Since it is only by the mind's authority that the body either acts or ceases to act, therefore to control the thought is alone befitting,--without the thought the body is like a log.
- 28. 'If merit is gained by purity of food, then there is merit also in the deer; and in those men also who live as outcasts from all enjoyments, through being estranged from them by the fault of their destiny.
- 29. 'If the deliberate choice of pain is a cause of merit, why should not that same choice be directed to pleasure? If you say that the choice of pleasure carries no authority, is not the choice of pain equally without authority?
- 30. 'So too those who for the sake of purifying their actions, earnestly sprinkle water on themselves, saying, "this is a sacred spot,"--even there this satisfaction resides only in the heart,--for waters will not cleanse away sin.
- 31. 'The water which has been touched by the virtuous,-that is the spot, if you wish for a sacred spot on the earth; therefore I count as a place of pilgrimage only the virtues of a virtuous man[1], water without doubt is only water.'
- 32. Thus he uttered his discourse full of various arguments, and the sun went down into the west; then he entered the grove where penances had now ceased and whose trees were gray with the smoke of the (evening) oblations:
- 33. Where the sacred fires had been duly transferred when kindled to other spots,—all crowded with the holy hermits who had performed their ablutions, and with the shrines of the gods murmuring with the muttered prayers,—it seemed all alive like the full service of religion in exercise.
- 34. He spent several nights there, himself like the moon, examining their penances; and he departed from that penance-field, feeling that he had comprehended the whole nature of penance.
- 35. The dwellers of the hermitage followed him with their minds fixed on the greatness of soul visible in his person, as if they were great seers beholding Religion herself, withdrawn from a land invaded by the base.
- 36. Then he looked on all those ascetics with their matted hair, bark garments, and rag-strips waving, and he stood considering their penances under an auspicious and noble tree by the way-side.
- 37. Then the hermits having approached stood surrounding the best of men; and an old man from among them thus addressed him respectfully in a gentle voice:
- 38. 'At thy coming the hermitage seems to have become full, it becomes as it were empty when thou art gone,--therefore, my son, thou wilt not surely desert it, as the loved life the body of one who wishes to live.
- 39. In front stands the holy mountain Himavat, inhabited by Brahmarshis, râgarshis, and surarshis; by whose mere presence the merit of these penances becomes multiplied to the ascetics.
- 40. 'Near us also are holy spots of pilgrimage, which become ladders to heaven; loved by divine sages and saints whose souls are intent on devotion and who keep their souls in perfect control.
- 41. 'From hence, again, the Northern quarter is especially to be fitly followed for the sake of preeminent merit; even one who was wise starting towards the south could not advance one single step.
- 42. 'Hast thou seen in this sacred grove one who neglects all ceremonies or who follows confused ceremonies or an outcast or one impure, that thou dost not desire to dwell here? Speak it out, and let the abode be welcomed.
- 43. 'These hermits here desire thee as their companion in penance, thee who art like a storehouse of penance,--to dwell with thee who art like Indra would bring prosperity even to Vrihaspati.'
- 44. He, the chief of the wise, when thus addressed in the midst of the ascetics by their chief--having resolved in his

- mind to put an end to all existence thus uttered his inward thought:
- 45. 'The upright-souled saints, the upholders of religion, become the very ideal of our own kindred through their delight in showing hospitality; by all these kind feelings of thine towards me affection is produced in me and the path which regards the self as supreme is revealed.
- 46. I seem to be all at once bathed by these gentle heart-touching words of thine, and the joy now throbs in me once more which I felt when I first grasped the idea of dharma.
- 47. 'There is sorrow to me when I reflect that I shall have to depart, leaving you who are thus engaged, you who are such a refuge and who have shown such excessive kindness to me, iust as there was when I had to leave my kindred behind.
- 48. 'But this devotion of yours is for the sake of heaven,-while my desire is that there may be no fresh birth; therefore I wish not to dwell in this wood; the nature of cessation is different from that of activity.
- 49. It is not therefore any dislike on my part or the wrong conduct of another, which makes me go away from this wood; for ye are all like great sages, standing fast in the religious duties which are in accordance with former ages.
- 50. Then having heard the prince's discourse, gracious and of deep meaning, gentle, strong, and full of dignity, the ascetics paid him especial honour.
- 51. But a certain Brâhman who was lying there in the ashes, tall and wearing his hair in a tuft, and clothed in the bark of trees, with reddish eyes and a thin long nose, and carrying a pot with water in his hand, thus lifted his voice:
- 52. 'O sage, brave indeed is thy purpose, who, young as thou art, hast seen the evils of birth; he who, having pondered thoroughly heaven and liberation, makes up his mind for liberation,—he is indeed brave!
- 53. 'By all those various sacrifices, penances and vows the slaves of passion desire to go to heaven; but the strong, having battled with passion as with an enemy, desire to obtain liberation.
- 54. 'If this is thy settled purpose, go quickly to Vindhyakoshtha; the Muni Arâda lives there who has gained an insight into absolute bliss.
- 55, 'From him thou wilt hear the path to truth, and if thou hast a desire for it, thou wilt embrace it; but as I foresee, this purpose of thine will go on further, after having rejected his theory.
- theory.

  56. 'With the nose of a well-fed horse, large long eyes, a red lower lip, white sharp teeth, and a thin red tongue,--this face of thine will drink tip the entire ocean of what is to be known.
- 57. 'That unfathomed depth which characterises thee, that majesty and all those signs of thine,--they shall win a teacher's chair in the earth which was never won by sages even in a former age.'
- 58. The prince replied, 'Very well,' and having saluted the company of sages he departed; the hermits also having duly performed to him all the rites of courtesy entered again into the ascetic grove.

- 1. Meanwhile the attendant of the horse, in deep distress, when his unselfish master thus went into the forest, made every effort in the road to dissolve his load of sorrow, and yet in spite of it all not a tear dropped from him.
- 2. But the road which by his lord's command he had traversed in one night with that horse,—that same road he now travelled in eight days, pondering his lord's absence.
- And the horse Kamthaka, though he still went on bravely, flagged and had lost all spirit in his heart; and decked though he was with ornaments, he had lost all his beauty when bereft of his master.
- 4. And turning round towards that ascetic-grove, he neighed repeatedly with a mournful sound; and though pressed with hunger, he welcomed not nor tasted any grass or water on the road, as before.
- 5. Slowly they two at last came back to the city called after Kapila, which seemed empty when deserted by that hero who was bent on the salvation of the world,--like the sky bereft of the sun.
- Bright as it was with lotus-covered waters, adorned also with trees full of flowers, that garden of his, which was now like a forest, was no longer gay with citizens who had lost all their gladness.
- 7. Then those two,--who were as it were silently forbidden by the sad inhabitants who were wandering in that direction, their brightness gone and their eyes dim with tears,---slowly entered the city which seemed all bathed in gloom.
- 8. Having heard that they had returned with their limbs all relaxed, coming back without the pride of the Sâkya race, the men of the city shed tears in the road, as when in old days the chariot of the son of Dasaratha came back.
- 9. Full of wrath, the people followed Khamdaka in the road, crying behind him with tears, 'Where is the king's son, the glory of his race and kingdom? he has been stolen away by the .'

- 10. Then he said to those faithful ones, 'I have not left the king's son; but by him in the uninhabited forest I weeping and the dress of a householder were abandoned together.'
- 11. Having heard these words of his those crowds adopted a most difficult resolve; they did not wipe away the tears which fell from their eyes, and they blamed their own (evil) hearts on account of the consequences of their actions:
- 12. Then they said, 'Let us go this very day into that forest, whither he is gone, whose gait is like the king of elephants; without him we have no wish to live, like the senses when the souls depart.
- 13. 'This city bereft of him is a forest, and that forest which possesses him is a city; the city without him has no charms for us, like heaven without the lord of the Maruts, when Vritra was slain [Quoted by Uggvaladatta, on Unâdi-sûtras 1, 156.1.'
- 14. Next the women crowded to the rows of windows, crying to one another, 'The prince has returned,' but having heard that his horse had an empty back, they closed the windows again and wailed aloud.
- 15. But the king, having undertaken religious observances for the recovery of his son, with his mind distressed by the vow and the sorrow, was muttering prayers in the temple, and performing such rites as suited the occasion.
- 16. Then with his eyes filled with tears,—taking the horse, his whole soul fixed on the horse,—overcome with grief he entered the palace as if his master had been killed by an enemy.
- 17. And entering the royal stable, looking about with his eyes full of tears, Kamthaka uttered a loud sound, as if he were uttering his woe to the people.
- 18. Then the birds that fed in the middle of the house, and the carefully cherished horses that were tied near by, reechoed the sound of that horse, thinking that it might be the return of the prince.
- 19. And the people, deceived by an excessive joy, who were in the neighbourhood of the king's inner apartments, thought in their hearts, 'Since the horse Kamthaka neighs, it must be that the prince is coming.'
- 20. Then the women, who were fainting with sorrow, now in wild joy, with their eyes rolling to see the prince, rushed out of the palace full of hope, like flickering lightnings from an autumn cloud.
- 21. With their dress hanging down, and their linen garments soiled, their faces untouched by collyrium and with eyes dimmed by tears; dark and discoloured and destitute of all painting[I], like the stars in the sky, pale-red with the ending of night:
- ending of night;
  22. With their feet unstained by red, and undecked by anklets,—their faces without earrings, and their ears in their native simplicity,—their loins with only nature's fulness, and uncircled by any girdle,—and their bosoms bare of strings of pearls as if they had been robbed.
- 23. But when they saw Khandaka standing helpless, his eyes filled with tears, and the horse, the noble women wept with pale faces, like cows abandoned by the bull in the midst of the forest.
- 24. Then the king's principal queen Gautamî, like a fond cow that has lost her calf, fell bursting into tears on the ground with outstretched arms, like a golden plantain-tree with trembling leaves.
- 25. Some of the other women, bereft of their brightness and with arms and souls lifeless, and seeming to have lost their senses in their despondency, raised no cry, shed no tear, and breathed not, standing senseless as if painted.
- 26. Others as having lost all self-control, fainting in their sorrow for their lord, their faces pouring tears from their eyes, watered their bosoms from which all sandal-wood was banished, like a mountain the rocks with its streams.
- 27. Then that royal palace was illumined with their faces pelted by the tears from their eyes, as a lake in the time of the first rains with its dripping lotuses pelted by the rain from the clouds.
- 28. The noble women beat their breasts with their lotus-like hands, falling incessantly, whose fingers were round and plump, which had their arteries hidden and bore no ornaments,--as creepers tossed by the wind strike themselves with their shoots.
- 29. And again how those women shine forth, as their bosoms rose up together after the blow from the hand, and trembled with the shock,—like the streams, when their pairs of ruddy geese shake, as the lotuses on which they sit wave about with the wind from the wood [unclear meaning.].
- 30. As they pressed their breasts with their hands, so too they pressed their hands with their breasts,--dull to all feelings of pity, they made their hands and bosoms inflict mutual pains on each other.
- 31. Then thus spoke Yasodharâ, shedding tears with deep sorrow, her bosom heaving with her sighs, her eyes discoloured with aneer, and her voice choking with emotion through the influence of despondency:
- 32. 'Leaving me helplessly asleep in the night, whither, O Khamdaka, is he, the desire of my heart, gone? and when thou and Kamthaka are alone come back, while three went away together, my mind trembles.

- 33. 'Why dost thou weep to-day, O cruel one, having done a dishonourable, pitiless, and unfriendly deed to me? Cease thy tears and be content in thy heart,—tears and that deed of thine ill agree.
- 34. 'Through thee, his dear obedient faithful loyal companion, always doing what was right, the son of my lord is gone never to return,--rejoice,--all hail! thy pains have gained their end.
- 35. 'Better for a man a wise enemy rather than a foolish friend unskilled in emergencies; by thee, the unwise self-styled friend, a great calamity has been brought upon this family.
- 36. These women are sorely to be pitied who have put away their ornaments, having their eyes red and dimmed with continuous tears, who are as it were desolate widows, though their lord still stands as unshaken as the earth or Mount Himavat.
- 37. 'And these lines of palaces seem to weep aloud, flinging up their dovecots for arms, with the long unbroken moan of their doves,--separated verily, with him, from all who could restrain them.
- 38. Even that horse Kamthaka without doubt desired my utter ruin; for he bore away from hence my treasure when all were sound asleep in the night,--like one who steals jewels.
- 39. When he was able to bear even the onsets of arrows, and still more the strokes of whips,—how then for fear of the fall of a whip, could he go carrying with him my prosperity and my heart together?
- 40. 'The base creature now neighs loudly, filling the king's palace with the sound; but when he carried away my beloved, then this vilest of horses was dumb.
- 41. 'If he had neighed and so woke up the people, or had even made a noise with his hoofs on the ground, or had made the loudest sound he could with his jaws, my grief would not have been so great.'
- 42. Having thus heard the queen's words, their syllables choked with tears and full of lament, slowly Khamdaka uttered this answer, with his face bent down, his voice low with tears, and his hands clasped in supplication:
- 43. 'Surely, O queen, thou wilt not blame Kamthaka nor wilt thou show thy anger against me,--know that we two are entirely guiltless,--that god amongst men, O queen, is gone away like a god.
- 44. 'I indeed, though I well knew the king's command, as though dragged by force by some divine powers, brought quickly to him this swift steed, and followed him on the road unwearied.
- 45. 'And this best of horses as he went along touched not the ground with the tips of his hoofs as if they were kept aloft from it; and so too, having his mouth restrained as by fate, he made no sound with his jaws and neighed not.
- 46. 'When the prince went out, then the gate was thrown open of its own accord; and the darkness of the night was, as it were, pierced by the sun,--we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.
- 47. 'When also by the king's command, in palace and city, diligent guards had been placed by thousands, and at that time they were all overcome by sleep and woke not,--we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.
- 48. 'When also the garment, approved for a hermit's dwelling in the forest, was offered to him at the moment by some denizen of heaven, and the tiara which he threw into the sky was carried off,--we may learn from hence too that this was the ordering of fate.
- 49. 'Do not therefore assume that his departure arises from the fault of either of us, O queen; neither I nor this horse acted by our own choice; he went on his way with the gods as his retinue.'
- 50. Having thus heard the history of the prince's departure, so marvellous in many ways, those women, as though losing their grief, were filled with wonder, but they again took up their distress at the thought of his becoming an ascetic.
- 51. With her eyes filled with the tears of despondency, wretched like an osprey who has lost her young,--Gautamî abandoning all self-control wailed aloud,--she fainted, and with a weeping face exclaimed:
- 52. 'Beautiful, soft, black, and all in great waves, growing each from its own special root,—those hairs of his are tossed on the ground, worthy to be encircled by a royal diadem.
- 53. 'With his long arms and lion-gait,' his bull-like eye, and his beauty bright like gold, his broad chest, and his voice deep as a drum or a cloud, should such a hero as this dwell in a hermitage?'
- 54. 'This earth is indeed unworthy as regards that peerless doer of noble actions, for such a virtuous hero has gone away from her,--it is the merits and virtues of the subjects which produce their king.
- 55. Those two feet of his, tender, with their beautiful web spread between the toes, with their ankles concealed, and soft like a blue lotus,--how can they, bearing a wheel marked in the middle, walk on the hard ground of the skirts of the forest?
- 56. 'That body, which deserves to sit or lie on the roof of a palace,--honoured with costly garments, aloes, and sandal-wood,--how will that manly body live in the woods, exposed to the attacks of the cold, the heat, and the rain?

- 57. 'He who was proud of his family, goodness, strength, energy, sacred learning, beauty, and youth,--who was ever ready to give, not to ask,--how will he go about begging alms from others'
- 58. 'He who, lying on a spotless golden bed, was awakened during the night by the concert of musical instruments,--how alas! will he, my ascetic, sleep to-day on the bare ground with only one rag of cloth interposed?'
- 59. Having heard this piteous lamentation, the women, embracing one another with their arms, rained the tears from their eyes, as the shaken creepers drop honey from their flowers.
- 60. Then Yasodharâ fell upon the ground, like the ruddy goose parted from her mate, and in utter bewilderment she slowly lamented, with her voice repeatedly stopped by sobs:
- 61. If he wishes to practise a religious life after abandoning me his lawful wife widowed,--where is his religion, who wishes to follow penance without his lawful wife to share it with him?
- 62. 'He surely has never heard of the monarchs of olden times, his own ancestors, Mahāsudarsa [Mahāsudassana is the name of a king in Gātaka 1, 95.] the rest,--how they went with their wives into the forest,--that he thus wishes to follow a religious life without me.
- 63. 'He does not see that husband and wife are both consecrated in sacrifices, and both purified by the performance of the rites of the Veda, and both destined to enjoy the same results afterwards,—he therefore grudges me a share in his merit.
- 64. 'Surely it must be that this fond lover of religion, knowing that my mind was secretly quarrelling even with my beloved, lightly and without fear has deserted me thus angry, in the hope to obtain heavenly nymphs in Indra's world!
- 65. 'But what kind of a thought is this of mine? those women even there have the attributes which belong to bodies,--for whose sake he thus practises austerities in the forest, deserting his royal magnificence and my fond devotion.
- 66. 'I have no such longing for the joy of heaven, nor is that hard for even common people to win if they are resolute; but my one desire is how he my beloved may never leave me either in this world or the next.
- 67. 'Even if I am unworthy to look on my husband's face with its long eyes and bright smile, still is this poor Râhula never to roll about in his father's lap?
- 68. 'Alas! the mind of that wise hero is terribly stern,-gentle as his beauty seems, it is pitilessly cruel,--who can desert of his own accord such an infant son with his inarticulate talk, one who would charm even an enemy.
- 69. 'My heart too is certainly most stern, yea, made of rock or fashioned even of iron, which does not break when its lord is gone to the forest, deserted by his royal glory like an orphan,--he so well worthy of happiness.'
- 70. So the queen, fainting in her woe, wept and pondered and wailed aloud repeatedly,—self-possessed as she was by nature, yet in her distress she remembered not her fortitude and felt no shame.
- 71. Seeing Yasodharâ thus bewildered with her wild utterances of grief and fallen on the ground, all the women cried out with their faces streaming with tears like large lotuses beaten by the rain.
- 72. But the king, having ended his prayers, and performed the auspicious rites of the sacrifice, now came out of the temple; and being smitten by the wailing sound of the people, he tottered like an elephant at the crash of a thunderbolt.
- 73. Having heard (of the arrival) of both Khamdaka and Kamthaka, and having learned the fixed resolve of his son, the lord of the earth fell struck down by sorrow like the banner of Indra when the festival is over.
- 74. Then the king, distracted by his grief for his son, being held up for a moment by his attendants all of the same race, gazed on the horse with his eyes filled with tears, and then falling on the ground wailed aloud:
- 75. After having done many dear exploits for me in battle, one great deed of cruelty, O Kamthaka, hast thou done,—for by thee that dear son of mine, dear for his every virtue, has been tossed down in the wood, dear as he was, like a worthless thing.
- 76. Therefore either lead me to-day where he is, or go quickly and bring him back again; without him there is no life left to me, as to one plunged in sickness without the true medicine.
- 77. 'When Suvarnanishthîvin was carried away by death, it seemed impossible that Srimgaya should not die; and shall I, when my duty-loving son is gone, fear to set my soul free, like any coward?
- 78. 'How should not the mind of Manu himself be distracted, when parted from his dear virtuous son\*,—(Manu) the son of Vivasvat, who knew the higher and the lower, the mighty lord of creatures, the institutor of the ten chieftains ['king-race ten made;']. [\* this son could refer to his losing his son Sudyumna, who was changed to a woman, Vishnu Purana 4, 1].
- 79. I envy the monarch, that friend of Indra, the wise son of king Aga, who, when his son went into the forest, went

- himself to heaven, and dragged out no miserable life here with vain tears.
- 80. 'Describe to me, O beloved one, the court of that hermitage, whither thou hast carried him who is as my funeral oblation of water; these my vital airs are all ready to depart, and are eager for it, longing to drink it.'
- 81. Thus the king, in his grief for his separation from his son,--losing all his innate firmness which was stedfast like the earth,--loudly lamented as one distraught, like Dasaratha, a prey to his sorrow for Râma.
- 82. Then the wise counsellor, endued with religious learning, courtesy, and virtue, and the old family priest, spoke to him as was befitting in these well-weighed words, neither with their faces overwhelmed by grief nor yet wholly unmoved:
- 83. 'Cease, O noblest of men, thy grief, regain thy firmness,-surely thou wilt not, O firm hero, shed tears like one of no self-control'; many kings on this earth have gone into the forests, throwing away their royal pomp like a crushed wreath.
- 84. 'Moreover, this his state of mind was all predetermined; remember those words long ago of the holy sage Asita; "He will never be made to dwell even for a moment contentedly in heaven or in an emperor's domain."
- 85. 'But if, O best of men, the effort must be made, quickly speak the word, we two will at once go together; let the battle be waged in every way with thy son and his fate whatever it he.'
- 86. Then the king commanded them both, 'Do you both go quickly hence,--my heart will not return to quiet, any more than a bird's in the woods longing for its young.'
- 87. With a prompt acquiescence at the king's order the counsellor and the family priest went to that forest; and then with his wives and his queen the king also, saying, 'It is done,' performed the remainder of the rites.

- 1. Then the two, the counsellor and the family priest, beaten by the king with his scourge of tears, went with every effort to that forest in the hurry of affection, like two noble horses goaded.
- 2. Having come at last full of weariness to that hermitage, accompanied by a fitting train,--they dismissed their royal pomp and with sober gestures entered the abode of Bhârgava.
- 3. Having saluted that Brâhman with due respect, and having been honoured by him with due reverence in return, having seated themselves, plunging at once into the subject, they addressed Bhârgava, who was likewise seated, concerning their errand.
- 4. 'Let your honour know us to be respectively imperfect proficients in preserving the sacred learning and in retaining the state-counsels,--in the service of the monarch of the Ikshvaku race, pure in his valour and pure and wide in his glory.
- glory.

  5. 'His son, who is like Gayanta, while he himself is like Indra, has come here, it is said, desirous to escape from the fear of old age and death,--know that we two are come here on account of him.'
- 6. He answered them, 'That prince of the long arms did indeed come here, but not as one unawakened; "this dharma only brings us back again,"--recognising this, he went off forthwith towards Arâda, seeking liberation.'
- 7. Then they two, having understood the true state of things, bade that Brâhman at once farewell, and wearied though they were, went on as if they were unwearied, thither whither the prince was gone.
- 8. As they were going, they saw him bereft of all ornaments, but still radiant with his beauty, sitting like a king in the road at the foot of a tree, like the sun under the canopy of a cloud.
- 9. Leaving his chariot, the family priest then went up to the prince with the counsellor, as the saint Aurvaseya [Agastya, the son of Urvasî. Vâmadeva was Dasaratha's counsellor.] went with Vâmadeva, wishing to see Râma when he dwelt in the forest
- 10. They paid him honour as was fitting, as Sukra and Amgiras honoured Indra in heaven; and he in return paid due honour to them, as Indra in heaven to Sukra and Amgiras.
- 11. Then they, having obtained his permission, sat down near him who was the banner of the Sâkya race; and they shone in his proximity like the two stars of the asterism Punarvasû in conjunction with the moon.
- 12. The family priest addressed the prince who shone brightly as he sat at the foot of the tree, as Vrihaspati addressed Indra's son Gayanta, seated in heaven under the heavenly tree parikata:
- 13. O prince, consider for a moment what the king with his eyes raining tears said to thee, as he lay fainting on the ground with the arrow of thy sorrow plunged into his heart.
- 14. "I know that thy resolve is fixed upon religion, and I am convinced that this purpose of thine is unchanging; but I am consumed with a flame of anguish like fire at thy flying to the woods at an inopportune time.
- 15. "Come, thou who lovest duty, for the sake of what is my heart's desire,--abandon this purpose for the sake of duty;

this huge swollen stream of sorrow sweeps me away as a river's torrent its bank.

- 16. "That effect which is wrought in the clouds, water, the dry grass, and the mountains by the wind, the sun, the fire, and the thunderbolt,--that same effect this grief produces in us by its tearing in pieces, its drying up, its burning, and its cleaving.
- cleaving.

  17. "'Enjoy therefore for a while the sovereignty of the earth,--thou shalt go to the forest at the time provided by the sastras,--do not show disregard for thy unhappy kindred,--compassion for all creatures is the true religion.
- 18. "Religion is not wrought out only in the forests, the salvation of ascetics can be accomplished even in a city; thought and effort are the true means; the forest and the badge are only a coward's signs.
- 19. "Liberation has been attained even by householders, Indras among men, who wore diadems, and carried strings of pearls suspended on their shoulders, whose garlands were entangled with bracelets, and who lay cradled in the lap of Fortune.
- 20. "Bali and Vagrabâhu, the two younger brothers of Dhruva, Vaibhrâga, Âshâdha, and Amtideva, and Ganaka also, the king of the Videhas, and king Senagit's son, his tree of ripe blessing;
- 21. "Know that all these great kings who were householders were well skilled in attaining the merit which leads to final bliss,--do thou also therefore obtain both simultaneously--royal magnificence and the control over the mind.
- 22. "I desire,—when I have once closely embraced thee after thy kingly consecration is once performed, and while thou art still wet with the sacred water,—when I behold thee with the pomp of the royal umbrella,—in the fulness of that joy to enter the forest."
- 23. 'Thus did the king say to thee in a speech whose words were stopped by tears,—surely having heard it, for the sake of what is so dear to him, thou wilt with all affection follow his affection.
- 24. The king of the Sâkyas is drowned in a deep sea of sorrow, full of waves of trouble, springing from thee; do thou therefore deliver him helpless and protectorless like an ox drowning in the sea.
- 25. 'Having heard that Bhîshma who sprang from Gangâ's womb, Râma, and Râma the son of Bhrigu,--all did what would please their fathers;--surely thou too wilt do thy father's desire.
- 26. 'Consider also the queen, who brought thee up, who has not yet gone to the region inhabited by Agastya [The south,--the region of the god of death.]--wilt thou not take some heed of her, who ceaselessly grieves like a fond cow that has lost her
- 27. 'Surely thou wilt succour thy wife by the sight of thee, who now mourns widowed yet with her lord still alive,--like a swan separated from her mate or a female elephant deserted in the forest by her companion.
- 28. 'Thy only son, a child little deserving such woe, distressed with sorrow, and [Five syllables are here lost,--apakvasattvam?] . . . . -O deliver Râhula from the grief of his kindred like the full moon from the contact of Râhu!
- 29. 'Burned with the fire of anguish within him, to which thy absence adds fresh fuel,—a fire whose smoke is sighs and its flame despair,—he wanders for a sight of thee through the women's apartments and the whole city.'
- 30. The Bodhisattva,--whose perfection was absolute,--having heard the words of the family priest, reflected for a moment, knowing all the virtues of the virtuous, and then thus uttered his gentle reply:
- 31. 'I well know the paternal tenderness of the king, especially that which he has displayed towards me; yet knowing this as I do, still alarmed at sickness, old age, and death, I am inevitably forced to leave my kindred.
- 32. Who would not wish to see his dear kindred, if but this separation from beloved ones did not exist? but since even after it has been once, separation will still come again, it is for this that I abandon my father, however loving.
- 33. 'I do not however approve that thou shouldst consider the king's grief as caused by me, when in the midst of his dream-like unions he is afflicted by thoughts of separations in the future.
- 34. 'Thus let thy thoughts settle into certainty, having seen the multiform in its various developments; neither a son nor kindred is the cause of sorrow,--this sorrow is only caused by ignorance.
- 35. 'Since parting is inevitably fixed in the course of time for all beings, just as for travellers who have joined company on a road,--what wise man would cherish sorrow, when he loses his kindred, even though he loves them [Some letters are here lost in the original.]?
- 36. 'Leaving his kindred in another world, he departs hither; and having stolen away from them here, he goes forth once more; "having gone thither, go thou elsewhere also,"-such is the lot of mankind,--what consideration can the yogin have for them?

- 37. 'Since from the moment of leaving the womb death is a characteristic adjunct[4], why, in thy affection for thy son, hast thou called my departure to the forest ill-timed?
- 38. 'There may be an "ill time" in one's attaining a worldly object,—time indeed is described as inseparably connected with all things; time drags the world into all its various times; but all time suits a bliss which is really worthy of praise.
- 39. That the king should wish to surrender to me his kingdom,--this is a noble thought, well worthy of a father; but it would be as improper for me to accept it, as for a sick man through greed to accept unwholesome food.
- 40. 'How can it be right for the wise man to enter royalty, the home of illusion, where are found anxiety, passion, and weariness, and the violation of all right through another's service?
- 42. Having heard the king's son uttering this discourse, well suitable to his virtues and knowledge of the soul, freed from all desires, full of sound reasons, and weighty,--the counsellor thus made answer:
- 43. 'This resolve of thine is an excellent counsel, not unfit in itself but only unfit at the present time; it could not be thy duty, loving duty as thou dost, to leave thy father in his old age to sorrow.
- 44. 'Surely thy mind is not very penetrating, or it is ill-skilled in examining duty, wealth, and pleasure,—when for the sake of an unseen result thou departest disregarding a visible end.
- 45. 'Again, some say that there is another birth,—others with confident assertion say that there is not; since then the matter is all in doubt, it is right to enjoy the good fortune which comes into thy hand.
- 46. 'If there is any activity hereafter, we will enjoy ourselves in it as may offer; or if there is no activity beyond this life, then there is an assured liberation to all the world without any effort.
- 47. 'Some say there is a future life, but they do not allow the possibility of liberation; as fire is hot by nature and water liquid, so they hold that there is a special nature in our power of action [i.e. it cannot be established.].
- 48. 'Some maintain that all things arise from inherent properties,--both good and evil and existence and non-existence; and since all this world thus arises spontaneously, therefore also all effort of ours is vain.
- 49. 'Since the action of the senses is fixed, and so too the agreeableness or the disagreeableness of outward objects,-then for that which is united to old age and pains, what effort can avail to alter it? Does it not all arise spontaneously?
- 50. The fire becomes quenched by water, and fire causes water to evaporate; and different elements, united in a body, producing unity, bear tip the world.
- 51. That the nature of the embryo in the womb is produced as composed of hands, feet, belly, back, and head, and that it is also united with the soul,—the wise declare that all this comes of itself spontaneously.
- 52. 'Who causes the sharpness of the thorn? or the various natures of beasts and birds? All this has arisen spontaneously; there is no acting from desire, how then can there be such a thing as will?
- 53. Others say that creation comes from Îsvara,--what need then is there of the effort of the conscious soul [Purusha.]? That which is the cause of the action of the world, is also determined as the cause of its ceasing to act.
- 54. 'Some say that the coming into being and the destruction of being are alike caused by the soul, but they say that coming into being arises without effort, while the attainment of liberation is by effort.
- 55. 'A man discharges his debt to his ancestors by begetting offspring, to the saints by sacred lore, to the gods by sacrifices; he is born with these three debts upon him,—whoever has liberation (from these,) he indeed has liberation.
- 56. 'Thus by this series of rules the wise promise liberation to him who uses effort; but however ready for effort with all their energy, those who seek liberation will find weariness.
- 57. 'Therefore, gentle youth, if thou hast a love for liberation, follow rightly the prescribed rule; thus wilt thou thyself attain to it, and the king's grief will come to an end.
- 58. 'And as for thy meditations on the evils of life ending in thy return from the forest to thy home,--let not the thought of this trouble thee, my son,--those in old time also have returned from the forests to their houses.
- 59. 'The king Ambarîsha, though he had dwelt in the forest, went back to the city, surrounded by his children; so too Râma, seeing the earth oppressed by the base, came forth from his hermitage and ruled it again
- 60. 'So too Drumâksha, the king of the Sâlvas, came to his city from the forest with his son; and Sâmkriti Amtideva [the son of Samkriti], after he had become a Brahmarshi, received his royal dignity from the saint Vasishtha.

- 61. 'Such men as these, illustrious in glory and virtue, left the forests and came back to their houses; therefore it is no sin to return from a hermitage to one's home, if it be only for the sake of duty'
- 62. Then having heard the affectionate and loyal words of the minister, who was as the eye of the king,--firm in his resolve, the king's son made his answer, with nothing omitted or displaced, neither tedious nor hasty:
- 63. This doubt whether anything exists or not, is not to be solved for me by another's words; having determined the truth by asceticism or quietism, I will myself grasp whatever is ascertained concerning it.
- 64. 'It is not for me to accept a theory which depends on the unknown and is all controverted, and which involves a hundred prepossessions; what wise man would go by another's belief? Mankind are like the blind directed in the darkness by the blind.
- 65. 'But even though I cannot discern the truth, yet still, if good and evil are doubted, let one's mind be set on the good; even a toil in vain is to be chosen by him whose soul is good, while the man of base soul has no joy even in the truth.
- 66. 'But having seen that this "sacred tradition" is uncertain, know that that only is right which has been uttered by the trustworthy; and know that trustworthiness means the absence of faults; he who is without faults will not utter an untruth.
- 67. 'And as for what thou saidst to me in regard to my returning to my home, by alleging Râma and others as examples, they are no authority,—for in determining duty, how canst thou quote as authorities those who have broken their yows?
- 68. 'Even the sun, therefore, may fall to the earth, even the mountain Himavat may lose its firmness; but never would I return to my home as a man of the world, with no knowledge of the truth and my senses only alert for external objects.
- 69. I would enter the blazing fire, but not my house with my purpose unfulfilled.' Thus he proudly made his resolve, and rising up in accordance with it, full of disinterestedness, went his way.
- 70. Then the minister and the Brâhman, both full of tears, having heard his firm determination, and having followed him awhile with despondent looks, and overcome with sorrow, slowly returned of necessity to the city.
- 71. Through their love for the prince and their devotion to the king, they returned, and often stopped looking back; they could neither behold him on the road nor yet lose the sight of him, shining in his own splendour and beyond the reach of all others, like the sun.
- 72. Having placed faithful emissaries in disguise to find out the actions of him who was the supreme refuge of all, they went on with faltering steps, saying to each other, 'How shall we approach the king and see him, who is longing for his dear son?'

- The prince, he of the broad and lusty chest, having thus dismissed the minister and the priest, crossed the Ganges with its speeding waves and went to Râgagriha with its beautiful palaces.
- 2. He reached the city distinguished by the five hills, well guarded and adorned with mountains, and supported and hallowed by auspicious sacred places [Tapoda is the name of a tirtha in Magadha.],--like Brahman [Svayambhû.] in a holy calm going to the uppermost heaven.
- 3. Having heard of his majesty and strength, and his splendid beauty, surpassing all other men, the people of that region were all astonished as at him who has a bull for his sign and is immovable in his vow [Siva.].
- 4. On seeing him, he who was going elsewhere stood still, and he who was standing there followed him in the way; he who was walking gently and gravely ran quickly, and he who was sitting at once sprang up.
- 5. Some people reverenced him with their hands, others in worship saluted him with their heads, some addressed him with affectionate words,--not one went on without paying him homage.
- 6. Those who were wearing gay-coloured dresses were ashamed when they saw him, those who were talking on random subjects fell to silence on the road; no one indulged in an improper thought, as at the presence of Religion herself embodied.
- 7. In the men and the women on the highway, even though they were intent on other business, that conduct alone with the profoundest reverence seemed proper which is enjoined by the rules of royal homage; but his eyes never looked upon them.
- 8. His brows, his forehead, his mouth, or his eyes,—his body, his hands, his feet, or his gait,—whatever part of him any one beheld, that at once riveted his eyes.
- 9. Having beheld him with the beautiful circle of hair between his brows and with long eyes, with his radiant body and his hands showing a graceful membrane between the fingers,--so worthy of ruling the earth and yet wearing a

mendicant's dress,--the Goddess of Râgagriha was herself perturbed.

- 10. Then Srenya [A name of Bimbisâra, see Burnouf, Introd. p. 165.], the lord of the court of the Magadhas, beheld from the outside of his palace the immense concourse of people, and asked the reason of it; and thus did a man recount it to him:
- 11. 'He who was thus foretold by the Brâmans, 'he will either attain supreme wisdom or the empire of the earth,"--it is he, the son of the king of the Sâkyas, who is the ascetic whom the people are gazing at.'
- 12. The king, having heard this and perceived its meaning with his mind, thus at once spoke to that man: 'Let it be known whither he is going;' and the man, receiving the command, followed the prince.
- 13. With unrestless eyes, seeing only a yoke's length before him, with his voice hushed, and his walk slow and measured, he, the noblest of mendicants, went begging alms, keeping his limbs and his wandering thoughts under control.
- 14. Having received such alms as were offered, he retired to a lonely cascade of the mountain; and having eaten it there in the fitting manner, he ascended the mountain Pâmdava.
- 15. In that wood, thickly filled with lodhra trees, having its thickets resonant with the notes of the peacocks, he the sun of mankind shone, wearing his red dress, like the morning sun above the eastern mountain.
- 16. That royal attendant, having thus watched him there, related it all to the king Srenya; and the king, when he heard it, in his deep veneration, started himself to go thither with a modest retinue.
- 17. He who was like the Pâmdavas in heroism, and like a mountain in stature, ascended Pâmdava, that noblest of mountains,—a crown-wearer, of lion-like gait, a lion among men, as a maned lion ascends a mountain.
- 18. There he beheld the Bodhisattva, resplendent as he sat on his hams, with subdued senses, as if the mountain were moving, and he himself were a peak thereof,—like the moon rising from the top of a cloud.
- 19. Him, distinguished by his beauty of form and perfect tranquillity as the very creation of Religion herself,—filled with astonishment and affectionate regard the king of men approached, as Indra the self-existent (Brahman).
- 20. He, the chief of the courteous, having courteously drawn nigh to him, inquired as to the equilibrium of his bodily humours; and the other with equal gentleness assured the king of his health of mind and freedom from all ailments.
- 21. Then the king sat down on the clean surface of the rock, dark blue like an elephant's ear; and being seated, with the other's assent, he thus spoke, desiring to know his state of mind:
- 22. I have a strong friendship with thy family, come down by inheritance and well proved; since from this a desire to speak to thee, my son, has arisen in me, therefore listen to my words of affection.
- 23. When I consider thy widespread race, beginning with the sun, thy fresh youth, and thy conspicuous beauty,--whence comes this resolve of thine so out of all harmony with the rest, set wholly on a mendicant's life, not on a kingdom?
- 24. 'Thy limbs are worthy of red sandal-wood [Lohitakandana may mean 'saffron.'] perfumes,—they do not deserve the rough contact of red cloth; this hand is fit to protect subjects, it deserves not to hold food given by another.
- 25. 'If therefore, gentle youth, through thy love for thy father thou desirest not thy paternal kingdom in thy generosity,--then at any rate thy choice must not be excused,--accepting forthwith one half of my kingdom.
- 26. If thou actest thus there will be no violence shown to thine own people, and by the mere lapse of time imperial power at last flies for refuge to the tranquil mind; therefore be pleased to do me a kindness,—the prosperity of the good becomes very powerful, when aided by the good
- 27. 'But if from thy pride of race thou dost not now feel confidence in me, then plunge with thy arrows into countless armies, and with me as thy ally seek to conquer thy foes.
- 28. 'Choose thou therefore one of these ends, pursue according to rule religious merit, wealth, and pleasure; for these, love and the rest, in reverse order, are the three objects in life; when men die they pass into dissolution as far as regards this world.
- 29. 'That which is pleasure when it has overpowered wealth and merit, is wealth when it has conquered merit and pleasure; so too it is merit, when pleasure and wealth fall into abeyance; but all would have to be alike abandoned, if thy desired end were obtained.
- 30. 'Do thou therefore by pursuing the three objects of life, cause this beauty of thine to bear its fruit; they say that when the attainment of religion, wealth, and pleasure is complete in all its parts, then the end of man is complete.
- 31. 'Do not thou let these two brawny arms lie useless which are worthy to draw the bow; they are well fitted like Mândhâtri's to conquer the three worlds, much more the earth.
- 32. 'I speak this to you out of affection, -- not through love of dominion or through astonishment; beholding this

- mendicant-dress of thine, I am filled with compassion and I shed tears.
- 33. 'O thou who desirest the mendicant's stage of life. enjoy pleasures now; in due time, O thou lover of religion, thou shalt practise religion;--ere old age comes on and overcomes this thy beauty, well worthy of thy illustrious race.
- 34. The old man can obtain merit by religion; old age is helpless for the enjoyment of pleasures; therefore they say that pleasures belong to the young man, wealth to the middle-aged, and religion to the old.
- 35. 'Youth in this present world is the enemy of religion and wealth,--since pleasures, however we guard them, are hard to hold, therefore, wherever pleasures are to be found, there they seize them.
- 36. 'Old age is prone to reflection, it is grave and intent on remaining quiet; it attains unimpassionedness with but little effort, unavoidably, and for very shame.
- 37. Therefore having passed through the deceptive period of youth, fickle, intent on external objects, heedless, impatient, not looking at the distance, they take breath like men who have escaped safe through a forest.
- 38. Let therefore this fickle time of youth first pass by, reckless and giddy,--our early years are the mark for pleasure, they cannot be kept from the power of the senses.
- 39. Or if religion is really thy one aim, then offer sacrifices,-this is thy family's immemorial custom,-climbing to highest heaven by sacrifices, even Indra, the lord of the winds, went thus to highest heaven.
- 40. 'With their arms pressed by golden bracelets, and their variegated diadems resplendent with the light of gems, royal sages have reached the same goal by sacrifices which great sages reached by self-mortification.'
- 41. Thus spoke the monarch of the Magadhas, who spoke well and strongly like Indra [Valabhid, 'the smiter of the demon Vala.']; but having heard it, the prince did not falter, (firm) like the mountain Kailâsa, having its many summits variegated (with lines of metals).

- 1. Being thus addressed by the monarch of the Magadhas, in a hostile speech with a friendly face, self-possessed, unchanged, pure by family and personal purity, the son of Suddhodana thus made answer:
- This is not to be called a strange thing for thee, born as thou art in the great family whose ensign is the lion-that by thee of pure conduct, O, lover of thy friends, this line of conduct should be adopted towards him who stands as one of thy friends.
- 3. 'Amongst the bad a friendship, worthy of their family, ceases to continue (and fades) like prosperity among the fainthearted; it is only the good who keep increasing the old friendship of their ancestors by a new succession of friendly
- 4. 'But those men who act unchangingly towards their friends in reverses of fortune, I esteem in my heart as true friends; who is not the friend of the prosperous man in his times of abundance?
- 5. 'So those who, having obtained riches in the world, employ them for the sake of their friends and religion,—their wealth has real solidity, and when it perishes it produces no pain at the end.
- 6. 'This thy determination concerning me, O king, is prompted by pure generosity and friendship; I will meet thee courteously with simple friendship; I would not utter aught else in my reply.
- 7. I, having experienced the fear of old age and death, fly to this path of religion in my desire for liberation; leaving behind my dear kindred with tears in their faces,--still more then those pleasures which are the causes of evil.
- 8. 'I am not so afraid even of serpents nor of thunderbolts falling from heaven, nor of flames blown together by the wind, as I am afraid of these worldly objects.
- 9. 'These transient pleasures,--the robbers of our happiness and our wealth, and which float empty and like illusions through the world,--infatuate men's minds even when they are only hoped for,--still more when they take up their abode in the soul.
- 10. 'The victims of pleasure attain not to happiness even in the heaven of the gods, still less in the world of mortals; he who is athirst is never satisfied with pleasures, as the fire, the friend of the wind, with fuel.
- 11. 'There is no calamity in the world like pleasures,-people are devoted to them through delusion; when he once
  knows the truth and so fears evil, what wise man would of his
  own choice desire evil?
- 12. 'When they have obtained all the earth girdled by the sea, kings wish to conquer the other side of the great ocean: mankind are never satiated with pleasures, as the ocean with the waters that fall into it
- 13. 'When it had rained a golden shower from heaven, and when he had conquered the continents and the four oceans, and had even obtained the half of Sakra's throne[1], Mândhâtri was still unsatisfied with worldly objects.

- 14. 'Though he had enjoyed the kingdom of the gods in heaven, when Indra had concealed himself through fear of Vritra, and though in his pride he had made the great Rishis[2] bear his litter'. Nahusha fell, unsatisfied with pleasures.
- 15. 'King (Purûravas) the son of Idâ, having penetrated into the furthest heaven, and brought the goddess Urvasî into his power,--when he wished in his greed to take away gold from the Rishis,--being unsatisfied with pleasures, fell into destruction.
- 16. 'Who would put his trust in these worldly objects, whether in heaven or in earth, unsettled as to lot or family,-which passed from Bali to Indra, and from Indra to Nahusha, and then again from Nahusha back to Indra?
- 17. 'Who would seek these enemies bearing the name of pleasures, by whom even those sages have been overcome, who were devoted to other pursuits, whose only clothes were rags, whose food was roots, fruits, and water, and who wore their twisted locks as long as snakes?
- 18. Those pleasures for whose sake even Ugrâyudha, armed terribly as he was with his weapon, found death at Bhîshma's hands,--is not the mere thought of them unlucky and fatal,--still more the thought of the irreligious whose lives are spent in their service?
- 19. 'Who that considers the paltry flavour of worldly objects,--the very height of union being only insatiety,--the blame of the virtuous, and the certain sin,--has ever drawn near this poison which is called pleasure?
- 20. 'When they hear of the miseries of those who are intent on pleasure and are devoted to worldly pursuits, such as agriculture and the rest, and the self-content of those who are careless of pleasure, it well befits the self-controlled to fling it away.
- 21. 'Success in pleasure is to be considered a misery in the man of pleasure, for he becomes intoxicated when his desired pleasures are attained; through intoxication he does what should not be done, not what should be done; and being wounded thereby he falls into a miserable end.
- 22. 'These pleasures which are gained and kept by toil,--which after deceiving leave you and return whence they came,--these pleasures which are but borrowed for a time, what man of self-control. if he is wise, would delight in them?
- 23. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like a torch of hay,—which excite thirst when you seek them and when you grasp them, and which they who abandon not keep only as misery?
- 24. Those men of no self-control who are bitten by them in their hearts, fall into ruin and attain not bliss,—what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like an angry, cruel serpent?
- 25. 'Even if they enjoy them men are not satisfied, like dogs famishing with hunger over a bone,—what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like a skeleton composed of dry bones?
- 26. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like flesh that has been flung away, and which produce misery by their being held only in common with kings, thieves, water, and fire?
- 27. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which, like the senses, are destructive, and which bring calamity on every hand to those who abide in them, from the side of friends even more than from open enemies?
- 28. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like the fruit that grows on the top of a tree,--which those who would leap up to reach fall down upon a mountain or into a forest, waters, or the ocean?
- 29. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like snatching up a hot coal,--men never attain happiness, however they pursue them, increase them, or guard them?
- 30. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures, which are like the enjoyments in a dream,-which are gained by their recipients after manifold pilgrimages and labours, and then perish in a moment?
- 31. What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which are like a spear, sword, or club,—for the sake of which the Kurus, the Vrishnis and the Amdhakas, the Maithilas and the Damdakas suffered destruction?
- 32. 'What man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which dissolve friendships and for the sake of which the two Asuras Sumda and Upasumda perished, victims engaged in mutual enmity?
- 33. 'None, however their intellect is blinded with pleasure, give themselves up, as in compassion, to ravenous beasts [The text is corrupt here; probably kravyātsu nātmāname.]; so what man of self-control could find satisfaction in those pleasures which are disastrous and constant enemies?
- 34. 'He whose intellect is blinded with pleasure does pitiable things; he incurs calamities, such as death, bonds, and the like; the wretch, who is the miserable slave of hope for the sake of pleasure, well deserves the pain of death even in the world of the living.

- 35. 'Deer are lured to their destruction by songs, insects for the sake of the brightness fly into the fire, the fish greedy for the flesh swallows the iron hook,--therefore worldly objects produce misery as their end.
- 36. 'As for the common opinion, "pleasures are enjoyments," none of them when examined are worthy of being enjoyed; fine garments and the rest are only the accessories of things,--they are to be regarded as merely the remedies for pain.
- 37. 'Water is desired for allaying thirst; food in the same way for removing hunger; a house for keeping off the wind, the heat of the sun, and the rain; and dress for keeping off the cold and to cover one's nakedness.
- 38. 'So too a bed is for removing drowsiness; a carriage for remedying the fatigue of a journey; a seat for alleviating the pain of standing; so bathing as a means for washing, health, and strength.
- 39. 'External objects therefore are to human beings means for remedying pain, not in themselves sources of enjoyment; what wise man would allow that he enjoys those delights which are only used as remedial?
- 40. 'He who, when burned with the heat of bilious fever, maintains that cold appliances are an enjoyment, when he is only engaged in alleviating pain,—he indeed might give the name of enjoyment to pleasures.
- 41. 'Since variableness is found in all pleasures, I cannot apply to them the name of enjoyment; the very conditions which mark pleasure, bring also in its turn pain.
- 42. 'Heavy garments and fragrant aloe-wood are pleasant in the cold, but an annoyance in the heat; and the moonbeams and sandal-wood are pleasant in the heat, but a pain in the cold.
- 43. 'Since the well-known opposite pairs, such as gain and loss and the rest, are inseparably connected with everything in this world,--therefore no man is invariably happy on the earth nor invariably wretched.
- 44. 'When I see how the nature of pleasure and pain are mixed, I consider royalty and slavery as the same; a king does not always smile, nor is a slave always in pain.
- 45. 'Since to be a king involves a wider range of command, therefore the pains of a king are great; for a king is like a peg [Cf. Isaiah 22.23, 24 (Hebrew yâhêr).],--he endures trouble for the sake of the world.
- 46. 'A king is unfortunate, if he places his trust in his royalty which is apt to desert and loves crooked turns; and on the other hand, if he does not trust in it, then what can be the happiness of a timid king?
- 47. 'And since after even conquering the whole earth, one city only can serve as a dwelling-place, and even there only one house can be inhabited, is not royalty mere labour for others?
- 48. 'And even in royal clothing one pair of garments is all he needs, and just enough food to keep off hunger; so only one bed, and only one seat; all a king's other distinctions are only for pride
- 49. 'And if all these fruits are desired for the sake of satisfaction, I can be satisfied without a kingdom; and if a man is once satisfied in this world, are not all distinctions indistinguishable?
- 50. 'He then who has attained the auspicious road to happiness is not to be deceived in regard to pleasures; remembering thy professed friendship, tell me again and again, do they keep their promise?
- 51. 'I have not repaired to the forest through anger, nor because my diadem has been dashed down by an enemy's arrows; nor have I set my desires on loftier objects[1], that I thus refuse thy proposal.
- 52. 'Only he who, having once let go a malignant incensed serpent, or a blazing hay-torch all on fire, would strive again to seize it, would ever seek pleasures again after having once abandoned them.
- 53. 'Only he who, though seeing, would envy the blind, though free the bound, though wealthy the destitute, though sound in his reason the maniac,--only he, I say, would envy one who is devoted to worldly objects.
- 54. 'He who lives on alms, my good friend, is not to be pitied, having gained his end and being set on escaping the fear of old age and death; he has here the best happiness, perfect calm, and hereafter all pains are for him abolished.
- 55. 'But he is to be pitied who is overpowered by thirst though set in the midst of great wealth,--who attains not the happiness of calm here, while pain has to be experienced hereafter.
- 56. 'Thus to speak to me is well worthy of thy character, thy mode of life, and thy family; and to carry out my resolve is also befitting my character, my mode of life, and my family.
- 57. If have been wounded by the enjoyment of the world, and I have come out longing to obtain peace; I would not accept an empire free from all ill even in the third heaven, how much less amongst men?
- 58. 'But as for what thou saidst to me, O king, that the universal pursuit of the three objects is the supreme end of man,--and thou saidst that what I regard as the desirable is misery,--thy three objects are perishable and also unsatisfying.

- 59. 'But that world in which there is no old age nor fear, no birth, nor death, nor anxieties, that alone I consider the highest end of man, where there is no ever-renewed action.
- 60. 'And as for what thou saidst "wait till old age comes, for youth is ever subject to change;"--this want of decision is itself uncertain; for age too can be irresolute and youth can be firm
- 61. 'But since Fate is so well skilled in its art as to draw the world in all its various ages into its power,--how shall the wise man, who desires tranquillity, wait for old age, when he knows not when the time of death will be?
- 62. 'When death stands ready like a hunter, with old age as his weapon, and diseases scattered about as his arrows, smiting down living creatures who fly like deer to the forest of destiny, what desire can there be in any one for length of life?
- 63. 'It well befits the youthful son or the old man or the child so to act with all promptitude that they may choose the action of the religious man whose soul is all mercy,--nay, better still, his inactivity.
- 64. 'And as for what thou saidst, "be diligent in sacrifices for religion, such as are worthy of thy race and bring a glorious fruit,"--honour to such sacrifices! I desire not that fruit which is sought by causing pain to others!
- 65. To kill a helpless victim through a wish for future reward,--it would be an unseemly action for a merciful-hearted good man, even if the reward of the sacrifice were eternal; but what if, after all, it is subject to decay?
- 66. 'And even if true religion did not consist in quite another rule of conduct, by self-restraint, moral practice and a total absence of passion,--still it would not be seemly to follow the rule of sacrifice, where the highest reward is described as attained only by slaughter.
- 67. 'Even that happiness which comes to a man, while he stays in this world, through the injury of another, is hateful to the wise compassionate heart; how much more if it be something beyond our sight in another life?
- 68. 'I am not to be lured into a course of action for future reward,--my mind does not delight, O king, in future births; these actions are uncertain and wavering in their direction, like plants beaten by the rain from a cloud.
- 69. 'I have come here with a wish to see next the seer Arâda who proclaims liberation; I start this very day,--happiness be to thee, O king; forgive my words which may seem harsh through their absolute freedom from passion.
- 70. [This verse is obscure.] Now therefore do thou guard (the world) like Indra in heaven; guard it continually like the sun by thy excellencies; guard its best happiness here; guard the earth; guard life by the noble; guard the sons of the good; guard thy roval powers. O king: and guard thine own religion.
- 71. 'As in the midst of a sudden catastrophe arising from the flame of (fire), the enemy of cold, a bird, to deliver its body, betakes itself to the enemy of fire (water),—so do thou, when occasion calls, betake thyself, to deliver thy mind, to those who will destroy the enemies of thy home [perhaps 'nirvâna.']
- 72. The king himself, folding his hands, with a sudden longing come upon him, replied, 'Thou art obtaining thy desire without hindrance; when thou hast at last accomplished all that thou hast to do, thou shalt show hereafter thy favour towards me.'
- 73. Having given his firm promise to the monarch, he proceeded to the Vaisvamtara hermitage; and, after watching him with astonishment, as he wandered on in his course, the king and his courtiers returned to the mountain (of Râgagiri).

- 1. Then the moon of the Ikshvåku race turned towards the hermitage of the sage Arâda\* of tranquil life,--as it were, doing honour to it by his beauty. [\* Arâda holds an early form of the Sâmkhya doctrine.]
- 2. He drew near, on being addressed in a loud voice 'Welcome' by the kinsman of Kâlâma, as he saw him from afar.
- 3. They, having mutually asked after each other's health as was fitting, sat down in a clean place on two pure wooden seats.
- 4. The best of sages, having seen the prince seated, and as it were drinking in the sight of him with eyes opened wide in reverence, thus addressed him:
- 5. 'I know, gentle youth, how thou hast come forth from thy home, having severed the bond of affection, as a wild elephant its cord.
- In every way thy mind is stedfast and wise, who hast come here after abandoning royal luxury like a creeper-plant with poisonous fruit.
- 7. It is no marvel that kings have retired to the forest who have grown old in years, having given up their glory to their children, like a garland left behind after being used.
- 8. 'But this is to me indeed a marvel that thou art come hither in life's fresh prime, set in the open field of the world's enjoyments, ere thou hast as yet tasted of their happiness.
- 9. Verily thou art a worthy vessel to receive this highest religion; having mastered it with full knowledge, cross at once over the sea of misery.
- 10. 'Though the doctrine is generally efficient only after a time, when the student has been thoroughly tested, thou art

- easy for me to examine from thy depth of character and determination.'
- 11. The prince, having heard these words of Arâda, was filled with great pleasure and thus made reply:
- 12. 'This extreme kindliness which thou showest to me, calmly passionless as thou art, makes me, imperfect as I am, seem even already to have attained perfection.
- 13. If feel at the sight of thee like one longing to see who finds a light,--like one wishing to journey, a guide,--or like one wishing to cross, a boat.
- 14. 'Wilt thou therefore deign to tell me that secret, if thou thinkest it should be told, whereby thy servant may be delivered from old age, death, and disease.'
- 15. Arâda, thus impelled by the noble nature of the prince, declared in a concise form the tenets of his doctrine:
- 16. 'O best of hearers, hear this our firmly-settled theory, how our mortal existence arises and how it revolves.
- 17. "The evolvent" and "the evolute," birth, old age, and death,--know that this has been called the reality by us; do thou receive our words, O thou who art stedfast in thy nature.
- 18. 'But know, O thou who art deep in the search into the nature of things, that the five elements, egoism, intellect, and "the unmanifested" are the "evolvents;"

  19. 'But know that the "evolutes" consist of intellect,
- 19. 'But know that the "evolutes" consist of intellect, external objects, the senses, and the hands, feet, voice, anus, and generative organ, and also the mind.
- 20. 'There is also a something which bears the name kshetragna, from its knowledge of this "field" (kshetra or the body); and those who investigate the soul call the soul kshetragna.
- 21. 'Kapila with his disciple became the illuminated,--such is the tradition; and he, as the illuminated, with his son is now called here Pragapati.
- 22. 'That which is born and grows old and is bound and dies,--is to be known as "the manifested," and "the unmanifested" is to be distinguished by its contrariety.
- 23. Ignorance, the merit or demerit of former actions, and desire are to be known as the causes of mundane existence; he who abides in the midst of this triad does not attain to the truth of things,--
- 24. 'From mistake, egoism, confusion, fluctuation, indiscrimination, false means, inordinate attachment, and gravitation.
- 25. 'Now "mistake" acts in a contrary manner, it does wrongly what it should do, and what it should think it thinks wrongly.
- 26. "I say," "I know," "I go," "I am firmly fixed," it is thus that "egoism" shows itself here, O thou who art free from all egoism.
- 27. 'That state of mind is called "confusion," O thou who art all unconfused, which views under one nature, massed like a lump of clay, objects that thus become confused in their nature.
- 28. 'That state of mind which says that this mind, intellect, and these actions are the same as "I," and that which says that all this aggregate is the same as "I,"--is called "fluctuation."
- 29. That state of mind is called "indiscrimination," O thou who art discriminating, which thinks there is no difference between the illuminated and the unwise, and between the different evolvents
- 30. 'Uttering "namas" and "vashat," sprinkling water upon sacrifices, etc. with or without the recital of Vedic hymns, and such like rites,--these are declared by the wise to be "false means," O thou who art well skilled in true means.
- 31. That is called "inordinate attachment," by which the fool is entangled in external objects through his mind, speech, actions, and thoughts, O thou who hast shaken thyself free from all attachments.
- 32. The misery which a man imagines by the ideas "This is mine," "I am connected with this," is to be recognised as "gravitation,"--by this a man is borne downwards into new births.
- 33. 'Thus Ignorance, O ye wise, being fivefold in its character, energises towards torpor, delusion, the great delusion, and the two kinds of darkness.
- 34. 'Know, that among these indolence is "torpor," death and birth are "delusion," and be it clearly understood, O undeluded one, that desire is the "great delusion."
- 35. 'Since by it even the higher beings are deluded, therefore, O hero, is this called the "great delusion."
- 36. 'They define anger, O thou angerless one, as "darkness;" and despondency, O undesponding, they pronounce to be the "blind darkness."
- 37. 'The child, entangled in this fivefold ignorance, is effused in his different births in a world abounding with misery.
- 38. He wanders about in the world of embodied existence, thinking that I am the seer, and the hearer, and the thinker, the effect and the cause.
- 39. 'Through these causes, O wise prince, the stream of "torpor" is set in motion; be pleased to consider that in the absence of the cause there is the absence of the effect.

- 40. 'Let the wise man who has right views know these four things, O thou who desirest liberation, the illuminated and the unilluminated, the manifested and the unmanifested.
- 41. 'The soul, having once learned to distinguish these four properly, having abandoned all (ideas of) straightness or quickness [Text may be corrupt here.], attains to the immortal sphere.
- 42. 'For this reason the Brâmans in the world, discoursing on the supreme Brahman, practise here a rigorous course of sacred study and let other Brâmans live with them to follow it also.'
- 43. The prince, having heard this discourse from the seer, asked concerning the means and the final state.
- 44. 'Wilt thou please to explain to me how, how far, and where this life of sacred study is to be led, and the limit of this course of life [Dharma.]?'
- 45. Then Arâda, according to his doctrine, declared to him in another way that course of life clearly and succinctly.
- 46. 'The devotee, in the beginning, having left his house, and assumed the signs of the mendicant, goes on, following a rule of conduct which extends to the whole life.
- 47. 'Cultivating absolute content with any alms from any person, he carries out his lonely life, indifferent to all feelings, meditating on the holy books, and satisfied in himself.
- 48. 'Then having seen how fear arises from passion and the highest happiness from the absence of passion, he strives, by restraining all the senses, to attain to tranquillity of mind.
- 49. 'Then he reaches the first stage of contemplation, which is separated from desires, evil intentions and the like, and arises from discrimination and which involves reasoning [Cf. Yoga-sûtras 1, 42.].
- 50. 'And having obtained this ecstatic contemplation, and reasoning on various objects, the childish mind is carried away by the possession of the new unknown ecstasy.
- 51. With a tranquillity of this kind, which disdains desire or dislike, he reaches the world of Brahman, deceived by the delight.
- 52. 'But the wise man, knowing that these reasonings bewilder the mind, reaches a (second) stage of contemplation separate from this, which has its own pleasure and ecstasy.
- 53. 'And he who, carried away by this pleasure, sees no further distinction, obtains a dwelling full of light, even amongst the Âbhâsura deities.
- 54. But he who separates his mind from this pleasure and ecstasy, reaches the third stage of contemplation ecstatic but without pleasure.
- 55. 'Upon this stage some teachers make their stand, thinking that it is indeed liberation, since pleasure and pain have been left behind and there is no exercise of the intellect.
- 56. 'But he who, immersed in this ecstasy, strives not for a further distinction, obtains an ecstasy in common with the Subhakritsna deities.
- 57. 'But he who, having attained such a bliss desires it not but despises it, obtains the fourth stage of contemplation which is separate from all pleasure or pain.
- 58. 'The fruit of this contemplation which is on an equality with the Vrihatphala deities, those who investigate the great wisdom call the Vrihatphala [The great fruit.].
- 59. 'But rising beyond this contemplation, having seen the imperfections of all embodied souls, the wise man climbs to a yet higher wisdom in order to abolish all body.
- 60. Then, having abandoned this contemplation, being resolved to find a further distinction, he becomes as disgusted with form itself as he who knows the real is with pleasures.
- 61. 'First he makes use of all the apertures of his body; and next he exerts his will to experience a feeling of void space even in the solid parts [An obscure verse.].
- 62. 'But another wise man, having contracted his soul which is by nature extended everywhere like the ether,--as he gazes ever further on, detects a yet higher distinction.
- 63. 'Another one of those who are profoundly versed in the supreme Self, having abolished himself by himself, sees that nothing exists and is called a Nihilist.
- 64. 'Then like the Munga-reed's stalk from its sheath or the bird from its cage, the soul, escaped from the body, is declared to be "liberated."
- 65. 'This is that supreme Brahman, constant, eternal, and without distinctive signs; which the wise who know reality declare to be liberation.
- 66. 'Thus have I shown to thee the means and liberation; if thou hast understood and approved it, then act accordingly.
- 67. 'Gaigîshavya and Ganaka, and the aged Parâsara, by following this path, were liberated, and so were others who sought liberation.'
- 68. The prince having not accepted his words but having pondered them, filled with the force of his former arguments, thus made answer:
- 69. Thave heard this thy doctrine, subtil and pre-eminently auspicious, but I hold that it cannot be final, because it does not teach us how to abandon this soul itself in the various bodies.
- 70. 'For I consider that the embodied soul, though freed from the evolutes and the evolvents, is still subject to the condition of birth and has the condition of a seed.

- 71. 'Even though the pure soul is declared to be "liberated," yet as long as the soul remains there can be no absolute abandonment of it.
- 72. 'If we abandon successively all this triad, yet "distinction" is still perceived; as long as the soul itself continues, there this triad continues in a subtil form.
- 73. 'It is held (by some) that this is liberation, because the "imperfections" are so attenuated, and the thinking power is inactive, and the term of existence is so prolonged;
- 74. 'But as for this supposed abandonment of the principle of egoism,--as long as the soul continues, there is no real abandonment of egoism.
- 75. 'The soul does not become free from qualities as long as it is not released from number and the rest; therefore, as long as there is no freedom from qualities, there is no liberation declared for it.
- 76. There is no real separation of the qualities and their subject; for fire cannot be conceived, apart from its form and heat.
- 77. 'Before the body there will be nothing embodied, so before the qualities there will be no subject; how, if it was originally free, could the soul ever become bound?
- 78. 'The body-knower (the soul) which is unembodied, must be either knowing or unknowing; if it is knowing, there must be some object to be known, and if there is this object, it is not liberated.
- 79. 'Or if the soul is declared to be unknowing, then of what use to you is this imagined soul? Even without such a soul, the existence of the absence of knowledge is notorious as, for instance, in a log of wood or a wall.
- 80. 'And since each successive abandonment is held to be still accompanied by qualities, I maintain that the absolute attainment of our end can only be found in the abandonment of everything.'
- 81. Thus did he remain unsatisfied after he had heard the doctrine of Arâda; then having decided it to be incomplete, he turned away.
- 82. Seeking to know the true distinction, he went to the hermitage of Udraka [or Rudraka.], but he gained no clear understanding from his treatment of the soul.
- 83. For the sage Udraka, having learned the inherent imperfections of the name and the thing named, took refuge in a theory beyond Nihilism, which maintained a name and a non-name.
- 84. And since even a name and a non-name were substrata, however subtil, he went even further still and found his restlessness set at rest in the idea that there is no named and no un-named:
- 85. And because the intellect rested there, not proceeding any further,—it became very subtil, and there was no such thing as un-named nor as named.
- 86. But because, even when it has reached this goal it yet returns again to the world, therefore the Bodhisattva, seeking something beyond, left Udraka.
- 87. Having quitted his hermitage, fully resolved in his purpose, and seeking final bliss, he next visited the hermitage, called a city, of the royal sage Gaya.
- 88. Then on the pure bank of the Nairanganâ the saint whose every effort was pure fixed his dwelling, bent as he was on a lonely habitation.
- 89. Five mendicants, desiring liberation, came up to him when they beheld him there, just as the objects of the senses come up to a percipient who has gained wealth and health by his previous merit.
- 90. Being honoured by these disciples who were dwelling in that family, as they bowed reverently with their bodies bent low in humility, as the mind is honoured by the restless senses.
- 91. And thinking, 'this may be the means of abolishing birth and death,' he at once commenced a series of difficult austerities by fasting.
- 92. For six years, vainly trying to attain merit\*, he practised self-mortification, performing many rules of abstinence, hard for a man to carry out. [\* This is the Tibetan reading (las•ni thob•bzhed lo drug•tu, 'wishing to obtain (the fruits of good) works, during six years. 'H.W.).]
- 93. At the hours for eating, he, longing to cross the world whose farther shore is so difficult to reach, broke his vow with single jujube fruits, sesame seeds, and rice.
- 94. But the emaciation which was produced in his body by that asceticism, became positive fatness through the splendour which invested him.
- 95. Though thin, yet with his glory and his beauty unimpaired, he caused gladness to other eyes, as the autumnal moon in the beginning of her bright fortnight gladdens the lotuses.
- 96. Having only skin and bone remaining, with his fat, flesh and blood entirely wasted, yet, though diminished, he still shone with undiminished grandeur like the ocean.
- 97. Then the seer, having his body evidently emaciated to no purpose in a cruel self-mortification;--dreading continued existence, thus reflected in his longing to become a Buddha:
- 98. 'This is not the way to passionlessness, nor to perfect knowledge, nor to liberation; that was certainly the true way which I found at the root of the Gambu [The rose apple.] tree.

- 99. 'But that cannot be attained by one who has lost his strength,'--so resuming his care for his body, he next pondered thus, how best to increase his bodily vigour:
- 100. 'Wearied with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, with his mind no longer self-possessed through fatigue, how should one who is not absolutely calm reach the end which is to be attained by his mind?
- 101. 'True calm is properly obtained by the constant satisfaction of the senses; the mind's self-possession is only obtained by the senses being perfectly satisfied.
- 102. 'True meditation is produced in him whose mind is self-possessed and at rest,--to him whose thoughts are engaged in meditation the exercise of perfect contemplation begins at once.
- 103. 'By contemplation are obtained those conditions through which is eventually gained that supreme calm, undecaying, immortal state, which is so hard to be reached.'
- 104. Having thus resolved, 'this means is based upon eating food,' the wise seer of unbounded wisdom, having made up his mind to accept the continuance of life,
- 105. And having bathed, thin as he was, slowly came up the bank of the Nairangana, supported as by a hand by the trees on the shore, which bent down the ends of their branches in adoration.
- 106. Now at that time Nandabalâ, the daughter of the leader of the herdsmen, impelled by the gods, with a sudden joy risen in her heart, had just come near,
- 107. Her arm gay with a white shell, and wearing a dark blue woollen cloth, like the river Yamunâ, with its dark blue water and its wreath of foam.
- 108. She, having her joy increased by her faith, with her lotus-like eyes opened wide, bowed down before him and persuaded him to take some milk.
- 109. By partaking that food having made her obtain the full reward of her birth, he himself became capable of gaining the highest knowledge, all his six senses being now satisfied,
- 110. The seer, having his body now fully robust, together with his glorious fame, one beauty and one majesty being equally spread in both, shone like the ocean and the moon [Fame is often compared for its brightness to the moon.].
- 111. Thinking that he had returned to the world the five mendicants left him, as the five elements leave the wise soul when it is liberated.
- 112. Accompanied only by his own resolve, having fixed his mind on the attainment of perfect knowledge, he went to the root of an Asvattha tree [Ficus religiosa or pipul tree.], where the surface of the ground was covered with young grass.
- the surface of the ground was covered with young grass.

  113. Then Kâla [He is the Nâga king, Gâtaka I, 72.], the best of serpents, whose majesty was like the lord of elephants, having been awakened by the unparalleled sound of his feet, uttered this praise of the great sage, being sure that he was on the point of attaining perfect knowledge:
- 114. 'Inasmuch as the earth, pressed down by thy feet, O sage, resounds repeatedly, and inasmuch as thy splendour shines forth like the sun, thou shalt assuredly to-day enjoy the desired fruit.
- 115. 'Inasmuch as lines of birds fluttering in the sky offer the reverential salutation, O lotus-eyed one, and inasmuch as gentle breezes blow in the sky, thou shalt certainly to-day become the Buddha'
- 116. Being thus praised by the best of serpents, and having taken some pure grass from a grasscutter, he, having made his resolution, sat down to obtain perfect knowledge at the foot of the great holy tree.
- 117. Then he sat down on his hams in a posture, immovably firm and with his limbs gathered into a mass like a sleeping serpent's hood, exclaiming, 'I will not rise from this position on the earth until I have obtained my utmost aim.'
- 118. Then the dwellers in heaven burst into unequalled joy; the herds of beasts and the birds uttered no cry; the trees moved by the wind made no sound, when the holy one took his seat firm in his resolve.

- 1. When the great sage, sprung from a line of royal sages, sat down there with his soul fully resolved to obtain the highest knowledge, the whole world rejoiced; but Mâra, the enemy of the good law, was afraid.
- He whom they call in the world Kâmadeva, the owner of the various weapons, the flower-arrowed, the lord of the course of desire,—it is he whom they also style Mâra the enemy of liberation.
- 3. His three sons, Confusion, Gaiety, and Pride, and his three daughters, Lust, Delight, and Thirst, asked of him the reason of his despondency, and he thus made answer unto them:
- 4. This sage, wearing the armour of resolution, and having drawn the arrow of wisdom with the barb of truth, sits yonder intending to conquer my realms,--hence is this despondency of my mind.
- 5. If he succeeds in overcoming me and proclaims to the world the path of final bliss, all this my realm will to-day become empty, as did that of the disembodied lord when he violated the rules of his station [This probably refers to the

legend of Nimi-videha, see Vishnu Pur. IV. 5; it might be 'the king of the Videhas.' There may be also a secondary allusion to the legend of Ananga and Siva.

- 6. 'While, therefore, he stands within my reach and while his spiritual eyesight is not yet attained, I will assail him to break his vow as the swollen might of a river assails a dam.'
- 7. Then having seized his Nower-made bow and his five infatuating arrows, he drew near to the root of the Asyattha tree with his children, he the great disturber of the minds of living beings.
- 8. Having fixed his left hand on the end of the barb and playing with the arrow, Mâra thus addressed the calm seer as he sat on his seat, preparing to cross to the further side of the ocean of existence:
- 9. 'Up, up, O thou Kshatriya, afraid of death! follow thine own duty and abandon this law of liberation! and having conquered the lower worlds by thy arrows, proceed to gain the higher worlds of Indra.
- 10. That is a glorious path to travel, which has been followed by former leaders of men; this mendicant life is illsuited for one born in the noble family of a royal sage to follow.
- 11. 'But if thou wilt not rise, strong in thy purpose,--then be firm if thou wilt and quit not thy resolve,--this arrow is uplifted by me,--it is the very one which was shot against Sûryaka\*, the enemy of the fish. [\* The sun, alluding to his amour with Vadavā. (The lake is caled vipannamînam in Ritusamhâra I, 20.)]
- 12. 'So too, I think, when somewhat probed by this weapon, even the son of Idâ, the grandson of the moon, became mad; and Sâmtanu\* also lost his self-control,--how much more then one of feebler powers now that the age has grown degenerate? [\* probably Vikitravîrya the grandson of Samtanu, see Vishnu Pur. IV, 20]
- 13. 'Therefore quickly rise up and come to thyself,--for this arrow is ready, darting out its tongue, which I do not launch even against the kakravâka birds, tenderly attached as they are and well deserving the name of lovers.'
- 14. But when, even though thus addressed, the Sâkya saint unheeding did not change his posture, then Mâra discharged his arrow at him, setting in front of him his daughters and his sons
- 15. But even when that arrow was shot he gave no heed and swerved not from his firmness; and Mâra, beholding him thus, sank down, and slowly thus spoke, full of thought:
- 16. 'He does not even notice that arrow by which the god Sambhu was pierced with love for the daughter of the mountain and shaken in his vow; can he be destitute of all feeling? is not this that very arrow?
- 17. 'He is not worthy of my flower-shaft, nor my arrow "gladdener," nor the sending of my daughter Rati (to tempt him); he deserves the alarms and rebukes and blows from all the gathered hosts of the demons.'
- 18 Then Mâra called to mind his own army, wishing to work the overthrow of the Sâkya saint; and his followers swarmed round, wearing different forms and carrying arrows, trees, darts, clubs, and swords in their hands;
- 19. Having the faces of boars, fishes, horses, asses [donkeys], and camels, of tigers, bears, lions, and elephants,—one-eyed, many-faced, three-headed,—with protuberant bellies and speckled bellies;
- 20. Blended with goats, with knees swollen like pots, armed with tusks and with claws, carrying headless trunks in their hands, and assuming many forms, with half-mutilated faces, and with monstrous mouths;
- 21. Copper-red, covered with red spots, bearing clubs in their hands, with yellow or smoke-coloured hair, with wreaths dangling down, with long pendulous ears like elephants, clothed in leather or wearing no clothes at all:
- 22. Having half their faces white or half their bodies green,-red and smoke-coloured, yellow and black,--with arms reaching out longer than a serpent, and with girdles jingling with rattling bells.
- 23. Some were as tall as palm-trees, carrying spears,--others were of the size of children with projecting teeth, others birds with the faces of rams, others with men's bodies and cats' faces;
- 24. With dishevelled hair, or with topknots, or half-bald, with rope-garments or with head-dress all in confusion,—with triumphant faces or frowning faces,—wasting the strength or fascinating the mind.
- 25. Some as they went leaped about wildly, others danced upon one another, some sported about in the sky, others went along on the tops of the trees.
- 26. One danced, shaking a trident, another made a crash, dragging a club, another bounded for joy like a bull, another blazed out flames from every hair.
- 27. Such were the troops of demons who encircled the root of the Bodhi tree on every side, eager to seize it and to destroy it, awaiting the command of their lord.
- 28. Beholding in the first half of the night that battle of Mâra and the bull of the Sâkya race, the heavens did not shine and the earth shook and the (ten) regions of space flashed flame and roared.

- 29. A wind of intense violence blew in all directions, the stars did not shine, the moon gave no light, and a deeper darkness of night spread around, and all the oceans were agitated.
- 30. The mountain deities [This might mean simply 'the rulers of the earth.'] and the Nâgas who honoured the Law, indignant at the attack on the saint, rolling their eyes in anger against Mâra, heaved deep sighs and opened their mouths wide.
- 31. But the god-sages, the Suddhâdhivâsas, being as it were absorbed in the perfect accomplishment of the good Law, felt only a pity for Mâra in their minds and through their absolute passionlessness were unruffled by anger.
- 32. When they saw the foot of the Bodhi tree crowded with that host of Māra, intent on doing harm,—the sky was filled with the cry raised by all the virtuous beings who desired the world's liberation.
- 33. But the great sage [Buddha himself, viewing all this ab extra.] having beheld that army of Mâra thus engaged in an attack on the knower of the Law [The law of dharma.], remained untroubled and suffered no perturbation, like a lion seated in the midst of oxen.
- 34. Then Mâra commanded his excited army of demons to terrify him; and forthwith that host resolved to break down his determination with their various powers.
- 35. Some with many tongues hanging out and shaking, with sharp-pointed savage teeth and eyes like the disk of the sun, with wide-yawning mouths and upright ears like spikes,-they stood round trying to frighten him.
- 36. Before these monsters standing there, so dreadful in form and disposition, the great sage remained unalarmed and untroubled, sporting with them as if they had been only rude children.
- 37. Then one of them, with his eyes rolling wildly, lifted up a club against him; but his arm with the club was instantly paralysed, as was Indra's of old with its thunderbolt.
- 38. Some, having lifted up stones and trees, found themselves unable to throw them against the sage; down they fell, with their trees and their stones, like the roots of the Vindhya shattered by the thunderbolt.
- 39. Others, leaping up into the sky, flung rocks, trees, and axes; these remained in the sky and did not fall down, like the many-coloured rays of the evening clouds.
- 40. Another hurled upon him a mass of blazing straw as big as a mountain-peak, which, as soon as it was thrown, while it hung poised in the sky, was shattered into a hundred fragments by the sage's power.
- 41. One, rising up like the sun in full splendour, rained down from the sky a great shower of live embers, as at the end of an aeon blazing Meru showers down the pulverised scoriae of the golden valleys.
- 42. But that shower of embers full of sparks, when scattered at the foot of the Bodhi tree, became a shower of red lotuspetals through the operation of the great saint's boundless charity.
- 43. But with all these various scorching assaults on his body and his mind, and all these missiles showered down upon him, the Sâkya saint did not in the least degree move from his posture, clasping firmly his resolution as a kinsman.
- 44. Then others spat out serpents from their mouths as from old decayed trunks of trees; but, as if held fast by a charm, near him they neither breathed nor discharged venom nor moved.
- 45. Others, having become great clouds, emitting lightning and uttering the fierce roar of thunderbolts, poured a shower of stones upon that tree,--but it turned to a pleasant shower of flowers.
- 46. Another set an arrow in his bow,—there it gleamed but it did not issue forth, like the anger which falls slack in the soul of an ill-tempered impotent man.
- 47. But five arrows shot by another stood motionless and fell not, through the saint's ruling guidance,—like the five senses of him who is well experienced in the course of worldly objects and is afraid of embodied existence.
- 48. Another, full of anger, rushed towards the great saint, having seized a club with a desire to smite [Crush.] him; but he fell powerless without finding an opportunity, like mankind in the presence of faults which cause failure.
- 49. But a woman named Meghakâlî, bearing a skull in her hand, in order to infatuate the mind of the sage, flitted about unsettled and stayed not in one spot, like the mind of the fickle student over the sacred texts.
- 50. Another, fixing a kindling eye, wished to burn him with the fire of his glance like a poisonous serpent; but he saw the sage and lo! he was not there, like the votary of pleasure when true happiness is pointed out to him [He had not eyes to see the object which he looked for.].
- 51. Another, lifting up a heavy rock, wearied himself to no purpose, having his efforts baffled,—like one who wishes to obtain by bodily fatigue that condition of supreme happiness which is only to be reached by meditation and knowledge.
- 52. Others, wearing the forms of hyenas and lions, uttered loudly fierce howls, which caused all beings round to quail

- with terror, as thinking that the heavens were smitten with a thunderbolt and were bursting.
- 53. Deer and elephants uttering cries of pain ran about or lay down,—in that night as if it were day screaming birds flew around disturbed in all directions.
- 54. But amidst all these various sounds which they made, although all living creatures were shaken, the saint trembled not nor quailed, like Garuda at the noise of crows.
- 55. The less the saint feared the frightful hosts of that multitude, the more did Mâra, the enemy of the righteous, continue his attacks in grief and anger.
- 56. Then some being of invisible shape, but of preeminent glory, standing in the heavens,—beholding Mâra thus malevolent against the seer,—addressed him in a loud voice, unruffled by enmity:
- 57. 'Take not on thyself, O Mâra, this vain fatigue,--throw aside thy malevolence and retire to peace [Or 'go to thy home.']; this sage cannot be shaken by thee any more than the mighty mountain Meru by the wind.
- 58. Even fire might lose its hot nature, water its fluidity, earth its steadiness, but never will he abandon his resolution, who has acquired his merit by a long course of actions through unnumbered aeons.
- 59. 'Such is that purpose of his, that heroic effort, that glorious strength, that compassion for all beings,--until he attains the highest wisdom, he will never rise from his seat, just as the sun does not rise, without dispelling the darkness.
- 60. 'One who rubs the two pieces of wood obtains the fire, one who digs the earth finds at last the water,--and to him in his perseverance there is nothing unattainable,--all things to him are reasonable and possible.
- 61. Pitying the world lying distressed amidst diseases and passions, he, the great physician, ought not to be hindered, who undergoes all his labours for the sake of the remedy knowledge.
- 62. 'He who to ilsomely pursues the one good path, when all the world is carried away in devious tracks,--he the guide should not be disturbed, like a right informant when the caravan has lost its way.
- 63. 'He who is made a lamp of knowledge when all beings are lost in the great darkness,--it is not for a right-minded soul to try to quench him,--like a lamp kindled in the gloom of night.
- 64. 'He who, when he beholds the world drowned in the great flood of existence and unable to reach the further shore, strives to bring them safely across,--would any right-minded soul offer him wrong?
- 65. 'The tree of knowledge, whose roots go deep in firmness, and whose fibres are patience,--whose flowers are moral actions and whose branches are memory and thought,--and which gives out the law as its fruit,--surely when it is growing it should not be cut down.
- 66. 'Him whose one desire is to deliver mankind bound in soul by the fast snares of illusion,--thy wish to overthrow him is not worthy, wearied as he is for the sake of unloosing the bonds of the world.
- 67. 'To-day is the appointed period of all those actions which have been performed by him for the sake of knowledge,--he is now seated on this seat just as all the previous saints have get
- 68. 'This is the navel of the earth's surface, endued with all the highest glory; there is no other spot of the earth than this,—the home of contemplation, the realm of well-being.
- 69. 'Give not way, then, to grief but put on calm; let not thy greatness, O Mâra, be mixed with pride; it is not well to be confident,--fortune is unstable,--why dost thou accept a position on a tottering base?'
- 70. Having listened to his words, and having seen the unshaken firmness of the great saint, Mâra departed dispirited and broken in purpose with those very arrows by which, O world, thou art smitten in thy heart.
- 71. With their triumph at an end, their labour all fruitless, and all their stones, straw, and trees thrown away, that host of his fled in all directions, like some hostile army when its camp has been destroyed by the enemy.
- 72. When the flower-armed god [Mâra as identified with Kâmadeva, cf. ver. 2.] thus fled away vanquished with his hostile forces and the passionless sage remained victorious, having conquered all the power of darkness, the heavens shone out with the moon like a maiden with a smile, and a sweet-smelling shower of flowers fell down wet with dew.
- 73. When the wicked one thus fled vanquished, the different regions of the sky grew clear, the moon shone forth, showers of flowers fell down from the sky upon the earth, and the night gleamed out like a spotless maiden [or virtuous maiden.].

- 1. Then, having conquered the hosts of Mâra by his firmness and calmness, he the great master of meditation set himself to meditate, longing to know the supreme end.
- 2. And having attained the highest mastery in all kinds of meditation, he remembered in the first watch the continuous series of all his former births.

- 3. 'In such a place I was so and so by name, and from thence I passed and came hither,' thus he remembered his thousands of births, experiencing each as it were over again.
- 4. And having remembered each birth and each death in all those various transmigrations, the compassionate one then felt compassion for all living beings.
- 5. Having wilfully rejected the good guides in this life and done all kinds of actions in various lives, this world of living beings rolls on helplessly, like a wheel.
- 6. As he thus remembered, to him in his strong self-control came the conviction, 'All existence is insubstantial, like the fruit of a plantain.'
- 7. When the second watch came, he, possessed of unequalled energy, received a pre-eminent divine sight, he the highest of all sight-gifted beings.
- 8. Then by that divine perfectly pure sight he beheld the whole world as in a spotless mirror.
- 9. As he saw the various transmigrations and rebirths of the various beings with their several lower or higher merits from their actions, compassion grew up more within him.
- 10. 'These living beings, under the influence of evil actions, pass into wretched worlds,--these others, under the influence of good actions, go forward in heaven.
- 11. 'The one, being born in a dreadful hell full of terrors, are miserably tortured, alas! by many kinds of suffering;
- 12. 'Some are made to drink molten iron of the colour of fire, others are lifted aloft screaming on a red-hot iron pillar;
- 13. 'Others are baked like flour, thrown with their heads downwards into iron jars; others are miserably burned in heaps of heated charcoal;
- 14. 'Some are devoured by fierce dreadful dogs with iron teeth, others by gloating crows with iron beaks and all made as it were of iron:
- 15. 'Some, wearied of being burned, long for cold shade; these enter like bound captives into a dark blue wood with swords for leaves.
- 16. Others having many arms are split like timber with axes, but even in that agony they do not die, being supported in their vital powers by their previous actions.
- 17. Whatever deed was done only to hinder pain with the hope that it might bring pleasure, its result is now experienced by these helpless victims as simple pain.
- 18. These who did something evil for the sake of pleasure and are now grievously pained,—does that old taste produce even an atom of pleasure to them now?
- 19. 'The wicked deed which was done by the wicked-hearted in glee,--its consequences are reaped by them in the fulness of time with cries
- 20. If only evil doers could see the fruits of their actions, they would vomit hot blood as if they were smitten in a vital part.
- 21. 'And worse still than all these bodily tortures in hell seems to me the association of an intelligent man with the base.
- 22. 'Others also, through various actions arising from the spasmodic violence of their minds, are born miserable in the wombs of various beasts.
- 23. 'There the poor wretches are killed even in the sight of their kindred, for the sake of their flesh, their skin, their hair, or their teeth, or through hatred or for mere pleasure.
- 24. 'Even though powerless and helpless, oppressed by hunger, thirst, and fatigue, they are driven along as oxen and horses, their bodies wounded with goads.
- 25. They are driven along, when born as elephants, by weaker creatures than themselves for all their strength,—their heads tormented by the hook and their bodies kicked by foot and heel
- 26. 'And with all these other miseries there is an especial misery arising from mutual enmity and from subjection to a master.
- 27. 'Air-dwellers are oppressed by air-dwellers, the denizens of water by the denizens of water, those that dwell on dry land are made to suffer by the dwellers on dry land in mutual hostility.
- 28. 'And others there are who, when born again, with their minds filled with envy, reap the miserable fruit of their actions in a world of the Pitris destitute of all light;
- 29. 'Having mouths as small as the eye of a needle and bellies as big as a mountain, these miserable wretches are tortured with the pains of hunger and thirst.
- 30. 'If a man only knew that such was the consequence of selfishness, he would always give to others even pieces of his own body like Sibi.
- 31. 'Rushing up filled with hope but held back by their former deeds, they try in vain to eat anything large, however impure.
- 32. 'Others, having found a hell in an impure lake called the womb, are born amongst men and there suffer anguish.
- 33. 'Others, ascetics, who have performed meritorious actions go to heaven; others, having attained widely extended empire, wander about on the earth [Heaven and earthly empire are alike transient.];
- 34. 'Others as Någas in the subterranean regions become the guardians of treasures,--they wander in the ocean of existence, receiving the fruits of their deeds.'

- 35. Having pondered all this, in the last watch he thus reflected, 'Alas for this whole world of living beings doomed to misery, all alike wandering astray!
- 36. They know not that all this universe, destitute of any real refuge, is born and decays through that existence which is the site of the skandhas and pain;
- 37. 'It dies and passes into a new state and then is born anew.' Then he reflected, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for old age and death?'
- 38. He saw that when there is birth, there is old age and death, then he pondered, What is that which is the necessary condition for a new birth?"\*
- 39. 'He perceived that when there has been a (previous) existence [involving previous actions] there is a new birth; then he pondered, "What is that which is the necessary condition for a previous existence arising?"
- 40. He perceived that where there has been the attachment to existence there arises a (previous) existence; then he pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for the attachment to existence?'
- 41. Having ascertained this to be desire, he again meditated, and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for desire?'
- 42. He saw that desire arises where there is sensation, and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for sensation?'
- 43. He saw that sensation arises where there is contact [Sc. between the senses and their objects.], and he next pondered, 'What is that which is the necessary condition for contact?'
- 44. He saw that contact arises through the six organs of sense; he then pondered, 'Where do the six organs of sense arise?'
- 45. He reflected that these arise in the organism\*, he then pondered, 'Where does the organism arise?' [\* Nâmarûpa, sc. 'name and form,' i.e. the individual consisting of mind and body, as the embryo in the womb.]
- 46. He saw that the organism arises where there is incipient consciousness; he then pondered, 'Where does incipient consciousness arise?'
- 47. He reflected that incipient consciousness arises where there are the latent impressions left by former actions; and he next pondered. 'Where do the latent impressions arise?'
- 48. He reflected exhaustively that they arise in ignorance; thus did the great seer, the Bodhisattva, the lord of saints,
- 49. After reflecting, pondering, and meditating, finally determine, 'The latent impressions start into activity after they are once developed from ignorance.
- 50. 'Produced from the activity of the latent impressions incipient consciousness starts into action; (the activity) of the organism starts into action on having an experience of incipient consciousness;
- 51. 'The six organs of sense become active when produced in the organism; sensation is produced from the contact of the six organs (with their objects);
- 52. 'Desire starts into activity when produced from sensation; the attachment to existence springs from desire; from this attachment arises a (continued) existence;
- 53. 'Birth is produced where there has been a (continued) existence; and from birth arise old age, disease, and the rest; and scorched by the flame of old age and disease the world is devoured by death;
- 54. 'When it is thus scorched by the fire of death's anguish great pain arises; such verily is the origin of this great trunk of pain.'
- 55. Thus having ascertained it all, the great Being was perfectly illuminated; and having again meditated and pondered, he thus reflected,
- 56. 'When old age and disease are stopped, death also is stopped; and when birth is stopped, old age and disease are stopped:
- 57. When the action of existence is stopped, birth also is stopped; when the attachment to existence is stopped, the action of existence is stopped;
- 58. 'So too when desire is stopped, the attachment to existence is stopped; and with the stopping of sensation desire is no longer produced;
- 59. And when the contact of the six organs is stopped, sensation is no longer produced; and with the stopping of the six organs their contact (with their objects) is stopped;
- 60. 'And with the stopping of the organism the six organs are stopped; and with the stopping of incipient consciousness the organism is stopped;61. 'And with the stopping of the latent impressions
- 61. 'And with the stopping of the latent impressions incipient consciousness is stopped; and with the stopping of ignorance the latent impressions have no longer any power.
- 62. 'Thus ignorance is declared to be the root of this great trunk of pain by all the wise; therefore it is to be stopped by those who seek liberation.63. 'Therefore by the stopping of ignorance all the pains
- also of all existing beings are at once stopped and cease to act.'
  64. The all-knowing Bodhisattva, the illuminated one, having thus determined, after again pondering and meditating thus came to his conclusion:

- 65. 'This is pain, this also is the origin of pain in the world of living beings; this also is the stopping of pain; this is that course which leads to its stopping.' So having determined he knew all as it really was.
- 66. Thus he, the holy one, sitting there on his seat of grass at the root of the tree, pondering by his own efforts attained at last perfect knowledge.
- 67. Then bursting the shell of ignorance, having gained all the various kinds of perfect intuition, he attained all the partial knowledge of alternatives which is included in perfect knowledge [perhaps wisdom and skill.].
- 68. He became the perfectly wise, the Bhagavat, the Arhat, the king of the Law, the Tathâgata, He who has attained the knowledge of all forms, the Lord of all science.
- 69. Having beheld all this, the spirits standing in heaven spoke one to another, 'Strew flowers on this All-wise Monarch of Saints.'
- 70. While other immortals exclaimed, who knew the course of action of the greatest among the former saints, 'Do not now strew flowers--no reason for it has been shown.'
- 71. Then the Buddha, mounted on a throne, up in the air to the height of seven palm-trees, addressed all those Nirmithâ Bodhisattvâh, illumining their minds,
- 72. 'Ho! ho! listen ye to the words of me who have now attained perfect knowledge; everything is achieved by meritorious works, therefore as long as existence lasts acquire merit.
- 73. 'Since I ever acted as liberal, pure-hearted, patient, skilful, devoted to meditation and wisdom,--by these meritorious works I became a Bodhisattva.
- 74. 'After accomplishing in due order the entire round of the preliminaries of perfect wisdom,--I have now attained that highest wisdom and I am become the All-wise Arhat and Gina.
- 75. 'My aspiration is thus fulfilled; this birth of mine has borne its fruit; the blessed and immortal knowledge which was attained by former Buddhas, is now mine.
- 76. 'As they through the good Law achieved the welfare of all beings, so also have I; all my sins are abolished, I am the destroyer of all pains.
- 77. 'Possessing a soul now of perfect purity, I urge all living beings to seek the abolition of worldly existence through the lamps of the Law.' Having worshipped him as he thus addressed them, those sons of the Ginas disappeared.
- 78. The gods then with exultation paid him worship and adoration with divine flowers; and all the world, when the great saint had become all-wise, was full of brightness.
- 79. Then the holy one descended and stood on his throne under the tree; there he passed seven days filled with the thought. I have here attained perfect wisdom.'
- 80. When the Bodhisattva had thus attained perfect knowledge, all beings became full of great happiness; and all the different universes were illumined by a great light.
- 81. The happy earth shook in six different ways like an overjoyed woman, and the Bodhisattvas, each dwelling in his own special abode, assembled and praised him.
- 82. There has arisen the greatest of all beings, the Omniscient All-wise Arhat--a lotus, unsoiled by the dust of passion, sprung up from the lake of knowledge;
- 83. 'A cloud bearing the water of patience, pouring forth the ambrosia of the good Law, fostering all the seeds of merit, and causing all the shoots of healing to grow;
- 84. 'A thunderbolt with a hundred edges, the vanquisher of Mâra, armed only with the weapon of patience; a gem fulfilling all desires, a tree of paradise, a jar of true good fortune [The bhadrakumbha was the golden jar (like a Jewish natla, a ritual handwash jar) filled with consecrated water, used especially at the inauguration of a king.], a cow that yields all that heart can wish:
- 85. 'A sun that destroys the darkness of delusion, a moon that takes away the scorching heat of the inherent sins of existence,—glory to thee, glory to thee, glory to thee, O Tathâgata;
- 86. 'Glory to thee, O Lord of the whole world, glory to thee, who hast gone through the ten (Balas\*); glory to thee, O true hero amongst men, O Lord of righteousness, glory to thee! [\* The ten balas are ten kinds of spiritual knowledge peculiar to a Buddha; but 'the ten' may be the ten dharmas, see Childers.]
- 87. Thus having praised, honoured, and adored him, they each returned to their several homes, after making repeated reverential circumambulations, and recounting his eulogy.
- 88. Then the beings of the Kâmâvakara worlds, and the brilliant inhabitants of the Pure Abodes, the Brahmakâyika gods, and those sons of Mâra who favoured the side of truth [These terms are al explained in Childers' Dict. sattaloko. For the better-inclined sons of Mâra, cf. the dialogue between those of the right side and the left side before Mâra in the The Lalitavistara Sutra or The Story of Gautama Buddha 21, cf. also 23.],
- 89. The Paranirmitavasavarti beings, and the Nirmânaratayah; the Tushita beings, the Yâmas, the Trayastrimsad Devas, and the other rulers of worlds,
- 90. The deities who roam in the sky, those who roam on the earth or in forests, accompanying each their own king, came to the pavilion of the Bodhi tree,

91. And having worshipped the Gina with forms of homage suitable to their respective positions, and having praised him with hymns adapted to their respective degrees of knowledge, they returned to their own homes.

- 1. Daily praised by all the various heavenly beings, the perfectly Wise One [Sambuddha.] thus passed that period of seven days which is designated 'the aliment of joy' \* [\* Prityāhāra; this book corresponds closely with The Lalitavistara Sutra or The Story of Gautama Buddha 24. Pratyahara or the 'withdrawal of the senses' is the 5th element among the 8 stages of Patanjali's Ashtanga Yoga, as mentioned in his classical work, Yoga Sutras of Patanjali composed in the 2nd century BC.].
- 2. He then passed the second week, while he was bathed with jars full of water by the heavenly beings, the Bodhisattvas and the rest.
- 3. Then having bathed in the four oceans and being seated on his throne, he passed the third week restraining his eyes from seeing.
- from seeing.

  4. In the fourth week, assuming many forms, he stood triumphant on his throne, having delivered a being who was ready to be converted.
- 5. A god named Samamtakusuma, bearing an offering of flowers, thus addressed with folded hands the great Buddha who was seated there:
- 6. 'What is the name, O holy one, of this meditation, engaged in which thou hast thus passed four whole weeks with joy, deeply pondering?'
- 7. 'This is designated, O divine being, "the array [Cf. also Lalitavistara Sutra 24.] of the aliment of great joy," like an inaugurated king, who has overcome his enemies and enjoys prosperity.'
- 8. Having said this, the saint possessing the ten pre-eminent powers, full of joy, continued, 'The former perfect Buddhas also did not leave the Bodhi tree.
- 'Here the Klesas and the Mâras together with ignorance and the Âsravas have been conquered by me; and perfect wisdom has been attained able to deliver the world.
- 10. 'I too, resolved to follow the teaching of the former Buddhas, remained four whole weeks in the fulfilment of my inauguration.'
- 11. Then Mâra, utterly despondent in soul, thus addressed the Tathâgata, 'O holy one, be pleased to enter Nirvâna, thy desires are accomplished.'
- 12. 'I will first establish in perfect wisdom worlds as numerous as the sand, and then I will enter Nirvâna,' thus did the Buddha reply, and with a shriek Mâra went to his home.
- 13. Then the three daughters of Mâra, Lust, Thirst, and Delight, beholding their father with defeated face, approached the Tathâgata.
- 14. Lust, with a face like the moon and versed in all the arts of enchantment, tried to infatuate him by her descriptions of the pleasures of a householder's life.
- 15. 'Think, "If I abandon an emperor's happiness, with what paltry happiness shall I have to content myself? When success is lost, what shall I have to enjoy?"—and come and take refuge with us.
- 16. 'EÎse, in bitter repentance, thou wilt remember me hereafter, when thou art fallen.'--But he listened not to her words, closing his eyes in deep meditation like one who is sleepy.
- 17. Then Thirst, shameless like one distressed with thirst, thus addressed him who was free from all thirst: 'Fie, fie, thou hast abandoned thy family duties, thou hast fallen from all social obligations;
- 18. 'Without power no asceticism, sacrifice, or vow can be accomplished,--those great Rishis Brahman and the rest, because they were endowed with power, enjoy their present triumph
- 19. 'Know me to be the power called Thirst [Sc. Desire.], and worship thirst accordingly; else I will clasp thee with all my might and fling away thy life.'
- 20. Motionless as one almost dead, he continued in meditation, remembering the former Buddhas; then Delight next tried to win him who was indeed hard to be won by evil deeds.
- 21. 'O holy one, I am Delight by name, fostering all practicable delights,--therefore making me the female mendicant's tutelary power, bring delight within thy reach.'
- 22. But whether flattered or threatened, whether she uttered curses or blessings, he remained absorbed in meditation, perfectly tranquil like one who has entered Nirvâna.
- 23. Then the three, with despondent faces, having retired together on one side, consulted with one another and came forward wearing the appearance of youthful beauty.
- 24. Folding their hands in reverence they thus addressed the Tathâgata, 'O holy one, receive us as religious mendicants, we are come to thy one refuge.
- 25. 'Having heard the fame of thy achievements, we, the daughters of Namuki, have come from the golden city, abandoning the life of a household.

- 26. 'We are desirous of repressing the teaching of our five hundred brothers,--we would be freed from a master, as thou thyself art freed from all passions.'
- 27. Having his mind continually guided by the conduct which leads to Nirvâna, and setting himself to remember the (former) Buddhas, he kept his eyes closed, absorbed in meditation
- 28. Then again, having resolved on their new plan in concert, these enchantresses, assuming an older aspect, approached once more to delude him.
- 29. 'We have come here after wandering under the dismal avatâra of slaves,--thou art the avatâra of Buddha,--do thou establish us, mature, in the true Buddha doctrine.
- 30. 'We are women of older age, much to be pitied, bewildered by the fear of death,--we are therefore worthy to be established in that doctrine of Nirvâna which puts an end to all future births.'
- 31. These words of the enchantresses were heard by him, yet he felt no anger; but they all became the victims of old age, through the manifestation of his divine power.
- 32. Having beheld him plunged in meditation, immovable like the mountain Meru,--they turned away their faces and they could not retain their beauty.
- 33. Bending their feet, with decrepit limbs, they thus addressed their father: 'O father, do thou, the lord of the world of Desire, restore us to our own forms.'
- 34. His daughters were dear, but he had no power to alter the effect of the will of Buddha; then their father said to them, 'Go to the refuge which he gives.'
- 35. Then they in various guises, bent humbly at his feet, implored the perfect Buddha, 'Pardon our transgression, whose minds were intoxicated with youth.'
- 36. The teacher, that mine of Forgiveness, in silence restored them by his will; and having repeatedly worshipped and praised him they went joyfully to their home.
- 37. Then again Mâra, the lord of the world of Desire, lost to shame, taking the form of the head of a family, thus addressed him from the sky:
- 38. 'I worshipped thee long ago, foretelling that thou wouldest become a Buddha; and by my blessings thou hast to-day become Buddha Tathâgata.
- 39. 'As thou didst come from thine own kingdom, so now having returned as Tathâgata, with a name corresponding to the reality be a king Tathâgata.
- 40. 'Having gone to that royal station, do thou meditate on the three jewels, and cherish thy father and mother, and delight Yasodharâ,--
- 41. 'Possessed of a thousand sons, and able to deliver the world, be successively the supreme lord of every world from the Yâma heaven onwards [Mâra rules the four heavens from the Yâma to the Paranirmitavasavartin, Mahâbrahman the twenty Brahmalokas above them.].
- 42. 'Having become also the supreme lord of all Bodhisattvas, thou shalt attain Nirvâna; O wise seer, repair to the hermitage of Kapila in order to beget those sons.
- 43. 'As thou art the king of the Law, so shall thy sons also be all Tathâgatas, and all the activity and cessation of existence shall depend upon thee, O Gina.'
- 44. To him thus speaking the All-wise replied, Hear, O shameless one; thou art Mâra,--not the head of a clan, the unholder of the race of the Sâkvas
- 45. 'A host like thee, though they came in myriads, could not harm me,--I will go to my kingdom gradually, I will bring the world to perfect happiness.
- 46. Thou art utterly vanquished, O Namuki, go back to thy own home; I will go hence to turn the wheel of the Law in Vârânasî.
- 47. He, on hearing this command, saying with a deep sigh, 'Alas! I am crushed,' left him and went despondent and companionless through the sky to his home.
- 4\$. Then he, the conqueror of Mâra, rising from that throne, set forth to journey alone to the holy Vârânasî.
- 49. The heavens became covered with clouds when they saw the chief of saints, and the king of the Nâgas Mukilinda made a petition in reverential faith:
- 50. 'O holy one, thou art all-wise, there will be stormy weather for seven days,--wind, rain, and darkness,--dwell for the time in my abode.'
- 51. Though himself possessed of all supernatural power, the holy one thought of the world still involved in embodied existence, and sitting on that jewel-seat he remained absorbed in contemplation.
- 52. That king of the Nâgas there protected the Buddha, who is himself the source of all protection, from the rain, wind, and darkness, covering his body with his own hood.
- 53. When the seven days were past and the Nâga had paid his homage and was gone, the Gina proceeded to the bank of a river, near a forest of goat-herds [costus speciosus; Agapâlaka may here he a proper name l
- may here be a proper name.]. 54. As the Sugata stayed there during the night, a deity, who bore the name of the Indian fig-tree, came up to him, illumining the spot where he was, and thus addressed him with folded hands:

- 55. 'The fig-tree was planted by me when I was born as a man, bearing the name of Buddha; and it has been fostered like the Bodhi tree in the hope of delivering myself from evil.
- 56. 'By the merit of that action I myself have been born in heaven; in kindness to me, O my lord, do thou dwell seven days in triumph here.'
- 57. 'So be it,' said the chief of all saints, the true Kalpa tree to grant the wishes of the faithful votary, and he stayed under the fig-tree, absorbed in contemplation, spreading lustre around like a full moon.
- 58. There he dwelt seven days; and then in a forest of Datura trees, sitting at the foot of a palm, he remained absorbed in contemplation.
- 59. Spending thus in different spots his weeks of meditation, day and night, the great saint, pondering and fasting, went on in his way, longing to accomplish the world's salvation.
- 60. Then two wealthy merchants from the land of Uttara Utkala\*, named Trapusha and Bhallika, journeying with five hundred waggons, [\* Northern Odisha, formerly Orissa, is an Indian state located in south-eastern coastal India which is through Ashoka's rock inscriptions better known as Kalinga. Emperor Ashoka of the Mauryan dynasty conquered Kalinga in the bloody Kalinga War in 261 BC, which was the eighth year of his reign. According to his own edicts, in that war about 100,000 people were killed, 150,000 were captured and more were affected. The resulting bloodshed and suffering in that war is said to have deeply affected Ashoka. He turned into a pacifist, embraced Buddhism, and made it a state philosophy or religion.]
- 61. Being freed from a sin which involved a birth as pretas, both joyfully worshipped Buddha with an offering of the three sweet substancess [Sc. sugar, honey, and ghee.] and milk; and they obtained thereby auspicious blessings.
- 62. They obtained pieces of his nails and hairs for a Kaitya and they also received a prophecy of their future birth, and having received the additional promise, 'Ye shall also obtain a stone,' they then proceeded on their way elsewhere.
- 63. Then Buddha accepted alms in his bowl, offered by the goddess who dwelt in the Datura grove, and he blessed her with benedictions.
- 64. The Gina then blessed the four bowls as one, which were offered by the four Mahârâgas, and ate with pleasure the offering of milk.
- 65. Then one day the Gina ate there an Harîtakî fruit [Terminalia chebula.] which was offered to him by Sakra, and having planted the seed he caused it to grow to a tree.
- 66. The king of the Devas carried the news thereof joyfully to the Deva-heavens; and gods, men, and demons watered it with reverential circurnambulations.
- 67. On hearing the news of the Harîtakî seed, and remembering the whole history from first to last, a daughter of the gods named Bhadrikâ, who had been a cow in her former birth, came from heaven.
- 68. She, the daughter of the gods, smiling with her companions, thus addressed the Gina, bringing him a garment of rags, dependent from a bough:
- 69. 'I beg to bring to thy notice--what? O Buddha!--accept this garment of rags, by whose influence I am now a daughter of heaven named Bhadrikâ.'
- 70. 'By the further development of this merit thou shalt become a Bodhisattva'--uttering this blessing the Teacher accepted the rags.
- 71. Beholding the tattered rags, the gods, crowding in the sky, filled with woncer, and uttering cries of hi hi, flung down upon him garments of heavenly silk.
- 72. 'These are not fit for a religious mendicant,'--so saying, he did not accept even one of them,--only thinking in his calm apathy, 'these are fit for imperial pomp and a householder's luxury.'
- 73. He desired a stone slab and some water in order to wash the dirt away,--Sakra at that moment dug out a great river full of water;
- 74. And four stones are brought to him by the four Mahârâgas,—on one he himself sat, on another he performed the washing;
- 75. On another he performed the drying, and another he flung up into the sky; the stone as it flew up reached the blazing city\* and astonished all the worlds.
- 76. After paying their worship in many ways, Trapusha and Bhallika duly raised an excellent Kaitya and they called it Silâgarbha\*. [\* The "Blazing City or Silâgarbha can probably identified as Sisupalgarh or Sisupalagada which is situated in Khurda District in Odisha, India and houses ruined fortifications. It is one of the largest and best preserved early historic fortifications in India, with the earliest occupation both inside and outside the later site's northern rampart around 7th to 6th centuries BC. The temple city of Bhubaneswar stands near the ruins of Sisupalgarh, the ancient capital of the erstwhile province of Kalinga. Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar was the site of the Kalinga War (c. 262-261 BC), in which the Mauryan emperor Ashoka invaded and annexed Kalinga. One of the most complete edicts of the Mauryan Emperor, Ashoka, dating from between 272 and 236 BC,

remains carved in rock, 8 kilometres (5.0 mi) to the southwest of the modern city.]

- 77. The ascetics of that neighbourhood paid their homage to the 'Three Stones' when they were made into a Kaitya, and the noble stream flowed widely known as the 'Holy River.'
- 78. Those who bathe and offer their worship in the holy river and reverence the Kaitya. of the three stones, become great-souled Bodhisattvas and obtain Nirvâna.
- 79. Then seated under a palm-tree the holy one pondered: 'The profound wisdom so hard to be understood is now known by me.
- 80. 'These sin-defiled worlds understand not this most excellent (Law), and the unenlightened shamelessly censure both me and my wisdom.
- 81. 'Shall I proclaim the Law? It is only produced by knowledge; having attained it thus in my lonely pondering, do I feel strong enough to deliver the world?'
- 82. Having remembered all that he had heard before, he again pondered; and resolving, 'I will explain it for the sake of delivering the world,'
- 83. Buddha, the chief of saints, absorbed in contemplation, shone forth, arousing the world, having emitted in the darkness of the night a light from the tuft of hair between his eyebrows.
- 84. When it became dawn, Brahman and the other gods, and the various rulers of the different worlds, besought Sugata to turn the wheel of the Law.
- 85. When the Gina by his silence uttered an assenting 'so be it,' they returned to their own abodes; and the lion of the Sâkyas also shone there, still remaining lost in contemplation.
- 86. Then the four divinities (of the Bodhi tree), Dharmaruki and the rest, addressed him, 'Where, O teacher of the world, will the holy one turn the wheel of the Law?'
- 87. 'In Vârânasî, in the Deer Park will I turn the wheel of the Law; seated in the fourth posture [Sc. the padmâsana (Yoga-sûtras II, 46), described as that in which the left foot is bent between the right leg and thigh, and the right foot is bent between the left foot and thigh.] O deities, I will deliver the world.'
- 88. There the holy one, the bull of the Sâkya race, pondered, 'For whom shall I first turn the wheel of the Law?'
- 89. The glorious one reflected that Rudraka [Udraka.] and Arâda were dead, and then he remembered those others, the five men united in a worthy society [Bhadravargîyâh, also called Pamkavargîyâh, cf. 12, 89.], who dwelt at Kâsî.
- 90. Then Buddha set out to go joyfully to Kâsî, manifesting as he went the manifold supernatural course of life of Magadha.
- 91. Having made a mendicant (whom he met) happy in the path of those who are illustrious through the Law, the glorious one went on, illumining the country which lies to the north of Gavâ.
- 92. (Having stayed) in the dwelling of the prince of the Nagas, named Sudarsana, on the occurrence of night, he ate a morning meal consisting of the five kinds of ambrosia, and departed, gladdening him with his blessing.
- 93. Near Vanârâ [\* Query Varanâ, one of the rivers from which Benares is said to derive its name,--or it might be a vilage near Vârânasî, the Anâla of the Lalitav. p. 528] he went under the shadow of a tree and there he established a poor Brâhman named Nandin in sacred knowledge.
- 94. In Vanara in a householder's dwelling he was lodged for the night; in the morning he partook of some milk and departed, having given his blessing.
- 95. In the village called Vumdadvira he lodged in the abode of a Yaksha named Vumda [This may be Kumda.], and in the morning after taking some milk and giving his blessing he departed.
- 96. Next was the garden named Rohitavastuka, and there the Nâga-king Kamandalu with his courtiers also worshipped him.
- 97. Having delivered various beings in every place, the compassionate saint journeyed on to Gandhapura and was worshipped there by the Yaksha Gandha.
- 98. When he arrived at the city Sârathi, the citizens volunteered to be charioteers in his service; thence he came to the Ganges, and he bade the ferryman cross.
- 99. 'Good man, convey me across the Ganges, may the seven blessings be thine.' 'I carry no one across unless he pays the fee.'
- 100. 'I have nothing, what shall I give?' So saying he went through the sky like the king of birds; and from that time Bimbisâra abolished the ferry-fee for all ascetics.
- 101. Then having entered Vârânasî, the Gina, illumining the city with his light, filled the minds of all the inhabitants of Kâsî with excessive interest.
- 102. In the Sankhamedhiya garden, the king of righteousness, absorbed in meditation, passed the night, gladdening like the moon all those who were astonished at his appearance.
- 103. The next day at the end of the second watch [thi yâmadvaye could mean at noon, courting the ahorâtra from sunrise to sunrise.], having gone his begging round collecting

- alms, he, the unequalled one, like Hari, proceeded to the Deer Park.
- 104. The five disciples united in a worthy society, when they beheld him, said to, one another, 'This is Gautama who has come hither, the ascetic who has abandoned his self-control.
- 105. 'He wanders about now, greedy [or irregular.], of impure soul, unstable and with his senses under no firm control, devoted to inquiries regarding the frying-pan.
- 106. We will not ask after his health, nor rise to meet him, nor address him, nor offer him a welcome, nor a seat, nor bid him enter into our dwelling.
- 107. Having understood their agreement, with a smiling countenance, spreading light all around, Buddha advanced gradually nearer, holding his staff and his begging-pot.
- 108. Forgetful of their agreement, the five friends, under his constraining majesty, rose up like birds in their cages when scorched by fire.
- 109. Having taken his begging-bowl and staff, they gave him an arghya, and water for washing his feet and rinsing his mouth; and bowing reverentially they said to him, 'Honoured Sir. health to thee.'
- 110. 'Health in every respect is ours,--that wisdom has been attained which is so hard to be won,'--so saying, the holy one thus spoke to the five worthy associates:
- 111. 'But address me not as "worthy Sir," know that I am a Gina,--I have come to give the first wheel of the Law to you. Receive initiation from me,--ye shall obtain the place of Nirvāna.'
- 112. Then the five, pure in heart, begged leave to undertake his vow of a religious life; and the Buddha, touching their heads, received them into the mendicant order.
- 113. Then at the mendicants' respectful request the chief of saints bathed in the tank, and after eating ambrosia he reflected on the field of the Law.
- 114. Remembering that the Deer Park and the field of the Gina were there, he went joyfully with them and pointed out the sacred seats.
- 115. Having worshipped three seats, he desired to visit the fourth, and when the worthy disciples asked about it, the teacher thus addressed them:
- 116. 'These are the four seats of the Buddhas of the (present) Bhadra Age,--three Buddhas have passed therein, and I here am the fourth possessor of the ten powers.'
- 117. Having thus addressed them the glorious one bowed to that throne of the Law, decked with tapestries of cloth and silk, and having its stone inlaid with jewels, like a golden mountain, guarded by the kings of kings,
- In the former fortnight of Ashâdha, on the day consecrated to the Regent of Jupiter, on the lunar day sacred to Vishnu, and on an auspicious conjunction, under the asterism Anurâdhâ [The seventeenth Nakshatra.], and in the muhûrta called the Victorious, in the night,--he took his stand on the throne
- 118. The five worthy disciples stood in front, with joyful minds, paying their homage, and the son of Suddhodana performed that act of meditation which is called the Arouser of all worlds:
- Brâhman and the other gods came surrounded by their attendants, summoned each from his own world; and Maitrîya\* with the deities of the Tushita heaven came for the turning of the wheel of the Law. [\* Is this the same as Maitreya, who is to be the future Buddha and who now awaits his time in the Tushita heaven.]
- 119. So too when the multitude of the sons of the Ginas and the Sûras gathered together from the ten directions of space, there came also the noble chief of the sons of the Ginas, named Dharmakakra [Ein Buddha der das Rad des Gesetzes in Bewegung setzt.], carrying the wheel of the Law;
- With head reverentially bowed, having placed it, a mass of gold and jewels, before the Buddha and having worshipped him, he thus besought him, 'O thou lord of saints, turn the wheel of the Law as it has been done by (former) Sugatas.'

- 1. The omniscient lion of the Sâkyas then caused all the assembly, headed by those who belonged to the company of Maitrîya [Maitreya.], to turn the wheel of the Law.
- 2. Listen, O company belonging to Maitrîya [Nirata seems used here for virata.], ye who form one vast congregation,--as it was proclaimed by those past arch-saints, so is it now proclaimed by Me.
- 3. These are the two extremes, O mendicants, in the self-control of the religious ascetic,—the one which is devoted to the joys of desire, vulgar and common,
- 4. And the other which is tormented by the excessive pursuit of self-inflicted pain in the mortification of the soul's corruptions,—these are the two extremes of the religious ascetic, each devoted to that which is unworthy and useless.
- 5. These have nothing to do with true asceticism, renunciation of the world, or self-control, with true indifference or suppression of pain, or with any of the means of attaining deliverance.

- 6. They do not tend to the spiritual forms of knowledge, to wisdom, nor to Nirvâna; let him who is acquainted with the uselessness of inflicting pain and weariness on the body,
- 7. 'Who has lost his interest[1] in any pleasure or pain of a visible nature, or in the future, and who follows this middle Path for the good of the world,--
- 8. 'Let him, the Tathâgata, the teacher of the world, proclaim the good Law, beginning that manifestation of the good Law which consists of the (four) noble truths,
- 9. 'And let the Buddha proclaim the Path with its eight divisions. I too who am now the perfectly wise, and the Tathâgata in the world,
- Will proclaim the noble Law, beginning with those sublime truths and the eightfold Path which is the means to attain perfect knowledge.
- 11. 'Instructing all the world I will show to it Nirvâna; those four noble truths\* must be heard first and comprehended by the soul. [\* dukkha (suffering, pain from wanting too much); samudaya (make yourself aware of that pain's origin; nirodha (ending by letting useless things go); magga (use the Noble Eightfold Path to train yourself in letting things go).]
- 12. 'That must be understood and thoroughly realised by the true students of wisdom, which has been known here by me, through the favour of all the Buddhas.
- 13. 'Having known the noble eightfold Path, and embraced it as realised with joy,--thus I declare to you the first means for the attainment of liberation.
- 14. 'Having thus commenced the noble truths, I will describe the true self-control; this noble truth is the best of all holy laws
- 15. Walk as long as existence lasts, holding fast the noble eightfold Path,—this noble truth is the highest law for the attainment of true liberation.
- 16. 'Having pondered and held fast the noble eightfold Path, walk in self-control; others, not understanding this, idle talkers full of self-conceit,
- 17. 'Say according to their own will that merit is the cause of corporeal existence, others maintain that the soul must be preserved (after death) for its merit is the cause of liberation.
- 18. 'Some say that everything comes spontaneously; others that the consequence was produced before; others talk loudly that all also depends on a Divine Lord.
- 19. 'If merit and demerit are produced by the good and evil fortune of the soul, how is it that good fortune does not always come to all embodied beings (at last), even in the absence of merit?
- 20. 'How is the difference accounted for, which we see in form, riches, happiness, and the rest,--if there are no previous actions, how do good and evil arise here?
- 21. 'If karman is said to be the cause of our actions, who would imagine cogency in this assumption? If all the world is produced spontaneously, who then would talk of the ownership of actions?
- 22. If good is caused by good, then evil will be the cause of evil,—how then could liberation from existence be produced by difficult penances [i.e. viewed as an evil in themselves.]?
- 23. 'Others unwisely talk of Îsvara as a cause, how then is there not uniformity in the world if Îsvara be the uniformly acting cause?
- 24. Thus certain ignorant people, talking loudly "he is," "he is not,"--through the demerits of their false theories, are at last born wretched in the different hells.
- 25. 'Through the merits of good theories virtuous men, who understand noble knowledge, go to heavenly worlds, from their self-restraint as regards body, speech, and thought.
- 26. 'All those who are devoted to existence are tormented with the swarms of its evils, and being consumed by old age, diseases, and death, each one dies and is born again.
- 27. There are many wise men here who can discourse on the laws of coming into being; but there is not even one who knows how the cessation of being is produced.
- 28. This body composed of the five skandhas, and produced from the five elements, is all empty and without soul, and arises from the action of the chain of causation,
- 29. 'This chain of causation is the cause of coming into existence, and the cessation of the series thereof is the cause of the state of cessation.
- 30. 'He who knowing this desires to promote the good of the world, let him hold fast the chain of causation, with his mind fixed on wisdom;
- 31. 'Let him embrace the vow of self-denial for the sake of wisdom, and practise the four perfections [The four brahmavihârâh, sc. charity, compassion, sympathy with others' joy, and stoicism], and go through existence always doing good to all beings.
- 32. Then having become an Arhat and conquered all the wicked, even the hosts of Mâra, and attained the threefold wisdom, he shall enter Nirvâna.
- 33. 'Whosoever therefore has his mind indifferent and is void of all desire for any further form of existence, let him abolish one by one the several steps of the chain of causation.

- 34. 'When these effects of the chain of causation are thus one by one put an end to, he at last, being free from all stain and substratum, will bass into a blissful Nirvâna.
- 35. 'Listen all of you for your own happiness, with your minds free from stain,--I will declare to you step by step this chain of causation.
- 36. The idea of ignorance is what gives the root to the huge poison-tree of mundane existence with its trunk of pain.
- 37. 'The impressions are caused by this, which produce [the acts of] the body, voice, and mind; and consciousness arises from these impressions, which produces as its development the five senses and the mind (or internal sense).
- 38. 'The organism [Literally: 'the name and the form,' the individual, consisting of mind and body.] which is sometimes called samgnâ or samdarsana\*, springs from this; and from this arises the six organs of the senses, including mind. [\* The Nâmarûpa is properly the organised body (rûpa) and the three mental skandhas, vedanâ, samgnâ, and the samskârâh, which are together called nâma.]
- 39. 'The association of the six organs with their objects is called "contact;" and the consciousness of these different contacts is called "sensation;"
- 40. 'By this is produced thirst, which is the desire of being troubled by worldly objects; "attachment to continued existence," arising from this, sets itself in action towards pleasure and the rest;
- 41. 'From attachment springs continued existence, which is sensual, possessing form, or formless; and from existence arises birth through a returning to various wombs.
- 42. 'On birth is dependent the series of old age, death, sorrow and the like; by putting a stop to ignorance and what follows from it, all these successively surcease.
- 43. 'This is the chain of causation, having many turns, and whose sphere of action is created by ignorance,—this is to be meditated upon by you who enjoy the calm of dwelling tranquilly in lonely woods:
- 'He who knows it thoroughly reaches at last to absolute tenuity; and having become thus attenuated he becomes blissfully extinct.
- 44. 'When you have thus learned this, in order to be freed from the bond of existence, you must cut down with all your efforts the root of pain, ignorance.
- 45. 'Then, being set free from the bonds of the prison-house of existence, as Arhats, possessing natures perfectly pure, you shall attain Nirvâna.'
- 46. Having heard this lesson preached by the chief of saints, all the mendicants comprehended the course and the cessation of embodied existence.
- 47. As these five ascetics listened to his words, their intellectual eye was purified for the attainment of perfect wisdom:
- 48. The eye of dharma was purified in six hundred millions of gods, and the eye of wisdom in eight hundred millions of Brahmans [The divine inhabitants of the Brahmalokas.].
- 49. The eye of dharma was purified in eighty thousand men, and even in all beings an ardour for the Law was made visible.
- 50. Everywhere all kinds of evil became tranquillised, and on every side an ardour for all that helps on the good Law manifested itself.
- 51. In the heavens everywhere the heavenly beings with troops of Apsarases uttered forth great shouts, Even so, O noble being of boundless energy!"
- 52. Then Maitreya addressed the holy one, 'O great mendicant, in what form has the wheel been turned by thee?'
- 53. Having heard this question asked by the great-souled Maitreya, the holy one looked at him and thus addressed him:
- 54. The profound subtil wheel of the Law, so hard to be seen, has been turned by me, into which the disputatious Tîrthikas cannot penetrate.
- 55. 'The wheel of the Law has been turned, which has no extension, no origin, no birth, no home, isolated, and free from matter:
- 56. 'Having many divisions, and not being without divisions, having no cause, and susceptible of no definition,-that wheel, which is described as possessing perfect equilibrium, has been proclaimed by the Buddha.
- 57. 'Everything subject to successive causation is like a delusion, a mirage, or a dream like the moon seen in water or an echo,--it lies stretched out on the surface, not to be extirpated, but not eternal.
- 58. The wheel of the Law has been described as that in which all false doctrines are extirpated; it is always like the pure ether, involving no doubts, ever bright.
- 59. 'The wheel of the Law is described as without end or middle, existing apart from "it is" or "it is not," separated from soul or soullessness.
- 60. The wheel of the Law has been here set forth, with a description according to its real nature,--as it has a limit and as it has not a limit, in its actual quantity and quality.
- 61. The wheel of the Law has been here set forth, described as possessing unique attributes, apart from the power of the eye and so too as regards the sense of hearing or smell;

- 62. 'Apart from the tongue, the touch, or the mind,-without soul or exertion; 'Such is this wheel of the Law which has been turned by me;
- 63. 'He makes wise all the ignorant,--therefore is he called the Buddha [Buddha seems here to identify himself with his Law.]; this knowledge of the laws of reality has been ascertained by me of myself.
- 64. 'Apart from all teaching by another, therefore is he called the self-existent,--having, all laws under his control, therefore is he called the lord of Law.
- 65. 'He knows what is right (naya) and wrong (anaya) in laws, therefore is he called Nâyaka; he teaches unnumbered beings as they become fit to be taught.
- 66. 'He has reached the furthest limit of instruction, therefore is he called Vinâyaka, from his pointing out the best of good paths to beings who have lost their way.
- 67. 'He has reached the furthest limit of good teaching, he is the guide to all the Law,--attracting all beings by his knowledge of all the means of conciliation;
- 68. 'He has passed through the forest of mundane existence, therefore is he called the Leader of the Caravan; the absolute ruler over all law, therefore he is the Gina, the lord of Law.
- 69. 'From his turning the wheel of the Law he is the lord of all the sovereigns of Law; the master-giver of the Law, the teacher, the master of the Law, the lord of the world;
- 70. 'He who has offered the sacrifice, accomplished his end, fulfilled his hope, achieved his success, the consoler, the loving regarder, the hero, the champion, the victorious one in conflict:
- 71. 'He has come out from all conflict, released himself and the releaser of all,--he is become the light of the world, the illuminator of the knowledge of true wisdom;
- 72. 'The dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the illuminer of the great torch, the great physician, the great seer, the healer of all evils.
- 73. 'The extractor of the barb of evil from all those who are wounded by evil,--he who is possessed of all distinctive marks and adorned with all signs,
- 74. 'With his body and limbs every way perfect, of pure conduct and perfectly clear mind, possessed of the ten powers, having great fortitude, learned with all learning,
- 75. 'Endowed with all the independent states [Eighteen in all. See Burnouf, Lotus, pp. 648 etc.], he who has attained the great Yâna, the lord of all Dharma, the ruler, the monarch of all worlds, the sovereign,
- 76. 'The lord of all wisdom, the wise, the destroyer of the pride of all disputers, the omniscient, the Arhat, possessed of the perfect knowledge, the great Buddha, the lord of saints:
- 77. 'The victorious triumphant overthrower of the insolence and pride of the evil Mâra, the perfect Buddha, the Sugata, the wise one, he who brings the desired end to all beings,
- 78. Ever cognisant of past acts, never speaking falsely, a mine of perfect excellence and of all good qualities, the destroyer of all evil ways, the guide in all good ways,
- 79. 'The ruler of the world, the bearer of the world, the master of the world, the sovereign of the world, the teacher of the world, the preceptor of the world, he who brings to the world the Law, virtue, and its true end,
- 80. 'The fount of an ambrosia which quenches the scorching of the flame of all pain, and the powerful luminary which dries up the great ocean of all pain,
- 81. He who brings all virtue and all true wealth, the possessor of perfect excellence and all good qualities, the guide on the road of wisdom, he who shows the way to Nirvana.
- 82. The Tathâgata, without stain, without attachment, without uncertainty.--This is the compendious declaration in the turning of the wheel of the Law.
- 83. 'A concise manifestation of a Tathâgata's qualities is now declared by me; for a Buddha's knowledge is endless, unlimited like the ether:
- 84. 'A narrator might spend a Kalpa, but the virtues of the Buddha would not come to an end,--thus by me has the multitude of the virtues of the Buddha been described.
- 85. 'Having heard this and welcomed it with joy go on ever in happiness; this, Sirs, is the Mahâyâna, the instrument of the Law of the perfect Buddha, which is the establisher of the welfare of all beings, set forth by all the Buddhas.
- 86. In order that this methodical arrangement of the Law may be always spread abroad, do you yourselves always proclaim it and hand it on.
- 87. 'Whosoever, Sirs, hears, sees, and welcomes with joy this methodical arrangement of the Law, which is a mine of happiness and prosperity, and honours it with folded hands,
- 88. 'Shall attain pre-eminent strength with a glorious form and limbs, and a retinue of the holy, and an intelligence of the highest reach
- 89. 'And the happiness of perfect contemplation, with a deep calm[1] of uninterrupted bliss, with his senses in their highest perfection, and illuminated by unclouded knowledge.
- 90. 'He shall assuredly attain these eight preeminent perfections, who hears and sees this Law with a serene soul and worships it with folded hands.

- 91. 'Whosoever in the midst of the assembly shall gladly offer a pulpit to the high-minded teacher of the great Law,
- 92. That virtuous man shall assuredly attain the seat of the most excellent, and also the seat of a householder, and the throne of a universal monarch;
- 93. 'He shall also attain the throne of one of the guardianspirits of the world, and also the firm throne of Sakra, and also the throne of the Vasavartinah gods, aye, and the supreme throne of Brahman;
- 94. 'And also with the permission of the Bodhisattva who is seated on the Bodhi throne he shall obtain the throne of a teacher of the good Law who has risen to perfect knowledge.
- 95. 'These eight seats shall the pure-souled one attain who offers joyfully a seat to him who proclaims the Law.
- Whosoever with a believing heart, after examination, shall utter applause to the pious man who proclaims this carefully arranged Law;
- 97. 'Shall become a truthful and pure speaker, and one whose words are to be accepted,--one whose utterances are welcome and delightful, whose voice is sweet and gentle;
- 98. 'Having a voice like a Kalavinka bird [A kind of sparrow.], with a deep and sweet tone, having also a pure voice like Brahman's [Or 'having a voice of pure spiritual truth.], and a loud voice with a lion's sound.
- 99. He as an all-wise and truthful speaker shall obtain these eight excellences of speech, who utters applause to one who proclaims the good Law.
- 100. 'And whosoever, after writing this method of the Law in a book, shall set it in his house and always worship it and honour it with all reverential observances,
- 101. 'And uttering its praises shall hand the doctrine onward on every side, he, the very pious man, shall obtain a most excellent treasure of memory,
- 102. 'And a treasure of insight, and a treasure of prudence, and a treasure of good spells, and a treasure full of intelligence.
- 103. 'And a treasure of the highest wisdom, and the most excellent treasure of the Law, and a treasure of knowledge, the means to attain the excellences of the good Law,--
- 104. 'These eight treasures shall that high-minded man attain who joyfully writes this down and sets it in a sure place and always worships it.
- 105. 'And he who, himself holding this method of the Law in his mind, sets it going around him, shall obtain a complete supply for liberality for the good of the world,
- 106. 'Next, a complete supply of virtuous dispositions, a most excellent supply of sacred knowledge, a supply of perfect calmness, and that which is called spiritual insight.
- 107. A supply of the merit caused by the good Law, a most excellent supply of knowledge, a supply of boundless compassion, which is the means to attain the virtues of the perfect Buddha.
- 108. 'He, full of joy, shall obtain these eight supplies who himself holds this method of the Law in his mind and sets it going abroad.
- 109. 'And he who shall declare this method of the Law to others, shall have himself purified by great merit and shall be prosperous and possessed of supernatural powers.
- 110. 'He shall become a universal monarch, a king of kings, and even a ruler among the guardians of the world [Sc. the Mahārāgas of the first heaven], an Indra ruler of the gods [In the second Devaloka.], and even the ruler of the Yâma heaven [The third Devaloka.],
- 111. 'Yea, the ruler of the Tushita heaven, and the ruler of the Sunirmitâh, and the king of the Vasavartinah [These are the fourth, fifth and sixth Devalokas.], and the lord of the Rrahmaloka:
- 112. 'Yea, Mahâbrahman, the highest of Sages, and in the end he shall even become a Buddha,--he, possessing a thoroughly pure intelligence, shall obtain these eight sublime rewards of merit.
- 113. 'And he who, thoroughly intent, with a believing heart, and filled with faith and devotion, shall hear this method of the Law as it is preached,
- 114. 'He shall have his intellect made perfectly pure, his mind calmed with boundless charity, and his soul happy with boundless compassion, and he shall be filled with boundless joy;
- 115. 'His soul constantly calm with universal indifference, rejoicing in the four contemplations, having reached the ecstatic state of absolute indifference, and with his senses abolished,
  116. 'With the five transcendent faculties attained, and
- destroying the aggregate of latent impressions, he, endowed with supernatural powers, will attain the samadhi called Sûramgama.
- 117. He, having his soul pure, will attain these eight forms of absolute spotlessness; yea, wherever this method of the Law will prevail universally,
- 118. 'There will be no fear of any disturbance in the kingdom, no fear of evil-minded thieves, nor fear of evil beasts;
- 119. 'There will be no fear of plagues, famines, or wildernesses; and no alarm shall spread, caused by quarrel or

- 120. 'There shall be no fear from the gods nor from Nâgas, Yakshas, and the like, nor shall there be anywhere any fear of any misfortune.
- 121. 'These eight fears shall not be found there where this Law extends; it is all briefly explained, my friends,--all that arises from holding it stedfastly.
- 122. 'A yet higher and most excellent merit is declared by all the Buddhas, even although all living beings were to practise complete self-restraint.
- 123. 'Let a man worship the Buddhas, honouring them always with faith; from that comes this preeminent merit, as is declared by the Ginas.
- 124. 'And whosoever joyfully worships a Pratyeka-Buddha, they shall become themselves Pratyeka-Buddhas; therefore let every one worship them.
- 125. There is pre-eminent merit from the worship of one Bodhisattva, and they shall all themselves become Bodhisattvas, let every one worship them;
- 126. 'Therefore there is pre-eminent merit from the worship of one Buddha,—they shall all themselves become Ginas, let every one devoutly worship them; and he too shall obtain this pre-eminent merit who hears this or causes others to hear it.
- 127. 'And whosoever in days when the good Law is abolished abandons love for his own body and life and proclaims day and night these good words,--pre-eminent is his merit from this.
- 128. 'He who wishes to worship constantly the lords of saints, the Pratyeka-Buddhas and the Arhats, let him resolutely produce in his mind the idea of true wisdom and proclaim these good words and the Law.
- 129. This jewel of all good doctrines, which is uttered by the Buddhas for the good of all beings,—even one who lives in a house will be a Tathâgata for it, where this good doctrine prevails.
- 130. 'He obtains a glorious and endless splendour who teaches even one word thereof; he will not miss one consonant nor the meaning who gives this Sûtra to others.
- 131. 'He is the best of all guides of men, no other being is like unto him; he is like a jewel, of imperishable glory, who hears this Law with a pure heart.
- 132. 'Therefore let those who are endowed with lofty ambitions, always hear this Law which causes transcendent merit; let them hear it and gladly welcome it and lay it up in their minds and continually worship the three jewels with faith.'

### BUDDHA-KARITA BOOK 17.

- 1. When the heavenly beings with Brahman at their head and the Bodhisattvas intent on self-mortification heard this glorification of the Law uttered by the lion of the Sākyas, they were desirous to hear again this which is so difficult to find, and they went to the city and worshipped him, propitiating his favour; in the dark fortnight of the month Ashadha on the lunar day sacred to Agni, with the moon in the constellation called Karna and on an auspicious day,—he, remembering the Buddha worlds and being desirous to save all creatures, set off on his journey, longing for disciples with his father at their head.
- 2. The associated Brâmans, accompanied by the inhabitants of Kâsî who had gone to the Deer Park, and the mendicants to the number of thirty, were rendered resplendent by the chief saints; Kâsîkâ the harlot of Kâsî went to the heaven of the gods, after she had worshipped the Gina and attached her sons to the service of the glorious one; the conqueror of the world then made thirty rejoicing officiating priests of Kâsî his disciples, initiating them in the course of perfect wisdom; and the son of Maitrâyanî and Maitra, the preceptor of hosts of the twice-born, named Pûrna, obtained true wisdom from the chief of saints and became a noble mendicant.
- 3. The priest of the lord of the city Mârakata, a Brâhman named Agaya, and his son Nâlaka, well versed in sacred learning and full of answers to questions, and an ascetic named Dhriti, dwelling in the Vindhya, and an invincible Brâhman ascetic Samgayin with his disciples,--these all, dwellers in the Vindhya,--when they came to him for refuge, the chief of saints initiated as mendicants, touching them with his hand bearing the mark of a wheel; moreover the Nâga Elapatra came to the abode of the best of saints, and stood resplendent there, perfectly calm in his demeanour and worshipping him with his rosaries.
- 4. There was also a female ascetic of Mathurâ named Trikavyamgikâ, and a Brâhman named Vidyâkara,—their son was named Sabhya, a dweller in the district called Svetabâlârka, a wise ascetic, proud of his wisdom,—he went into the Deer Park, wearing the aspect of one perfectly illumined, and desiring the highest wisdom from the chief of mendicants; seeking from the omniscient admission to the noble life, he became renowned as the mendicant Sabhya in all assemblies.
- 5. The son of Lalitâprabudhâ, born after worship paid to the best of trees on the bank of the stream Varanâ,--renowned in the world as Yasoda,--wise from the besprinkling of the ambrosia of the words of the king of heaven,--remembering all former discourses which he had heard, came with his

friends to the wood in the Deer Park, accompanied by his glory; and the holy one, touching his head with his hand, made him the guru of the chief Bhikshus.

- 6. The glorious one, named the great Buddha, proceeded with the mendicants in an auspicious company, and having manifested his triumphal march for the salvation of the world, entered the city of Kâsî. A poor Brâhman, named Svastika, a native of Vârânasî, obtained riches from heaven through the favour of the glorious one, and having received adoption as a slave in the Gina faith, became a mendicant and an Arhat at the hands of the great teacher.
- 7. Blessing the king of Kâsî [Kâsikâ.] Divodâsa and the citizens with gold, corn, and other riches,-taking up his abode in different places in forests, caves, mountains, he at last came in his rambles to the river Gâhnavî. The boatman who conveyed the Gina across the Ganges worshipped him and offered him milk with due services of reverence, and became a mendicant through his favour and by the Gina's command found a dwelling in the Buddha's hermitage in the grove.
- 8. The glorious one, after he had crossed the Ganges, went to the hermitage of Kåsyapa at Gayå, called Uruvilva; there, having shown his supernatural power, he received as Bhikshus the Kåsyapas, Uruvilva, and others, with more than a thousand of their disciples, having endued them forthwith with all kinds of spiritual knowledge and with the power to abandon all worldly action; then accompanied by three hundred disciples Upasena at the command of his maternal uncle became an ascetic.
- 9. The glorious one made seven hundred ascetics enter Nirvâna who dwelt in the wood Dharma; and the lord of the Law also caused the daughters of Namdika, Sugâtâ and others, who dwelt in the village, to become the first female ascetics; and in the city of Râgageha, having enlightened in right action and in activity the king Bimbisâra, the monarch, who is to be considered as the elder-born in perfect knowledge, he made him who was the devoted follower of the Buddha, a Bodhisattva and a Sakridâgâmin.
- 10. In another village named Nåradya there was a Bråhman Dharmapålin and a Bråhman woman named Sålyå; their seventh son named Upatishya, who had studied the entire Veda, became a Buddhist mendicant; so too there was a great pandit, a Bråhman named Dhånyåyana, who dwelt in the village Kolata, and his son; him and the son of Sålî named Maudgalya the great saint received as the best of Bhikshus, pre-eminent disciples.
- 11. Next he ordained as a mendicant the keen-witted maternal uncle of Sâliputra [Sc. Sâriputra.], Dîrghânakha by name; then travelling in the realm of Magadha, the glorious one, being honoured by the inhabitants with alms and other signs of devotion, and delivering them from evil, dwelt in the convent given by the seer Geta, attracting to himself many of the monks; and after ordaining as a mendicant a native of Mithilâ, named Ânanda, with his companions, he dwelt there a year
- 12. The Brâhman named Kâsyapa, a very Kuvera for wealth, and a master in all the sciences connected with the Veda, an inhabitant of Râgageha, being pure-minded and wearing only one garment, left all his kindred and came seeking wisdom in asceticism;—when this noble youth came to the Bodhi tree and practised for six years a penance hard to carry out, then he paid worship to the chief of saints who had attained perfect knowledge, and he became the well-known Kâsyapa, the chief of ascetics, the foremost of the Arhats.
- 13. The saint Naradatta, dwelling on Mount Himavat, remembering the wholesome words of his maternal uncle, came to the Sugata with his disciples, and the holy one admitted them all into the order of the Gina; then a woman named Sakti, and another named Kamalâ, pre-eminent in Brâhmanical power, came to the Sugata and fell down at his feet, and then standing before him they were received by the saint, and made happy with the staff and begging-bowl.
- 14. Seven hundred disciples of the ascetic Rudraka, remembering the noble words of their teacher, becoming mendicants according to the doctrine of the Gina, flocked round him paying him their homage and carrying their staves; next a seer, named Raivata, joyfully uttering his praises, having finished his course of discipline, became a mendicant, full of devotion to the guru, counting gold and clay as the same, well versed in sacred spells and meditation, and able to counteract the three kinds of poisons and other fatal harms.
- 15. Having received as followers and disciples certain householders of Srâvastî, Pûrna and others, and given them alms-vessels,—and having made many poor wretches as rich as Kuvera, and maimed persons with all their limbs perfect, and paupers and orphans affluent,—and having proclaimed the Law, and dwelt two years in the forest Getaka delivering the suppliants, the glorious one, having taught again the saint Geta, and established the Bhikshu Pûrna, once more proceeded on his way.
- 16. Then the glorious one went on, protecting the merchant-caravans by the stores of his own treasures from the troops of robbers, next he went into the neighbourhood of Rågageha wandering with his begging-vessel which had been

given by the merchants. In the wood called Venu, filled with Sâl trees, he ate an offering of food prepared by the enriched robbers, and he received as mendicants five hundred of them and gave them their begging-vessels and the other requisites.

- 17. At the invitation of Buddha's son, Suddhodana gave this message to his envoys Khandaka and Udâyin, 'Thy father and mother, some noble ladies, headed by Yasodrih, and this my young son have come in the hope of seeing thee, under the idea that thou art devoted to the world's salvation; what shall I tell them?' They two went, and reverentially saluting the Buddha in the vihâra called Venu, they told him the message with their eyes filled with tears.
- 18. Khandaka and Udâyin accepted his counsel, and, being delighted at the mighty power of Buddha, became great ascetics; and the great Gina took them with him and proceeded from that wood with the disciples, the mendicants, and the saints. Going on from place to place, and dwelling in each for a while and conferring deliverance and confirming the disciples, the mendicants, and the Arhats, he at last reached the wood Nigrodha, illuminating the district by his glory, shaking the earth and putting an end to misery.
- 19. [Several phrases are obscure in this verse.] He again stirred up his followers in the doctrine of the Buddha, and then went on with the crowds of inhabitants gathered round him, instructing his shaven mendicant-followers, as they begged alms, while the gods brought his precepts to their minds. He forbade the mendicants to enter the city and went to Rāgageha himself with his own followers; and then the king who dwells apart from all doubt, the Gina, who knows at once all the history of every Bhikshu, instructed the ascetic (Udâyin) in proclaiming wisdom to others.
- 20. In accordance with the Gina's command that prince of ascetics, Udâyin, went to the city of Kapila; there he, the lord of all possessors of supernatural powers, instructed the king as he stood in the assembly in the boon of the eight hundred powers; and coming down from heaven he uttered to the king and his court a discourse on the four sublime truths, and the king, with his mind enlightened, having worshipped him, held intercourse with him, attended by his courtiers, offering every form of homage.
- 21. The monarch, rejoiced at the sight of the Gina, praised his feet, worshipping them with eight hundred presents; and the Sugata departed, and made manifest in the sky in his one person a form comprehending the universe; first as fire, then ambrosia, then the king of beasts, an elephant, the king of horses, the king of peacocks [Sikhirât might mean 'the king of flames,'], the king of birds, Maghavan, the ten rulers of the world headed by Yama, the sun, the moon, the hosts of stars, Brāhman. Vishnu, and Siya.
- 22. The sons of Diti, the four (Mahārāgas) with Dhritarāshtra at their head, the hosts of Yogins with the king Drumasiddha, the (heavenly) ascetics, the Vasus, the Manus; the sons of the forest, the creatures of the waters headed by the makara, the birds headed by Garuda, and all the kings in the different worlds with the lord of the Tushita heaven at their head, and those in the world of the dead the domain of Bali,—whatever is conspicuous in the universe the holy one created it all, becoming the universal one.
- 23. When the king had thus been instructed, the lord of saints went to the Satya heaven, and then from the sky, seated on his own throne, he proclaimed the twelvefold Law; then he restored Gautamî and Anugopâ and many other women to sight, and filled all the assembled people with joy; and established others in Nirvâna and in the Law. Then Suddhodana full of joy invited him to a feast given to the whole assembly, and he accepted it by his silence.
- 24. The lion of the Sâkyas, having been thus invited, went with the congregation of his followers to the place, after having shown a mighty miracle. Then the earth shook, a shower of flowers fell, the various quarters of space became illumined and a wind blew; and the heavenly beings, Brahman, Siva, Vishnu, Indra, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, the lord of Bhûtas, the lord of the winds, Nirriti, Fire with his seven flames, and the rest, stood resting their feet on the serpent Sesha, and followed leading the gods and gandharvas in their dance in the sky.
- 25. Making millions of ascetics, disciples, Arhats, sages, mendicants, and fasters,—and delivering from their ills the blind, the humpbacked, the lame, the insane, the maimed as well as the destitute,—and having established many persons of the fourth caste in the true activity and inaction and in the three yânas, with the four samgrahas and the eight amgas [The eightfold path of Buddhhist morality.],—going on from place to place, delivering, and confirming the Bhikshus, in the twelfth year he went to his own city.
- 26. Day by day confirming the Bhikshus, and providing food for the congregation, in an auspicious moment he made a journey to Lumbinî (Buddha's place of birth in Nepal.) with the Bhikshus and the citizens, Brahman and Rudra being at their head, with great triumph and noise of musical instruments. There he saw the holy fig-tree and he stood by it remembering his birth, with a smile; and rays of light streamed from his mouth and went forth illumining the earth;

and he uttered a discourse to the goddess of the wood, giving her the serenity of faith.

27. Having come to the Lumbinî fîg-tree he spoke to Paurvikâ the daughter of Râhula, and Gopikâ the daughter of Maitra, and his own Saudhanî Kausikâ; and he uttered an affectionate discourse honouring his mother by the tank Vasatya; then speaking with Ekasâmgî the daughter of Mahâkautuka and Sautasomî in the wood Nigrodha, he received into the community some members of his own family, headed by Sundarânanda, and one hundred and seven citizens.

28. Having declared the glory of the Law of Buddha, he built a round Stûpa and gave a royal coronation to Saunu [Probably the grandson of the king.], sending him into the wood pre-eminent with the holiest saints and Kaityas, and bidding him worship the sacred relics; and having commanded Râhula, Gautamî, and the other women led by Gopikâ, with staves in their hands, as shaven ascetics, to practise the vow of fasting called ahoratra, and after that the Lakshakaitya ceremony and then the rite called Sringabheri, and that called Vasumdhârikâ.

29. The Ashtasâhasrikâ of sacred authority,--the Geya and the Gâthâ, the Nidâna and the Avadâna, and that which is called the Sûtra of the great Yâna, the Vyâkara [More properly Vyâkarana.] and the Ityukta, the Gâtaka, the work called Vaipulya, the Adbhuta and the Upadesa, and also the Udânaka as the twelfth.--Teaching (these sacred texts) and making current the Yâna for common disciples, that for Pratyeka Buddhas, and the Mahâyâna, and proclaiming them all around, accompanied by thirteen and a half bodies of mendicants, the conqueror of the world went out of the city of Vanila.

30. After displaying miracles in the city of Kapila, and having paid honour to his father, and having made Râhula and his companions Arhats, and also the Bhikshunîs with Gautamî and Gopikâ at their head, and various women of all the four castes; and having established Saunu [Or Saunava, see sloka 28.] on his imperial throne, and the people in the Gina doctrine, and having abolished poverty and darkness, and then remembering his mother, he set forth, ever worshipping Svayambhû, towards the northern region with Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva as mendicants in his train.

31. The glory of the Avadâna of the birth of the lion of the Sâkyas has thus been described by me at length and yet very concisely; it must be corrected by pandits wherever anything is omitted,--my childish speech is not to be laughed at, but to be listened to with pleasure.

Whatever virtue may have acquired from describing the king of the Law, the deliverer from mundane existence, who assumes all forms, -- may it become a store of merit for the production of right activity and inactivity in others, and for the diffusion of delight among the six orders of beings [The shad gatayas, the 'six paths,' are gods, men, Asuras, etc., Pretas, brutes, and the inhabitants of the different hells.] Thus ends the seventeenth sarga, called the Progress to Lumbinî, in the great poem made by Asvaghosha, the Buddha-karita [C adds here on the last page the following lines: 'The poem about Buddha, very difficult to obtain, was written by Amritânanda in the year indicated by a cipher, the arrows (of Kâma), and a nine [=Newar Samvat 950, or A.D. 1830], in the dark fortnight of the month Mârgasîrsha (Nov.-Dec.) and on the day ruled by the seventh astrological house Smara. Having searched for them everywhere and not found them, four sargas have been made by me,--the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth.' The beginning of another version of these lines is given in P, but D omits them. The name of Amritânanda occurs in Râgendralâl Mitra's Nepalese Buddhist Literature as the author of three,--two in Sanskrit, the Khando\*mritalatâ (p. 79), the Kalyânapamkavimsatikâ (p. 99), translated in Wilson's Works, vol. ii, and the Vîrakusâvadâna (p. 274) in Newârî. Compare Cowell and Eggeling's Catalogue, pp. 18, 24; in p. 18 he is associated with the date N.S. 916 (A.D. 1796).].

# THE LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER

The Larger / Longer Mahayana Sutra (The Larger Sutra of the Mahayana School) Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49 Translation: Friedrich Max Müller, 1894 Estimated Range of Dating: 50 B.C. - 100 A.D

(The Larger [or Longer] Sukhā vaū vyūha Sū tra (or Infinite Life Sutra) is one of the two Indian Mahayana sutras which describe the pure land of Amitābha. Together with the Shorter Sukhā vaū vyūha Sū tra, this text is highly influential in China and Japan where it is revered by the Jōdo-shū and Jōdo Shinshū congregations.

Some scholars believe that the Longer Sukhāvaūvyūha Sūtra was compiled in the age of the Kushan Empire in the first and second centuries by an order of Mahīśāsaka monastics who flourished in the Gandhāra region. It is likely that the longer Sukhāvaūvyūha owed greatly to the Lokottaravāda sect as well for its compilation, and in this sītra there are many elements in common with the Mahāvastu.

The earliest of these translations show traces of having been translated from the Gāndhārī language, a prakrit used in the Northwest. It is also known that manuscripts in the Kharoṣṭhī script existed in China during this period.

Traditionally the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra is believed to have been translated twelve times from the original Sanskrit into Chinese from 147 to 713 AD. Of those, only five translations are extant in the Chinese Buddhist canon. The earliest of the five translations is attributed to Zhi Qian, who came from the Kuṣāṇa kingdom to Luoyang during the decline of the Han dynasty and translated the sūtra sometime between 223 and 253 AD. This translation is known most commonly as Dā Āmituófō Jīng, or "Larger Sūtra of the Amitābha Buddha." This translation has also been attributed to the earlier Han period Kuṣāṇa translator Lokakṣema, who arrived in Luoyang in 164 AD and translated works through 186 AD.

The most well-known version of the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra is the two-fascicle Fó Shuō Williángshòu Jīng, which translates to "The Buddha Speaks of the Infinite Life Sūtra." This translation is traditionally attributed to the Indian Buddhist monk Saṅghavarman (Chinese: Kōng Sōngkŏi), who translated the text in 252 AD at White Horse Temple in Luoyang, during the Three Kingdoms Period. However, the common opinion now is that it was more likely a work of the later Indian monk and translator Buddhabhadra (359-429 AD). In addition to the Chinese translations, the Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra is also extant in Sanskrit.

In the Longer Sukhāvaūvyūha Sūtra, the Buddha begins by describing to his attendant Ānanda a past life of the buddha Amitābha. He states that in a past life, Amitābha was once a king who renounced his kingdom and became a bodhisattva monk named Dharmākara ("Dharma Storehouse"). Under the guidance of the buddha Lokeśvararāja ("World Sovereign King"), innumerable buddha-lands throughout the ten directions were revealed to him. After meditating for five eons as a bodhisattva, he then made a great series of vows to save all sentient beings, and through his great merit, created the realm of Sukhāvafī ("Ultimate Bliss"). This land of Sukhāvafī would later come to be known as a pure land in Chinese translation.

The sutra describes in great detail Sukhāvatī and its inhabitants, and how they are able to attain rebirth there. The text also provides a detailed account of the various levels and beings in the Mahāyāna Buddhist cosmology.

The sutra also contains the forty-eight vows of Amitābha to save all sentient beings. The eighteenth vow is among the most important as it forms a basic tenet of Pure Land Buddhism. This vow states that if a sentient being makes even ten recitations of the Amitābha's name (nianfo) they will attain certain rebirth into Amitābha's pure land.

Lastly the sutra shows the Buddha discoursing at length to the future buddha, Maitreya, describing the various forms of evil that Maitreya must avoid to achieve his goal of becoming a buddha as well as other admonitions and advice.)

#### DESCRIPTION OF SUKHÂVATÎ, THE LAND OF BLISS.

OM. Adoration to the Three Treasures! Om. Adoration to all the glorious Buddhas and Bodhisattvas! Adoration to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Âryas, Srâvakas, and Pratyekabuddhas, past, present, and to come, who dwell in the unlimited and endless Lokâdhatus of the ten quarters! Adoration to Amitābha! Adoration to him whose soul is endowed with incomprehensible virtues!

Adoration to Amitâbha, to the Gina, to thee, O Muni! I go to Sukhâvatî through thy compassion also; To Sukhâvatî, with its groves, resplendent with gold, The delightful, adorned with the sons of Sugata,-- I go to it, which is full of many jewels and treasures; And the refuge of thee, the famous and wise.

# LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 1

Thus it was heard by me. At one time the Bhagavat [The Blessed, i.e. Buddha Sâkyamuni.] dwelt in Râgagriha, on the mountain Gridhrakûta, with a large assembly of Bhikshus, with thirty-two thousands of Bhikshus, all holy (arhat), free from frailties and cares, who had performed their religious duties, whose thoughts had been thoroughly freed through perfect knowledge, with inquiring thoughts, who had broken the fetters of existence, who had obtained their desires, who had conquered, who had achieved the highest self-restraint, whose thoughts and whose knowledge were unfettered, Mahânâgas (great heroes), possessed of the six kinds of knowledge, self-controlled, meditating on the eight kinds of salvation, possessed of the powers, wise in wisdom, elders, great disciples, viz. 1. Âgnâtakaundinya, 2. Asvagit, 3. Vâshpa, 4. Mahânâman, 5. Bhadragit, 6.Yasodeva, 7. Vimala, 8. Subâhu, 9. Pûrna Maitrâyanîputra [These two names refer to one and the same person.], 10. Uruvilvâ-kâsyapa, 11. Nadî-kâsyapa, 12. Gayâ-kâsyapa, 13. Kumâra-kâsyapa, 14. Mahâ-kâsyapa, 15. Sâriputra, 16. Mahâmaudgalyâyana, 17.

Mahâkaushthilya, 18. Mahâkaphila, 19. Mahâkunda, 20. Aniruddha[Frequently called Anuruddha.], 21. Nandika, 22. Kampila[4], 23. Subhûti, 24. Revata, 25. Khadiravanika, 26. Vakula, 27. Svågata, 28. Amogharâga, 29. Pârâyanika, 30. Patka, 31. Kullapatka, 32. Nanda, 33. Râhula, and 34. the blessed Ânanda,—with these and with other elders, and great disciples, who were wise in wisdom, with the exception of one person who had still to be advanced on the path of the disciples, viz. the blessed Ânanda;—and with many nobleminded Bodhisattvas, led by Maitreya.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 2

Then the blessed Ânanda, having risen from his seat, having put his cloak on one shoulder, and knelt on the earth with his right knee, making obeisance with folded hands in the direction of the Bhagavat, spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'Thy organs of sense, O Bhagavat, are serene, the colour of thy skin is clear, the colour of thy face bright and yellowish. As an autumn cloud is pale, clear, bright and yellowish, thus the organs of sense of the Bhagavat are serene, the colour of his face is clear, the colour of his skin bright and yellowish. And as, O Bhagavat, a piece of gold coming from the Gâmbû river, having been thrown into a furnace by a clever smith or by his apprentice, and well fashioned, when thrown on a pale cloth, looks extremely clear, bright and yellowish, thus the organs of sense of the Bhagavat are serene, the colour of his face is clear, and the colour of his skin bright and yellowish. Moreover, I do not know, O Bhagavat, that I have ever seen the organs of sense of the Tathâgata so serene, the colour of his face so clear, and the colour of his skin so bright and yellowish before now. This thought occurs to me, O Bhagavat: probably, the Tathâgata [That is, Buddha Sâkyamuni, better known as Gautama Buddha.] dwells today in the state of a Buddha, probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Gina, in the state of omniscience, in the state of a Mahânâga; and he contemplates the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas of the past, future, and present.'

After these words, the Bhagavat thus spoke to the blessed Ânanda: 'Well said! well said! Ânanda. Did the gods suggest this matter to you? or the blessed Buddhas? Or do you know this through the philosophical knowledge which you possess?

After these words the blessed Ânanda spoke thus to the Bhagavat: The gods, O Bhagavat, do not suggest this matter to me, nor the blessed Buddhas, but this thought occurs to me by my own philosophy alone, viz. that probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Buddha, probably the Tathâgata dwells to-day in the state of a Gina, in the state of omniscience, [in the state of a Mahânâga, that is a technical term for greatness.]; or he contemplates [the venerable Buddhas] of the past, future, and present.'

After these words the Bhagavat spoke thus to the blessed Ânanda: 'Well said! well said! Ânanda; excellent indeed is your question, good your philosophy, and beautiful your understanding! You, O Ananda, have arrived for the benefit and happiness of many people, out of compassion for the world, for the sake of the great body of men, for the benefit and happiness of gods and men, as you think it right to ask the Tathâgata this matter: Thus, indeed, Ânanda might pile up intellectual knowledge under immeasurable and innumerable blessed, holy, and fully enlightened Tathâgatas, and yet the knowledge of the Tathagata would not be exceeded thereby. And why? Because, O Ananda, one who possesses the knowledge of a Tathagata possesses an intellectual knowledge of causes that cannot be exceeded. If the Tathâgata wished, O Ânanda, he could live for a whole kalpa (age) on one alms-gift, or for a hundred kalpas, or for a thousand kalpas, or for a hundred thousand kalpas, to a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas [Large numbers, constantly recurring in the text. Niputa is explained as a million, kotî as ten milions.], nay, he could live beyond, and yet the organs of nature of the Tathagata would not perish, the colour of his face would not be altered, nor would the colour of his skin be injured. And why? Because, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata has so fully obtained the Pâramitâs [The highest perfection.] which arise from Samadhi [Deep meditation.]. The appearance of fully enlightened Buddhas is very difficult to be obtained in this world, O Ânanda. As the appearance of Audumbara-flowers is very difficult to be obtained in this world; thus, O Ânanda, the appearance of Tathâgatas who desire welfare, wish for what is beneficial, are compassionate, and have arrived at the highest compassion, is very difficult to be obtained. But, O Ananda, it is (owing to) the grace of the Tathagata himself that you think that the Tathâgata should be asked this question, so that there may arise in this world beings who can be teachers of all the world, for the sake of noble-minded Bodhisattvas. Therefore, O Ânanda, listen, and take it well and rightly to heart! I shall tell von

'Yes, O Bhagavat [The Lord, The Adored.),' so did the blessed Ânanda answer the Bhagavat.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 3

The Bhagavat then spoke to Ânanda: 'At the time, O Ânanda, which was long ago in the past, in an innumerable

and more than innumerable, enormous, immeasurable, and incomprehensible kalpa before now .-- at that time, and at that moment, there arose in the world a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata called 1. Dîpankara. Following after Dîpankara, O Ânanda, there was a Tathâgata 2. Pratâpavat, and after him, 3. Prabhâkara, 4. Kandanagandha, 5. Sumerukalpa, 6. Kandana, 7. Vimalânana, 8. Anupalipta, 9. Vimalaprabha, 10. Nâgâbhibhû, 11. Sûryodana, 12. Girirâgaghosha, 13. Merukûta, 14. Suvarnaprabha, 15. Gyotishprabha, 16. Vaidûtryanirbhâsa, 17. Brahmaghosha, 18. Kandâbhibhû, 19 Tûryaghosha, 20. Muktakusumapratimanditaprabha, 21. 22. Sâgaravarabuddhivikrîditâbhigna, Varaprabha, 24. Mahâgandharâganirbhâsa, Vyapagatakhilamalapratighosha, 26. Sûrakûta, 27. Ranangaha, 28. Mahâgunadharabuddhiprâptâbhigna, 29. Kandrasûryagihmîkarana, 30. Uttaptavaidûryanirbhâsa, 31. Kittadhârâbuddhisankusumitâbhyudgata, Pushpâvatîvanarâgasankusumitâbhigna, 33. Pushpâkara, 34. Udakakandra, 35. Avidyândhakâravidhvamsanakara, 36. Lokendra, 37. Muktakkhatrapravâtasadrisa, 38. Tishya, 39. Dharmamativinanditarâga, 40. Simhasâgarakûtavinanditarâga, 41. Sâgaramerukandra, 42. Brahmasvaranâdâbhinandita, 43. Kusumasambhava, 44. Prâptasena, 45. Kandrabhânu, Kandraprabha, 48. Vimalanetra, 49. Girirâgaghoshesvara, 50. Kusumaprabha, 51. Kusumavrishtyabhiprakîrna, 52. Ratnakandra, 53. Padmabimbyupasobhita, 54. Kandanagandha, 55. Ratnâbhibhâsa, 56. Nimi, 57. Mahâvyûha, 58.Vyapagatakhiladosha, 59. Brahmaghosha, Saptaratnâbhivrishta, 61. Mahâgunadhara, Mahâtamâlapatrakandanakardama, 63. Kusumâbhigna, 64. Agnânavidhvamsana, 65. Kesarin, 66. Muktakkhatra, 67. Suvarnagarbha, 68. Vaidûryagarbha, 69. Mahâketu, 70. Dharmaketu, 71. Ratnaketu, 72. Ratnasrî, 73. Lokendra, 74. Narendra, 75. Kârunika, 76. Lokasundara, 77. Brahmaketu. 78. Dharmamati, 79. Simha, 80. Simhamati. After Simhamati, a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata arose in the world, Lokesvararâga by name, perfect in knowledge and conduct, a Sugata, knowing the world, without a superior, charioteer of men whose passions have to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, a Buddha, a Bhagavat. And again during the time of the preaching of this holy and fully enlightened Tathagata Lokesvararâga, O Ânanda, there was a Bhikshu, Dharmâkara by name, richly endowed with memory, with understanding, prudence, and wisdom,--richly endowed with vigour, and of noble character.

## LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 4

Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, having risen from his seat, having put his cloak on one shoulder, and knelt on the earth with his right knee, stretching forth his folded hands to where the Bhagavat Tathâgata Lokesvararâga was, and, after worshipping the Bhagavat, he, at thar very time, praised him in his presence with these Gâthâs:

- "O thou of immeasurable light, whose knowledge is endless and incomparable; not any other light can shine here (where thou art)! The rays of the moon of Siva and of the jewel of the sun, were not bright here in the whole world.
- 2. "The form also is infinite in the best of beings; thus also the voice of Buddha is of infinite sound; his virtue likewise, with meditation, knowledge, strength; like unto thee there is no one in this world.
- 3. "The Law (dharma) is deep, wide, and subtle; the best of Buddhas is incomprehensible, like the ocean; therefore there is no further exaltation of the teacher; having left all faults, he is gone to the other shore.
- 4. "Then the best of Buddhas, of endless light, lights up all regions, he the king of kings; and I, having become Buddha, and a master of the Law, may I deliver mankind from old age and death!
- "And I, on the strength of generosity, equanimity, virtue, forbearance, power, meditation and absorption, undertake here the first and best duties, and shall become a Buddha, the saviour of all beings.
- 6. "And I, seeking for the knowledge of the best of the Blessed Ones, shall always worship many hundred thousands of kotîs of Buddhas, endless like the sand of the Gangâ, the incomparable lords.
- "Whatever worlds there are, similar (in number) to the sand of the Gangā, and the endless countries which exist besides, there everywhere I shall send out light, because I have attained such power.
- 8. "My land is (to be) noble, the first and the best; the Bodhi-tree excellent in this world. There is incomparable happiness arising from Nirvâna, and this also I shall explain as vain.
- 9. "Beings come hither from the ten quarters; having arrived there they quickly show my happiness. May Buddha there teach me the truth,--I form a desire full of true strength and vigour.
- 10. "I, knowing the worlds of the ten quarters, possessed of absolute knowledge they also always proclaim my thought! May I, gone to Aviki hell, always abide there, but I shall never

cease to practise the power of prayer! [i.e. May I remain in hell, if I cease to pray.]"

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 5

Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, having praised the Bhagavat, the Tathâgata Lokesvararâga, in his presence, with those Gâthâs, spoke thus: "O Bhagavat, I wish to know the highest perfect knowledge. Again and again I raise and incline my thoughts towards the highest perfect knowledge. May therefore the Bhagavat, as a teacher, thus teach me the Law, that I may quickly know the highest perfect knowledge. May I become in the world a Tathâgata, equal to the unequalled. And may the Bhagavat proclaim those signs by which I may comprehend the perfection of all good qualities of a Buddha country."

'After this, O Ânanda, the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata, thus spoke to that Bhikshu:

"Do you by yourself, O Bhikshu, know the perfection of all excellences and good qualities of a Buddha country?"

'He said: "O Bhagavat, I could not do this, but the Bhagavat alone. Explain the perfection of the excellences and all the good qualities of Buddha countries of the other Tathâgatas, after hearing which we may fulfil every one of their signs."

'Then, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata Lokesvararâga, holy and fully enlightened, knowing the good disposition of that Bhikshu, taught for a full kotî of years the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of Buddha countries belonging to eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, together with the signs, indication, and description, desiring welfare, wishing for benefits, compassionate, full of compassion, so that there might never be an end of Buddha countries, having conceived great pity for all beings. The measure of life of that Tathâgata was full forty kalpas.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 6

Then, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, taking the perfections of all the excellences and good qualities of those Buddha countries, of those eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, and concentrating them all on one Buddha country, worshipped with his head the feet of the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata, turned respectfully round him to the right, and walked away from the presence of this Bhagavat. And afterwards, for the space of five kalpas, he thus concentrated the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of the Buddha countries, such as had never been known before in the ten quarters of the whole world, more excellent, and more perfect than any, and composed the most excellent prayer.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 7

Thus, O Ânanda, that Bhikshu concentrated in his mind a perfection of a Buddha country eighty-one times more immeasurable, noble, and excellent than the perfection of the eighty-one hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries that had been told him by the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata. And then, proceeding to where the Tathâgata was, he worshipped the feet of the Bhagavat with his head, and said: "O Bhagavat, the perfection of all the excellences and good qualities of the Buddha countries has been concentrated by me."

'After this, O Ananda, the Tathâgata Lokesvararâga thus spoke to the Bhikshu: "Preach then, O Bhikshu;--the Tathâgata allows it. Now is the proper time, O Bhikshu. Delight the assembly, produce joy, let the lion's voice be heard, so that now and hereafter, noble-minded Bodhisattvas, hearing it, may comprehend the different subjects (or occasions) of the prayers for the perfection of the good qualities of a Buddha country."

Then, O Ananda, that Bhikshu Dharmakara thus spoke at that time to the Bhagavat: "May the Bhagavat thus listen to me, to what my own prayers are, and how, after I shall have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my own Buddha country will then be endowed with all inconceivable excellences and good qualities.

# LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 8.

- 1. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine there should be either hell, brute-creation[1], the realm of departed spirits, or the body of Asuras, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 2. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should fall away (die), and fall into hell, the brute-creation, the realm of departed spirits, or into the body of Asuras, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 3. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be of one colour, viz. a golden colour, then may I not obtain the hignest perfect knowledge.
- 4. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine there should be perceived any difference between gods and men, except when people count and tell, saying: 'These are gods and

men, but only in ordinary and imperfect parlance,' then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

- 5. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not be possessed of the highest Pâramitâs of miraculous power and self-control, so that they could at least in the shortest moment of one thought step over a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 6. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be possessed of the recollection of their former births, so as at least to remember a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

  7. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the
- 7. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all acquire the divine eye, so as at least to be able to see a hundred thousand niyutas of kotis of worlds, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 8. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who art born there should not all acquire the divine ear, so as at least to be able to hear at the same time the good Law from a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 9. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be skilled in the knowledge of the thoughts of other people, so as at least to be able to know the deeds and thoughts of beings belonging to a hundred thousand niyutas of kotis of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 10. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should form any idea of property, even with regard to their own body, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 11. 'O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine the beings who are born there should not all be firmly established, viz. in absolute truth, till they have reached Mahâparinirvâna, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 12. "O Bhagavat, if any being should be able to count the pupils belonging to me after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge in that Buddha country of mine, even if all beings who are contained in those three millions of spheres of worlds, after having become Pratyekabuddhas [Men ready for Buddhaship, but who decline to preach or communicate their knowledge.], should be counting for a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 13. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, my light should be liable to be measured in this Buddha country of mine, even by the measure of a hundred thousand niyutas of kotis of Buddha countries, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 14. "O Bhagavat, if the measure of the life of the beings in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained the highest perfect knowledge, should be liable to be measured, excepting always by their own power of prayer, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 15. "O Bhagavat, if the measure of my life after I have obtained Bodhi (Buddha knowledge) should be limited, even by numbering a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 16. "Ó Bhagavat, if, for the beings in this Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, even the name of sin should exist, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge
- 17. "O Bhagavat, if immeasurable and innumerable blessed Buddhas in immeasurable Buddha countries do not glorify my name, after I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge); if they do not preach my fame and proclaim my praise, and utter it together, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 18. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who have directed their thought towards the highest perfect knowledge in other worlds, and who, after having heard my name, when I have obtained the Bodhi (knowledge), have meditated on me with serene thoughts; if at the moment of their death, after having approached them, surrounded by an assembly of Bhikshus, I should not stand before them, worshipped by them, that is, so that their thoughts should not be troubled, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 19. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who in immeasurable and innumerable Buddha countries, after they have heard my name, when I shall have obtained Bodhi, should direct their thought to be born in that Buddha country of mine, and should for that purpose bring their stock of merit to maturity, if these should not be born in that Buddha country, even those who have only ten times repeated the thought (of that Buddha country), barring always those beings who have committed the (five) Ânantarya sins, and who have caused an obstruction and abuse of the good Law, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 20. "O Bhagavat, if those beings, who have been born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be bound to one birth only, before reaching the

highest perfect knowledge, barring always the special prayers of those very noble-minded Bodhisattvas who have put on the whole armour (of the Law), who understand the welfare of all beings, who are devoted to all beings, who work for the attainment of Nirvâna of all beings, who wish to perform the duty of a Bodhisattva in all worlds, who wish to serve all Buddhas, and to bring beings, in number like grains of sand of the river Gangâ, to the highest perfect knowledge, and who besides are turned towards the higher practice, and perfect in the practice of the Samantabhadra discipline, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

- 21. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be able, after having gone to other Buddha countries, after their one morning-meal, to worship many hundreds of Buddhas, many thousands of Buddhas, many hundred thousands of Buddhas, etc., till up to many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, with objects which give every kind of pleasure, and this through the grace of the Buddha, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 22. "O Bhagavat, if those Bodhisattvas in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should wish their stock of merit to grow in the following shapes, viz. either in gold, in silver, in jewels, in pearls, in beryls, in shells, in stones, in corals, in crystal, in amber, in red pearls, in diamond, etc., or in any one of the other jewels; or in all kinds of perfumes, in flowers, in garlands, in ointment, in incense-powder, in cloaks, in umbrellas, in flags, in banners, or in lamps; or in all kinds of dancing, singing, and music;--and if such gifts should not appear for them, from being produced as soon as thought of, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- knowledge.

  23. "O Bhagavat, if those beings who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all recite the story of the Law which is accompanied by omniscience, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 24. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should think thus: May we, remaining in this world, honour revere, esteem, and worship the blessed Buddhas in immeasurable and innumerable Buddha countries, viz. with cloaks, alms-bowls, beds, stools, refreshments, medicines, utensils, with flowers, incense, lamps, perfumes, garlands, ointment, powder, cloaks, umbrellas, flags, banners, with different kinds of dancing, singing, and music, and with showers of jewels,—and if the blessed Buddhas should not accept them, when they are produced as soon as thought of, viz. from compassion, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 25. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not all be in possession of strength of body as strong as the diamond (or thunderbolt?) of Nârâyana, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 26. "O Bhagavat, if any being in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should learn the limit of the beauty of (its) ornament, even if he be possessed of the divine eye, and should know (its) various beauty, saying: "That Buddha country possesses so much beauty and so much magnificence," then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 27. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, a Bodhisattva possessed even of a very small stock of merit, should not perceive the Bodhi-tree of noble beauty, at least a hundred yoganas in height, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 28. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, either teaching or learning should have to be made by any being, and they should not all be in possession of the perfect knowledge, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 29. "O Bhagavat, if that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not be so brilliant, that in it could be seen on all sides immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries, as a round face is seen in a highly burnished round mirror, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 30. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be a hundred thousand of vases full of different sweet perfumes, made of all kinds of jewels, always smoking with incense, fit for the worship of Bodhisattvas and Tathâgatas, rising into the sky beyond gods, men, and all things, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 31. "O Bhagavat, if in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be showers of sweet jewel-flowers, always pouring down, and if there should not be sweet-sounding music-clouds, always playing, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 32. "O Bhagavat, if the beings belonging to me, after I have obtained Bodhi, who are visible by their splendour, in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable

worlds, should not all be filled with pleasure, far beyond gods and men, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.

- 33. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the nobleminded Bodhisattvas in immeasurable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries on all sides, after having heard my name, should not be delivered from birth, through the merit arising from that hearing, and should not be strong in the knowledge of Dhâranîs, until they have obtained the very throne of Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 34. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, women in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries on all sides, after having heard my name, should allow carelessness to arise, should not turn their thoughts towards Bodhi, should, when they are free from birth, not despise their female nature; and if they, being born again, should assume a second female nature, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 35. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas who in immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense Buddha countries round about in the ten quarters having heard my name, and having fallen down, shall worship me with prostrate reverence, should not, when performing the duty of Bodhisattvas, be honoured by the world and by the gods, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 36. O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the work of dyeing, sewing, drying, washing of his cloaks should have to be performed by any Bodhisattva, and they should not perceive themselves, as quick as thought, covered by newly-produced excellent cloaks, granted to them by the Tathâgata, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 37. "O Bhagavat, if the beings who are born at the same time in that Buddha country, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not obtain such happiness as that of the holy Bhikshu who is free from pain and has obtained the third meditation, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 38. "O Bhagavat, if those Bodhisattvas who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not produce from different jewel-trees such a mass of excellent ornaments in that Buddha country, as they should wish for, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 39. "O Bhagavat, if the Bodhisattvas who are born in other Buddha countries, when they have heard my name, after I shall have obtained Bodhi, should suffer any diminution in the strength of their senses, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 40. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas, from hearing my name in a place of a different Buddha country, should not obtain the Samâdhi (eestacy) called Suvibhaktavatî, in which Samâdhi the Bodhisattvas will see immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, blessed Buddhas one moment after another; and if that Samâdhi of theirs should come to an end meanwhile, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 41. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, beings, having heard my name in Buddha countries different from this, should not, through the stock of merit which follows on that hearing, obtain birth in a noble family, till they arrive at Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 42. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas who live in other Buddha countries, after hearing my name, till they have reached Bodhi by the stock of merit which follows on that hearing, should not all obtain a combination of their stock of merit with the joy and gladness of their Bodhisattva life, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 43. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas, as soon as they have heard my name, in other worlds, should not obtain the Samādhi called Samantānugata, in which Bodhisattvas honour one moment after another immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, blessed Buddhas, and if that Samādhi of theirs should come to an end before they have reached the throne of Bodhi, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 44. "O Bhagavat, if the beings who are born in that Buddha country of mine, after I have obtained Bodhi, should not hear, as quick as thought, such a teaching of the Law as they wish to hear, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 45. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, the Bodhisattvas in this and other Buddha countries, as soon as they have heard my name, should ever turn back from the highest perfect knowledge, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge.
- 46. "O Bhagavat, if, after I have obtained Bodhi, and have become a Buddha-teacher, the Bodhisattvas who hear my name in Buddha countries, and obtain the first, the second, and the third degrees of endurance, as soon as they have heard my name, should turn away again from Buddha, the Law, and the Church, then may I not obtain the highest perfect knowledge."

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 9.

- 'And again, O Ânanda, when he had spoken such prayers, that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, at that time, through the grace of Buddha spoke these verses:
- 1. "If, when I have obtained Bodhi, there should not be for me an excellent Pranidhâna of such a character, then, O Prince, O Best of beings, may I not be endowed with the ten powers, incomparable, worthy of offerings.
- 2. "If there should not be for me such a country, endowed with many and various mighty and divine endowments, I should gladly go to hell, suffering pain, and not be a King of treasures [Probably a Nâga king.].
- "If, when I have approached the Bodhi throne, my name should not quickly reach the ten quarters, the broad and many endless Buddha countries, may I not be a lord of the world, endowed with power.
- 4. "If indeed I should delight in the enjoyments of love, being deprived of zeal, understanding and prudence, even after having reached the incomparable and blessed Bodhi, may I not be a teacher in the world, endowed with power.
- "The lord of vast light, incomparable and infinite, has illuminated all Buddha countries in all the quarters, he has quieted passions, all sins and errors, he has quieted the fire in the walk of hell.
- 6. "After making his broad eye lustrous, after driving away the darkness from all men, after removing all untimely misfortunes, he led hither those who dwell in Svarga (heaven) and who shine with endless light.
- 7. "The splendour of sun and moon does not shine in heaven, nor the fiery splendour of the maze of jewels of the gods; the Lord overcomes all splendour, he, the bright one, who has performed his former discipline.
- 8. "He is the best of men, the treasure of all who suffer; there is no one like him in all the quarters. Having completed a hundred thousand of good works, he, in his assembly, raised the lion-voice of Buddha.
- "After having worshipped former self-existing Ginas, after having performed immeasurable kotis of vows and penances, he became in this, his best of spiritual existences, the best of beings, possessed of the full power of prayers.
- 10. "As the Bhagavat, the Lord, who is possessed of unlimited light of knowledge, knows the three kinds of knowledge in the world, may I also be worthy of equal offerings[1], the best of sages, the leader of men.
- 11. "If, O Lord, this my prayer succeeds, after I have obtained Bodhi, may this sphere of a thousand worlds tremble, and may a shower of flowers descend on the hosts of gods."
- 12. Then the earth trembled, flowers were showered down, hundreds of instruments resounded in the sky, powder of heavenly sweet sandal-wood was scattered, and there was a voice saving: "Thou wilt be a Buddha in the world."

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 10.

'That Bhikshu Dharmâkara, the noble-minded Bodhisattva, O Ânanda, was possessed of this perfection of prayers. And a few Bodhisattvas only, O Ânanda, are possessed of such a perfection of prayers. There is on this earth an appearance of a few only of such prayers. Of a few, however, existence cannot be denied.

'Then again, O Ânanda, this Bhikshu Dharmâkara having recited these peculiar prayers before the Bhagavat Lokesvararâga, the Tathâgata, and before the world including gods, Mâra, and Brahman, and before people consisting of Sramanas and Brâhmanas with gods, men, and Asuras, was established in the attainment of the true promise. And proclaiming this purity of the Buddha country, this greatness and excellency of the Buddha country, and performing the duty of a Bodhisattva, he never conceived the remotest thoughts of lust, malevolence, and cruelty, during a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of years, immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, measureless, immense, inexpressible; and he never conceived the idea of lust, malevolence, and cruelty, nay, he never conceived the idea of form, sound, smell, taste, and touch. He was gentle, charming indeed, and compassionate; pleasant to live with, agreeable, amiable, content, of few wishes, satisfied, retired, not evil, not foolish, not suspicious, not crooked, not wicked, not deceitful, tender, kindly speaking, always zealous, docile in the searching after the pure Law. And for the good of all beings, he recited the great prayer, showing respect to friends, teachers, masters, the Church, the Law, and Buddha, always girded for the performance of the duties of the Bodhisattva. righteous, gentle, not deceitful, not flattering, virtuous, a leader for the sake of rousing others to perform all good laws, producing by his activity the ideas of emptiness, causelessness, and purposelessness, and he was well guarded in his speech. Then, performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, after having given up all speaking which, when spoken, serves to injure one's self or others or both, he employed only such speech as served the pleasure and benefit of himself, others, or both. And he was so wise that, when entering into capitals, kingdoms, countries, towns, cities, and villages, he was always perfectly restrained with regard to all objects of sense. Performing himself the duties of the Bodhisattva without

interruption, he walked himself in the highest perfection (pâramitâ) of liberality, and he also roused others to walk in the same. And himself walking in the highest perfections of knowledge, meditation, strength, patience, and virtue, he roused others also to walk in the same. And he has collected so large a stock of merit that, wherever he is born, there arise for him many hundreds of thousands of niyutas of kotîs of treasures from out the earth.

'By him, while he was thus performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, immeasurable and innumerable hundreds of thousands of niyutas of kotîs of beings were established in perfect enlightenment, of whom it is not easy to know the limit by means of speech. So many immeasurable and innumerable holy Buddhas were honoured, revered, esteemed. and worshipped, and enabled to touch whatever causes pleasure, such as cloaks, alms-bowls, couches, seats, refreshments, medicines, and other furniture. It is not easy to know the limit by pointing it out in words as to how many beings were established by him in the noble families of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, ministers, householders, and merchants. In the same manner they were established in the sovereignty of Gambûdvîpa (India), and they were established in the character of Kakravartins, Lokapâlas, Sakras, Suyâmas, Sutushitas, Sunirmitas, Vasavartins, Devarâgas, and Mahâbrahmans. So many immeasurable and innumerable Buddhas were honoured, revered, esteemed, and worshipped, and requested to turn the wheel of the Law, of whom it is not easy to know the limit by means of words.

'And he collected such virtue, that out of his mouth, while performing the duties of a Bodhisattva, during immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, immense, measureless, inexpressible kotîs of kalpas, there breathed a sweet and more than heavenly smell of sandal-wood. From all the pores of his hair there arose the smell of lotus, and he was pleasing to everybody, gracious and beautiful, endowed with the fulness of the best bright colour. As his body was adorned with all the good signs and marks, there arose from the pores (of his hair) and from the palms of his hands all sorts of precious ornaments in the shape of all kinds of cloaks and vestments, in the shape of all kinds of flowers, incense, scents, garlands, ointments, umbrellas, flags, and banners, and in the shape of all kinds of instrumental music. And there appeared also, streaming forth from the palms of his hands, all kinds of viands and drink, food, hard and soft, and sweetmeats, and all kinds of enjoyments and pleasures. Thus then that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, O Ânanda, had obtained the command of all necessaries, after performing the duties of a Bodhisattva.'

# LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 11.

After this, the blessed Ânanda thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, has that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, the nobleminded Bodhisattva, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, passed away, having entered Nirvâna, or has he not yet been enlightened, or is he now living and enlightened, and does he dwell now, remain, support himself, and teach the Law?"

The Bhagavat said: 'Not indeed, O Ânanda, has that Tathâgata passed away, nor has he not yet come, but the Tathâgata, the holy, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, dwells now, remains, supports himself, and teaches the Law, in the western quarter, in the Buddha country, distant from this world by a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, in the world which is called Sukhâvatî, being called Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened. He is surrounded by innumerable Bodhisattvas, and worshipped by endless Srâvakas, and in possession of the endless perfection of his Buddha country.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 12.

'And his light is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to know the limit of its measure, saying, he stands illuminating so many hundreds of Buddha countries, so many thousands of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of Buddha countries, so many kotîs of Buddha countries, so many hundred kotîs of Buddha countries, so many thousand kotîs of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of kotîs of Buddha countries, so many hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries. But indeed, O Ânanda, to put it briefly, a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, equal to the sands of the river Gangâ, are always lighted up in the eastern quarter, by the light of that Bhagavat Amitâbha. Thus on every side in the southern, western, northern quarter, in the zenith and nadir, in every one of these quarters, there are a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddha countries, like the sands of the river Gangâ, always lighted up by the light of that Bhagavat Amitâbha, excepting the Buddhas, the Bhagavats, who, through the practice of their former prayers, have lighted up the world by their own light, which is a fathom in length, or by their light which is one, two, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty yoganas in length, or a hundred or thousand or hundred thousand yoganas in length, until their brightness reaches many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of yoganas in length. There is not, O Ânanda, any case of likeness, by which

the extent of the light of that Tathâgata Amitâbha could be understood. Hence, O Ânanda, for that reason that Tathâgata is called Amitâbha (possessed of infinite light), and he is called splendour), Amitaprabha (possessed of infinite (possessed of Amitaprabhâsa infinite brilliancy), (whose light is never finished), Asamâptaprabha (whose light is not conditioned), Asangataprabha Prabhâsikhotsrishtaprabha (whose light proceeds from flames of light). Sadivvamaniprabha, (whose light is that of heavenly jewels), Apratihatarasmirâgaprabha (whose light has the colour of unimpeded rays), Râganîyaprabha (possessed of beautiful light), Premanîyaprabha, (possessed of lovely light), Pramodanîyaprabha (possessed of delightful light). Sangamanîyaprabha (possessed of attractive light). of Uposhanîvaprabha (possessed pleasant light). Anibandhanîyaprabha (possessed of light that cannot be stopped), Ativîryaprabha, (possessed of extremely powerful Atulyaprabha, (possessed of incomparable light), Abhibhûyanarendrâbhûtrayendraprabha (possessed of light greater than that of the lords of men, nay, the lords of the three worlds), Srântasankayendusûryagihmîkaranaprabha (possessed of light which bends the full moon and the sun), Abhibhûyalokapâlasakra brahmasuddhâvâsa mahesvarasar vadevagihmîkaranaprabha (possessed of light which bends all the conquered gods, Mahesvara, the Suddhâvâsas, Brahman, Sakra, and the Lokapâlas).

This splendour of the Ârya (noble) is pure, great, producing bodily pleasure, happiness of mind, producing happiness, delight, and joy for men and not-men, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, Garudas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Nâgas, Asuras, and Devas; and producing the pleasure of beings of good disposition

'And in this manner, O Ânanda, the Tathâgata might speak for a whole kalpa on the work of the Tathâgata Amitābha, beginning with his light, and yet he would not be able to reach the end of the virtues of that light of that Tathâgata, neither would there be any failure of the self-confidence in the Tathâgata himself. And why? Because, O Ânanda, both these things are immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, and endless, viz. first, the greatness of the excellence of the light of that Tathâgata Amitābha, the Bhagavat, and secondly, the unsurpassed light of the knowledge possessed by the Tathâgata (by myself).

### LARGER ŞUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 13.

'And, O Ânanda, the assembly of the hearers of that Tathâgata Amitâbha is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to learn its measure, so as to be able to say, there are so many kotîs of the hearers, so many hundreds, thousands, hundredthousands, kankaras, vimbaras, nayutas (niyutas?), ayutas, akshobhyas, vivâhas (masc.), srotas (?), ogas, so many periods, called immeasurable, innumerable, countless, incomparable, inconceivable. Now, for instance, O Ânanda, the Bhikshu Maudgalyâyana having obtained miraculous power, might, if he wished, count in one day and night, how many kinds of stars there are in the universal world. Then, let there be a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of such men, endowed with miraculous powers, and let them do nothing else but count the first company (only) of the hearers of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, during a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of years, and yet by them thus counting even the hundredth part would not be counted, even the thousandth, even the hundred thousandth, nay, not even so far as the minutest part, or likeness, or approach towards it would have been counted.

Thus, for instance, O Ananda, a man might throw out from the great ocean, which is not to be measured across by less than eighty-four thousand yoganas, one single drop of water by the sharp end of hair, which is divided a hundred times. What do you think then, Ananda,--which would be greater, one drop of water which has been thrown up by the sharp pointed hair divided a hundred times, or the mass of water left in the great ocean?

Ananda said: 'Even a thousand yoganas, O Bhagavat, would be a small portion of the great ocean, how much more then one drop of water thrown out by the sharp pointed hair divided a hundred times!'

Bhagavat said: 'As that one drop of water, exactly so large (so small in proportion) was the first company of the hearers. And let there be reckoning made by those Bhikshus, who are like Maudgalyâyana, counting for a hundred thousand niyutas of kotis of years, and yet, as to the mass of water left in the great ocean, it would even then have to be considered as not counted. How much more with regard to the second, third, and the rest of the companies of the hearers! Therefore the mass of hearers of the Bhagavat is endless and boundless, and receives the name of "immeasurable and innumerable."

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 14.

'And, O Ânanda, the length of the life of that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, is immeasurable, so that it is not easy to know its length, so as to be able to say (that it comprises) so many hundreds of kalpas, so many thousands of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of kalpas, so many kotîs of kalpas, so many hundreds of kotîs of kalpas, so many

thousands of kotis of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of kotis of kalpas, so many hundred thousands of niyutas of kotis of kalpas. Therefore, O Ânanda, the limit of the measure of the life of that Bhagavat is immeasurable indeed. Therefore that Tathâgata is called Amitâyus.

'And as, O Ânanda, the rule of making known the reckoning of kalpas exists here in this world, ten kalpas have passed now since Bhagavat Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, arose and awoke to the highest perfect knowledge.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 15.

'And, O Ânanda, the world called Sukhâvatî belonging to that Bhagavat Amitâbha is prosperous, rich, good to live in, fertile, lovely, and filled with many gods and men. Then, O Ânanda, in that world there are neither hells, nor the brute creation, nor the realm of departed spirits, nor bodies of Asuras, nor untimely births. And there do not appear in this world such gems as are known in the world Sukhâvatî.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 16.

'Now, O Ânanda, that world Sukhâvatî is fragrant with several sweet-smelling scents, rich in manifold flowers and fruits, adorned with gem trees, and frequented by tribes of manifold sweet-voiced birds, which have been made by the Tathâgata (on purpose). And, O Ânanda, those gem trees are of several colours, of many colours, and of many hundred thousand colours. There are gem trees there of golden-colour, and made of gold. There are those of silver-colour, and made of silver. There are those of beryl-colour, and made of crystal. There are those of coral-colour, and made of coral. There are those of fred pearl-colour, and made of coral. There are those of fred pearl-colour, and made of ciral. There are those of diamond-colour, and made of diamonds.

'There are some trees of two gems, viz. gold and silver. There are some of three gems, viz. gold, silver, and beryl. There are some of four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, and crystal. There are some of five gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, and coral. There are some of six gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, and red pearls. There are some of seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, coral, red pearls, and diamonds as the seventh.

'And there, O Ânanda, of the trees made of gold, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of gold, and the fruits are made of silver. Of trees made of silver, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of silver only, and the fruits are made of beryl. Of trees made of beryl, the flowers, leaves, small branches branches trunks and roots are made of beryl and the fruits are made of crystal. Of trees made of crystal, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of crystal only, and the fruits are made of coral. Of trees made of coral, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of coral only, and the fruits are made of red pearls. Of trees made of red pearls, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of red pearls only, and the fruits are made of diamonds. Of trees made of diamonds, the flowers, leaves, small branches, branches, trunks, and roots are made of diamonds only, and the fruits are made of gold.

'Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of gold, the trunks of silver, the branches of beryl, the small branches of crystal, the leaves of coral, the flowers of red pearls, and the fruits of diamonds. Of some trees, O Ananda, the roots are made of silver, the trunks of beryl, the branches of crystal, the small branches of coral, the leaves of red pearls, the flowers of diamonds, and the fruits of gold. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of beryl, the trunks of crystal, the branches of coral, the small branches of red pearls, the leaves of diamonds, the flowers of gold, and the fruits of silver. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of crystal, the trunks of coral, the branches of red pearls, the small branches of diamonds, the leaves of gold, the flowers of silver, and the fruits of beryl. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of coral, the trunks of red pearls, the branches of diamonds, the small branches of gold, the leaves of silver, the flowers of beryl, and the fruits of crystal. Of some trees, O Ananda, the roots are made of red pearls, the trunks of diamonds, the branches of gold, the small branches of silver, the leaves of beryl, the flowers of crystal, and the fruits of coral. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of diamonds, the trunks of gold, the branches of silver, the small branches of beryl, the leaves of crystal, the flowers of coral, and the fruits of red pearls. Of some trees, O Ânanda, the roots are made of the seven gems, the trunks of the seven gems, the branches of the seven gems, the small branches of the seven gems, the leaves of the seven gems, the flowers of the seven gems, and the fruits of the seven

'And, O Ânanda, the roots, trunks, branches, small branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits of all those trees are pleasant to touch, and fragrant. And, when those (trees) are moved by the wind, a sweet and delightful sound proceeds from them, never tiring, and never disagreeable to hear. That Buddha country, O Ânanda, is always on every side surrounded by such trees made of the seven gems, by masses of

Kadalî (banana) trees, and rows of palm-trees made of the seven gems, and entirely surrounded with golden nets, and wholly covered with lotus flowers, made of all kinds of gems.

There are lotus flowers there, half a yogana in circumference. There are others, one yogana in circumference; and others, two, three, four, or five yoganas in circumference; any, there are some, as much as ten yoganas in circumference. And from each gem-lotus there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand kotîs of rays of light. And from each ray of light there proceed thirty-six hundred thousand kotîs of Buddhas, with bodies of golden-colour, possessed of the thirty-two marks of great men, who go and teach the Law to beings in the immeasurable and innumerable worlds in the eastern quarter. Thus also in the southern, western, and northern quarters, above and below, in the cardinal and intermediate points, they go their way to the immeasurable and innumerable worlds and teach the Law to beings in the whole world.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 17.

'And again, O Ânanda, there are no black mountains anywhere in that Buddha country, nor anywhere jewel mountains, nor anywhere Sumerus, kings of mountains, nor anywhere Kakravâdas, great Kakravâdas, kings of mountains. And that Buddha country is level on every side, lovely, like the palm of the hand, with districts full of jewels and treasures of every kind.'

After this, the blessed Ânanda spoke thus to the Bhagavat: But in that case, O Bhagavat, where do the gods consisting of the companies of the four Mahârâgas who dwell on the side of the Sumeru, and where do the Trâyastrimsa gods who dwell on the top of the Sumeru, find their place?

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Ânanda, where do these other beings find their place, who in this world dwell above the king of mountains, Sumeru, namely, the Yâmadevas, Tushitas, Nirmânaratis, Paranirmitavasavartins, Brahmakâyikas, Brahmapurohitas, Mahâbrahmans, as far as the Akanishthas?'

Ananda replied: 'O Bhagavat, the result of works and the outcome of works are inconceivable' (i.e. I do not understand it)

Bhagavat said: 'Here, you see, the result of works and the outcome of works are inconceivable. But to the blessed Buddhas the position of Buddhas is not inconceivable, while to thee the holy and miraculous power of virtuous beings, whose stock of merit has become ripened, seems inconceivable.'

Ananda said: 'I had no doubt on this, no difference of opinion, or hesitation; on the contrary, I ask only the Tathâgata about this matter in order to destroy the doubts, the differences of opinion, and the hesitations of future beings.

Bhagavat said: 'All right, Ananda, this is what you ought to do.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 18.

In that world Sukhâvatî, O Ânanda, there flow different kinds of rivers; there are great rivers there, one yogana in breadth; there are rivers up to twenty, thirty, forty, fifty yoganas in breadth, and up to twelve yoganas in depth. All these rivers are delightful, carrying water of different sweet odour, carrying bunches of flowers adorned with various gems, resounding with sweet voices. And, O Ânanda, there proceeds from an instrument which consists of hundred thousand kotîs of parts, which embodies heavenly music and is played by clever people, the same delightful sound which proceeds from those great rivers, the sound which is deep, unknown, incomprehensible, clear, pleasant to the ear, touching the heart, beloved, sweet, delightful, never tiring, never disagreeable, pleasant to hear, as if it always said, "Non-eternal, peaceful, unreal." Such a sound comes to be heard by these beings.

'And again, O Ânanda, the borders of those great rivers on both sides are filled with jewel trees of various scents, from which bunches of flowers, leaves, and branches of all kinds hang down. And if the beings, who are on the borders of those rivers, wish to enjoy sport full of heavenly delights, the water rises to the ankle only after they have stepped into the rivers, if they wish it to be so; or if they wish it, the water rises to their knees, to their hips, to their sides, and to their ears. And heavenly pleasures arise. Again, if the beings then wish the water to be cold, it is cold; if they wish it to be hot, it is hot; if they wish it to be hot and cold, according to their pleasure.

'And those great rivers flow along, full of water scented with the best perfumes of the Uragasâra sandal-wood, of Tagaras, Kâlânusârin (dark, fragrant sandal-wood) trees, Agarus, and heavenly Tamâlapattras; covered with flowers of the white water-lilies, and heavenly Utpalas, Padmas, Kumudas, and Pundarikas; full of delightful sounds of peacocks, sparrows, kunâlas, cuckoos, sârikas, parrots, ducks, geese, herons, cranes, swans\* and others; with small islands inhabited by flocks of birds, created by the Tathâgata; adorned with fields, full of metals; with fords on which it is easy to drink, free from mud, and covered with gold dust. 1\*

The Tibetan translation puts these birds as follows: geese, swans, cranes, ducks, kârandavas, parrots, grouse (kokilas), kunâlas, kalavinkas, and peacocks.]

And when these beings there desire, thinking what kind of wishes should be fulfilled for them, then exactly such wishes are fulfilled for them according to the Law.

'And, O Ânanda, the sound which rises from that water is delightful, and the whole Buddha country is aroused by it. And if beings, who stand on the borders of the river, wish that the sound should not come within their ear-shot, then it does not come within their ear-shot, even if they are possessed of the heavenly ear. And whatever sound a man wishes to hear, exactly that delightful sound he hears, as for instance, the sound "Buddha, Dharma (the Law), Sangha (the Church), the Pâramitâs (highest perfections), the Bhûmis (stages), the Balas Vaisâradya (powers), (perfections), Âvenikabuddhadharma (freedom attachment), from Pratisamvit (consciousness); Sûnyatâ (emptiness), Animitta (unconditioned), Apranihita (free from desire). Anabhisamskâra (not made), Agâta (not born), Anutpâda (without origin), Abhâva (not being), and Nirodha prasânta, and upasânta (cessation): Sânta. (peace); Mahâmaitrî love), Mahâkarunâ (great (great pity), Mahâmuditâ (great rejoicing), and Mahopekshâ (great Anutpattikadharmakshânti (resignation to forgiveness); which have not yet arisen), consequences Abhishekabhûmipratilambha (attainment of the roval stage).'

'And having heard these sounds, everybody feels the highest delight and pleasure accompanied by retirement, passionlessness, quiet, cessation, law, and a stock of merit leading to the perfect knowledge.

'And, O Ânanda, there is nowhere in that Sukhâvatî world any sound of sin, obstacle, misfortune, distress, and destruction; there is nowhere any sound of pain, even the sound of perceiving what is neither pain nor pleasure is not there, O Ânanda, how much less the sound of pain. For that reason, O Ânanda, that world is called Sukhâvatî, shortly, but not in full. For, O Ânanda, the whole kalpa would come to an end, while the different causes of the pleasure of the world Sukhâvatî are being praised, and even then the end of those causes of happiness could not be reached.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 19.

'And again, O Ânanda, the beings, who have been and will be born in that world Sukhāvatî, will be endowed with such colour, strength, vigour, height and breadth, dominion, accumulation of virtue [Here the text seems corrupt.]; with such enjoyments of dress, ornaments, gardens, palaces, and pavilions; and such enjoyments of touch, taste, smell, and sound; in fact with all enjoyments and pleasures, exactly like the Paranirmitavasayartin gods.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatî, beings do not take food consisting of gross materials of gravy or molasses; but whatever food they desire, such food they perceive, as if it were taken, and become delighted in body and mind. Yet they need not put it into their mouth.

'And if, after they are satisfied, they wish different kinds of perfumes, then with these very heavenly kinds of perfumes the whole Buddha country is scented. And whosoever wishes to perceive there such perfume, every perfume of every scent of the Gandharvarāga does al ways reach his nose.

'And in the same manner, if they desire musical instruments, banners, flags, umbrellas, cloaks, powders, ointments, garlands, and scents, then the whole Buddha country shines with such things. If they desire cloaks of different colours and many hundred thousand colours, then with these very best cloaks the whole Buddha country shines. And the people feel themselves covered with them.

'And if they desire such ornaments, as for instance, headornaments, ear-ornaments, neck-ornaments, hand and foot ornaments, namely, diadems, earrings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces, chains, ear-jewels, seals, gold strings, girdles, gold nets[2], pearl nets, jewel nets, nets of bells made of gold and jewels, then they see that Buddha country shining with such ornaments adorned with many hundred thousand jewels, that are fastened to ornament-trees. And they perceive themselves to be adorned with these ornaments.

'And if they desire a palace, with colours and emblems of such and such height and width, adorned with hundred thousand gates made with different jewels, covered with different heavenly flowers, full of couches strewn with beautiful cushions, then exactly such a palace appears before them. And in these delightful palaces they dwell, play, sport, walk about, being honoured, and surrounded by seven times seven thousands of Apsarases.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 20.

'And in that world, there is no difference between gods and men, except when they are spoken of in ordinary and imperfect parlance as gods and men. And, O Ânanda, as a low man and impotent man, before the face of the mighty king, is neither bright, nor warm, nor brilliant, nor is he self-confident and radiant,--thus Sakra, king of the Devas, if

before the face of the Paranirmitavasavartin gods, is neither bright, nor warm, nor brilliant, namely, with regard to his gardens, palaces, dresses, ornaments, his dominion, his perfection, his miraculous power, or his supremacy, his comprehension of the Law, and his full enjoyment of the Law. And, O Ānanda, as the Paranirmitavasavartin gods are there, thus men must be considered in the world Sukhāvatī.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 21.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatî, when the time of forenoon has come, the winds are greatly agitated and blowing everywhere in the four quarters. And they shake and drive many beautiful, graceful, and many-coloured stalks of the gem trees, which are perfumed with sweet heavenly scents, so that many hundred beautiful flowers of delightful scent fall down on the great earth, which is all full of jewels. And with these flowers that Buddha country is adorned on every side seven fathoms deep. As a clever man might spread out a flower-bed on the earth and make it even with both his hands, beautiful and charming, even thus with those flowers of various scents and colours that Buddha country is shining on every side seven fathoms deep. And these many flowers are soft, pleasant to touch, if one may use a comparison, like Kâkilindika (some kind of soft substance). If one puts one's foot on them, they sink down four inches; if one raises one's foot, they rise again four inches. When the time of the forenoon has gone again, those flowers vanish without leaving anything behind. Then that Buddha country is again clean, pleasant, beautiful, and without fading flowers. The winds blow again everywhere in the four quarters, and scatter down fresh flowers as before. And as it is in the forenoon, so it is at noon, at twilight, in the first, middle, and last watch of the night. And the beings, if touched by those winds which blow perfume with various scents, are as full of happiness as a Bhikshu (mendicant) who has obtained Nirvâna.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 22.

'And in that Buddha country, O Ânanda, no mention is ever made of the names of fire, sun, moon, planets, Nakshatras (constellations), and stars, or of blinding darkness. There is no mention even of day and night, except in the conversation of the Tathâgata. Nor is there any idea of predial property belonging to monasteries.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 23.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that world Sukhâvatî at the proper time clouds full of heavenly perfumed water pour down heavenly flowers of all colours; heavenly seven jewels, heavenly sandalwood-powder, and heavenly umbrellas, flags, and banners are poured down. And in the sky, the heavenly flowers of all colours, and heavenly canopies are held, likewise heavenly excellent umbrellas and all kinds of ornaments, heavenly musical instruments are played, and heavenly Apsarases dance.

## LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 24.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that Buddha country whatever beings have been born, and are being born, and will be born, are always constant in absolute truth, till they have reached Nirvâna. And why is that? Because there is no room or mention there of the other two divisions (râsis), such as beings not constant or constant in falsehood.

'On this wise, O Ânanda, that world is briefly called Sukhâvatî, not at full length. Even a kalpa, O Ânanda, would come to an end, while the causes of happiness which exist in that world Sukhâvatî are being praised, and yet it would be impossible to reach the end of them.'

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 25.

Then the Bhagavat at that time spoke the following verses [The text of these verses is so corrupt that I thought it best to follow the example of the five Chinese translators, all of whom leave them out. They only repeat what was said before, that people might go on for ever praising the excellences of Sukhâvatî, yet they would never reach the end of them, and that the merit of hearing even the name of Sukhâvatî is greater that all other blessings on earth. The best thing, however, is to have faith in Gina, and to drive away all doubt. The Tibetan translator gives a translation of seven verses, but his translation also seems as obscure as the original.]:

'Thus, O Ânanda, the world Sukhâvatî is endowed with immeasurable good qualities and excellences.

## LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 26.

'And again, O Ânanda, in the ten quarters, and in each of them, in all the Buddha countries equal in number to the sand of the Gangâ, the blessed Buddhas equal in number to the sand of the Gangâ, glorify the name of the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, they preach his fame, they proclaim his glory, they extol his virtue. And why? Because all beings who hear the name of the blessed Amitâbha, and having heard it, raise their thought with joyful longing, even for once only, will not turn away again from the highest perfect knowledge.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 27.

'And before the eyes of those beings, O Ânanda, who again and again think of the Tathâgata reverently, and who make the great and unmeasured stock of good works grow, turning their thought towards Bodhi (knowledge), and who pray to be born in that world, Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, when the time of their death has approached, will appear, surrounded by many companies of Bhikshus and honoured by them. And then these beings. having seen the Bhagavat, their thoughts filled with joy, will, when they have died, be born in that world of Sukhâvatî. And if, O Ânanda, any son or daughter of a good family should wish--What?--How then may I see that Tathâgata Amitâbha visibly, then he must raise his thought on to the highest perfect knowledge, he must direct his thought with perseverance and excessive desire towards that Buddha country, and direct the stock of his good works towards being

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 28.

'But before the eyes of those who do not care much about the Tathâgata Amitâbha, and who do not vigorously increase the great and unmeasured stock of their good works, the Tathâgata Amitâbha, holy and fully enlightened, will appear, at the time of death, with the company of Bhikshus, in breadth and height and form and beauty, very like (the former), and very like (the real Tathâgata), but only created by thought. And they, through their meditation that dwells on perceiving the sight of the Tathâgata, and with unfailing memory, will, when they have died, be born in the same Buddha country.

#### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 29

'And again, O Ânanda, those beings who meditate on the Tathâgata by giving him the ten thoughts, and who will direct their desire towards that Buddha country, and who will feel satisfaction when the profound doctrines are being preached, and who will not fall off, nor despair, nor fail, but will meditate on that Tathâgata, if it were by one thought only, and will direct their desire toward that Buddha country, they also will see the Tathâgata Amitâbha, while they are in a dream, they will be born in the world Sukhâvatî, and will never turn away from the highest perfect knowledge.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 30.

'And, O Ânanda, after thus seeing the cause and effect, the Tathâgatas of the ten quarters, in immeasurable and innumerable worlds, glorify the name of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, preach his fame, and proclaim his praise. And again, O Ânanda, in that Buddha country, Bodhisattvas equal in number to the sand of the Gangâ approach, from the ten quarters, and in each quarter towards that Tathâgata Amitâbha, in order to see him, to bow before him, to worship him, to consult him, and likewise in order to see that company of Bodhisattvas, and the different kinds of perfection in the multitude of ornaments and excellences belonging to that Buddha country.'

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 31.

Then at that time, the Bhagavat, in order to illustrate this matter in fuller measure, recited these verses:

- 'As there are Buddha countries equal to the sand of the river Gangâ in the eastern quarter, whence all the Bodhisattvas come to worship the Buddha, the lord Amitâyu;
- 2. 'And they having taken many bunches of flowers of different colours, sweetly-scented and delightful, shower them down on the best leader of men, on Amitâyu, worshipped by gods and men;--
- 3. 'In the same manner there are as many Buddha countries in the southern, western, and northern quarters, whence they come with the Bodhisattvas to worship the Buddha, the lord Amitâvu.
- 4. And they having taken many handfulls of scents of different colours, sweetly-scented and delightful, shower them down on the best leader of men, on Amitâyu, worshipped by gods and men.
- 5. 'These many Bodhisattvas having worshipped and revered the feet of Amitaprabha, and having walked round him respectfully, speak thus: "Oh, the country of Buddha shines wonderfully!"
- 6. 'And they cover him again with handfulls of flowers, with thoughts jubilant, with incomparable joy, and proclaim their wish before that lord: "May our country also be such as this."
- 7. 'And what was thrown there as handfulls of flowers arose in the form of an umbrella extending over a hundred yoganas, and the beautiful country shines and is well adorned, and flowers cover the whole body of Buddha.
- 8. These Bodhisattvas having thus honoured him, how do they act?--Delighted they pronounce this speech: "Gains by those people are well gained, by whom the name of the best man has been heard.
- 9. "By us also all the gain has been well gained, because we have come to this Buddha country. See this dream-like country [Maitra, 'love,' possibly 'kindness'.] how beautiful it

is, which was made by the teacher during a hundred thousand

- kalpas.

  10. "Look, the Buddha possessed of a mass of the best virtues shines, surrounded by Bodhisattvas. Endless is his splendour, and endless the light, and endless the life, and endless the assembly."
- 11. 'And the lord Amitâyu makes a smile of thirty-six niyutas of kotîs of rays, which rays having issued from the circle of his mouth light up the thousand kotîs of Buddha countries.
- 12. 'And all these rays having returned there again settle on the head of the lord; gods and men produce (perceive) the delight, because they have seen there this light of him.
- 13. 'There rises the Buddha-son, glorious, he indeed the mighty Avalokitesvara, and says: "What is the reason there, O Bhagavat, what is the cause, that thou smilest, O lord of the world?
- 14. "Explain this, for thou knowest the sense, and art full of kind compassion, the deliverer of many living beings. All beings will be filled with joyful thoughts, when they have thus heard this excellent and delightful speech.
- 15. "And the Bodhisattvas who have come from many worlds to Sukhâvatî in order to see the Buddha, having heard it and having perceived the great joy, will quickly inspect this country.
- 16. "And beings, come to this noble country, (quickly) obtain miraculous power, divine eye and divine ear, they remember their former births, and know the highest wisdom."
- 17. 'Then Buddha Amitâyu preaches: 'This prayer was mine formerly, so that beings having in any way whatever heard my name should for ever go to my country.
- 18. "And this my excellent prayer has been fulfilled, and beings having quickly come here from many worlds into my presence, never return from here, not even for one birth."
- 19. 'If a Bodhisattva wishes here that his country should be such as this, and that he also should deliver many beings, through his name, through his preaching, and through his sight
- 20. 'Let him quickly and with speed go to the world Sukhâvatî, and having gone near Amitaprabha, let him worshin a thousand kotîs of Buddhas.
- 21. Having worshipped many kotis of Buddhas, and having gone to many countries by means of their miraculous power, and having performed adoration in the presence of the Sugatas, they will go to Sukhâvatî with devotion.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 32.

'And again, O Ânanda, there is a Bodhi-tree belonging to Amitâvus, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened. That Bodhi-tree is ten hundred yoganas in height, having petals, leaves, and branches spread over eight hundred yoganas, having a circumference near the base of the root of five hundred yoganas, always in leaf, always in flower, always in fruit, of different colours, of many hundred thousand colours, of different leaves of different flowers of different fruits adorned with many beautiful ornaments, shining with precious jewels, bright like the moon, beautified with precious jewels (such as are) fastened on Sakra's head, strewn with Kintâmani [Jewels yielding every wish.] jewels, well adorned with the best jewels of the sea, more than heavenly, hung with golden strings, adorned with hundreds of gold chains, iewel-garlands, necklaces, bracelets, strings of red pearls and blue pearls, lion twists (Simhalatâ), girdles, bunches, strings of jewels, and all kinds of jewels, covered with nets of bells, nets of all kinds of jewels, nets of pearls, and nets of gold, adorned with the emblems of the dolphin, the Syastika, the Nandyâvarta, and the moon, adorned with nets of jewels and of bells, and with ornaments of gold and of all kinds of iewels, in fact adorned according to the desires of beings whatever their wishes may be.

'And again, O Ânanda, the sound and noise of that Bodhitree, when it is moved by the wind, reaches immeasurable worlds. And, O Ânanda, for those beings whose hearing that Bodhi-tree reaches, no disease of the ear is to be feared until they reach Bodhi (highest knowledge). And for those immeasurable, innumerable, inconceivable, incomparable, measureless, immense, and inexpressible beings, whose sight that Bodhi-tree reaches, no disease of the eye is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. And again, O Ânanda, for those beings who smell the scent of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the nose is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. For those beings who taste the fruits of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the tongue is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. For those beings who are lighted up by the light of that Bodhi-tree, no disease of the body is to be feared until they reach Bodhi. And again, O Ânanda, for those beings who meditate on that Bodhi-tree according to the Law, henceforward until they reach the Bodhi, no perplexity of their thought is to be feared. And all those beings, through the seeing of that Bodhi-tree, never turn away, namely, from the highest perfect knowledge. And they obtain three kinds of kshanti or resignation, namely, Ghoshânugâ, Anulomikî (resignation to natural consequences), and Anutpattika-dharma-kshânti (resignation to consequences which have not yet arisen), through the

power of the former prayers of that same Tathāgata Amitāyus, through the service rendered by them to the former Ginas, and through the performance of the former prayers, to be well accomplished, and to be well conceived, without failure or without flaw.

#### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 33.

'And again, O Ânanda, those Bodhisattvas who have been born, are being born, or will be born there, are all bound to one birth only [Their present birth.], and will thence indeed obtain the highest perfect knowledge; barring always the power of prayers, as in the case of those Bodhisattvas who are preaching with the voice of lions, who are girded with the noble armour (of the Law), and who are devoted to the work of helping all people to attain Parinirvâna.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 34.

'And again, O Ânanda, in that Buddha country, those who are Srâvakas are possessed of the light of a fathom, and those who are Bodhisattvas are possessed of the light of a hundred thousand kotîs of yoganas; barring always the two Bodhisattvas, by whose light that world is everywhere shining with eternal splendour.'

Then the blessed Ânanda said this to the Bhagavat: 'What are the names, O Bhagavat, of those two noble-minded Bodhisattyas?'

The Bhagavat said: 'One of them, O Ânanda, is the nobleminded Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and the second is Mahâsthâmaprâpta by name. And, O Ânanda, these two were born there, having left this Buddha country here.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 35.

'And, O Ânanda, those Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country are all endowed with the thirty-two marks of a great man, possessed of perfect members, skilled in meditation and wisdom, clever in all kinds of wisdom, having sharp organs, having well-restrained organs, having organs of sense capable of thorough knowledge, not mean, possessed of the five kinds of strength, of patience under censure, and of endless and boundless good qualities.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 36.

'And again, O Ânanda, all those Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country are not deprived of the sight of Buddha, nor liable to fall down (to the evil states), until they reach the Bodhi. Henceforward they all will never be forgetful of their former births[1]; barring always those who are devoted to their former place, during the disturbances of the kalpas, and while the five kinds of corruption prevail, when there is the appearance of blessed Buddhas in the world, as for instance, that of me at present.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 37.

'And again, O Ânanda, all the Bodhisattvas who have been born in that Buddha country, having gone during one morning meal to the other world, worship many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, as many as they like, through the favour of Buddha. They consider in many ways that they should worship (Buddhas) with such and such flowers, incense, lamps, scents, garlands, ointments, powder, cloaks, umbrellas, flags, banners, ensigns, music, concerts, and musical instruments; and, as soon as they have considered this, there arise also on their hands exactly such materials for every kind of worship. And while performing worship for those blessed Buddhas with those materials, beginning with flowers and ending with musical instruments, they lay up for themselves much immeasurable and innumerable merit. Again, if they wish that such handfulls of flowers should be produced on their hands, then such handfulls of heavenly flowers, of different colours, of many colours, of different scents, are produced on their hands as soon as thought of. They shower again and again such handfulls of flowers upon those blessed Buddhas. And the very smallest handfull of flowers, being thrown on high, appears above in the sky as an umbrella of flowers ten yoganas in circumference. And when the second has been thrown after it, the first does not fall down on the earth. There are handfulls of flowers there, which having been thrown up, appear in the sky as umbrellas of flowers twenty yoganas in circumference. There appear in the sky some flower-umbrellas, thirty, forty, or fifty yoganas in circumference, as far as a hundred thousand yoganas in circumference. Those (Bodhisattvas) there who perceive the noble pleasure and joy, and obtain the noble strength of thought, having caused a great and immeasurable and innumerable stock of good works to ripen, and having worshipped many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas, turn again to the world Sukhâvatî in one morning, through the favour of practising the former prayers of the same Tathâgata Amitâyus, owing to the hearing of the Law formerly given, owing to the stock of good works produced under former Ginas, owing to the perfect completion in the success of former prayers, owing to the well-ordered state of

LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 38.

'And again, O Ânanda, all those beings who have been born in that Buddha country recite the story of the Law, which is accompanied by omniscience. And for the beings in that Buddha country there exists no idea of property whatever. And all those going and walking through that Buddha country feel neither pleasure nor pain; stepping forward they have no desire, and with desire they do not step forward. They give no thought to any beings. And again, O Ânanda, for those beings who have been born in that world Sukhâvatî, there is no idea of others, no idea of self, no idea of inequality, no strife, no dispute, no opposition. Full of equanimity, of benevolent thought, of tender thought, of affectionate thought, of useful thought, of serene thought, of firm thought, of unbiassed thought, of undisturbed thought, of unagitated thought, of thought (fixed on) the practice of discipline and transcendent wisdom, having entered on knowledge which is a firm support to all thoughts, equal to the ocean in wisdom, equal to the mountain Meru in knowledge, rich in many good qualities, delighting in the music of the Bodhyangas ['Requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha.'--Childers, Pâli Dictionary, p. 93 b.], devoted to the music of Buddha, they discard the eye of flesh, and assume the heavenly eye. And having approached the eye of wisdom, having reached the eye of the Law, producing the eye of Buddha, showing it, lighting it, and fully exhibiting it, they attain perfect wisdom. And being bent on the equilibrium of the three elements, having subdued and calmed their thoughts. endowed with a perception of the causes of all things, clever in explanation of causes, endowed with the power of explaining the Law (or things such as they really are), clever in taking and refusing, clever in leading and not leading, clever in resting, they, being regardless of worldly stories, derive true pleasures from stories transcending the world. They are clever in examining all things, familiar with the knowledge of the cessation of the working of all things, perceiving even what cannot be seen, caring for nothing, attached to nothing, without cares, without pain, free without clinging to anything, free from impurity, of blameless behaviour, not clinging to anything, intent on the deep or profound laws, they do not sink, elevated to the entrance into the knowledge of Buddha difficult to comprehend, having obtained the path of one vehicle, free from doubt, beyond the reach of questionings, knowing the thoughts of others, free from selfconfidence. Being elevated in knowledge, they are like the Sumeru; being imperturbable in thought, they are like the ocean; they surpass the light of the sun and moon, by the light of wisdom, and by the whiteness, brilliancy, purity, and beauty of their knowledge; by their light and splendour, they are like the colour of molten gold; by their patiently bearing the good and evil deeds of all beings, they are like the earth; by their cleaning and carrying off the taint of all sins, they are like water; by their burning the evil of pride in anything, they are like the king of fire; by not clinging to anything, they are like the wind; by pervading all things and yet not caring for anything, they are like the ether; by not being tainted by the whole world, they are like lotuses; by their shouting forth the Law, they are like the great cloud at the rainy season; by showering down the whole ocean of the Law, they are like the great rain; by overpowering great troops, they are like bulls; by the highest restraint of their thoughts, they are like great elephants; by being well trained, they are like noble horses: by their fearlessness, confidence, and heroism, they are like the lion, the king of beasts; by affording protection to all beings, they are like the Nyagrodha (fig-tree), the king of trees; by not being shaken by any calumniators, they are like the (Sumeru), the king of mountains; by their feeling of unlimited love, they are like the sky; by their precedence, owing to their command of the Law, and their stock of all merit, they are like the great Brahman; by their not dwelling in what they have accumulated, they are like birds; by their scattering all calumniators, they are like Garuda, king of birds; by their not being averse to our obtaining difficult things, they are like the Udumbara flowers: calm like elephants, because their senses are neither crooked nor shaken; clever in decision, full of the sweet flavour of patience; without envy, because they do not hanker after the happiness of others; wise, because in their search after the Law, never tired of discussions on the Law; like the precious beryl, through their value; (like) jewel-mines, by their sacred knowledge; sweet-sounding by the noise of the great drum of the Law, striking the great kettledrum of the Law, blowing the great trumpet-shell of the Law, raising the great banner of the Law, lighting the torch of the Law, looking for wisdom, not foolish, faultless, passionless, pure, refined, not greedy, fond of distributing, generous, openhanded, fond of distributing gifts, not stingy in giving instruction and food, not attached, without fear, without desires, wise, patient, energetic, bashful, orderly, fearless, full of knowledge, happy, pleasant to live with, obliging, enlightening the world, free from sorrow, free from taint, having left off the winking of the eye, possessing lightly acquired knowledge, strong in reasoning, strong in prayer, not crooked, not perverse; then, having accumulated a hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of lakshas [The Tibetan

translation has Buddha for laksha.] of virtue, delivered from the thorns of pride, free from illusion, hatred, and passion: pure, devoted to what is pure, famous by the Gina-power, learned in the world, elevated by their purified knowledge, sons of the Gina, endowed with the vigour of thought, heroes, firm, unselfish, free from faults, unequalled, free from anger, collected, noble, heroes, bashful, energetic, possessed of memory, understanding, and prudence; sending forth the weapons of knowledge, possessed of purity, shining, free from faults and taints, endowed with memory, resting on serene knowledge. And such, O Ânanda, are the beings in that Buddha country, stated briefly. But if the Tathagatas should describe them fully, even in a length of life that should last for a hundred thousand nivutas of kotîs of kalpas, yet the end of the virtues of those good people would not be reached, and yet there would be no failure of the self-confidence of the Tathâgata. And why? Because, O Ânanda, both are indeed inconceivable and incomparable, viz. first, the virtues of those Bodhisattvas, and secondly, the unsurpassed light of knowledge of the Tathâgata.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 39.

'And now, O Ânanda, stand up, facing westward, and having taken a handful of flowers, fall down. This is the quarter where that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, dwells, remains, supports himself, and teaches the Law, whose spotless and pure name, famed in every quarter of the whole world with its ten quarters, the blessed Buddhas, equal to (the grains of) the sand of the river Gangâ, speaking and answering again and again without stopping, extol, praise, and eulogize.'

After this, the blessed Ânanda said this to the Bhagavat: 'I wish, O Bhagavat, to see that Amitâbha, Amitaprabha, Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, and those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, who are possessed of a stock of merit amassed under many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas.'

At that moment this speech was spoken by the blessed Ânanda, and immediately that Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, let such a ray of light go out of the palm of his own hand, that even the most distant Buddha country was shining with the great splendour. And again at that time, whatever black mountains, or jewel-mountains, or Merus, great Merus, Mukilindas, great Mukilindas, Kakravâdas, great Kakravâdas, or erections, or pillars, trees, woods, gardens, palaces, belonging to the gods and men, exist everywhere in hundred thousand kotîs of Buddha countries; all these were pervaded and overcome by the light of that Tathâgata. And as a man, followed by another at a distance of a fathom only, would see the other man, when the sun has risen, exactly in the same manner the Bhikshus, Bhikshunîs, Upâsakas (laymen), Upâsikâs (laywomen), gods, Nâgas, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garudas, Kinnaras, Mahoragas, men and not-men, in this Buddha country, saw at that time that Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, like the Sumeru, the king of mountains, elevated above all countries, surpassing all quarters, shining, warming, glittering, blazing; and they saw that great mass of Bodhisattvas, and that company of Bhikshus, viz. by the grace of Buddha, from the pureness of that light. And as this great earth might be, when all covered with water, so that no trees, no mountains, no islands, no grasses, bushes, herbs. large trees, no rivers, chasms, water-falls, would be seen, but only the one great earth which had all become an ocean, in exactly the same manner there is neither mark nor sign whatever to be seen in that Buddha courtry, except Srâvakas, spreading their light over a fathom, and those Bodhisattvas, spreading their light over a hundred thousand kotîs of yoganas. And that Bhagavat Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, overshadowing that mass of Srâvakas and that mass of Bodhisattvas, is seen, illuminating all quarters. Again at that time all those Bodhisattvas, Srâvakas, gods and men in that world Sukhâvatî, saw this world Sahâ and Sâkyamuni, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, surrounded by a holy company of Bhikshus, teaching the Law.

# LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 40.

Then, the Bhagavat addressed the noble-minded Bodhisattva Agita, and said: 'Do you see, O Agita, the perfection of the array of ornaments and good qualities in that Buddha country; and above in the sky (places) with charming parks, charming gardens, charming rivers and lotus lakes, scattered with many precious Padmas, Utpalas, Kumudas, and Pundarikas; and below, from the earth to the abode of the Akanishthas, the surface of the sky, covered with flowers, ornamented with wreaths of flowers, shining on the rows of many precious columns, frequented by flocks of all kinds of birds created by the Tathāgata?'

The Bodhisattva Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those flocks of immortal birds, making the whole Buddha country resound with the voice of Buddha, so that those Bodhisattvas are never without meditating on Buddha?'

Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those beings, who have ascended to the palaces which extend over a hundred thousand yoganas in the sky, walking about respectfully

Agita said: 'I see, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Agita, is there any difference between the gods called Paranirmitavasavartins, and men in the world Sukhāvatí?'

Agita said: 'I do not, O Bhagavat, perceive even one difference, so far as the men in that world of Sukhâvatî are endowed with great supernatural powers.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Do you see again, O Agita, those men dwelling within the calyx of excellent lotus-flowers in that world Sukhâvatî?'

He said: 'As gods called Trâyastrimsas or Yâmas, having entered into palaces of fifty or hundred or five hundred yoganas in extent, are playing, sporting, walking about, exactly in the same manner I see, O Bhagavat, these men dwelling within the calyx of excellent lotus-flowers in the world Sukhâvatî.

#### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 41.

'Again there are, O Bhagavat, beings who, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the lotus-flowers. What is there, O Bhagavat, the cause, what the reason, that some dwell within the calyx, while others, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the lotus-flowers?'

The Bhagavat said: 'Those Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, entertain doubt about being born in the world Sukhâvatî, and with that thought amass a stock of merit, for them there is the dwelling within the calyx. Those, on the contrary, who are filled with faith, and being free from doubt, amass a stock of merit in order to be born in the world Sukhâvatî, and conceive, believe, and trust in the perfect knowledge of the blessed Buddhas, they, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus. And those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, raise their thought in order to see Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, who never entertain a doubt, believe in the perfect knowledge of Buddha and in their own stock of merit, for them, being born miraculously, and appearing crosslegged, there is, in one minute, such a body as that of other beings who have been born there long before. See, O Agita, the excellent, immeasurable, unfailing, unlimited wisdom, that namely for their own benefit they are deprived during five hundred years of seeing Buddhas, seeing Bodhisattvas, hearing the Law, speaking about the Law (with others), and thus collecting a stock of merit: they are indeed deprived of the successful attainment of every stock of merit, and that through their forming ideas tainted with doubt.

'And, O Agita, there might be a dungeon belonging to an anointed Kshatriya king, inlaid entirely with gold and beryl, in which cushions, garlands, wreaths and strings are fixed, having canopies of different colours and kind, covered with silk cushions, scattered over with various flowers and blossoms, scented with excellent scents, adorned with arches, courts, windows, pinnacles, fire-places, and terraces, covered with nets of bells of the seven kinds of gems, having four angles, four pillars, four doors, four stairs; and the son of that king having been thrown into the dungeon for some misdeed is there, bound with a chain made of the Gâmbûnada gold. And suppose there is a couch prepared for him, covered with many woollen cloths, spread over with cotton and feather cushions, having Kâlinga coverings, and carpets, together with coverlids[The text is corrupt here.], red on both sides, beautiful and charming. There he might be then either sitting or resting. And there might be brought to him much food and drink, of various kinds, pure and well prepared. What do you think, O Agita, would the enjoyment be great for that

Agita said: 'Yes, it would be great, O Bhagavat.'

The Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Agita, would he even taste it there, and notice it, or would he feel any satisfaction from it?'

He said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat; but on the contrary, when he had been led away by the king and thrown into the dungeon, he would only wish for deliverance from there. He would seek for the nobles, princes, ministers, women, elders (rich merchants), householders, and lords of castles, who might deliver him from that dungeon. Moreover, O Bhagavat, there is no pleasure for that prince in that dungeon, nor is he liberated, until the king shows him favour.'

The Bhagavat said: 'Thus, O Agita, it is with those Bodhisattvas who, having fallen into doubt, amass a stock of merit, but doubt the knowledge of Buddha. They are born in that world Sukhâvatî, through the hearing of Buddha's name, and through the serenity of thought only; they do not, however, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus, being born miraculously, but dwell only in the calyx of the lotus-flowers. Moreover for them there exist ideas of palaces and gardens. There is no discharge, there is no phlegm or mucus, there is nothing disagreeable to the mind. But they are deprived of seeing Buddhas, hearing the Law, seeing

Bodhisattvas, speaking about and ascertaining the Law, (gathering) any (new) stock of merit, and practising the Law. during five hundred years. Moreover they do not rejoice there or perceive satisfaction. But they wish to remove one another, and then they step out behind. And it is not known whether their exit takes place above, below, or across. See, O Agita, there might be worshippings of many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas during those five hundred years, and also many, immense, innumerable, immeasurable stocks of merit to be amassed. But all this they destroy by the fault of doubt. See, O Agita, to how great an injury the doubt of the Bodhisattvas leads. Therefore now, O Agita, after the Bodhisattvas without doubting have quickly raised their thoughts towards the Bodhi, in order to obtain power of conferring happiness for the benefit of all creatures, their stock of merit should be turned towards their being born in the world Sukhâvatî, where the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, dwells.

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 42.

After these words, the Bodhisattva Agita thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, will the Bodhisattvas, who have gone away from this Buddha country, or from the side of other blessed Buddhas, be born in the world Sukhâvatî?'

The Bhagavat said: Indeed, O Agita, seventy-two niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas are gone away from this Buddha country, who will be born in the world Sukbavatt; Bodhisattvas, who will never return, thanks to the stock of merit, which they have accumulated under many hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas. What then shall be said of those with smaller stocks of merit [What is meant is that their number is much larger.]?

1. Eighteen hundred niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Dushprasaha. 2. There lives in the Eastern quarter the Tathâgata named Ratnâkara. From his place ninety kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî. 3. Twentytwo kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Gyotishprabha. 4. Twentyfive kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Amitaprabha. 5. Sixty kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâyatî from the place of the Tathâgata Lokapradîpa. 6. Sixty-four kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Nâgâbhibhû. 7. Twenty-five kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Viragahprabha. 8. Sixteen kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâyatî from the place of the Tathâgata Simha. 9. Eighteen thousand Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Simha (sic). 10. Eighty-one niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Srîkûta. 11. Ten niyutas of kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Narendrarâga. 12. Twelve thousand Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Balâbhigna. 13. Twenty-five kotîs of Bodhisattvas[1], who have obtained strength, having gone to one place in one week of eight days, and having turned to the West during ninety hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of kalpas\*, will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Pushpadhvaga. [\* Sanghavarman's translation of this pasage is: 'Within seven days they can take hold of the firm conditions (dharmas) practised by a nobleminded one during hundred thousand of kotîs of kalpas. Bodhiruki's is: 'Within seven days they can cause beings to separate from their state of transmigration during hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs.] 14. Twelve kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî from the place of the Tathâgata Gvalanâdhipati. 15. From the place of Tathâgata Vaisâradyaprâpta, sixty-nine kotîs of Bodhisattvas will be born in the world Sukhâvatî, in order to see the Tathâgata Amitâbha, to bow before him, to worship him, to ask questions of him, and to consult him. For this reason, O Agita, I might proclaim during a full niyuta of kotîs of kalpas the names of those Tathâgatas, from whom the Bodhisattvas proceed in order to see that Tathâgata Amitâbha in the world Sukhâvatî, to bow before him, and to worship him, and yet the end could not be reached.

# LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 43.

'See, O Agita, what easy gains are gained by those beings who will hear the name of the Tathâgata Amitâbha, holy and fully enlightened. Nor will those beings be of little faith [or 'following the lower Law.'], who will obtain at least one joyful thought of that Tathâgata and of this treatise of the Law. Therefore now, O Agita, I invite you, and command you to proclaim this treatise of the Law, before the world together with the gods. Having plunged into the vast universe full of fire, no one ought to turn back, if he has but once conceived the thought of going across. And why? Because kotîs of Bodhisattvas indeed, O Agita, return from the highest perfect knowledge, on account of not hearing such treatises of the Law as this. Therefore, from a wish for this treatise of the

Law, a great effort should be made to hear, learn, and remember it, and to study it for the sake of fully grasping it and widely making it known. A good copy of it should be kept, after it has been copied in a book, if only during one night and day, or even during the time necessary for milking a cow. The name of Master should be given to a teacher who desires to conduct quickly innumerable beings to the state of never returning from the highest perfect knowledge, namely, in order that they may see the Buddha country of that blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, and to acquire the excellent perfection of the array of good qualities peculiar to his own Buddha country.

'And, O Agita, such beings will have easily gained their gains who, having amassed a stock of merit, having performed service under former Ginas, and having been guided by Buddhas, shall hear in future, until the destruction of the good Law, such-like excellent treatises of the Law, treatises which are praised, eulogized, and approved of by all Buddhas, and convey quickly the great knowledge of omniscience. And those also who, when they have heard it, shall obtain excellent delight and pleasure, and will learn, retain, recite and grasp, and wisely preach it to others, and be delighted by its study, or, having copied it at least, will worship it, will certainly produce much good work, so that it is difficult to count it.

'Thus indeed, O Agita, I have done what a Tathâgata ought to do. It is now for you to devote yourself to it without any doubt. Do not doubt the perfect and unfailing knowledge of Buddha. Do not enter into the dungeon made of gems built up in every way. For indeed, the birth of a Buddha, O Agita, is difficult to be met with, so is the instruction in the Law, and also a timely birth[1]. O Agita, the way to gain the perfection (pâramitâ) of all stocks of merit has been proclaimed by me. Do now exert yourselves and move forward. O Agita, I grant indeed a great favour to this treatise of the Law. Be valiant so that the laws of Buddhas may not perish or disappear. Do not break the command of the Tathâgata.'

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 44.

Then at that time, the Bhagavat spoke these verses:

- 'Such hearings of me will not be for people who have not done good; but those who are heroes and perfect, they will hear this speech.
- 2. 'And those by whom the Lord of the world, the enlightened and the light-giver, has been seen, and the law been heard reverentially, will obtain the highest joy.
- Low people of slothful minds cannot find any delight in the laws of Buddha; those who have worshipped in the Buddha countries learn the service of the Lords of the three worlds.
- 4. 'As a blind man in darkness does not know the way, and much less can show it, so also he who is (only) a Srâvaka [Those who are as yet hearers only of the Law.] in the knowledge of Buddha; how then should beings who are ignorant!
- 5. 'The Buddha only knows the virtues of a Buddha; but not gods, Nâgas, Asuras, Yakshas, and Srâvakas (disciples); even for Anekabuddhas there is no such way, as when the knowledge of a Buddha is being manifested.
- 6. 'If all beings had attained bliss, knowing the highest meaning in pure wisdom, they would not in kotis of kalpas or even in a longer time tell all the virtues of one Buddha.
- 'Thereupon they would attain Nirvâna, preaching for many kotîs of kalpas, and yet the measure of the knowledge of a Buddha would not be reached, for such is the wonderfulness of the knowledge of the Ginas.
- 8. 'Therefore a learned man of an intelligent race who believes my words, after having perceived all paths of the knowledge of the Ginas, should utter speech, saying, "Buddha is wise."
- 9. 'Now and then a man is found, now and then a Buddha appears, knowledge of the object of faith is acquired after a long time,--therefore one should strive to acquire (the knowledge of) the object (of faith).'
- 10. [The tenth verse is again unintelligible, but may have meant something like tha 'those who having heard the best Laws, are joyful in remembering Sugata, are our friends in time past, and they also who wish for enlightenment.']

# LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 45.

And while this treatise of the Law was being delivered, twelve kotis of niyutas of beings obtained the pure and spotless eye of the Law with regard to Laws. Twenty-four hundred thousand niyutas of kotis of beings obtained the Anâgâmin [One who is not born again, except in the Brahma world, and then may obtain Nirvâna.] reward. Eight hundred Bhikshus had their thoughts delivered from faults so as to cling no more to anything. Twenty-five kotîs of Bodhisattvas obtained resignation to things to come. And by forty hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of the human and divine race, thoughts such as had never risen before were turned toward the highest perfect knowledge, and their stocks of merit were made to grow toward their being born in the world Sukhâvatî, from a desire to see the Tathâgata, the blessed Amitâbha. And all of them having been born there, will in proper order be

born in other worlds, as Tathågatas, called Mangusvara (sweet-voiced). And eighty kotîs of niyutas having acquired resignation under the Tathågata Dîpankara, never turning back again from the highest perfect knowledge, rendered perfect by the Tathågata Amitâyus, practising the duties of former Bodhisattvas, will carry out, after they are born in the world Sukhåvatî, the duties enjoined in the former Pranidhånas (prayers).

### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 46.

At that time this universe (the three millions of worlds) trembled in six ways. And various miracles were seen. On earth everything was perfect, and human and divine instruments were played, and the shout of joy was heard as far as the world of the Akanishthas.

#### LARGER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA CHAPTER 47

Thus spoke the Bhagavat enraptured, and the noble-minded Bodhisattva Agita, and the blessed Ânanda, the whole Assembly, and the world, with gods, men, spirits, mighty birds, and fairies, applauded the speech of the Bhagavat.

The praise of the beauty of the excellences of Sukhâvatî, the country of the blessed Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, the entry of the Bodhisattva on the stage of never returning, the story of Amitâbha, the Mahâyânasûtra of the Description of Sukhâvatî îs fînished.

### NOTE: On The Two Pranidhânas,

The 18th And 21st, Missing In The Text. (By The Rev. Bunyiu Nanjio, M.A.,)

In the Chinese translations of the Larger Sukhâvatî-vyûha, made by Sanghavarman, A. D. 252, and Bodhiruki, A. D. 693-713, there are altogether 48 Pranidhânas, not 46, as in the Sanskrit text. The 18th and the 21st in the translations are evidently wanting in the Sanskrit text, and the latter part of the 19th Pranidhâna in that text is the latter part of the lost 18th, according to the translations. This 18th Pranidhâna, however, is so important that it is called by Genku, the teacher of Shin-ran, the founder of the Shin-shiu sect, 'the king of the Pranidhânas.'

Sanghavarman's translation of the 18th, 20th, and 21st is as follows:--

18. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters should believe in me with serene thoughts, and should wish to be born in my country, and should have say ten times thought of me (or repeated my name),—if they should not be born there, may I not obtain the perfect knowledge;—barring only those beings who have committed the five deadly sins, and who have spoken evil of the good Law.'

The 18th Pranidhâna in the Sanskrit text agrees with the 19th in both Chinese translations; but the 20th in these translations is somewhat shorter than the 19th in the Sanskrit text. The shorter translation is as follows:—

- 20. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if those beings who are in the ten quarters, after they have heard my name, should direct their thoughts towards my country and should plant the roots of merit (or prepare their stock of merit), and should bring them to maturity with their serene thoughts, and wish to be born in my country,—if they should not accomplish (their desire), may I not obtain the perfect knowledge.
- 21. 'When I have obtained Buddhahood, if gods and men in my country should not all be endowed perfectly with the thirty-two marks of the great man, may I not obtain the perfect knowledge.'

### THE SMALLER SUKHAVATI-VYUHA

or The Smaller / Shorter Mahayana Sutra (The Smaller Sutra of the Mahayana School) Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49 Translation: Friedrich Max Müller, 1894 Estimated Range of Dating: 250 B.C. - 100 A.D

(The Shorter Sukhavativyuha Sutra is one of the two Indian Mahayana sutras that describe Sukhavati, the pure land of Amitabha. This text is highly influential in East Asian Buddhism, including China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. This text is revered by the Jodo Shinshu, one of Japan's largest Buddhist congregations.

The original Sanskrit versions of the Shorter Sukhāvatīvyāha Sūtra and Longer Sukhāvatīvyāha Sūtra were translated into English by Luis Gomez in The Land of Disco

History: The Shorter Sukhavativyuha Sutra was translated from Sanskrit into Classical Chinese by Tripitaka master Kumarajiva in 402, but may have existed in India as early as the year 100 in a Prakrit

Content: The bulk of the Shorter Sukhavativyuha Sutra, considerably shorter than other Pure Land sutras, consists of a discourse which Gautama Buddha gave at Jetavana in Sravasti to his disciple Sariputra. The talk concerned the wondrous adornments that await the righteous in the western

pure land of Sukha vati as well as the beings that reside there, including the buddha Amitabha. The text also describes what one must do to be reborn there.

The Sukhavati even in its shortest text, is called a Mahayana-sutra, nor is there any reason why a Mahayanasûtra should not be short. The meaning of Mahayana-sutra is simply a Sutra belonging to the Mahâyâna school, the school of the Great Boat. It was Burnouf who, in his Introduction to the History of Buddhism, tried very hard to establish a distinction between the Vaipulya or developed Sutras, and what he calls the simple Sutras. Now, the Vaipulya Sutras may all belong to the Mahayana school, but that would not prove that all the Sutras of the Mahayana school are Vaipulya or developed Sutras. The name of simple Sutra, in opposition to the Vaipulya or developed Sûtras, is not recognised by the Buddhists themselves; at least, I know no name for simple Sutras. No doubt there is a great difference between a Vaipulya Sutra, such as the Lotus of the Good Law, translated by Burnouf, and the Sûtras which Burnouf translated, for instance, from the Divyavadâna. But what Burnouf considers as the distinguishing mark of a Vaipulya Sûtra, viz. the occurrence of Bodhisattyas, as followers or the Buddha Sakyamuni, would no longer seem to be tenable, unless we classed our short Sukhavati-vyuha as a Vaipulya or developed Sutra. For this there is no authority. Our Sutra is a Mahayana Sutra, but never called a Vaipulya Sutra, and yet in this Sutra the Bodhisattvas constitute a very considerable portion among the followers or Buddha. But more than that, Amitabha, the Buddha of Sukhavati another personage whom Burnouf looks upon as peculiar to the Vaipulya Sutras, who is, in fact, one of the Dhyani-buddhas, though not called by that name in our Sutra, forms the chief object or its teaching, and is represented as known to Buddha Sakyamuni, nay, as having become a Buddha long before the Buddha Sakyamuni. The larger text of the Sukhavati-vyuha would certainly, according to Burnouf's definition, seem to fall into the category of the Vaipulya Sutras. But it is not so called in the Manuscripts.)

#### ADORATION TO THE OMNISCIENT!

- 1. Thus it was heard by me: At one time the Blessed (Bhagavat, i.e. Buddha) dwelt at Srâvastî, in the Geta-grove, in the garden of Anâthapindaka, together with a large company of Bhikshus (mendicant friars), viz. with twelve hundred and fifty Bhikshus, all of them acquainted with the five kinds of knowledge, elders, great disciples, and Arhats such as Sâriputra, the elder,
  Mahâkapphina, the elder, Mahâmaudgalyâyana, Mahâkâtyâyana. Mahâkaushthila, Revata, Suddhipanthaka, Nanda, Ánanda, Râhula, Gavâmpati, Bharadvâga, Kâlodayin, Vakkula, and Aniruddha. He dwelt together with these and many other great disciples, and together with many noble-minded Bodhisattvas, such as Mangusrî, the prince, the Bodhisattva Agita, the Bodhisattva Gandhahastin, the Bodhisattva Nityodyukta, the Bodhisattva Anikshiptadhura. He dwelt together with them and many other noble-minded Bodhisattvas, and with Sakra, the Indra or King [Indra, the old Vedic god, has come to mean simply 'Lord'] of the Devas, and with Brahman Sahâmpati. With these and many other hundred thousand nayutas [The numbers in Buddhist literature, if they once exceed a koti or kotî, i. e. ten millions, become very vague, nor is their value always the same. Ayuta, i.e. a hundred kotîs: nivuta, i.e. a hundred ayutas: and navuta i.e. 1 with 22 zeros, are often confounded; nor does it matter much so far as any definite idea is concerned which such numerals convey to our mind. See Prof. H. Schubert, 'On large numbers,' in Open Court, Dec. 14, 1893.] of sons of the gods, Bhagavat dwelt at Srâvastî.
- 2. Then Bhagavat addressed the honoured Sâriputra and said, 'O Sâriputra, after you have passed from here over a hundred thousand kotîs of Buddha countries there is in the Western part a Buddha country, a world called Sukhâvatî (the happy country). And there a Tathâgata, called Amitâyus, an Arhat, fully enlightened, dwells now, and remains, and supports himself, and teaches the Law [Tishthati dhriyate yâpayati dharmam ka desayati. This is an idiomatic phrase, which occurs again and again in the Nepalese text of the Sukhâvatî (MS. 26 b, ll. 1, 2; 55 a, l. 2, etc.). It seems to mean, he stands there, holds himself, supports himself, and teaches the law. The Law' most likely refers to the 'Five Precepts', also known as 'Pancasila' or 'five rules of training' which is the most important system of morality for Buddhist and Daoist lay people.].

'Now what do you think, Sâriputra, for what reason is that world called Sukhâvatî (the happy)? In that world Sukhâvatî O Sâriputra, there is neither bodily nor mental pain for living beings. The sources of happiness are innumerable there. For that reason is that world called Sukhâvatî (the happy).

3. 'And again, O Sâriputra, that world Śukhâvatî is adorned with seven terraces, with seven rows of palm-trees, and with strings of bells. It is enclosed on every side, beautiful, brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl and crystal [gold, silver, pearls gems (as sapphire, ruby), cat's eye, lapis lazuli, diamond, coral.]. With such arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha country is that Buddha country adorned.

- 4. 'And again, O Sariputra, in that world Sukhâvatî there are lotus lakes, adorned with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals as the seventh. They are full of water which possesses the eight good qualities [Which are: limpidity and purity, refreshing coolness, sweetness, softness, fertilising qualities, calmness, power of preventing famine, productiveness.], their waters rise as high as the fords and bathing-places, so that even crows may drink there; they are strewn with golden sand. And in these lotuslakes there are all around on the four sides four stairs, beautiful and brilliant with the four gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal. And on every side of these lotus-lakes gem-trees are growing, beautiful and brilliant with the seven gems, viz. gold, silver, beryl, crystal, red pearls, diamonds, and corals as the seventh. And in those lotus-lakes lotus-flowers are growing, blue, blue-coloured, of blue splendour, blue to behold; yellow, yellow-coloured, of yellow splendour, yellow to behold; red, red-coloured, of red splendour, red to behold; white, white-coloured, of white splendour, white to behold; beautiful, beautifully-coloured, of beautiful splendour, beautiful to behold, and in circumference as large as the wheel of a chariot.
- 5. 'And again, O Sâriputra, in that Buddha country there are heavenly musical instruments always played on, and the earth is lovely and of golden colour. And in that Buddha countrya flower-rain of heavenly Mândârava blossoms pours down three times every day, and three times every night. And the beings who are born there worship before their morning meal a hundred thousand kotîs of Buddhas by going to other worlds; and having showered a hundred thousand kotîs of flowers upon each Tathagata, they return to their own world in time for the afternoon rest [The midday rest, the siesta.]. With such arrays of excellences peculiar to a Buddha country is that Buddha country adorned.
- 6. 'And again. O Sâriputra, there are in that Buddha country swans, curlews [Is it meant for Kurayîka, or Karayîka, a fine-voiced bird.], and peacocks. Three times every night, and three times every day, they come together and perform a concert each uttering his own note. And from them thus uttering proceeds a sound proclaiming the five virtues\*, the five powers\*, and the seven steps leading towards the highest knowledge\*. When the men there hear that sound. remembrance of Buddha, remembrance of the Law, remembrance of the Church, rises in their mind. [\* indrayas (or balayas): 1) sardhâwa (purity of faith); 2) wiraya, persevering exertion; 3) sati or smirti (the ascertainment of truth); 4) samâdhi, tranquillity; 5) pragnâwa, wisdom. The 7 bodhyangas: 1) sihi or smirti the ascertainment of the truth by mental application: 2) dharmmawicha, the investigation of causes; 3) wirâya, persevering exertion; 4) prîti, joy; 5) passadhi, or prasrabdhi, tranquillity; 6) samâdhi, tranquillity in a higher degree, including freedom from all that disturbs either body or mind; 7) upekshâ, equanimity.]

'Now, do you think, O Sariputra, that there are beings who have entered into the nature of animals (birds, etc.)? This is not to be thought of. The very name of hells is unknown in that Buddha country, and likewise that of (descent into) animal bodies and of the realm of Yama (the four apayas). No, these tribes of birds have been made on purpose by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, and they utter the sound of the Law. With such arrays of excellences, etc.

- 7. 'And again, O Sariputra, when those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Sâriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand kotis of sounds, when played by Âryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm-trees and strings of bells moved by the wind. And when the men hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in them, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Church. With such arrays of excellences, etc.
- 8. Now what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that Tathâgata called Amitâyus? The length of life (âyus), O Sâriputra, of that Tathâgata and of those men there is immeasurable (amita). Therefore is that Tathagata called Amitâyus. And ten kalpas have passed, O Sariputra, since that Tathâgata awoke to perfect knowledge.
- 9. 'And what do you think, O Sariputra, for what reason is that Tathagata called Amitabha? The splendour (abha), O Sâriputra, of that Tathāgata is unimpeded over all Buddha countries. Therefore is that Tathagata called Amitābha.
- 'And there is, O Sariputra, an innumerable assembly of disciples with that Tathâgata, purified and venerable persons, whose number it is not easy to count. With such arrays of excellences, etc.
- 10. 'And again, O Sariputra, of those beings also who are born in the Buddha country of the Tathâgata Amitâyus as purified Bodhisattvas, never to return again and bound by one birth only, of those Bodhisattvas also, O Sariputra, the number is not easy to count, except they are reckoned as infinite in number.

'Then again all beings, O Sariputra, ought to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country. And why? Because they come together there with such excellent men. Beings are not born in that Buddha country of the Tathâgata Amitâyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life.

No, whatever son or daughter of a family shall hear the name of the blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights, -- when that son or daughter of a family comes to die, then that Amitavus, the Tathagata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples and followed by a host of Bodhisattvas, will stand before them at their hour of death, and they will depart this life with tranquil minds. After their death they will be born in the world Sukhâvatî in the Buddha country of the same Amitâyus, the Tathâgata. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, having perceived this cause and effect [lit. the power of the thing. Just like in Greek-Roman as well as in Western Philosophy generally, the belief in cause and effect is very significant in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. It is vital for developing yourself and your surroundings. In sharp contrast to that, cause and effect does not play any role in Islam but only the blind indoctrination recorded in the Koran, Sira, and Hadith. This leaves the population poor, angry and aggressive; on purpose.], I with reverence say thus, Every son and every daughter of a family ought with their whole mind to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country.

11. 'And now, O Sâriputra, as I here at present glorify that world, thus, in the East, O Sâriputra, other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Akshobhya, the Tathâgata Merudhvaga, the Tathâgata Mahâmeru, the Tathâgata Meruprabhâsa, and the Tathâgata Mangudhvaga, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangi, comprehend their own Buddha countries in their speech, and then reveal them.

Accept this repetition of the Law, called the "Favour of all Buddhas," which magnifies their inconceivable excellences.

- 12. 'Thus also in the South do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Kandrasûryapradîpa. the Tathâgata Yasahprabha, the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Merupradîpa, the Tathâgata Anantavîrya, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangâ, comprehend their own Buddha countries in their speech, and then reveal them. Accept, etc.
- 13. Thus also in the West do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Amitâyus, the Tathâgata Amitaskandha, the Tathâgata Amitadhvaga, the Tathâgata Mahâprabha, the Tathâgata Mahcâratnaketu, the Tathâgata Suddharasmiprabha, equal in number to the sand of the river Gangâ, comprehend, etc.
- 14. 'Thus also in the North do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Vaisvânaranirghosha, the Tathâgata Dundubhisvaranirghosha, the Tathâgata Dushpradharsha, the Tathâgata Âdityasambhava, the Tathâgata Galeniprabha (Gvalanaprabha.), the Tathâgata Prabhâkara, equal in number to the sand, etc.
- 15. Thus also in the Nadir do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Simha, the Tathâgata Yasas, the Tathâgata Yasahprabhâva, the Tathâgata Dharma, the Tathâgata Dharmadhvaga, equal in number to the sand, etc.
- 16. 'Thus also in the Zenith do other blessed Buddhas, led by the Tathâgata Brahmaghosha, the Tathâgata Nakshatrarâga, the Tathâgata Indraketudhvagarâga, the Tathâgata Gandhottama, the Tathâgata Gandhaprabhâsa, the Tathâgata Mahârkiskandha, the Tathâgata Ratnakusumasampushpitagâtra, the Tathâgata Salendrarâga, the Tathâgata Ratnotpalasrî, the Tathâgata Sarvârthadarsa, the Tathâgata Sumerukalpa, equal in number to the sand, etc.
- 17. 'Now what do you think, O Sâriputra, for what reason is that repetition (treatise) of the Law called the Favour of all Buddhas? Every son or daughter of a family who shall hear the name of that repetition of the Law and retain in their memory the names of those blessed Buddhas, will be favoured by the Buddhas, and will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, believe, accept, and do not doubt of me and those blessed Buddhas!

'Whatever sons or daughters of a family shall make mental prayer for the Buddha country of that blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, or are making it now or have made it formerly, all these will never return again, being once in possession of the transcendent true knowledge. They will be born in that Buddha country, have been born, or are being born now. Therefore, then, O Sâriputra, mental prayer is to be made for that Buddha country by faithful sons and daughters of a family.

- 18. 'And as I at present magnify here the inconceivable excellences of those blessed Buddhas, thus, O Sâriputra, do those blessed Buddhas magnify my own inconceivable excellences.
- 'A very difficult work has been done by Sâkyamuni, the sovereign of the Sâkyas. Having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Sahâ, he taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of the present kalpa, during this corruption of mankind, during

this corruption of belief, during this corruption of life, during this corruption of passions.

19. This is even for me, O Sâriputra, an extremely difficult work that, having obtained the transcendent true knowledge in this world Sahâ, I taught the Law which all the world is reluctant to accept, during this corruption of mankind, of belief, of passion, of life, and of this present kalpa.

20. Thus spoke Bhagavat joyful in his mind. And the honourable Sâriputra, and the Bhikshus and Bodhisattvas, and the whole world with the gods, men, evil spirits and genii, applauded the speech of Bhagavat.

This is the Mahâyâna Sûtra called Sukhâvatî-Vyûha.

### THE VAGRAKKHEDIKA

The Diamond-Cutter or The Diamond Sutra Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49 Translation: Friedrich Max Müller, 1894 Estimated Range of Dating: c. 100-400 A.D

(In order to make this collection of Mahâyâna works more complete and useful to students in Japan I have added a translation of the Vagrakhedikâ, which is much studied in Japan, and the Sanskrit text of which was published by me in an editio princeps—in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1881.

The Vagrakkhedikâ, or the Diamond-cutter, is one of the most widely read and most highly valued metaphysical treatises in Buddhist literature. In Japan the Vagrakkhedikâ and the Pragnâpâramitâ-hridaya are read chiefly by the followers of the Shin-gon sect, founded by Kô-Bô, the great disciple of the famous Hiouen-thsang, in 816 A.D. The temples of this sect in Japan amount to 12,943. Written originally in Sanskrit, it has been translated into Chinese, Tibetan. Mongol, and Mandshu. Its full title is Vagrakkhedikâ Pragnâpâramitâ i.t:. the Diamond-cutter, the perfection of wisdom, or, as it has sometimes been rendered. 'the Transcendent Wisdom.' Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio in his Catalogue of the Tripitaka, p. 1, has shown that it forms the ninth section of the Mahâpragnâ-pâramitâ-sûtra, and that it agrees with the Tibetan translation of the text in 300 slokas.

The Diamond Sūtra (Sanskrit: Vajracchedikā Prajnāpāramitā Sūtra) is a Mahāyāna (Buddhist) sūtra from the Prajnāpāramitā sutras or 'Perfection of Wisdom' genre. Translated into a variety of languages over a broad geographic range, the Diamond Sūtra is one of the most influential Mahayana sutras in East Asia, and it is particularly prominent within the Chan (or Zen) tradition, along with the Heart Sutra.

The extant copy is in the form of a scroll about 5 meters (16 ft) long. It was found among the Dunhuang manuscripts in 1900 by Daoist monk Wang Yuanlu and the archaeologist Sir Marc Aurel Stein purchased it in 1907 in the walled-up Mogao Caves near Dunhuang in northwest China from a monk guarding the caves — known as the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas". The scroll are dated back to 11 May 868. It is, in the words of the British Library, "the earliest complete survival of a dated printed book."

Title: The Sanskrit title for the sītra is the Vajracchedikā Prajnāpāramitā Sūtra, which may be translated roughly as the "Vajra Cutter Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra" or "The Perfection of Wisdom Text that Cuts Like a Thunderbolt". In English, shortened forms such as Diamond Sūtra and Vajra Sūtra are common. The title relies on the power of the vajra (diamond or thunderbolt, but also an abstract term for a powerful weapon) to cut things as a metaphor for the type of wisdom that cuts and shatters illusions to get to ultimate reality. The sutra is also called by the name "Trisatikā Prajnāpāramitā Sūtra" (300 lines Perfection of Insight sutra). The Diamond Sūtra is highly regarded in a number of Asian countries with traditions of Mahayana Buddhism.

The exact date of the composition of the Diamond Sūtra in Sanskrit is uncertain—arguments for the 2nd and 5th centuries have been made. The first Chinese translation dates to the early 5th century, but, by this point, the 4th or 5th century monks Asanga and Vasubandhu seem to have already authored authoritative commentaries on its content.

The Vajracchedika sutra was an influential work in the Mahayana Buddhist tradition. Early translations into a number of languages have been found in locations across Central and East Asia, suggesting that the text was widely studied and translated. In addition to Chinese translations, ranslations of the text and commentaries were made into Tibetan, and translations, elaborations, and paraphrases survive in a number of Central Asian languages.

The first translation of the Diamond Sūtra into Chinese is thought to have been made in 401 by the venerated and prolific translator Kumārajīva. Kumārajīva's translation style is distinctive, possessing a flowing smoothness that reflects his prioritization on conveying the meaning as opposed to precise literal rendering. The Kumārajīva translation has been particularly highly regarded over the centuries, and it is this version that appears on the 868 Dunhuang scroll. It is the most widely used and chanted Chinese version

In addition to the Kumarajiva translation, a number of later translations exist. The Diamond Sūtra was again translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Bodhiruci in 509, Paramārtha in 558, Dharmagupta (twice, in 590 and in 605~616), Xuanzang (twice, in 648 and in 660~663), and Viiing in 703

The Chinese Buddhist scholar and monk Xuanzang visited a Mahāsāmghika-Lokottaravāda monastery at Bamiyan, Afghanistan, in the 7th century. Using Xuanzang's travel accounts, modern archaeologists have identified the site of this monastery. Birchbark manuscript fragments of several Mahāyāna stītras have been discovered at the site, including the Vajracchedikā Prajnāpāramitā Sūtra (MS 2385), and these are now part of the Schøyen Collection. This manuscript was written in the Sanskrit language, and written in an ornate form of the Gupta script. This same Sanskrit manuscript also contains the Medicine Buddha Sūtra (Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhārāja Sūtra).

The Diamond Sūtra gave rise to a culture of artwork, sūtra veneration, and commentaries in East Asian Buddhism. By the end of the Tang Dynasty (907) in China there were over 80 commentaries written on it (only 32 survive), such as those by prominent Chinese Buddhists like Sengzhao, Xie Lingyun, Zhiyi, Jizang, Kuiji and Zongmi. Copying and recitation of the Diamond Sutra was a widespread devotional practice, and stories attributing miraculous powers to these acts are recorded in Chinese, Japanese, Tibetan, and Mongolian Sutraes.

One of the best known commentaries is the Exegesis on the Diamond Sutra by Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch of the Chan School. The Diamond Sutra features prominently in the Platform Sutra, the religious biography of Huineng, where hearing its recitation is supposed to have triggered the enlightening insight that led Huineng to abandon his life as a woodcutter to become a Buddhist monk.

Contents

The Vajracchedikā Prajnāpāramitā Sutra contains the discourse of the Buddha to a senior monk, Subhuti. Its major themes are anatman (not-self), the emptiness of all phenomena (though the term 'sūnyatā' itself does not appear in the text), the liberation of all beings without attachment and the importance of spreading and teaching the Diamond Sūtra itself. In his commentary on the Diamond Sūtra, Hsing Yun describes the four main points from the sūtra as giving without attachment to self, liberating beings without notions of self and other, living without attachment, and cultivating without attainment. According to Shigenori Nagamoto, the major goal of the Diamond Sūtra is: "an existential project aiming at achieving and embodying a non-discriminatory basis for knowledge" or "the emancipation from the fundamental ignorance of not knowing how to experience reality as it is."

In the sūtra, the Buddha has finished his daily walk to Sravasti with the monks to gather offerings of food, and he sits down to rest. Elder Subhūti comes forth and asks the Buddha: "How, Lord, should one who has set out on the bodhisattva path take his stand, how should he proceed, how should he control the mind?" What follows is a dialogue regarding the nature of the 'perfection of insight' (Prajnāpāramitā) and the nature of ultimate reality (which is illusory and empty). The Buddha begins by answering Subhuti by stating that he will bring all living beings to final nirvana, but that after this "no living being whatsoever has been brought to extinction". This is because a bodhisattva does not see beings through relifed concepts such as 'person', 'soul' or 'self', but sees them through the lens of perfect understanding, as empty of inherent, unchanging self.

The Buddha continues his exposition with similar statements which use negation to point out the emptiness of phenomena, merit, the Dharma (Buddha's teaching), the stages of enlightenment and the Buddha himself. Japanese Buddhologist Hajime Nakamura calls this negation the "logic of not" (Sanskrit: na prthak). Further examples of the Diamond Sūtra's via negativa include statements such as:

 As far as "all dharmas" are concerned, Subhuti, all of them are dharma-less. That is why they are called "all dharmas"

• Those so-called "streams of thought", Subhuti, have been preached by the Tathagata as streamless. That is why they are called "streams of thought".

• "All beings", Subhuti, have been preached by the Tathagata as beingless. That is why they are called "all beings".

The Buddha is generally thought to be trying to help Subhūti unlearn his preconceived, limited notions of the nature of reality. Emphasizing that all phenomena are ultimately illusory, he teaches that true enlightenment cannot be grasped until one has set aside attachment to them in any form.

Another reason why the Buddha makes use of negation is that language reifies concepts and this can lead to attachment to those concepts, but true wisdom is seeing that nothing is fixed or stable, hence according to the Diamond Sūtra thoughts such as "I have obtained the state of an Arhat" or "I will bring living beings to nirvana" do not even occur in an enlightened one's mind because this would be "seizing upon a self...seizing upon a living being, seizing upon a soul, seizing upon a person." Indeed, the sutra goes on to state that anyone who says such things should not be called a bodhisattva. According to David Kalupahana the goal of the Diamond Sūtra is "one colossal attempt to avoid the extremist use of language, that is, to eliminate any ontological commitment to concepts while at the same time retaining their pragmatic value, so as not to render them totally empty of meaning." Kalupahana explains the negation of the Diamond Sūtra by seeing an initial statement as an erroneous affirmation of substance or selfhood, which is then critiqued ("all dharmas" are dharmaless"), and then finally reconstructed ("that is why they are called 'all dharmas'") as being conventional and dependently originated. Kalupahana explains this final reconstruction as meaning: "that each concept, instead of either representing a unique entity or being an empty term, is a substitute for a human experience which is conditioned by a variety of factors. As such, it has pragmatic meaning and communicative power without being absolute in any way. According to Paul Harrison, the Diamond Sūtra's central argument here is that "all dharmas lack a self or essence, or to put it in other words, they have no core ontologically, they only appear to exist separately and independently by the power of conventional language, even though they are in fact dependently originated."

The mind of someone who practices the Prajnāpāramitā or 'perfection of insight' is then a mind free from fixed substantialist or 'self' concepts:

"However, Lord, the idea of a self will not occur to them, nor will the idea of a living being, the idea of a soul, or the idea of a person occur. Why is that? Any such idea of a self is indeed idealess, any idea of a living being, idea of a soul, or idea of a person is indeed idealess. Why is that? Because the Buddhas and Lords are free of all ideas."

Throughout the teaching, the Buddha repeats that successful memorization and elucidation of even a four-line extract of it is of incalculable merit, better than giving an entire world system filled with gifts and can bring about enlightenment. Section 26 (of the Chinese version) also ends with a four-line gatha:

All conditioned phenomena

Are like a dream, an illusion, a bubble, a shadow,

Like dew or a flash of lightning;

Thus we shall perceive them."

The colophon, at the inner end, reads: Reverently made for universal free distribution by Wang Jie on behalf of his two parents on the 15th of the 4th moon of the 9th year of Xiantong [11 May 868].)

ADORATION to the blessed Ârya-pragnâ-pâramitâ (perfection of wisdom).

DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 1

Thus it was heard by me: At one time Bhagavat (the blessed Buddha) dwelt in Srâvastî, in the grove of Geta [Son of king Prasenagit.], in the garden of Anâthapindada [Another name of Sudatta, meaning, literally, he who gives food to the poor.], together with a large company of Bhikshus (mendicants), viz. with 1250 Bhikshus [Monk, nun.], with many noble-minded Bodhisattvas [Higher beings on the road to Bodhi or perfect knowledge. They are destined hereafter to become Buddhas themselves.].

Then Bhagavat having in the forenoon put on his undergarment [Putting on the robes early in the morning.], and having taken his bowl and cloak, entered the great city of Srâvastî to collect alms. Then Bhagavat, after he had gone to the great city of Srâvastî to collect alms, performed the act of eating, and having returned from his round in the afternoon, he put away his bowl and cloak, washed his feet, and sat down on the seat intended for him, crossing his legs, holding his body upright, and turning his reflection upon himself. Then many Bhikshus approached to where Bhagavat was, saluted his feet with their heads, turned three times round hira to the right, and sat down on one side.

# DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 2

At that time again the venerable Subhûti came to that assembly and sat down. Then rising from his seat and putting his robe over one shoulder, kneeling on the earth with his right knee, he stretched out his folded hands towards Bhagavat and said to him: 'It is wonderful, O Bhagavat, it is exceedingly wonderful, O Sugata, how much the nobleminded Bodhisattvas have been favoured with the highest favour by the Tathâgata, the holy and fully enlightened! It is wonderful how much the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been instructed with the highest instruction by the Tathâgata, the holy and fully enlightened! How then, O Bhagavat, should the son or the daughter of a good family, after having entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas, behave, how should he advance, and how should he restrain his thoughts?'

After the venerable Subhûti had thus spoken, Bhagavat said to him: 'Well said, well said, Subhûti! So it is, Subhûti, so it is, as you say. The noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been favoured with the highest favour by the Tathâgata, the noble-minded Bodhisattvas have been instructed with the highest instruction by the Tathâgata. Therefore, O Subhûti, listen and take it to heart, well and rightly. I shall tell you, how any one who has entered on the path of Bodhisanvas should behave, how he should advance, and how he should restrain his thoughts.' Then the venerable Subhûti answered the Bhagavat and said: 'So be it, O Bhagavat.'

#### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 3

Then the Bhagavat thus spoke to him: 'Any one, O Subhûti, who has entered here on the path of the Bodhisattvas must thus frame his thought: As many beings as there are in this world of beings, comprehended under the term of beings (either born of eggs, or from the womb, or from moisture, or miraculously), with form or without form, with name or without name, or neither with nor without name, as far as any known world of beings is known, all these must be delivered by me in the perfect world of Nirvâna. And yet, after I have thus delivered immeasurable beings, not one single being has been delivered. And why? If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva had any idea of (belief in) a being, he could not be called a Bodhisattva (one who is fit to become a Buddha). And why? Because, O Subhûti, no one is to be called a Bodhisattva, for whom there should exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, or the idea of a person.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 4

'And again, O Subhûti, a gift should not be given by a Bodhisattva, while he believes [To believe here means to depend on or ta accept as real.] in objects; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in anything; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in form; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in the special qualities of sound, smell, taste, and touch. For thus, O Subhûti, should a gift be given by a noble-minded Bodhisattva, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause. And why? Because that Bodhisattva, O Subhûti, who gives a gift, without believing in anything, the measure of his stock of merit is not easy to learn.'--'What do you think, O Subhûti, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the eastern quarter?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat.'--Bhagavat said: 'In like manner, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the southern, western, northern quarters, below and above (nadir and zenith), in quarters and subquarters in the ten quarters all round? Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagayat,' Bhagayat said: 'In the same manner, O Subhûti, the measure of the stock of merit of a Bodhisattva, who gives a gift without believing in anything, is not easy to learn. And thus indeed, O Subhûti, should one who has entered on the path of Bodhisattvas give a gift, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause.

## DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 5

'Now, what do you think, O Subhûti, should a Tathâgata be seen (known) by the possession of signs [Qualities by which he could be known.?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because what has been preached by the Tathâgata as the possession of signs, that is indeed the possession of no-signs.'

After this, Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhûti: 'Wherever there is, O Subhûti, the possession of signs, there is falsehood; wherever there is no possession of signs, there is no falsehood. Hence the Tathâgata is to be seen (known) from no-signs as signs.'

# DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 6

After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'Forsooth, O Bhagavat, will there be any beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law [The Five Precepts], who, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will frame a true idea [Will understand them properly.]?' The Bhagavat said: 'Do not speak thus, Subhûti. Yes, there will be some beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the decay of the good Law, who will frame a true idea when these very words are being preached.

'And again, O Subhûti, there will be noble-minded Bodhisattvas, in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the decay of the good Law, there will be strong and good and wise beings, who, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached, will frame a true idea. But those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, O Subhûti, will not have served one Buddha only, and the stock of their merit will not have been accumulated under one Buddha only; on the contrary, O Subhûti, those noble-minded Bodhisattvas will have served many hundred thousands of Buddhas, and the stock of their merit will have been accumulated under many hundred thousands of Buddhas; and they, when these very words of the Sûtras are being preached,

will obtain one and the same faith. They are known, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge: they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye; they are understood, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata. All these, O Subhûti, will produce and will hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit. And why? Because, O Subhûti, there does not exist in those nobleminded Bodhisattyas the idea of self, there does not exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, the idea of a person. Nor does there exist, O Subhûti, for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality (dharma), nor of no-quality. Neither does there exist, O Subhûti, any idea (samgnâ) or noidea. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if there existed for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality, then they would believe in a self, they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And if there existed for them the idea of no-quality, even then they would believe in a self, they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And why? Because, O Subhûti, neither quality nor noquality is to be accepted by a noble-minded Bodhisattva. Therefore this hidden saying has been preached by the Tathâgata: "By those who know the teaching of the Law, as like unto a raft, all qualities indeed must be abandoned; much more no-qualities"

#### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 7

And again Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhûti: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) that was known by the Tathâgata under the name of the highest perfect knowledge, or anything that was taught by the Tathâgata?'

After these words, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to Bhagavat: 'As I, O Bhagavat, understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, there is nothing that was known by the Tathâgata under the name of the highest perfect knowledge, nor is there anything that is taught by the Tathâgata. And why? Because that thing which was known or taught by the Tathâgata is incomprehensible and inexpressible. It is neither a thing nor no-thing. And why? Because the holy persons[Aryapudgala need not be Bodhisattvas, but all who have entered on the path leading to Nirvâna.] are of imperfect power.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 8

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, if a son or daughter of a good family filled this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven gems or treasures, and gave it as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, would that son or daughter of a good family on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that son or daughter of a good family would on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathagata as the stock of merit, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-stock of merit. Therefore the Tathâgata preaches: "A stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed!" Bhagavat said: 'And if, O Subhûti, the son or daughter of a good family should fill this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven treasures and should give it as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, and if another after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only should fully teach others and explain it, he indeed would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit immeasurable and innumerable. And why? Because, O Subhûti, the highest perfect knowledge of the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas is produced from it; the blessed Buddhas are produced from it. And why? Because, O Subhûti, when the Tathagata preached:

"The qualities of Buddha, the qualities of Buddha indeed!" they were preached by him as no-qualities of Buddha. Therefore they are called the qualities of Buddha.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 9

Bhagavat said: 'Now, what do you think, O Subhûti, does a Srota-âpanna think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Srota-âpanna does not think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, he has not obtained any particular state (dharma). Therefore he is called a Srota-âpanna. He has not obtained any form, nor sounds, nor smells, nor tastes, nor things that can be touched. Therefore he is called a Srota-âpanna. If, O Bhagavat, a Srota-âpanna were to think in this wise: The fruit of Srota-âpatti has been obtained by me, he would believe in a self, he would believe in a being, he would believe in a living being, he would believe in a person.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does a Sakridâgâmin think in this wise: The fruit of a Sakridâgâmin has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Sakridâgâmin does not think in this wise: The fruit of a Sakridâgâmin has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being (dharma), who has

obtained the state of a Sakridâgâmin. Therefore he is called a Sakridâgâmin.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does an Anâgâmin think in this wise: The fruit of an Anâgâmin has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, an Anâgâmin does not think in this wise: The fruit of an Anâgâmin has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being, who has obtained the state of an Anâgâmin. Therefore he is called an Anâgâmin.

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does an Arhat think in this wise: The fruit of an Arhat has been obtained by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, an Arhat does not think in this wise: The fruit of an Arhat has been obtained by me. And why? Because he is not an individual being, who is called an Arhat. Therefore he is called an Arhat. And if, O Bhagavat, an Arhat were to think in this wise: The state of an Arhat has been obtained by me, he would believe in a self, he would believe in a being, he would believe in a living being, he would believe in a person.

'And why? I have been pointed out, O Bhagavat, by the holy and fully enlightened Tathāgata, as the foremost of those who dwell in virtue\*. [\* Aranāvihārin. Rana is strife, then sin, therefore arana might be peace and virtue, only the a would be short. Probably aranavihārin was formed with reference to âranya-vihārin, living in the forest, retired from the world, and in peace, just as arhan, worthy, was changed into arahan, the destroyer of sin. Beal translates, 'one who delights in the mortification of an Aranyaka (forest devotee).' De Harlez: 'chey de ceux qui ne sont plus attachés à la jouissance.'

I, O Bhagavat, am an Arhat, freed from passion. And yet, O Bhagavat, I do not think in this wise: I am an Arhat, I am freed from passion. If, O Bhagavat, I should think in this wise, that the state of an Arhat has been obtained by me, then the Tathâgata would not have truly prophesied of me, saying: "Subhûti, the son of a good family, the foremost of those dwelling in virtue, does not dwell anywhere, and therefore he is called a dweller in virtue, a dweller in virtue indeed!"

#### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 10

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dipankara [A former Buddha.], the holy and fully enlightened?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat; there is not anything which the Tathâgata has adopted from the Tathâgata Dîpankara, the holy and fully enlightened.'

Bhagavat said: 'If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva should say: 'II shall create numbers of worlds," he would say what is untrue. And why? Because, O Subhûti, when the Tathâgata preached: Numbers of worlds, numbers of worlds indeed! they were preached by him as no-numbers. Therefore they are called numbers of worlds.

'Therefore, O Subhûti, a noble-minded Bodhisattva should in this wise frame an independent mind, which is to be framed as a mind not believing in anything, not believing in form, not believing in sound, smell, taste, and anything that can be touched. Now, for instance, O Subhûti, a man might have a body and a large body, so that his size should be as large as the king of mountains, Sumeru. Do you think then, O Subhûti, that his selfhood (he himself) would be large?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, his selfhood would be large. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, when the Tathâgata preached: "Selfhood, selfhood indeed!" it was preached by him as no-selfhood. Therefore it is called selfhood.

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 11

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, if there were as many Gangâ rivers as there are grains of sand in the large river Gangâ, would the grains of sand be many? Subhûti said: 'Those Gangâ rivers would indeed be many, much more the grains of sand in those Gangâ rivers. Bhagavat said: 'I tell you, O Subhûti, I announce to you, If a woman or man were to fill with the seven treasures as many worlds as there would be grains of sand in those Gangâ rivers and present them as a gift to the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas--What do you think, O Subhûti, would that woman or man on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that woman or man would on the strength of this produce a large stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.' Bhagavat said: 'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man having filled so many worlds with the seven treasures should give them as a gift to the holy and enlightened Tathâgatas, and if another son or daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only, should fully teach others and explain it, he, indeed, would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable

# DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 12

Then again, O Subhûti, that part of the world in which, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only, it should be preached or explained, would be like a Kaitya (holy shrine) for the whole world of gods, men, and spirits; what should we say then of those who learn the whole

of this treatise of the Law to the end, who repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others? They, O Subhûti, will be endowed with the highest wonder [With what excites the highest wonder.]. And in that place, O Subhûti, there dwells the teacher [Sasta, often the name of Budha, Pâli sattha.], or one after another holding the place of the wise preceptor [This may refer to a succession of teachers handing down the tradition one to the other.]

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 13

After these words, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to Bhagavat: 'O Bhagavat, how is this treatise of the Law called, and how can I learn it?' After this, Bhagavat spoke thus to the venerable Subhûti: 'This treatise of the Law, O Subhûti, is called the Pragnâ-pâramitâ (Transcendent wisdom), and you should learn it by that name. And why? Because, O Subhûti, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the Pragnâ-pâramitâ, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-Pâramitâ. Therefore it is called the Pragnâ-pâramitâ.

'Then, what do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything (dharma) that was preached by the Tathâgata?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagvat, there is not anything that was preached by the Tathâgata.'

Bhagavat said. 'What do you think then, O Subhûti,--the dust of the earth which is found in this sphere of a million millions of worlds, is that much?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, O Bhagavat, yes, O Sugata, that dust of the earth would be much. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as the dust of the earth, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-dust. Therefore it is called the dust of the earth. And what was preached by the Tathâgata as the sphere of worlds, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-sphere. Therefore it is called the sphere of worlds.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, is a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the thirty-two signs of a hero?' Subhûti said: 'No indeed, O Bhagavat; a holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the thirty-two signs of a hero. And why? Because what was preached by the Tathâgata as the thirty-two signs of a hero, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-signs. Therefore they are called the thirty-two signs of a hero.'

Bhagavat said: 'If, O Subhûti, a woman or man should day by day sacrifice his life [selfhood\*]; as many times as there are grains of sand in the river Gangâ, and if he should thus acrifice his life for as many kalpas as there are grains of sand in the river Gangâ, and if another man, after taking from this treatise of the Law one Gâthâ of four lines only, should fully teach others and explain it, he indeed would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. [\* Atmabhava seems to refer here to the living body, not to the spiritual Âtman, which, according to Buddha, can be got rid of by knowledge only. Buddha himself sacrificed his life again and again, and a willingness to die would probably be accepted for the deed.]

## DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 14

At that time, the venerable Subhûti was moved by the power of the Law, shed tears, and having wiped his tears, he thus spoke to Bhagavat: 'It is wonderful, O Bhagavat, it is exceedingly wonderful, O Sugata, how fully this teaching of the Law has been preached by the Tathagata for the benefit of those beings who entered on the foremost path (the path that leads to Nirvâna), and who entered on the best path, from whence, O Bhagavat, knowledge has been produced in me. Never indeed, O Bhagavat, has such a teaching of the Law been heard by me before. Those Bodhisattvas, O Bhagavat, will be endowed with the highest wonder [Will possess miraculous powers, and will be admired.], who when this Sûtra is being preached hear it and will frame to themselves a true idea. And why? Because what is a true idea is not a true idea. Therefore the Tathâgata preaches: "A true idea, a true idea indeed!"

It is no wonder to me, O Bhagavat, that I accept and believe this treatise of the Law, which has been preached. And those beings also, O Bhagavat, who will exist in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, who will learn this treatise of the Law, O Bhagavat, remember it, recite it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, they will indeed be endowed with the highest wonder.

'But, O Bhagavat, there will not arise in them any idea of a self, any idea of a being, of a living being, or a person, nor does there exist for them any idea or no-idea. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, the idea of a self is no-idea, and the idea of a being, or a living being, or a person is no-idea. And why? Because the blessed Buddhas are freed from all ideas.'

After these words, Bhagavat thus spoke to the venerable Subhûti: 'So it is, O Subhûti, so it is. Those beings, O Subhûti, who when this Sûtra was being recited here will not be disturbed or frightened or become alarmed, will be endowed with the highest wonder. And why? Because, O Subhûti, this was preached by the Tathâgata, as the Paramapâramitâ, which is no-Pâramitâ. And, O Subhûti, what the Tathâgata preaches as the Paramapâramitâ, that was preached also by

immeasurable blessed Buddhas. Therefore it is called the Paramapâramitâ.

'And, O Subhûti, the Pâramitâ or the highest perfection of endurance (kshânti) belonging to a Tathâgata, that also is no-Pâramitâ. And why? Because, O Subhûti, at the time when the king of Kalinga [The Chinese text points to Kalirâgâ. On this Kalirâgâ or Kalinripa see Lalita-vistara, p. 191.] cut my flesh from every limb, I had no idea of a self, of a being, of a living being, or of a person: I had neither an idea nor no-idea. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if I at that time had had an idea of a self, I should also have had an idea of malevolence. If I had had an idea of a being, or of a living being, or of a person, I should also have had an idea of malevolence. And why? Because, O Subhûti, I remember the past 500 births, when I was the Rishi Kshântivâdin (preacher of endurance). At that time also, I had no idea of a self, of a being, of a living being, of a person. Therefore then, O Subhûti, a noble-minded Bodhisattva, after putting aside all ideas, should raise his mind to the highest perfect knowledge. He should frame his mind so as not to believe (depend) in form, sound, smell, taste, or anything that can be touched, in something (dharma), in nothing or anything. And why? Because what is believed is not believed (not to be depended on). Therefore the Tathâgata preaches: "A gift should not be given by a Bodhisattva[1] who believes in anything, it should not be given by one who believes in form, sound, smell, taste, or anything that can be touched."

'And again, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva should in such wise give his gift for the benefit of all beings. And why? Because, O Subhûti, the idea of a being is no-idea. And those who are thus spoken of by the Tathâgata as all beings are indeed nobeings. And why? Because, O Subhûti, a Tathâgata says what is real, says what is true, says the things as they are; a Tathâgata does not speak untruth.

But again, O Subhûti, whatever doctrine has been perceived, taught, and meditated on by a Tathâgata, in it there is neither truth nor falsehood. And as a man who has entered the darkness would not see anything, thus a Bodhisattva is to be considered who is immersed in objects, and who being immersed in objects gives a gift. But as a man who has eyes would, when the night becomes light, and the sun has risen, see many things, thus a Bodhisattva is to be considered who is not immersed in objects, and who not being immersed in objects gives a gift.

'And again, O Subhûti, if any sons or daughters of good families will learn this treatise of the Law, will remember, recite, and understand it, and fully explain it to others, they, O Subhûti, are known by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, O Subhûti, will produce and hold fast an immeasurable and innumerable stock of merit.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 15

'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man sacrificed in the morning as many lives as there are grains of sand in the river Gangâ and did the same at noon and the same in the evening, and if in this way they sacrificed their lives for a hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs of ages, and if another, after hearing this treatise of the Law, should not oppose it, then the latter would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. What should we say then of him who after having written it, learns it, remembers it, understands it, and fully explains it to others?

'And again, O Subhûti, this treatise of the Law is incomprehensible and incomparable. And this treatise of the Law has been preached by the Tathâgata for the benefit of those beings who entered on the foremost path (the path that leads to Nirvâna), and who entered on the best path. And those who will learn this treatise of the Law, who will remember it, recite it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, they are known, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-knowledge, they are seen, O Subhûti, by the Tathâgata through his Buddha-eye. All these beings, O Subhûti, will be endowed with an immeasurable stock of merit, they will be endowed with an incomprehensible, incomparable, immeasurable and unmeasured stock of merit. All these beings, O Subhûti, will equally remember the Bodhi (the highest Buddha-knowledge), will recite it, and understand it. And why? Because it is not possible, O Subhûti, that this treatise of the Law should be heard by beings of little faith. by those who believe in self, in beings, in living beings, and in persons. It is impossible that this treatise of the Law should be heard by beings who have not acquired the knowledge of Bodhisattvas, or that it should be learned, remembered, recited, and understood by them. The thing is impossible.

'And again, O Subhûti, that part of the world in which this Sûtra will be propounded, will have to be honoured by the whole world of gods, men, and evil spirits, will have to be worshipped, and will become like a Kaitya (a holy sepulchre).'

#### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 16

And, O Subhûti, sons or daughters of a good family who will learn these very Sûtras, who will remember them. recite them, understand them, thoroughly take them to heart, and fully explain them to others, they will be overcome, they will be greatly overcome. And why? Because, O Subhûti, whatever evil deeds these beings have done in a former birth, deeds that must lead to suffering, those deeds these beings, owing to their being overcome, after they have seen the Law, will destroy, and they will obtain the knowledge of Buddha.

'I remember, O Subhûti, in the past, before innumerable and more than innumerable kalpas, there were eighty-four hundred thousands of niyutas of kotîs of Buddhas following after the venerable and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpankara, who were pleased by me, and after being pleased were not displeased. And if, O Subhûti, these blessed Buddhas were pleased by me, and after being pleased were not displeased, and if on the other hand people at the last time, at the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, will learn these very Sûtras, remember them, recite them, understand them, and fully explain them to others, then, O Subhûti, in comparison with their stock of merit that former stock of merit will not come to one hundredth part, nay, not to one thousandth part, not to a hundred thousandth part, not to a ten millionth part, not to a hundred millionth part, not to a hundred thousand ten millionth part, not to a hundred thousands of nivutas ten millionth part. It will not bear number, nor fraction, nor counting, nor comparison, nor approach, nor analogy,

'And if, O Subhûti, I were to tell you the stock of merit of those sons or daughters of good families, and how large a stock of merit those sons or daughters of good families will produce, and hold fast at that time, people would become distracted and their thoughts would become bewildered. And again, O Subhûti, as this treatise of the Law preached by the Tathâgata is incomprehensible and incomparable, its rewards also must be expected (to be) incomprehensible.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 17

At that time the venerable Subhûti thus spoke to the Bhagavat: 'How should a person, after having entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas, behave, how should he advance, and how should he restrain his thoughts?' Bhagavat said: 'He who has entered on the path of the Bodhisativas should thus frame his thought: All beings must be delivered by me in the perfect world of Nirvâna; and yet after I have thus delivered these beings, no being has been delivered. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if a Bodhisattva had any idea of beings, he could not be called a Bodhisattva, and so on from the idea of a living being to the idea of a person; if he had any such idea, he could not be called a Bodhisattva. And why? Because, O Subhûti, there is no such thing (dharma) as one who has entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas.

'What do you think, O Subhûti, is there anything which the Tathagata has adopted from the Tathagata Dîpankara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge? 'After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'As far as I, O Bhagavat, understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, there is nothing which has been adopted by the Tathâgata from the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpankara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge.' After this, Bhagavat thus spoke to the venerable Subhûti: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is. There is not, O Subhûti, anything which has been adopted by the Tathagata from the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata Dîpankara with regard to the highest perfect knowledge. And if, O Subhûti, anything had been adopted by the Tathâgata, the Tathâgata Dîpankara would not have prophesied\* of me, saying: "Thou, O boy, wilt be in the future the holy and fully enlightened Tathagata called Sâkyamuni." Because then, O Subhûti, there is nothing that has been adopted by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata with regard to the highest perfect knowledge, therefore I was prophesied by the Tathâgata Dîpankara, saying: "Thou, boy, wilt be in the future the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata called Sâkyamuni." [\* This prophecy is supposed to have been addressed by Dîpankara to Sâkyamuni, before he had become a Buddha.]

'And why, O Subhûti, the name of Tathâgata? It expresses true suchness. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses that he had no origin. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses the destruction of all qualities. And why Tathâgata, O Subhûti? It expresses one who had no origin whatever. And why this? Because, O Subhûti, no-origin is the highest goal.

'And whosoever, O Subhûti, should say that, by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata, the highest perfect knowledge has been known, he would speak an untruth, and would slander me, O Subhûti, with some untruth that he has learned. And why? Because there is no such thing, O Subhûti, as has been known by the Tathâgata with regard to the highest perfect knowledge. And in that, O Subhûti, which has been known and taught by the Tathâgata, there is neither truth nor falsehood. Thetefore the Tathâgata preaches: "All things are Buddha-things." And why? Because what was preached by the Tathâgata, O Subhûti, as all things, that was

preached as no-things; and therefore all things are called Buddha-things.

'Now, O Subhûti, a man might have a body and a large body.' The venerable Subhûti said: That man who was spoken of by the Tathâgata as a man with a body, with a large body, he, O Bhagavat, was spoken of by the Tathâgata as without a body, and therefore he is called a man with a body and with a large body.'

Bhagavat said: 'So it is, O Subhûti; and if a Bodhisattva were to say: "I shall deliver all beings," he ought not to be called a Bodhisattva. And why? Is there anything, O Subhûti, that is called a Bodhisattva?" Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, Bhagavat, there is nothing which is called a Bodhisattva.' Bhagavat said: 'Those who were spoken of as beings, beings indeed, O Subhûti, they were spoken of as no-beings by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called beings. Therefore the Tathâgata says: "All beings are without self all beings are without life, without manhood, without a personality."

If, O Subhûti, a Bodhisattva were to say: "I shall create numbers of worlds," he would say what is untrue. And why? Because, what were spoken of as numbers of worlds, numbers of worlds indeed, O Subhûti, these were spoken of as nonumbers by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called numbers of worlds.

'A Bodhisattva, O Subhûti, who believes that all things are without self, that all things are without self, he has faith, he is called a noble-minded Bodhisattva by the holy and fully enlightened Tathâgata.'

## DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 18

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the bodily eye?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the bodily eye.'

the Tathāgata has the bodily eye.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathāgata the heavenly eye?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathāgata has the heavenly eye.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of knowledge?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of knowledge.'

Bhagavat, nic Yalmagatt has the eye of the Law?' Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of the Law?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of the Law.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, has the Tathâgata the eye of Buddha?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, the Tathâgata has the eye of Buddha.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, as many grains of sand as there are in the great river Gangâ--were they preached by the Tathâgata as grains of sand?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagavat, so it is, O Sugata, they were preached as grains of sand by the Tathâgata.' Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, if there were as many Gangâ rivers as there are grains of sand in the great river Gangâ; and, if there were as many worlds as there are grains of sand in these, would these worlds be many?' Subhûti said: 'So it is, O Bhagayat, so it is, O Sugata, these worlds would be many. Bhagavat said: 'As many beings as there are in all those worlds. I know the manifold trains of thought of them all. And why? Because what was preached as the train of thoughts, the train of thoughts indeed, O Subhûti, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-train of thoughts, and therefore it is called the train of thoughts. And why? Because, O Subhûti, a past thought is not perceived, a future thought is not perceived. and the present thought is not perceived.

## DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 19

'What do you think, O Subhûti, if a son or a daughter of a good family should fill this sphere of a million millions of worlds with the seven treasures, and give it as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Buddhas, would that son or daughter of a good family produce on the strength of this a large stock of merit?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, a large one.' Bhagavat said: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is; that son or daughter of a good family would produce on the strength of this a large stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. And why? Because what was preached as a stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed, O Subhûti, that was preached as no-stock of merit. If, O Subhûti, there existed a stock of merit, the Tathâgata, and therefore it is called a stock of merit. If, O Subhûti, there existed a stock of merit, the Tathâgata would not have preached: "A stock of merit, a stock of merit indeed!"

# DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 20

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is a Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the shape of his visible body?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the shape of his visible body. And why? Because, what was preached, O Bhagavat, as the shape of the visible body, the shape of the visible body indeed, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-shape of the visible body, and therefore it is called the shape of the visible body.'

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, should a Tathâgata be seen (known) by the possession of signs?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because,

what was preached by the Tathâgata as the possession of signs, that was preached as no-possession of signs by the Tathâgata, and therefore it is called the possession of signs.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 21

Bhagavat said: 'What do you think, O Subhûti, does the Tathâgata think in this wise: The Law has been taught by me?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, does the Tathâgata think in this wise: The Law has been taught by me.' Bhagavat said: 'If a man should say that the Law has been taught by the Tathâgata, he would say what is not true; he would slander me with untruth which he has learned. And why? Because, O Subhûti, it is said the teaching of the Law, the teaching of the Law indeed. O Subhûti, there is nothing that can be perceived by the name of the teaching of the Law.'

After this, the venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'Forsooth, O Bhagavat, will there be any beings in the future, in the last time, in the last moment, in the last 500 years, during the time of the decay of the good Law, who, when they have heard these very Laws, will believe?' Bhagavat said: 'These, O Subhûti, are neither beings nor no-beings. And why? Because, O Subhûti, those who were preached as beings, beings indeed, they were preached as no-beings by the Tathāgata, and therefore they are called beings.'

#### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 22

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is there anything which has been known by the Tathâgata in the form of the highest perfect knowledge?' The venerable Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat, there is nothing, O Bhagavat, that has been known by the Tathâgata in the form of the highest perfect knowledge.' Bhagavat said: 'So it is, Subhûti, so it is. Even the smallest thing is not known or perceived there, therefore it is called the highest perfect knowledge.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 23

'Also, Subhûti, all is the same there, there is no difference there, and therefore it is called the highest perfect knowledge. Free from self, free from being, free from life, free from personality, that highest perfect knowledge is always the same, and thus known with all good things. And why? Because, what were preached as good things, good things indeed, O Subhûti, they were preached as no-things by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called good things.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 24

'And if, O Subhûti, a woman or man, putting together as many heaps of the seven treasures as there are Sumerus, kings of mountains, in the sphere of a million millions of worlds, should give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and, if a son or a daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law, this Pragnâpâramitâ, one Gâthâ of four lines only, should teach it to others, then, O Subhûti, compared with his stock of merit, the former stock of merit would not come to the one hundredth part,' etc.[1], till 'it will not bear an approach.'

## DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 25

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, does a Tathâgatas think in this wise: Beings have been delivered by me? You should not think so, O Subhûti. And why? Because there is no being, O Subhûti, that has been delivered by the Tathâgata. And, if there were a being, O Subhûti, that has been delivered by the Tathâgatas, then the Tathâgata would believe in self, believe in a being, believe in a living being, and believe in a person. And what is called a belief in self, O Subhûti, that is preached as no-belief by the Tathâgata. And this is learned by children and ignorant persons, O Subhûti, were preached as no-persons by the Tathâgata, and therefore they are called children and ignorant persons.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 26

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, is the Tathâgata to be seen (known) by the possession of signs?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, O Bhagavat. So far as I know the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, the Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' Bhagavat said: 'Good, good, Subhûti, so it is, Subhûti; so it is, as you say; a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if the Tathâgata were to be seen (known) by the possession of signs, a wheel-turning king also would be a Tathagata [This probably refers to the auspicious signs discovered in Sâkyamuni at his birth, which left it open whether he should become a king or a Buddha.]; therefore a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs. The venerable Subhûti spoke thus to the Bhagavat: 'As I understand the meaning of the preaching of the Bhagavat, a Tathâgata is not to be seen (known) by the possession of signs.' Then the Bhagavat at that moment preached these two Gâthâs:

They who saw me by form, and they who heard me by sound, They engaged in false endeavours, will not see me.

A Buddha is to be seen (known) from the Law; for the Lords (Buddhas) have the Law-body;

And the nature of the Law cannot be understood, nor can it be made to be understood.

#### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 27

'What do you think then, O Subhûti, has the highest perfect knowledge been known by the Tathâgata through the possession of signs? You should not think so, O Subhûti. And why? Because, O Subhûti, the highest perfect knowledge would not be known by the Tathâgata through the possession of signs. Nor should anybody, O Subhûti, say to you that the destruction or annihilation of any thing is proclaimed by those who have entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 28

'And if, O Subhûti, a son or a daughter of a good family were to fill worlds equal to the number of grains of sand of the river Gangâ with the seven treasures, and give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and if a Bodhisattva acquired endurance in selfless and uncreated things, then the latter will on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable.

'But, O Subhûti, a stock of merit should not be appropriated by a noble-minded Bodhisattva.' The venerable Subhûti said: 'Should a stock of merit, O Bhagavat, not be appropriated by a Bodhisattva?' Bhagavat said: 'It should be appropriated, O Subhûti; it should not be appropriated; and therefore it is said: It should be appropriated.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 29

'And again, O Subhûti, if anybody were to say that the Tathâgata goes, or comes, or stands, or sits, or lies down, he, O Subhûti, does not understand the meaning of my preaching. And why? Because the word Tathâgata means one who does not go to anywhere, and does not come from anywhere; and therefore he is called the Tathâgata (truly come), holy and fully enlightened.'

#### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 30

'And again, O Subhûti, if a son or a daughter of a good family were to take as many worlds as there are grains of earth-dust in this sphere of a million millions of worlds, and reduce them to such fine dust as can be made with immeasurable strength, like what is called a mass of the smallest atoms, do you think, O Subhûti, would that be a mass of many atoms?' Subhûti said: 'Yes, Bhagavat, yes, Sugata, that would be a mass of many atoms. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, if it were a mass of many atoms, Bhagavat would not call it a mass of many atoms. And why? Because, what was preached as a mass of many atoms by the Tathâgata, that was preached as no-mass of atoms by the Tathâgata; and therefore it is called a mass of many atoms. And what was preached by the Tathâgata as the sphere of a million millions of worlds, that was preached by the Tathâgata as no-sphere of worlds; and therefore it is called the sphere of a million millions of worlds. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, if there were a sphere of worlds, there would exist a belief in matter; and what was preached as a belief in matter by the Tathâgata, that was preached as no-belief by the Tathâgata; and therefore it is called a belief in matter.' Bhagavat said: 'And a belief in matter itself, O Subhûti, is unmentionable and inexpressible; it is neither a thing nor nothing, and this is known by children and ignorant persons.'

### DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 31

'And why? Because, O Subhûti, if a man were to say that belief in self, belief in a being, belief in life, belief in personality had been preached by the Tathâgata, would he be speaking truly?' Subhûti said: 'Not indeed, Bhagavat, not indeed, Sugata; he would not be speaking truly. And why? Because, O Bhagavat, what was preached by the Tathâgata as a belief in self, that was preached by the Tathâgata as nobelief; therefore it is called belief in self.'

Bhagavat said: 'Thus then, O Subhûti, are all things to be perceived, to be looked upon, and to be believed by one who has entered on the path of the Bodhisattvas. And in this wise are they to be perceived, to be looked upon, and to be believed, that a man should believe neither in the idea of a thing nor in the idea of a no-thing. And why? Because, by saying: The idea of a thing, the idea of a thing indeed, it has been preached by the Tathâgata as no-idea of a thing.'

## DIAMOND SUTRA CHAPTER 32

'And, O Subhûti, if a noble-minded Bodhisattva were to fill immeasurable and innumerable spheres of worlds with the seven treasures, and give them as a gift to holy and fully enlightened Tathâgatas; and if a son or a daughter of a good family, after taking from this treatise of the Law, this Pragnâpâramitâ, one Gâthâ of four lines only, should learn it, repeat it, understand it, and fully explain it to others, then the latter would on the strength of this produce a larger stock of merit, immeasurable and innumerable. And how should he

explain it? As in the sky: Stars, darkness, a lamp, a phantom, dew, a bubble.

A dream, a flash of lightning, and a cloud--thus we should look upon the world (all that was made).

Thus he should explain; therefore it is said: He should explain.

Thus spoke the Bhagavat enraptured. The elder Subhûti, and the friars, nuns, the faithful laymen and women, and the Bodhisattvas also, and the whole world of gods, men, evil spirits and fairies, praised the preaching of the Bhagavat.

Thus is finished the Diamond-cutter, the blessed Pragnâpâramitâ.

### MEDITATION ON BUDDHA AMITABHA

or The Amitayus Meditation Sutra Origin; China, apocryphal Source: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 49 Chief editor: Friedrich Max Müller, Oxford, Clarendon Translation: Junjiro Takakusu, 1894 Estimated Range of Dating: 400-800 A.D.

(The Amitayurdhyana Sutra (Chinese, Pinyin: qing zai zhe li shu ru zhong wen) is a Mahayana sutra in Pure Land Buddhism, a branch of Mahayana Buddhism. It is one of the three principle Pure Land sutras along with the Infinite Life Sutra and the Amitabha Sutra.. Amitayus is another name for the Buddha Amitabha, the preeminent figure in Pure Land Buddhism, and this sūtra focuses mainly on meditations involving complex visualisation. This is reflected in the name of the sūtra, which translates to the "Amitayus Meditation

It is generally considered by modern scholarship to be apocryphal, a composition originally written in Chinese. No Sanskrit original has been discovered and the Sanskrit name and Sanskrit versions would thus be reverse translations. According to Paul Williams, a more accurate Sanskrit title for this text would be Amitayurbuddhānusmrti Sūtra, meaning "Amitayus Buddha-mindfulness Sutra."

#### Contents of the Sutra:

The doctrine of Amitâbha and his paradise Sukhâvatî seems to have acquired great popularity in China and afterwards in Japan. We need not wonder when we see how easy salvation was made by it, particularly according to the teaching of the Smaller Sukhâvatî-vyûha and the Amitâyur-dhyâna-sûtra. The text begins with a story where a prince named Ajatashatru was enticed by the villain Devadatta to murder his father, King Bimbisara, in order to ascend the throne. Ajatashatru kills his father, and nearly kills his mother, Queen Vaidehi, but after advice from his other ministers, he relented and threw his mother in prison. Lamenting her fate, Queen Vaidehi prays to Gautama Buddha for help, and he is able to visit her. Vaidehi expresses her wish to be born in Amitābha's pure land. Shakvamuni smiles, emitting light from his mouth, and goes on to tell Vaidehi how to be reborn in the Pure Land. The Buddha tells her that although she is in prison, she could still obtain liberation through the practices of Amitābha. The Buddha goes on to describe Amitābha and how one could obtain rebirth in his land of Sukhavati. This tale references historical incidents of the Haryanka dynasty of Magadha, India, and the religious tension between Gautama Buddha and his brother-in-law, Devadatta.

Attaining birth in the Pure Land: Shakyamuni explains the importance of performing certain meritorious acts in order to be reborn in the Pure Land. He then goes on to teach Vaidehi how to visualise the Pure Land, to further her efforts in attaining rebirth there. Shakyamuni describes thirteen "contemplations," or mental visualization exercises, that are to be followed in order. By deeply contemplating various aspects of the Pure Land and attempting to visualise them in detail, the aspirant draws closer to the Pure Land.

The thirteen contemplations are described in order as follows:

- 1. Contemplation of the setting sun
- 2. Contemplation of an expanse of water
- 3. Contemplation of the ground in the pure land
- 4. Contemplation of trees in the pure land
- 5. Contemplation of ponds in the pure land
- 6. Contemplation of various objects in the pure land
- 7. Contemplation of the lotus throne of the Buddha 8. Contemplation of the image of Amitābha
- 9. Contemplation of Amitābha himself
- 10. Contemplation of Avalokiteś vara
- 11. Contemplation of Mahasthamaprapta
- 12. Contemplation of the aspirants to the pure land
- 13. Contemplation of Amitā bha and the two bodhisattvas

## Nine levels of birth

In the final part of the sutra, Gautama Buddha discusses the nine levels into which those born into the Pure Land are categorized. The levels are ranked from highest to lowest as

- 1. The highest level of the highest grade
- The middle level of the highest grade
- The lowest level of the highest grade
- The highest level of the middle grade 5. The middle level of the middle grade
- The lowest level of the middle grade
- 7. The highest level of the lowest grade
- 8. The middle level of the lowest grade 9. The lowest level of the lowest grade
- According to the Buddha, all nine grades of human beings can achieve rebirth into the Pure Land if they contemplate Amitā bha or at least call on his name. This is similar to the 48 vows made by Amitābha, according to the Infinite Life Sutra, which includes the Primal Vow.

The sutra ends with a short section describing the benefits gained by those who listened to these words of the Buddha. Vaidehi experienced "great awakening with clarity of mind and reached the insight into the non-arising of all dharmas, while her five hundred female attendants and "innumerable devas" also awakened aspiration for the highest enlightenment. Shakyamuni names the sutra, mentions benefits connected with the name of Amitabha Buddha, and exhorts all to hold the words of the sutra in their minds. Shakyamuni then returns through the air to Vulture Peak.)

#### AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 1

- 1. Thus it was heard by me: At one time the Buddha dwelt in Râgagriha, on the mountain Gridhrakûta, with a large assembly of Bhikshus and with thirty-two thousands of Bodhisattvas; with Mangusrî, Prince of the Law[2], at the head of the assembly.
- 2. At that time, in the great city of Râgagriha there was a prince, the heir-apparent, named Agâtasatru. He listened to the wicked counsel of Devadatta and other friends and forcibly arrested Bimbisara his father, the king, and shut him up by himself in a room with seven walls, proclaiming to all the courtiers that no one should approach (the king). The chief consort of the king, Vaidehî by name, was true and faithful to her lord, the king. She supported him in this wise: having purified herself by bathing and washing, she anointed her body with honey and ghee mixed with corn-flour, and she concealed the juice of grapes in the various garlands she wore (in order to give him food without being noticed by the warder). As she stole in and made an offering to him, he was able to eat the flour and to drink the juice (of grapes). Then he called for water and rinsed his mouth. That done, the king stretched forth his folded hands towards the Mount Gridhrakûta and worshipped duly and respectfully the World-Honoured One, who at that time abode there. And he uttered the following prayer: 'Mahâyâna is my friend and relative; let him, I pray, feel compassion towards me; and come and communicate to me the eight prohibitive precepts of Buddha [According to the commentator, Shân-tâo, 'killing, stealing, adultery, lying, drinking, applying ointment, etc., music, and using ornamented chairs, etc.'].' On this, Mahâyâna at once appeared before the king, coming with a speed equal to the flight of a falcon or an eagle, and communicated to him the eight precepts.

Day after day did he come. The World-Honoured One sent also his worthy disciple Pûrna to preach the Law to the king. Thus a period of three weeks passed by. The king showed by his countenance that he was happy and contented when he had an opportunity of hearing the Law as well as of enjoying the honey and flour.

3. At that time, Agâtasatru asked the warder of the gate whether his father was yet alive. On this, the warder answered him: 'O Exalted king, the chief consort (of thy father) brought (food) and presented it to him by anointing her body with honey and flour and filling her garlands with the juice (of grapes), and the Sramanas, Mahâyâna and Pûrna, approached the king through the sky in order to preach the Law to him. It is, O king, impossible to prevent them coming.' When the prince heard this answer his indignation arose against his mother: 'My mother,' he cried, 'is, indeed, a rebel, for she was found in company with that rebel. Wicked people are those Sramanas, and it is their art of spells causing illusion and delusion that delayed the death of that wicked king for so many days.' Instantly he brandished his sharp sword, intending to slay his mother. At that moment, there intervened a minister named Kandraprabha, who was possessed of great wisdom and intelligence, and Gîva (a famous physician). They saluted the prince and remonstrated with him, saying: 'We, ministers, O Great king, heard that since the beginning of the kalpas there had been several wicked kings, even to the number of eighteen thousand, who killed their own fathers, coveting the throne of (their respective) kingdoms, as mentioned in the Sûtra of the discourse of the Veda. Yet never have we heard of a man killing his mother, though he be void of virtue. Now, if thou, O king, shouldst dare to commit such a deadly sin, thou wouldst bring a stain upon the blood of the Kshatriyas (the kingly race). We cannot even bear to hear of it. Thou art indeed a Kandâla (the lowest race); we shall not stay here with thee.' After this speech, the two great ministers retired

stepping backward, each with his hand placed on his sword. Agâtasatru was then frightened, and greatly afraid of them, and asked Gîva, saying: 'Wilt thou not be friendly to me?' In reply Gîva said to him: 'Do not then, O Great king, by any means think of injuring thy mother.' On hearing this, the prince repented and sought for mercy, and at once laid down his sword and did his mother no hurt. He finally ordered the officers of the inner chambers to put the queen in a hidden palace and not to allow her to come out again.

4. When Vaidehî was thus shut up in retirement she became afflicted by sorrow and distress. She began to do homage to Buddha from afar, looking towards the Mount Gridhrakûta. She uttered the following words: 'O Tathâgata! World-Honoured One! In former times thou, hast constantly sent Ananda to me for enquiry and consolation. I am now in sorrow. and grief. Thou, O World-Honoured One, art majestic and exalted; in no way shall I be able to see thee. Wilt thou, I pray thee, command Mahâyâna and thy honoured disciple, Ananda, to come and have an interview with me?' After this speech, she grieved and wept, shedding tears like a shower of rain. Before she raised her head from doing homage to the distant Buddha, the World-Honoured One knew what Vaidehî was wishing in her mind, though he was on the Mount Gridhrakûta. Therefore, he instantly ordered Mahâyâna and Ânanda to go to her through the sky. Buddha himself disappeared from that mountain and appeared in the royal palace.

When the queen raised her head as she finished homage to Buddha, she saw before her the World-Honoured Buddha Sâkyamuni, whose body was purple gold in colour, sitting on a lotus-flower which consists of a hundred jewels, with Mahâyâna attending on his left, and with Ânanda on his right. Sakra (Indra), Brahman, and other gods that protect the world were seen in the midst of the sky, everywhere showering heavenly flowers with which they made offerings to Buddha in their worship. Vaidehî, at the sight of Buddha the World-Honoured One, took off her garlands and prostrated herself on the ground, crying, sobbing, and speaking to Buddha: 'O World-Honoured One! what former sin of mine has produced such a wicked son? And again, O Exalted One, from what cause and circumstances hast thou such an affinity (by blood and religion) with Devadatta (Buddha's wicked cousin and once his disciple)?'

5. 'My only prayer,' she continued, 'is this: O World-Honoured One, mayst thou preach to me in detail of all the places where there is no sorrow or trouble, and where I ought to go to be born anew. I am not satisfied with this world of depravities[1], with Gambudvîpa (India)[2], which is full of hells, full of hungry spirits (pretas), and of the brute creation. In this world of depravities, there is many an assemblage of the wicked. May I not hear, I pray, the voice of the wicked in the future; and may I not see any wicked person.

'Now I throw my five limbs down to the ground before thee, and seek for thy mercy by confessing my sins. I pray for this only that the Sun-like Buddha may instruct me how to meditate on a world wherein all actions are pure.' At that moment, the World-Honoured One flashed forth a golden ray from between his eyebrows. It extended to all the innumerable worlds of the ten quarters. On its return the ray rested on the top of Buddha's head and transformed itself into a golden pillar just like the Mount Sumeru, wherein the pure and admirable countries of the Buddhas in the ten quarters appeared all at once illuminated.

One was a country consisting of seven jewels, another was a country all full of lotus-flowers; one was like the palace of Mahesvara Deva (god Siva), another was like a mirror of crystal, with the countries in the ten quarters reflected therein: There were innumerable countries like these, resplendent, gorgeous, and delightful to look upon. All were meant for Vaidehî to see (and choose from).

Thereupon Vaidehî again spoke to Buddha: 'O World-Honoured One, although all other Buddha countries are pure and radiant with light, I should, nevertheless, wish myself to be born in the realm of Buddha Amitâyus (or Amitâbha), in the world of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî), Now I simply pray thee, O World-Honoured One, to teach me how to concentrate my thought so as to obtain aright vision (of that

6. Thereupon the World-Honoured One gently smiled upon her, and rays of five colours issued forth out of his mouth, each ray shining as far as the head of king Bimbisara.

At that moment, the mental vision of that exalted king was perfectly clear though he was shut up in lonely retirement, and he could see the World-Honoured One from afar. As he paid homage with his head and face, he naturally increased and advanced (in wisdom), whereby he attained to the fruition of an Anâgâmin (the third of the four grades to Nirvâna ).

7 Then the World-Honoured One said: 'Now dost thou not know, O Vaidehî, that Buddha Amitâyus is not very far from Thou shouldst apply thy mind entirely to close meditation upon those who have already perfected the pure actions necessary for that Buddha country

'I now proceed to fully expound them for thee in many parables, and thereby afford all ordinary persons of the future who wish to cultivate these pure actions an opportunity of being born in the Land of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî) in the western quarter. Those who wish to be born in that country of Buddha have to cultivate a threefold goodness. Firstly, they should act filially towards their parents and support them; serve and respect their teachers and elders; be of compassionate mind, abstain from doing any injury, and cultivate the ten virtuous actions [i.e. observe the ten prohibitive precepts of Buddha.]. Secondly, they should take and observe the vow of seeking refuge with the Three Jewels, fulfil all moral precepts, and not lower their dignity or neglect any ceremonial observance. Thirdly, they should give their whole mind to the attainment of the Bodhi (perfect wisdom), deeply believe in (the principle of) cause and effect, study and recite (the Sûtras of) the Mahâyâna doctrine, and persuade and encourage others who pursue the same course as themselves.

'These three groups as enumerated are called the pure actions (leading to the Buddha country). 'O Vaidehi!' Buddha continued, 'dost thou not understand now? These three classes of actions are the efficient cause of the pure actions taught by all the Buddhas of the past, present, and future.'

8. Buddha then addressed Ânanda as well as Vaidehî: Listen carefully, listen carefully! Ponder carefully on what you hear! I, Tathāgata, now declare the pure actions needful (for that Buddha country) for the sake of all beings hereafter, that are subject to the misery (inflicted) by the enemy, i.e. passion. Well done, O Vaidehî! Appropriate questions are those which thou hast asked! O Ânanda, do thou remember these words of me, of Buddha, and repeat them openly to many assemblies. I, Tathāgata, now teach Vaidehî and also all beings hereafter in order that they may meditate on the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî) in the western quarter.

'It is by the power of Buddha only that one can see that pure land (of Buddha) as clear as one sees the image of one's face reflected in the transparent mirror held up before one.

'When one sees the state of happiness of that country in its highest excellence, one greatly rejoices in one's heart and immediately attains a spirit of resignation prepared to endure whatever consequences may yet arise.' Buddha, turning again to Vaidehî, said: 'Thou art but an ordinary person; the quality of thy mind is feeble and inferior.

Thou hast not as yet obtained the divine eye and canst not perceive what is at a distance. All the Buddhas, Tathâgatas have various means at their disposal and can therefore afford thee an opportunity of seeing (that Buddha country).' Then Vaidehi rejoined: 'O World-Honoured One, people such as I, can now see that land by the power of Buddha, but how shall all those beings who are to come after Buddha's Nirvâna, and who, as being depraved and devoid of good qualities, will be harassed by the five worldly sufferings--how shall they see the World of Highest Happiness of the Buddha Amitâyus?'

## AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 2

9. Buddha then replied: 'Thou and all other beings besides ought to make it their only aim, with concentrated thought, to get a perception of the western quarter. You will ask how that perception is to be formed. I will explain it now. All beings, if not blind from birth, are uniformly possessed of sight, and they all see the setting sun. Thou shouldst sit down properly, looking in the western direction, and prepare thy thought for a close meditation on the sun; cause thy mind to be firmly fixed (on it) so as to have an unwavering perception by the exclusive application (of thy thought), and gaze upon it (more particularly) when it is about to set and looks like a sussended drum.

'After thou hast thus seen the sun, let (that image) remain clear and fixed, whether thine eyes be shut or open;--such is the perception of the sun, which is the First Meditation.

10. 'Next thou shouldst form the perception of water; gaze on the water clear and pure, and let (this image) also remain clear and fixed (afterwards); never allow thy thought to be scattered and lost.

'When thou hast thus seen the water thou shouldst form the perception of ice. As thou seest the ice shining and transparent, thou shouldst imagine the appearance of lapis lazuli.

'After that has been done, thou wilt see the ground consisting of lapis lazuli, transparent and shining both within and without. Beneath this ground of lapis lazuli there will be seen a golden banner with the seven jewels, diamonds and the rest, supporting the ground. It extends to the eight points of the compass, and thus the eight corners (of the ground) are perfectly filled up. Every side of the eight quarters consists of a hundred jewels, every jewel has a thousand rays, and every ray has eighty-four thousand colours which, when reflected in the ground of lapis lazuli, look like a thousand millions of suns, and it is difficult to see them all one by one. Over the surface of that ground of lapis lazuli there are stretched golden ropes intertwined crosswise; divisions are made by means of (strings of) seven jewels with every part clear and

'Each jewel has rays of five hundred colours which look like flowers or like the moon and stars. Lodged high up in the open sky these rays form a tower of rays, whose storeys and galleries are ten millions in number and built of a hundred jewels. Both sides of the tower have each a hundred millions of flowery banners furnished and decked with numberless musical instruments. Eight kinds of cool breezes proceed from the brilliant rays. When those musical instruments are played, they emit the sounds "suffering," "non-existence," "impermanence," and "non-self;"—such is the perception of the water, which is the Second Meditation.

11. 'When this perception has been formed, thou shouldst meditate on its (constituents) one by one and make (the images) as clear as possible, so that they may never be scattered and lost, whether thine eyes be shut or open. Except only during the time of thy sleep, thou shouldst always keep this in thy mind. One who has reached this (stage of) perception is said to have dimly seen the Land of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî).

One who has obtained the Samâdhi (the state of supernatural calm) is able to see the land (of that Buddha country) clearly and distinctly: (this state) is too much to be explained fully;—such is the perception of the land, and it is the Third Meditation.

'Thou shouldst remember, O Ânanda, the Buddha words of mine, and repeat this law for attaining to the perception of the land ( of the Buddha country) for the sake of the great mass of the people hereafter who may wish to be delivered from their sufferings. If anyone meditates on the land (of that Buddha country), his sins (which bind him to) births And deaths during eighty millions of kalpas shall be expiated; after the abandonment of his (preSent) body, he will assuredly be born in the pure land in the following life. The practice of this kind of meditation is called the "right meditation." If it be of another kind it is called "heretical meditation."

12. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehî: 'When the perception of the land (of that Buddha country) has been gained, you should next meditate on the jewel-trees (of that country). In meditating on the jewel-trees, you should take each by itself and form a perception of the seven rows of trees; every tree is eight hundred yoganas high, and all the jeweltrees have flowers and leaves consisting of seven jewels all perfect. All flowers and leaves have colours like the colours of various jewels:--from the colour of lapis lazuli there issues a golden ray; from the colour of crystal, a saffron ray; from the colour of agate, a diamond ray; from the colour of diamond, a ray of blue pearls. Corals, amber, and all other gems are used as ornaments for illumination: nets of excellent pearls are spread over the trees, each tree is covered by seven sets of nets. and between one set and another there are five hundred millions of palaces built of excellent flowers, resembling the palace of the Lord Brahman; all heavenly children live there quite naturally; every child has a garland consisting of five hundred millions of precious gems like those that are fastened on Sakra's (Indra's) head, the rays of which shine over a hundred voganas, just as if a hundred millions of suns and moons were united together; it is difficult to explain them in detail. That (garland) is the most excellent among all, as it is the commixture of all sorts of jewels. Rows of these jewel-trees touch one another; the leaves of the trees also join one another.

'Among the dense foliage there blossom various beautiful flowers, upon which are miraculously found fruits of seven jewels. The leaves of the trees are all exactly equal in length and in breadth, measuring twenty-five yoganas each way; every leaf has a thousand colours and a hundred different pictures on it, just like a heavenly garland. There are many excellent flowers which have the colour of Gâmbûnada gold and an appearance of fire-wheels in motion, turning between the leaves in a graceful fashion. All the fruits are produced just (as easily) as if they flowed out from the pitcher of the God Sakra. There is a magnificent ray which transforms itself into numberless jewelled canopies with banners and flags. Within these jewelled canopies the works of all the Buddhas of the Great Chiliocosm appear illuminated; the Buddha countries of the ten quarters also are manifested therein. When you have seen these trees you should also meditate on them one by one in order. In meditating on the trees, trunks, branches, leaves, flowers, and fruits, let them all be distinct and clear; -- such is the perception of the trees (of that Buddha country), and it is the Fourth Meditation.

13. 'Next, you should perceive the water (of that country). The perception of the water is as follows:—'In the Land of Highest Happiness there are waters in eight lakes; the water in every lake consists of seven jewels which are soft and yielding. Deriving its source from the king of jewels that fulfils every wish[1], the water is divided into fourteen streams; every stream has the colour of seven jewels; its channel is built of gold, the bed of which consists of the sand of variegated diamonds.

In the midst of each lake there are sixty millions of lotusflowers, made of seven jewels; all the flowers are perfectly round and exactly equal (in circumference), being twelve yoganas. The water of jewels flows amidst the flowers and rises and falls by the stalks (of the lotus); the sound of the streaming water is melodious and pleasing, and propounds all the perfect virtues (Parâmitâs), "suffering," "non-existence," "impermanence," and "non-self;" it proclaims also the praise of the signs of perfection, and minor marks of excellence of all Buddhas. From the king of jewels that fulfils every wish, stream forth the golden-coloured rays excessively beautiful, the radiance of which transforms itself into birds possessing the colours of a hundred jewels, which sing out harmonious notes, sweet and delicious, ever praising the remembrance of Buddha, the remembrance of the Law, and the remembrance of the Church;—such is the perception of the water of eight good qualities, and it is the Fifth Meditation.

14. Each division of that (Buddha) country, which consists of several jewels, has also jewelled storeys and galleries to the number of five hundred millions; within each storey and gallery there are innumerable Devas engaged in playing heavenly music. There are some musical instruments that are hung up in the open sky, like the jewelled banners of heaven; they emit musical sounds without being struck, which, while resounding variously, all propound the remembrance of Buddha, of the Law and of the Church, Bhikshus, etc. When this perception is duly accomplished, one is said to have dimly seen the jewel-trees, jewel-ground, and jewel-lakes of that World of Highest Happiness (Sukhavatî);--such is the perception formed by meditating on the general (features of that Land), and it is the Sixth Meditation.

'If one has experienced this, one has expiated the greatest sinful deeds which would (otherwise lead one) to transmigration for numberless millions of kalpas; after his death he will assuredly be born in that land.

15 [Hereafter, for brevity's sake, I take the liberty of omitting several passages which seem to be unnecessary repetitions.]. 'Listen carefully! listen carefully! Think over what you have heard! I, Buddha, am about to explain in detail the law of delivering one's self from trouble and torment. Commit this to your memory in order to explain it in detail before a great assembly.' While Buddha was uttering these words, Buddha Amitâyus stood in the midst of the sky with Bodhisattvas Mahâsthâma and Avalokitesvara, attending on his right and left respectively. There was such a bright and dazzling radiance that no one could see clearly; the brilliance was a hundred thousand times greater than that of gold (Gâmbûnada). Thereupon Vaidehî saw Buddha Amitâyus and approached the World-Honoured One, and worshipped him, touching his feet; and spoke to him as follows: 'O Exalted One! I am now able, by the power of Buddha, to see Buddha Amitâyus together with the two Bodhisattvas. But how shall all the beings of the future meditate on Buddha Amitâvus and the two Bodhisattvas?

16. Buddha answered: 'Those who wish to meditate on that Buddha ought first to direct their thought as follows: form the perception of a lotus-flower on a ground of seven jewels, each leaf of that lotus exhibits the colours of a hundred jewels, and has eighty-four thousand veins, just like heavenly pictures; each vein possesses eighty-four thousand rays, of which each can be clearly seen. Every small leaf and flower is two hundred and fifty yoganas in length and the same measurement in breadth. Each lotus-flower possesses eighty-four thousand leaves, each leaf has the kingly pearls to the number of a hundred millions, as ornaments for illumination; each pearl shoots out a thousand rays like bright canopies. The surface of the ground is entirely covered by a mixture of seven jewels. There is a tower built of the gems which are like those that are fastened on Sakra's head. It is inlaid and decked with eighty thousand diamonds, Kimsuka jewels, Brahma-mani and excellent pearl nets.

'On that tower there are miraculously found four posts with jewelled banners; each banner looks like a hundred thousand millions of Sumeru mountains.

The jewelled veil over these banners is like that of the celestial palace of Yama, illuminated with five hundred millions of excellent jewels, each jewel has eighty-four thousand rays, each ray has various golden colours to the number of eighty-four thousand, each golden colour covers the whole jewelled soil, it changes and is transformed at various places, every now and then exhibiting various appearances; now it becomes a diamond tower, now a pearl net, again clouds of mixed flowers, freely changing its manifestation in the ten directions it exhibits the state of Buddha;--such is the perception of the flowery throne, and it is the Seventh Meditation.'

Buddha, turning to Ananda, said: These excellent flowers were created originally by the power of the prayer of Bhikshu, Dharmakara [Vide Larger Sukhâvalî, p. 7, chapter 3.]. All who wish to exercise the remembrance of that Buddha ought first to form the perception of that flowery throne. When engaged in it one ought not to perceive vaguely, but fix the mind upon each detail separately. Leaf, jewel, ray, tower, and banner should be clear and distinct, just as one sees the image of one's own face in a mirror. When one has achieved this perception, the sins which would produce births and deaths during fifty thousand kalpas are expiated, and he is one who will most assuredly be born in the World of Highest Happiness.

17. 'When you have perceived this, you should next perceive Buddha himself. Do you ask how? Every Buddha Tathâgata is one whose (spiritual) body is the principle of nature (Darmadhâtu-kâya), so that he may enter into the mind of any beings. Consequently, when you have perceived Buddha, it is indeed that mind of yours that possesses those thirty-two signs of perfection and eighty minor marks of excellence (which you see in Buddha). In fine, it is your mind that becomes Buddha, nay, it is your mind that is indeed Buddha. The ocean of true and universal knowledge of all the Buddhas derives its source from one's own mind and thought. Therefore you should apply your thought with an undivided attention to a careful meditation on that Buddha Tathâgata, Arhat, the Holy and Fully Enlightened One. In forming the perception of that Buddha, you should first perceive the image of that Buddha; whether your eyes be open or shut, look at an image like Gâmbûnada gold in colour, sitting on that flower (throne mentioned before).

When you have seen the seated figure your mental vision will become clear, and you will be able to see clearly and distinctly the adornment of that Buddha country, the jewelled ground, etc. In seeing these things, let them be clear and fixed just as you see the palms of your hands. When you have passed through this experience, you should further form (a perception of) another great lotus-flower which is on the left side of Buddha, and is exactly equal in every way to the above-mentioned lotus-flower of Buddha. Still further, you should form (a perception of) another lotus-flower which is on the right side of Buddha. Perceive that an image of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is sitting on the left-hand flowery throne, shooting forth golden rays exactly like those of Buddha. Perceive then that an image of Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma is sitting on the right-hand flowery throne.

'When these perceptions are gained the images of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas will all send forth brilliant rays, clearly lighting up all the iewel-trees with golden colour. Under every tree there are also three lotus-flowers. On every lotusflower there is an image, either of Buddha or of a Bodhisattva; thus (the images of the Bodhisattvas and of Buddha) are found everywhere in that country. When this perception has been gained, the devotee should hear the excellent Law preached by means of a stream of water, a brilliant ray of light, several jewel-trees, ducks, geese, and swans. Whether he be wrapped in meditation or whether he has ceased from it, he should ever hear the excellent Law. What the devotee hears must be kept in memory and not be lost, when he ceases from that meditation; and it should agree with the Sûtras, for if it does not agree with the Sûtras, it is called an illusory perception. whereas if it does agree, it is called the rough perception of the World of Highest Happiness; -- such is the perception of the images, and it is the Eighth Meditation.

'He who has practised this meditation is freed from the sins (which otherwise involve him in) births and deaths for innumerable millions of kalpas, and during this present life he obtains the Samādhi due to the remembrance of Buddha

18. 'Further, when this perception is gained, you should next proceed to meditate on the bodily marks and the light of Buddha Amitâvus.

Thou shouldst know, O Ânanda, that the body of Buddha Amitâyus is a hundred thousand million times as bright as the colour of the Gâmbûnada gold of the heavenly abode of Yama; the height of that Buddha is six hundred thousand niyutas of kotîs of yoganas innumerable as are the sands of the river Gangâ.

'The white twist of hair between the eyebrows all turning to the right, is just like the five Sumeru mountains.

'The eyes of Buddha are like the water of the four great oceans; the blue and the white are quite distinct.

'All the roots of hair of his body issue forth brilliant rays which are also like the Sumeru mountains.

The halo of that Buddha is like a hundred millions of the Great Chiliocosms; in that halo there are Buddhas miraculously created, to the number of a million of niyutas of kotîs innumerable as the sands of the Gangâ; each of these Buddhas has for attendants a great assembly of numberless Bodhisattvas who are also miraculously created.

'Buddha Amitâyus has eighty-four thousand signs of perfection, each sign is possessed of eighty-four minor marks of excellence, each mark has eighty-four thousand rays, each ray extends so far as to shine over the worlds of the ten quarters, whereby Buddha embraces and protects all the beings who think upon him and does not exclude (anyone of them). His rays, signs, etc., are difficult to be explained in detail. But in simple meditation let the mind's eye dwell upon them.

If you pass through this experience, you will at the same time see all the Buddhas of the ten quarters. Since you see all the Buddhas it is called the Samâdhi of the remembrance of the Buddhas.

'Those who have practised this meditation are said to have contemplated the bodies of all the Buddhas. Since they have meditated on Buddha's body, they will also see Buddha's mind. It is great compassion that is called Buddha's mind. It is by his absolute compassion that he receives all beings.

Those who have practised this meditation will, when they die, be born in the presence of the Buddhas in another life, and obtain a spirit of resignation wherewith to face all the consequences which shall hereafter arise.

Therefore those who have wisdom should direct their thought to the careful meditation upon that Buddha Amitâyus. Let those who meditate on Buddha Amitâyus begin with one single sign or mark-let them first meditate on the white twist of hair between the eyebrows as clearly as possible; when they have done this, the eighty-four thousand signs and marks will naturally appear before their eyes. Those who see Amitâyus will also see all the innumerable Buddhas of the ten quarters. Since they have seen all the innumerable Buddhas, they will receive the prophecy of their future destiny (to become Buddha), in the presence of all the Buddhas,-such is the perception gained by a complete meditation on all forms and bodies (of Buddha), and it is the Ninth Meditation.

19. 'When you have seen Buddha Amitâyus distinctly, you should then further meditate upon Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, whose height is eight hundred thousands of iyutas of yoganas; the colour of his body is purple gold, his head has a turban (ushnishasiraskatâ), at the back of which there is a halo; (the circumference of) his face is a hundred thousand yoganas. In that halo, there are five hundred Buddhas miraculously transformed just like those of Sâkyamuni Buddha, each transformed Buddha is attended by five hundred transformed Bodhisattvas who are also attended by numberless gods.

Within the circle of light emanating from his whole body, appear illuminated the various forms and marks of all beings that live in the five paths [Men, gods, hell, the departed spirits, the brute creation.] of existence.

'On the top of his head is a heavenly crown of gems like those that are fastened (on Indra's head), in which crown there is a transformed Buddha standing, twenty-five yoganas high.

The face of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is like Gâmbûnada gold in colour.

'The soft hair between the eyebrows has all the colours of the seven jewels, from which eighty-four kinds of rays flow out, each ray has innumerable transformed Buddhas, each of whom is attended by numberless transformed Bodhisattvas; freely changing their manifestations they fill up the worlds of the ten quarters; (the appearance) can be compared with the colour of the red lotus-flower.

'(He wears) a garland consisting of eight thousand rays, in which is seen fully reflected a state of perfect beauty. The palm of his hand has a mixed colour of five hundred lotus-flowers. His hands have ten (tips of) fingers, each tip has eighty-four thousand pictures, which are like signet-marks, each picture has eighty-four thousand colours, each colour has eighty-four thousand rays which are soft and mild and shine over all things that exist. With these jewel hands he draws and embraces all beings. When he lifts up his feet, the soles of his feet are seen to be marked with a wheel of a thousand spokes (one of the thirty-two signs) which miraculously transform themselves into five hundred million pillars of rays. When he puts his feet down to the ground, the flowers of diamonds and jewels are scattered about, and all things are simply covered by them. All the other signs of his body and the minor marks of excellence are perfect, and not at all different from those of Buddha, except the signs of having the turban on his head and the top of his head invisible, which two signs of him are inferior to those of the World-Honoured One;--such is the perception of the real form and body of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, and it is the Tenth Meditation.

Buddha, especially addressing Ânanda, said: 'whosoever wishes to meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara must do so in the way I have explained. Those who practise this meditation will not suffer any calamity; they will utterly remove the obstacle that is raised by Karma, and will expiate the sins which would involve them in births and deaths for numberless kalpas. Even the hearing of the name of this Bodhisattva will enable one to obtain immeasurable happiness. How much more, then, will the diligent contemplation of him!

'Whosoever will meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara should first meditate on the turban of his head, and then on his heavenly crown.

'All the other signs should also be meditated on according to their order, and they should be clear and distinct just as one sees the palms of one's hands.

'Next you should meditate on Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, whose bodily signs, height, and size are equal to those of Avalokitesvara; the circumference (lit. surface) of his halo is one hundred and twenty-five yoganas, and it shines as far as two hundred and fifty yoganas. The rays of his whole body shine over the countries of the ten quarters, they are purple gold in colour, and can be seen by all beings that are in favourable circumstances

If one but sees the ray that issues from a single root of the hair of this Bodhisattva, he will at the same time see the pure and excellent rays of all the innumerable Buddhas of the ten quarters.

'For this reason this Bodhisattva is named the Unlimited Light: it is with this light of wisdom that he shines over all beings and causes them to be removed from the three paths of existence (Hells, Pretas, and the brute creation), and to obtain the highest power. For the same reason this Bodhisattva is called the Bodhisattva of Great Strength (Mahâsthâma). His heavenly crown has five hundred jewel-flowers; each jewelflower has five hundred jewel-towers; in each tower are seen manifested all the pure and excellent features of the farstretching Buddha countries in the ten quarters. The turban on his head is like a padma- (lotus) flower; on the top of the turban there is a jewel-pitcher, which is filled with various brilliant rays fully manifesting the state of Buddha. All his other bodily signs are quite equal to those of Avalokitesvara. When this Bodhisattva walks about, all the regions of the ten quarters tremble and quake. Wherever the earth quakes there appear five hundred millions of jewel-flowers; each jewelflower with its splendid dazzling beauty looks like the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî).

'When this Bodhisattva sits down, all the countries of seven jewels at once tremble and quake: all the incarnate (lit. divided) Amitâyus's, innumerable as the dust of the earth, and all the incarnate Bodhisattvas (Aval. and Mahâs.) who dwell in the middlemost Buddha countries (situated) between the Buddha country of the lower region (presided over) by a Buddha called the "Golden Light," and the country of the upper region (presided over) by a Buddha called the "King of Light,"—all these assemble in the World of Highest Happiness (Sukhâvatî), like gathering clouds, sit on their thrones of lotus-flowers, which fill the whole sky, and preach the excellent Law in order to deliver all the beings that are plunged in suffering;—such is the perception of the form and body of Bodhisattva Mahâsthâma, and it is the Eleventh Meditation.

'Those who practise this meditation are freed from the sins (which would otherwise involve them) in births and deaths for innumerable asankhya kalpas.

'Those who have practised this meditation do not live in an embryo state but obtain free access to the excellent and admirable countries of Buddhas. Those who have experienced this are said to have perfectly meditated upon the two Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Mahāsthāma.

20. 'After thou hast had this perception, thou shouldst imagine thyself to be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter, and to be seated, cross-legged, on a lotus-flower there. Then imagine that the flower has shut thee in and has afterwards unfolded; when the flower has thus unfolded, five hundred coloured rays will shine over thy body, thine eyes will be opened so as to see the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas who fill the whole sky; thou wilt hear the sounds of waters and trees, the notes of birds, and the voices of many Buddhas preaching the excellent Law, in accordance with the twelve divisions of the scriptures. When thou hast ceased from that meditation, thou must remember the experience ever after

'If thou hast passed through this experience thou art said to have seen the World of Highest Happiness in the realm of the Buddha Amitayus;—this is the perception obtained by a complete meditation on that Buddha country, and is called the Twelfth Meditation.

'The innumerable incarnate bodies of Amitâyus, together with those of Aval. and Mahâs., constantly come and appear before such devotees (as above mentioned).'

21. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehî: 'Those who wish, by means of their serene thoughts, to be born in the western land, should first meditate on an image of the Buddha, who is sixteen cubits high\*, seated on (a lotus-flower in) the water of the lake. As it was stated before the (real) body and its measurement are unlimited, incomprehensible to the ordinary mind. [\* This is said to have been the height of Sākyamuni; the cubit is Chinese, but as it varied from time to time, it is difficult to determine his real height. Spence Hardy, in his Manual of Buddhism, p. 364, says, 'Buddha is sometimes said to be twelve cubits in height, and sometimes eighteen cubits.']

'But by the efficacy of the ancient prayer of that Tathâgata, those who think of and remember him shall certainly be able to accomplish their aim.

'Even the mere perceiving of the image of that Buddha brings to one immeasurable blessings. How much more, then, will the meditating upon all the complete bodily signs of that Buddha! Buddha Amitâyus has supernatural power; since verything is at his disposal, he freely transforms himself in the regions of the ten quarters. At one time he shows himself as possessing a magnificent body, which fills the whole sky, at another he makes his body appear small, the height being only sixteen or eighteen cubits. The body he manifests is always pure gold incolour; his halo--(bright with) transformed Buddhas--and his jewel lotus-flowers are as mentioned above. The bodies of the two Bodhisattvas are the same always.

'All beings can recognise either of the two Bodhisattvas by simply glancing at the marks of their heads. These two Bodhisattvas assist Amitâyus in his work of universal salvation;--such is the meditation that forms a joint

perception of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, and it is the Thirteenth Meditation.'

## AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 3

22. Buddha then spoke to Ânanda and Vaidehî: 'The beings who will be born in the highest form of the highest grade (i.e. to Buddhahood) are those, whoever they may be, who wish to be born in that country and cherish the threefold thought whereby they are at once destined to be born there. What is the threefold thought, you may ask. First, the True Thought; second, the Deep Believing Thought; third, the Desire to be born in that Pure Land by bringing one's own stock of merit to maturity. Those who have this threefold thought in perfection shall most assuredly be born into that country.

There are also three classes of beings who are able to be born in that country. What, you may ask, are the three classes of beings? First, those who are possessed of a compassionate mind, who do no injury to any beings, and accomplish all virtuous actions according to Buddha's precepts; second, those who study and recite the Sûtras of the Mahâyâna doctrine, for instance, the Vaipulya Sûtras; third, those who practise the sixfold remembrance. These three classes of beings who wish to be born in that country by bringing (their respective stocks of merit) to maturity, will become destined to be born there if they have accomplished any of those meritorious deeds for one day or even for seven days.

'When one who has practised (these merits) is about to be born in that country, Buddha Amitâyus, together with the two Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., also numberless created Buddhas, and a hundred thousand Bhikshus and Sâvakas, with their whole retinue, and innumerable gods, together with the palaces of seven jewels, will appear before him out of regard for his diligence and courage; Aval., together with Mahâs., will offer a diamond seat to him; thereupon Amitâyus himself will send forth magnificent rays of light to shine over the dying person's body. He and many Bodhisattvas will offer their hands and welcome him, when Aval., Mahâs., and all the other Bodhisattvas will praise the glory of the man who practised the meritorious deeds, and convey an exhortation to his mind. When the new-comer, having seen these, rejoicing and leaping for joy, looks at himself, he will find his own body seated on that diamond throne; and as he follows behind Buddha he will be born into that country, in a moment. When he has been born there, he will see Buddha's form and body with every sign of perfection complete, and also the perfect forms and signs of all the Bodhisattvas; he will also see brilliant rays and jewel-forests and hear them propounding the excellent Law and instantly be conscious of a spirit of resignation to whatever consequences may hereafter arise. Before long he will serve every one of the Buddhas who live in the regions of the ten quarters. In the presence of each of those Buddhas he will obtain successively a prophecy of his future destiny. On his return to his own land (Sukhâvatî, in which he has just been born) he will obtain countless hundreds of thousands of Dhârani formulas (mystic form of prayer);--such are those who are to be born in the highest form of the highest grade (to Buddhahood).

23. 'Next, the beings who will be born in the middle form of the highest grade are those who do not necessarily learn, remember, study, or recite those Vaipulya Sûtras, but fully understand the meaning of the truth (contained in them), and having a firm grasp of the highest truth do not speak evil of the Mahâyâna doctrine, but deeply believe in (the principle of) cause and effect; who by bringing these good qualities to maturity seek to be born in that Country of Highest Happiness. When one who has acquired these qualities is about to die, Amitâyus, surrounded by the two Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., and an innumerable retinue of dependents. will bring a seat of purple gold and approach him with words of praise, saying: "O my son in the Law! thou hast practised the Mahâyâna doctrine; thou hast understood and believed the highest truth; therefore I now come to meet and welcome thee." He and the thousand created Buddhas offer hands all at

When that man looks at his own body, he will find himself seated on that purple gold seat; he will, then, stretching forth his folded hands, praise and eulogise all the Buddhas. As quick as thought he will be born in the lake of seven jewels, of that country. That purple gold seat on which he sits is like a magnificent jewel-flower, and will open after a night; the new-comer's body becomes purple gold in colour, and he will also find under his feet a lotus-flower consisting of seven jewels. Buddha and the Bodhisattvas at the same time will send forth brilliant rays to shine over the body of that person whose eyes will instantaneously be opened and become clear. According to his former usage (in the human world) he will hear all the voices that are there, preaching primary truths of the deepest significance.

Then he will descend from that golden seat and worship Buddha with folded hands, praising and eulogising the World-Honoured One. After seven days, he will immediately attain to the state of the highest perfect knowledge (anuttarasamyaksambodhi) from which he will never fall away (avaivartya); next he will fly to all the ten regions and

successively serve all the Buddhas therein; he will practise many a Samâdhi in the presence of those Buddhas. After the lapse of a lesser kalpa he will attain a spirit of resignation to whatever consequences may hereafter arise, and he will also obtain a prophecy of his future destiny in the presence of Buddhas

24. 'Next are those who are to be born in the lowest form of the highest grade: this class of beings also believes in (the principle of) cause and effect, and without slandering the Mahâyâna doctrine, simply cherishes the thought of obtaining the highest Bodhi and by bringing this good quality to maturity seeks to be born in that Country of Highest Happiness. When a devotee of this class dies, Amitâvus, with Aval., Mahâs., and all the dependents, will offer him a golden lotus-flower: he will also miraculously create five hundred Buddhas in order to send and meet him. These five hundred created Buddhas will, all at once, offer hands and praise him, saying: "O my son in the Law! thou art pure now; as thou hast cherished the thought of obtaining the highest Bodhi, we come to meet thee." When he has seen them, he will find himself seated on that golden lotus-flower. Soon the flower will close upon him; following behind the World-Honoured One he will go to be born in the lake of seven jewels. After one day and one night the lotus-flower will unfold itself. Within seven days he may see Buddha's body, though his mind is not as yet clear enough to perceive all the signs and marks of the Buddha, which he will be able to see clearly after three weeks; then he will hear many sounds and voices preaching the excellent Law, and he himself, travelling through all the ten quarters, will worship all the Buddhas, from whom he will learn the deepest significance of the Law. After three lesser kalpas he will gain entrance to the knowledge of a hundred (divisions of) nature (satadharmavidvâdvâra) and become settled in the (first) joyful stage [There are ten stages which a Bodhisattva goes through.] (of Bodhisattva). The perception of these three classes of beings is called the meditation upon the superior class of beings, and is the Fourteenth Meditation.

. 'The beings who will be born in the highest form of the middle grade are those who observe the five prohibitive precepts, the eight prohibitive precepts and the fasting, and practise all the moral precepts; who do not commit the five deadly sins, and who bring no blame or trouble upon any being; and who by bringing these good qualities to maturity seek to be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter. On the eve of such a person's departure from this life, Amitâyus, surrounded by Bhikshus and dependents, will appear before him, flashing forth rays of golden colour, and will preach the Law of suffering, non-existence, impermanence, and non-self. He will also praise the virtue of homelessness that can liberate one from all sufferings. At the sight of Buddha, that believer will excessively rejoice in his heart; he will soon find himself seated on a lotus-flower. Kneeling down on the ground and stretching forth his folded hands he will pay homage to Buddha. Before he raises his head he will reach that Country of Highest Happiness and be born there. Soon the lotus-flower will unfold, when he will hear sounds and voices praising and glorifying the Four Noble Truths (of suffering). He will immediately attain to the fruition of Arhatship, gain the threefold knowledge and the six supernatural faculties, and complete the eightfold emancipation.

26. 'The beings who will be born in the middle form of the middle grade are those who either observe the eight prohibitive precepts, and the fasting for one day and one night, or observe the prohibitive precept for Sramanera (a novice) for the same period, or observe the perfect moral precepts, not lowering their dignity nor neglecting any ceremonial observance for one day and one night, and by bringing their respective merits to maturity seek to be born in the Country of Highest Happiness. On the eve of departure from this life, such a believer who is possessed of this moral virtue, which he has made fragrant by cultivation during his life, will see Amitâyus, followed by all his retinue; flashing forth rays of golden colour, this Buddha will come before him and offer a lotus-flower of seven jewels.

'He will hear a voice in the sky, praising him and saying: "O son of a noble family, thou art indeed an excellent man. Out of regard for thy obedience to the teachings of all the Buddhas of the three worlds I, now, come and meet thee." Then the newcomer will see himself seated on that lotus-flower. Soon the lotus-flower will fold around him, and being in this he will be born in the jewel-lake of the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter.

'Âfter seven days that flower will unfold again, when the believer will open his eyes, and praise the World-Honoured One, stretching forth his folded hands. Having heard the Law, he will rejoice and obtain the fruition of a Srota-âpanna [Vide Vagrakkhedikâ, chapter 9.] (the first grade to Nirvâna).

'In the lapse of half a kalpa he will become an Arhat.

27. 'Next are the beings who will be born in the lowest form of the middle grade (to Buddhahood) If there be sons or daughters of a noble family who are filial to their parents and support them, besides exercising benevolence and compassion in the world, at their departure from this life, such persons

will meet a good and learned teacher who will fully describe to them the state of happiness in that Buddha country of Amitâyus, and will also explain the forty-eight prayers of the Bhikshu Dharmâkara [Vide Larger Sukhâvatî, chapters 7, 8.]. As soon as any such person has heard these details, his life will come to an end. In a brief moment [Lit. 'In the time in which a strong man can bend his arm or stretch his bended arm.'] he will be born in the World of Highest Happiness in the western quarter.

'After seven days he will meet Aval. and Mahâs., from whom he will learn the Law and rejoice. After the lapse of a lesser kalpa he will attain to the fruition of an Arhat. The perception of these three sorts of beings is called the meditation of the middle class of beings, and is the Fifteenth Meditation.

28. 'Next are the beings who will be born in the highest form of the lowest grade. If there be anyone who commits many evil deeds, provided that he does not speak evil of the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras, he, though himself a very stupid man, and neither ashamed nor sorry for all the evil actions that he has done, yet, while dying, may meet a good and learned teacher who will recite and laud the headings and titles of the twelve divisions of the Mahâyâna scriptures. Having thus heard the names of all the Sûtras, he will be freed from the greatest sins which would involve him in births and deaths during a thousand kalpas.

'A wise man also will teach him to stretch forth his folded hands and to say, "Adoration to Buddha Amitâyus" (Namo\*mitâbhâya Buddhâya, or, Namo\*mitâyushe Namo\*mitâyushe Buddhâya). Having uttered the name of the Buddha, he will be freed from the sins which would otherwise involve him in births and deaths for fifty millions of kalpas. Thereupon the Buddha will send a created Buddha, and the created Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., to approach that person with words of praise, saying: "O son of a noble family, as thou hast uttered the name of that Buddha, all thy sins have been destroyed and expiated, and therefore we now come to meet thee." After this speech the devotee will observe the rays of that created Buddha flooding his chamber with light, and while rejoicing at the sight he will depart this life. Seated on a lotus-flower he will follow that created Buddha and go to be born in the iewel-lake.

'After the lapse of seven weeks, the lotus-flower will unfold, when the great compassionate Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahās. will stand before him, flashing forth magnificent rays, and will preach to him the deepest meaning of the twelve divisions of the scriptures. Having heard this, he will understand and believe it, and cherish the thought of attaining the highest Bodhi. In a period of ten lesser kal pas he will gain entrance to the knowledge of the hundred (divisions of) nature, and be able to enter upon the first (joyful) stage (of Bodhisattva). Those who have had an opportunity of hearing the name of Buddha, the name of the Law, and the name of the Church-the names of the Three Jewelscan also be born (in that country)'

29. Buddha continued: 'Next are the beings who will be born in the middle form of the lowest grade. If there be anyone who transgresses the five and the eight prohibitive precepts, and also all the perfect moral precepts; he, being himself so stupid as to steal things that belong to the whole community[1], or things that belong to a particular Bhikshu, and not be ashamed nor sorry for his impure preaching of the Law (in case of preacher), but magnify and glorify himself with many wicked deeds:--such a

[1. The text has 'sanghika things,' which is probably sanghika lâbha, i.e. 'gains of the whole community' opposed to gains of a single monk, Childers' Pâli Dictionary sanghiko, p. 449.] sinful person deserves to fall into hell in consequence of those sins. At the time of his death, when the fires of hell approach him from all sides, he will meet a good and learned teacher who will, out of great compassion, preach the power and virtue of the ten faculties of Amitâyus and fully explain the supernatural powers and brilliant rays of that Buddha; and will further praise moral virtue, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and the thorough knowledge that follows emancipation. After having heard this, he will be freed from his sins, which would involve him in births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas; thereupon those violent fires of hell will transform themselves into a pure and cool wind blowing about heavenly flowers. On each of these flowers will stand a created Buddha or Bodhisattya to mtet and receive that person. In a moment he will be born in a lotus-flower growing in the lake of seven jewels. After six kalpas the lotus-flower will open, when Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma will soothe and encourage him with their Brahma-voices, and preach to him the Mahâyâna Sûtras of the deepest significance.

'Having heard this Law, he will instantaneously direct his thought toward the attainment of the highest Bodhi.

30. 'Lastly, the beings who will be born in the lowest form of the lowest grade. If there be anyone who commits evil deeds, and even completes the ten wicked actions, the five deadly sins\* and the like; that man, being himself stupid and guilty of many crimes, deserves to fall into a miserable path of existence

and suffer endless pains during many kalpas. [\* The Five deadly sins in Buddhism are: killing your father, killing your mother, killing an arakan (arhat), killing an arhat, injuring and killing a buddha, creating schism in the Buddhist order. Committing such crimes deliver the offender (via karma) into naraka (hell).]. On the eve of death he will meet a good and learned teacher who will, soothing and encouraging him in various ways, preach to him the excellent Law and teach him the remembrance of Buddha, but, being harassed by pains, he will have no time to think of Buddha. Some good friend will then say to him: "Even if thou canst not exercise the remembrance of Buddha, thou mayst, at least, utter the name, 'Buddha Amitâyus.'" Let him do so serenely with his voice uninterrupted; let him be (continually) thinking of Buddha until he has completed ten times the thought, repeating (the "Adoration Buddha formula), Amitâyus' to (Namo\*mitâyushe Buddhâya). On the strength of (his merit of) uttering Buddha's name he will, during every repetition, expiate the sins which involve him in births and deaths during eighty millions of kalpas. He will, while dying, see a golden lotus-flower like the disk of the sun appearing before his eyes; in a moment he will be born in the World of Highest Happiness. After twelve greater kalpas the lotus-flower will unfold; thereupon the Bodhisattvas Aval. and Mahâs., raising their voices in great compassion, will preach to him in detail the real state of all the elements of nature and the law of the expiation of sins.

'On hearing them he will rejoice and will immediately direct his thought toward the attainment of the Bodhi;--such are the beings who are to be born in the lowest form of the lowest grade (to Buddhahood). The perception of the above three is called the meditation of the inferior class of beings, and is the Sixteenth Meditation'

#### AMITAYUS MEDITATION SUTRA PART 4

31. When Buddha had finished this speech, Vaidehî, together with her five hundred female attendants, could see, as guided by the Buddha's words, the scene of the farstretching World of the Highest Happiness, and could also see the body of Buddha and the bodies of the two Bodhisattvas. With her mind filled with joy she praised them, saying: 'Never have I seen such a wonder!' Instantaneously she became wholly and fully enlightened, and attained a spirit of resignation, prepared to endure whatever consequences might yet arise[1]. Her five hundred female attendants too cherished the thought of obtaining the highest perfect knowledge, and sought to be born in that Buddha country.

32. The World-Honoured One predicted that they would all

32. The World-Honoured One predicted that they would all be born in that Buddha country, and be able to obtain the Samādhi (the supernatural calm) of the presence of many Buddhas. All the innumerable Devas (gods) also directed their thought toward the attainment of the highest Bodhi. Thereupon Ananda rose from his seat, approached Buddha, and spoke thus: 'O World-Honoured One, what should we call this Sûtra? And how should we receive and remember it (in the future)?'

Buddha said in his reply to Ânanda: 'O Ânanda, this Sûtra should be called the meditation on the Land of Sukhāvatī, on Buddha Amitâyus, Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, Bodhisattva Mahāsthāma, or otherwise be called "(the Sûtra on) the entire removal of the obstacle of Karma, (the means of) being born in the realm of the Buddhas." Thou shouldst take and hold it, not forgetting nor losing it. Those who practise the Samādhi (the supernatural calm) in accordance with this Sûtra will be able to see, in the present life, Buddha Amitâyus and the two great Bodhisattvas.

'In case of a son or a daughter of a noble family, the mere hearing of the names of the Buddha and the two Bodhisattvas will expiate the sins which would involve them in births and deaths during innumerable kalpas. How much more will the remembrance (of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas)!

'Know that he who remembers that Buddha is the white lotus (pundarîka) among men, it is he whom the Bodhisattvas Avalokitesvara and Mahâsthâma consider an excellent friend. He will, sitting in the Bodhi-mandala\*, be born in the abode of Buddhas.' [\* Bodhi-mandala=Bodhi-manda, i.e. the Circle of Bodhi; 'the round terrace of enlightenment,' see Kern, Saddharmapundarîka, p. 155 note. This circle is the ground on which stood the Asvattha tree near which Sâkyamuni defeated the assaults of Mâra, and finally obtained Bodhi or enlightenment.]

Buddha further spoke to Ânanda: 'Thou shouldst carefully remember these words. To remember these words is to remember the name of Buddha Amitâyus.'

When Buddha concluded these words, the worthy disciples Mahâyâna, and Ânanda, Vaidehî, and the others were all enraptured with excessive Joy.

33. Thereupon the World-Honoured One came back, walking through the open sky; to the Mount Gridhrakûta. Ânanda soon after spoke before a great assembly of all the occurrences as stated above. On hearing this, all the innumerable Devas (gods), Nâgas (snakes), and Yakshas (demi-gods) were inspired with great joy; and having worshipped the Buddha they went their way.

Here ends the Sûtra of the Meditation on Buddha Amitâyus, spoken by Buddha (Sâkyamuni).

## THE DHAMMAPADA

or The Path of Righteousness or The Way of Buddha's Teachings A Canonical Book of the Theravada Buddhists, The Pali Canon (being the canon in the Pali language) From The Sacred Books of the East. Translation from Pali: Friedrich Max Müller, 1881 Estimated Range of Dating: 2nd - 1st centuries B.C.

(The Dhammapada [or Dharmapada in Sanskrit] is an Indian work that was composed before the Christian era. The Dhammapada contains parallels to the Sermon on the Mount concepts of turn the other cheek, the light of the world, and don't look at with lust. The Dhammapada is a collection of sayings of the Buddha in verse form and one of the most widely read and best known Buddhist scriptures. The original version of the Dhammapada is in the Khuddaka Nikaya, a division of the Pali Canon of Therayada Buddhism.

Theravada (Pali, lit. "School of the Elders") is the most commonly accepted name of Buddhism's oldest existing school. The school's adherents, termed Theravadins, have preserved their version of Gautama Buddha's teaching or Buddha Dhamma in the Pāli Canon for over a millennium. The Pali Canon is the most complete Buddhist canon surviving in a classical Indian language, Pali, which serves as the school's acred language and lingua franca. In contrast to Mahayana and Vajrayana, Theravāda tends to be conservative in matters of doctrine (pariyatti) and monastic discipline (vinaya). One element of this conservatism is the fact that Theravāda rejects the authenticity of the Mahayana sutras (which appeared c. Ist century BC onwards).

Modern Theravada derives from the Mahavihara order, a Sri Lankan [Ceylonese] branch of the Vibhajjavada tradition, who are in turn a sect of the Indian Sthavira Nikaya. This tradition began to establish itself in Sri Lanka from the 3rd century BC onwards. It was in Sri Lanka that the Pali Canon was written down and the school's commentary literature developed. From Sri Lanka, the Theravada Mahavihara tradition subsequently spread to the rest of Southeast Asia. It is the dominant religion in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar [Burma], Sri Lanka, and Thailand and is practiced by minorities in India, Bangladesh, China, Nepal, and Vietnam. The diaspora of all of these groups, as well as converts around the world also embrace and practice Therayada Buddhism In modern times, Theravada has spread to other Asian and western countries such as India, Nepal, several European countries and the United States by immigrants and converts.

The title, "Dhammapada," is a compound term composed of dhamma [or Sanskrit dharma] and pada, Generally, dhamma can refer to the Buddha's "teachings" or an "eternal truth" or "righteousness", and, at its root, pada means "foot" and thus by extension, especially in this context, means either "path" or "verse". The title is best translated as "The Path of Righteousness."

According to tradition, the Dhammapada's verses were spoken by the Buddha on various occasions. The complex models, theories, rhetorical style and sheer volume of the Buddha's teachings made it hard to understand the principles of them. In the fourth or third centuries BC., the logical teachings of Buddha were compiled into The Dhammapada. The short and cristall-clear verses in that remarkable work make the Buddhist way of life available to anyone.)

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 1

The Twin-Verses or The Pairs (Yamaka-vaggo)

1 All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with an evil thought, pain follows him, as the wheel follows the foot of the ox that draws the carriage.

- 2 All that we are is the result of what we have thought: it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts. If a man speaks or acts with a pure thought, happiness follows him, like a shadow that never leaves him.
- 3 "He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,"--in those who harbour such thoughts hatred will never
- 4 "He abused me, he beat me, he defeated me, he robbed me,"--in those who do not harbour such thoughts hatred will cease.
- 5 For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time: hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule.
- 6 The world does not know that we must all come to an end here;--but those who know it, their quarrels cease at once.
- 7 He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, immoderate in his food, idle, and weak, Mara (the tempter) will certainly overthrow him, as the wind throws down a weak tree.

8 He who lives without looking for pleasures, his senses well controlled, moderate in his food, faithful and strong, him

Mara will certainly not overthrow, any more than the wind throws down a rocky mountain.

9 He who wishes to put on the yellow dress without having cleansed himself from sin, who disregards temperance and truth, is unworthy of the yellow dress.

- 10 But he who has cleansed himself from sin, is well grounded in all virtues, and regards also temperance and truth, he is indeed worthy of the yellow dress.
- 11 They who imagine truth in untruth, and see untruth in truth, never arrive at truth, but follow vain desires.
- 12 They who know truth in truth, and untruth in untruth, arrive at truth, and follow true desires.
- 13 As rain breaks through an ill-thatched house, passion will break through an unreflecting mind.
- 14 As rain does not break through a well-thatched house, passion will not break through a well-reflecting mind.
- 15 The evil-doer mourns in this world, and he mourns in the next; he mourns in both. He mourns and suffers when he sees the evil of his own work.
- 16 The virtuous man delights in this world, and he delights in the next; he delights in both. He delights and rejoices, when he sees the purity of his own work.
- 17 The evil-doer suffers in this world, and he suffers in the next; he suffers in both. He suffers when he thinks of the evil he has done; he suffers more when going on the evil path.
- 18 The virtuous man is happy in this world, and he is happy in the next; he is happy in both. He is happy when he thinks of the good he has done; he is still more happy when going on the good path.
- 19 The thoughtless man, even if he can recite a large portion (of the law), but is not a doer of it, has no share in the priesthood, but is like a cowherd counting the cows of others.
- 20 The follower of the law, even if he can recite only a small portion (of the law), but, having forsaken passion and hatred and foolishness, possesses true knowledge and serenity of mind, he, caring for nothing in this world or that to come, has indeed a share in the priesthood.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 2

On Earnestness or On Attention (Appam□da-vaggo)

- 21 Earnestness is the path of immortality (Nirvana), thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already.
- 22 Those who are advanced in earnestness, having understood this clearly, delight in earnestness, and rejoice in the knowledge of the Ariyas (the elect).
- 23 These wise people, meditative, steady, always possessed of strong powers, attain to Nirvana, the highest happiness.
- 24 If an earnest person has roused himself, if he is not forgetful, if his deeds are pure, if he acts with consideration, if he restrains himself, and lives according to law,—then his glory will increase.
- 25 By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for himself an island which no flood can overwhelm
- 26 Fools follow after vanity, men of evil wisdom. The wise man keeps earnestness as his best jewel.
- 27 Follow not after vanity, nor after the enjoyment of love and lust! He who is earnest and meditative, obtains ample joy.
- 28 When the learned man drives away vanity by earnestness, he, the wise, climbing the terraced heights of wisdom, looks down upon the fools, serene he looks upon the toiling crowd, as one that stands on a mountain looks down upon them that stand upon the plain.
- 29 Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer, leaving behind the hack.
- 30 By earnestness did Maghavan (Indra) rise to the lordship of the gods. People praise earnestness; thoughtlessness is always blamed.
- 31 A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in earnestness, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, moves about like fire, burning all his fetters, small or large.
- 32 A Bhikshu (mendicant) who delights in reflection, who looks with fear on thoughtlessness, cannot fall away (from his perfect state)—he is close upon Nirvana.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 3

Thoughts (Citta-vaggo)

- 33 As a fletcher makes straight his arrow, a wise man makes straight his trembling and unsteady thought, which is difficult to guard, difficult to hold back.
- 34 As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Mara (the tempter).
- 35 It is good to tame the mind, which is difficult to hold in and flighty, rushing wherever it listeth; a tamed mind brings happiness.
- 36 Let the wise man guard his thoughts, for they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list: thoughts well guarded bring happiness.
- 37 Those who bridle their mind which travels far, moves about alone, is without a body, and hides in the chamber (of the heart), will be free from the bonds of Mara (the tempter).

- 38 If a man's thoughts are unsteady, if he does not know the true law, if his peace of mind is troubled, his knowledge will never be perfect.
- 39 If a man's thoughts are not dissipated, if his mind is not perplexed, if he has ceased to think of good or evil, then there is no fear for him while he is watchful.
- 40 Knowing that this body is (fragile) like a jar, and making this thought firm like a fortress, one should attack Mara (the tempter) with the weapon of knowledge, one should watch him when conquered, and should never rest.
- 41 Before long, alas! this body will lie on the earth, despised, without understanding, like a useless log.
- 42 Whatever a hater may do to a hater, or an enemy to an enemy, a wrongly-directed mind will do us greater mischief.
- 43 Not a mother, not a father will do so much, nor any other relative; a well-directed mind will do us greater service.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 4

Flowers (Puppha-vaggo)

- 44 Who shall overcome this earth, and the world of Yama (the lord of the departed), and the world of the gods? Who shall find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower?
- 45 The disciple will overcome the earth, and the world of Yama, and the world of the gods. The disciple will find out the plainly shown path of virtue, as a clever man finds out the (right) flower.
- 46 He who knows that this body is like froth, and has learnt that it is as unsubstantial as a mirage, will break the flower-pointed arrow of Mara, and never see the king of death.
- 47 Death carries off a man who is gathering flowers and whose mind is distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.
- 48 Death subdues a man who is gathering flowers, and whose mind is distracted, before he is satiated in his pleasures.
- 49 As the bee collects nectar and departs without injuring the flower, or its colour or scent, so let a sage dwell in his village.
- 50 Not the perversities of others, not their sins of commission or omission, but his own misdeeds and negligences should a sage take notice of.
- 51 Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly.
- 52 But, like a beautiful flower, full of colour and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly.
- 53 As many kinds of wreaths can be made from a heap of flowers, so many good things may be achieved by a mortal when once he is born.
- 54 The scent of flowers does not travel against the wind, nor (that of) sandal-wood, or of Tagara and Mallika flowers; but the odour of good people travels even against the wind; a good man pervades every place.
- 55 Sandal-wood or Tagara, a lotus-flower, or a Vassiki, among these sorts of perfumes, the perfume of virtue is unsurpassed.
- 56 Mean is the scent that comes from Tagara and sandalwood;—the perfume of those who possess virtue rises up to the gods as the highest.
- 57 Of the people who possess these virtues, who live without thoughtlessness, and who are emancipated through true knowledge, Mara, the tempter, never finds the way.
- 58, 59. As on a heap of rubbish cast upon the highway the lily will grow full of sweet perfume and delight, thus the disciple of the truly enlightened Buddha shines forth by his knowledge among those who are like rubbish, among the people that walk in darkness.

# DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 5

The Fool (B□la-vaggo)

- 60 Long is the night to him who is awake; long is a mile to him who is tired; long is life to the foolish who do not know the true law
- 61 If a traveller does not meet with one who is his better, or his equal, let him firmly keep to his solitary journey; there is no companionship with a fool.
- 62 "These sons belong to me, and this wealth belongs to me," with such thoughts a fool is tormented. He himself does not belong to himself; how much less sons and wealth?
- 63 The fool who knows his foolishness, is wise at least so far. But a fool who thinks himself wise, he is called a fool indeed.
- 64 If a fool be associated with a wise man even all his life, he will perceive the truth as little as a spoon perceives the taste of soup.
- 65 If an intelligent man be associated for one minute only with a wise man, he will soon perceive the truth, as the tongue perceives the taste of soup.
- 66 Fools of little understanding have themselves for their greatest enemies, for they do evil deeds which must bear bitter fruits
- 67 That deed is not well done of which a man must repent, and the reward of which he receives crying and with a tearful face

- 68 No, that deed is well done of which a man does not repent, and the reward of which he receives gladly and cheerfully.
- 69 As long as the evil deed done does not bear fruit, the fool thinks it is like honey; but when it ripens, then the fool suffers grief
- 70 Let a fool month after month eat his food (like an ascetic) with the tip of a blade of Kusa grass, yet he is not worth the sixteenth particle of those who have well weighed the law.
- 71 An evil deed, like newly-drawn milk, does not turn (suddenly); smouldering, like fire covered by ashes, it follows the fool.
- 72 And when the evil deed, after it has become known, brings sorrow to the fool, then it destroys his bright lot, nay, it cleaves his head.
- 73 Let the fool wish for a false reputation, for precedence among the Bhikshus, for lordship in the convents, for worship among other people!
- 74 "May both the layman and he who has left the world think that this is done by me; may they be subject to me in everything which is to be done or is not to be done," thus is the mind of the fool, and his desire and pride increase.
- 75 "One is the road that leads to wealth, another the road that leads to Nirvana;" if the Bhikshu, the disciple of Buddha, has learnt this, he will not yearn for honour, he will strive after separation from the world.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 6

The Wise Man (Pandita-vaggo)

- 76 If you see an intelligent man who tells you where true treasures are to be found, who shows what is to be avoided, and administers reproofs, follow that wise man; it will be better, not worse, for those who follow him.
- 77 Let him admonish, let him teach, let him forbid what is improper!- -he will be beloved of the good, by the bad he will be hated.
- 78 Do not have evil-doers for friends, do not have low people for friends: have virtuous people for friends, have for friends the best of men.
- 79 He who drinks in the law lives happily with a serene mind: the sage rejoices always in the law, as preached by the elect (Arivas).
- 80 Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; wise people fashion themselves.
- 81 As a solid rock is not shaken by the wind, wise people falter not amidst blame and praise.
- 82 Wise people, after they have listened to the laws, become serene, like a deep, smooth, and still lake.
- 83 Good people walk on whatever befall, the good do not prattle, longing for pleasure; whether touched by happiness or sorrow wise people never appear elated or depressed.
- 84 If, whether for his own sake, or for the sake of others, a man wishes neither for a son, nor for wealth, nor for lordship, and if he does not wish for his own success by unfair means, then he is good, wise, and virtuous.
- 85 Few are there among men who arrive at the other shore (become Arhats); the other people here run up and down the shore
- 86 But those who, when the law has been well preached to them, follow the law, will pass across the dominion of death, however difficult to overcome.
- 87 A wise man should leave the dark state (of ordinary life), and follow the bright state (of the Bhikshu).
- 88 After going from his home to a homeless state, he should in his retirement look for enjoyment where there seemed to be no enjoyment. Leaving all pleasures behind, and calling nothing his own, the wise man should purge himself from all the troubles of the mind.
- 89 Those whose mind is well grounded in the (seven) elements of knowledge, who without clinging to anything, rejoice in freedom from attachment, whose appetites have been conquered, and who are full of light, are free (even) in this world.

# DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 7

The Venerable or The Enlightened (Arahanta-vaggo)

- 90 There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey, and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.
- 91 They depart with their thoughts well-collected, they are not happy in their abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.
- 92 Men who have no riches, who live on recognised food, who have perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), their path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.
- 93 He whose appetites are stilled, who is not absorbed in enjoyment, who has perceived void and unconditioned freedom (Nirvana), his path is difficult to understand, like that of birds in the air.
- 94 The gods even envy him whose senses, like horses well broken in by the driver, have been subdued, who is free from pride, and free from appetites.

- 95 Such a one who does his duty is tolerant like the earth, like Indra's bolt; he is like a lake without mud; no new births are in store for him.
- 96 His thought is quiet, quiet are his word and deed, when he has obtained freedom by true knowledge, when he has thus become a quiet man.
- 97 The man who is free from credulity, but knows the uncreated, who has cut all ties, removed all temptations, renounced all desires, he is the greatest of men.
- 98 In a hamlet or in a forest, in the deep water or on the dry land, wherever venerable persons (Arhanta) dwell, that place is delightful.
- 99 Forests are delightful; where the world finds no delight, there the passionless will find delight, for they look not for pleasures.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 8

The Thousands (Sahassa-vaggo)

- 100 Even though a speech be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of sense is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.
- 101 Even though a Gatha (poem) be a thousand (of words), but made up of senseless words, one word of a Gatha is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.
- 102 Though a man recite a hundred Gathas made up of senseless words, one word of the law is better, which if a man hears, he becomes quiet.
- 103 If one man conquer in battle a thousand times thousand men, and if another conquer himself, he is the greatest of conquerors.
- 104, 105. One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Mara with Brahman could change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.
- 106 If a man for a hundred years sacrifice month after month with a thousand, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.
- 107 If a man for a hundred years worship Agni (fire) in the forest, and if he but for one moment pay homage to a man whose soul is grounded (in true knowledge), better is that homage than sacrifice for a hundred years.
- 108 Whatever a man sacrifice in this world as an offering or as an oblation for a whole year in order to gain merit, the whole of it is not worth a quarter (a farthing); reverence shown to the righteous is better.
- 109 He who always greets and constantly reveres the aged, four things will increase to him, viz. life, beauty, happiness, power.
- 110 But he who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting
- 111 And he who lives a hundred years, ignorant and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is wise and reflecting.
- 112 And he who lives a hundred years, idle and weak, a life of one day is better if a man has attained firm strength.
- 113 And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing beginning and end, a life of one day is better if a man sees beginning and
- 114 And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the immortal place, a life of one day is better if a man sees the immortal place.
- 115 And he who lives a hundred years, not seeing the highest law, a life of one day is better if a man sees the highest law

# DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 9

Evil (P□pa-vaggo)

- 116 If a man would hasten towards the good, he should keep his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.
- 117 If a man commits a sin, let him not do it again; let him not delight in sin: pain is the outcome of evil.
- 118 If a man does what is good, let him do it again; let him delight in it: happiness is the outcome of good.
- 119 Even an evil-doer sees happiness as long as his evil deed has not ripened; but when his evil deed has ripened, then does the evil-doer see evil.
- 120 Even a good man sees evil days, as long as his good deed has not ripened; but when his good deed has ripened, then does the good man see happy days.
- 121 Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gather it little by little.
- 122 Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart, It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.
- 123 Let a man avoid evil deeds, as a merchant, if he has few companions and carries much wealth, avoids a dangerous road; as a man who loves life avoids poison.

- 124 He who has no wound on his hand, may touch poison with his hand; poison does not affect one who has no wound; nor is there evil for one who does not commit evil.
- 125 If a man offend a harmless, pure, and innocent person, the evil falls back upon that fool, like light dust thrown up against the wind.
- 126 Some people are born again; evil-doers go to hell; righteous people go to heaven; those who are free from all worldly desires attain Nirvana.
- 127 Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where a man might be freed from an evil deed.
- 128 Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not if we enter into the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot in the whole world where death could not overcome (the mortal).

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 10

Violence or Punishment (Danda-vaggo)

- 129 All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death; remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.
- 130 All men tremble at punishment, all men love life; remember that thou art like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter.
- 131 He who seeking his own happiness punishes or kills beings who also long for happiness, will not find happiness after death.
- 132 He who seeking his own happiness does not punish or kill beings who also long for happiness, will find happiness after death.
- 133 Do not speak harshly to anybody; those who are spoken to will answer thee in the same way. Angry speech is painful, blows for blows will touch thee.
- 134 If, like a shattered metal plate (gong), thou utter not, then thou hast reached Nirvana; contention is not known to thee.
- 135 As a cowherd with his staff drives his cows into the stable, so do Age and Death drive the life of men.
- 136 A fool does not know when he commits his evil deeds: but the wicked man burns by his own deeds, as if burnt by fire.
- 137 He who inflicts pain on innocent and harmless persons, will soon come to one of these ten states:
- 138 He will have cruel suffering, loss, injury of the body, heavy affliction, or loss of mind,
- 139 Or a misfortune coming from the king, or a fearful accusation, or loss of relations, or destruction of treasures,
- 140 Or lightning-fire will burn his houses; and when his body is destroyed, the fool will go to hell.
- 141 Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting, or lying on the earth, not rubbing with dust, not sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires.
- 142 He who, though dressed in fine apparel, exercises tranquillity, is quiet, subdued, restrained, chaste, and has ceased to find fault with all other beings, he indeed is a Brahmana, an ascetic (sramana), a friar (bhikshu).
- 143 Is there in this world any man so restrained by humility that he does not mind reproof, as a well-trained horse the whip?
- 144 Like a well-trained horse when touched by the whip, be ye active and lively, and by faith, by virtue, by energy, by meditation, by discernment of the law you will overcome this great pain (of reproof), perfect in knowledge and in behaviour, and never forgetful.
- 145 Well-makers lead the water (wherever they like); fletchers bend the arrow; carpenters bend a log of wood; good people fashion themselves.

# DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 11

Old Age (Jar□-vaggo)

- 146 How is there laughter, how is there joy, as this world is always burning? Why do you not seek a light, ye who are surrounded by darkness?
- 147 Look at this dressed-up lump, covered with wounds, joined together, sickly, full of many thoughts, which has no strength, no hold!
- 148 This body is wasted, full of sickness, and frail; this heap of corruption breaks to pieces, life indeed ends in death.
- 149 Those white bones, like gourds thrown away in the autumn, what pleasure is there in looking at them?
- 150 After a stronghold has been made of the bones, it is covered with flesh and blood, and there dwell in it old age and death, pride and deceit.
- 151 The brilliant chariots of kings are destroyed, the body also approaches destruction, but the virtue of good people never approaches destruction,--thus do the good say to the good.
- 152 A man who has learnt little, grows old like an ox; his flesh grows, but his knowledge does not grow.
- 153, 154. Looking for the maker of this tabernacle, I shall have to run through a course of many births, so long as I do not find (him); and painful is birth again and again. But now, maker of the tabernacle, thou hast been seen; thou shalt not make up this tabernacle again. All thy rafters are broken, thy ridge-pole is sundered; the mind, approaching the Eternal

(visankhara, nirvana), has attained to the extinction of all desires.

- 155 Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, perish like old herons in a lake without fish.
- 156 Men who have not observed proper discipline, and have not gained treasure in their youth, lie, like broken bows, sighing after the past.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 12

Self (Atta-vaggo)

- 157 If a man hold himself dear, let him watch himself carefully; during one at least out of the three watches a wise man should be watchful
- 158 Let each man direct himself first to what is proper, then let him teach others; thus a wise man will not suffer.
- 159 If a man make himself as he teaches others to be, then, being himself well subdued, he may subdue (others); one's own self is indeed difficult to subdue.
- 160 Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord? With self well subdued, a man finds a lord such as few can find.
- 161 The evil done by oneself, self-begotten, self-bred, crushes the foolish, as a diamond breaks a precious stone.
- 162 He whose wickedness is very great brings himself down to that state where his enemy wishes him to be, as a creeper does with the tree which it surrounds.
- 163 Bad deeds, and deeds hurtful to ourselves, are easy to do; what is beneficial and good, that is very difficult to do.
- 164 The foolish man who scorns the rule of the venerable (Arahat), of the elect (Ariya), of the virtuous, and follows false doctrine, he bears fruit to his own destruction, like the fruits of the Katthaka reed.
- 165 By oneself the evil is done, by oneself one suffers; by oneself evil is left undone, by oneself one is purified. Purity and impurity belong to oneself, no one can purify another.
- 166 Let no one forget his own duty for the sake of another's, however great; let a man, after he has discerned his own duty, be always attentive to his duty.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 13

The World (Loka-vaggo)

- 167 Do not follow the evil law! Do not live on in thoughtlessness! Do not follow false doctrine! Be not a friend of the world.
- 168 Rouse thyself! do not be idle! Follow the law of virtue! The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.
- 169 Follow the law of virtue; do not follow that of sin. The virtuous rests in bliss in this world and in the next.
- 170 Look upon the world as a bubble, look upon it as a mirage: the king of death does not see him who thus looks down upon the world.
- 171 Come, look at this glittering world, like unto a royal chariot; the foolish are immersed in it, but the wise do not touch it.
- 172 He who formerly was reckless and afterwards became sober, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds
- 173 He whose evil deeds are covered by good deeds, brightens up this world, like the moon when freed from clouds
- 174 This world is dark, few only can see here; a few only go to heaven, like birds escaped from the net.
- 175 The swans go on the path of the sun, they go through the ether by means of their miraculous power; the wise are led out of this world, when they have conquered Mara and his train
- 176 If a man has transgressed one law, and speaks lies, and scoffs at another world, there is no evil he will not do.
- 177 The uncharitable do not go to the world of the gods; fools only do not praise liberality; a wise man rejoices in liberality, and through it becomes blessed in the other world.
- 178 Better than sovereignty over the earth, better than going to heaven, better than lordship over all worlds, is the reward of the first step in holiness.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 14

The Buddhas or The Awakened (Buddha-vaggo)

- 179 He whose conquest is not conquered again, into whose conquest no one in this world enters, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?
- 180 He whom no desire with its snares and poisons can lead astray, by what track can you lead him, the Awakened, the Omniscient, the trackless?
- 181 Even the gods envy those who are awakened and not forgetful, who are given to meditation, who are wise, and who delight in the repose of retirement (from the world).
- 182 Difficult (to obtain) is the conception of men, difficult is the life of mortals, difficult is the hearing of the True Law, difficult is the birth of the Awakened (the attainment of Buddhahood).
- 183 Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of (all) the Awakened.
- 184 The Awakened call patience the highest penance, longsuffering the highest Nirvana; for he is not an anchorite

(pravragita) who strikes others, he is not an ascetic (sramana) who insults others.

- 185 Not to blame, not to strike, to live restrained under the law, to be moderate in eating, to sleep and sit alone, and to dwell on the highest thoughts,--this is the teaching of the Awakened.
- 186 There is no satisfying lusts, even by a shower of gold pieces; he who knows that lusts have a short taste and cause pain, he is wise;
- 187 Even in heavenly pleasures he finds no satisfaction, the disciple who is fully awakened delights only in the destruction of all desires.
- 188 Men, driven by fear, go to many a refuge, to mountains and forests, to groves and sacred trees.

  189 But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge:
- 189 But that is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge; a man is not delivered from all pains after having gone to that refuge
- 190 He who takes refuge with Buddha, the Law, and the Church; he who, with clear understanding, sees the four holy truths:--
- 191 Viz. pain, the origin of pain, the destruction of pain, and the eightfold holy way that leads to the quieting of pain;
- 192 That is the safe refuge, that is the best refuge; having gone to that refuge, a man is delivered from all pain.
- 193 A supernatural person (a Buddha) is not easily found, he is not born everywhere. Wherever such a sage is born, that race prospers.
- 194 Happy is the arising of the awakened, happy is the teaching of the True Law, happy is peace in the church, happy is the devotion of those who are at peace.
- 195, 196. He who pays homage to those who deserve homage, whether the awakened (Buddha) or their disciples, those who have overcome the host (of evils), and crossed the flood of sorrow, he who pays homage to such as have found deliverance and know no fear, his merit can never be measured by anybody.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 15

Happiness (Sukha-vaggo)

- 197 Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us! among men who hate us let us dwell free from hatred!
- 198 Let us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing! among men who are ailing let us dwell free from ailments!
- 199 Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! among men who are greedy let us dwell free from greed!
- 200 Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!
- 201 Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat, he, the contented, is happy.
- 202 There is no fire like passion; there is no losing throw like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness higher than rest.

  203 Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of
- 203 riunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvana, the highest happiness.
- 204 Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches; trust is the best of relationships, Nirvana the highest happiness.
- 205 He who has tasted the sweetness of solitude and tranquillity, is free from fear and free from sin, while he tastes the sweetness of drinking in the law.
- 206 The sight of the elect (Arya) is good, to live with them is always happiness; if a man does not see fools, he will be truly happy.
- 207 He who walks in the company of fools suffers a long way; company with fools, as with an enemy, is always painful; company with the wise is pleasure, like meeting with kinsfolk.
- 208 Therefore, one ought to follow the wise, the intelligent, the learned, the much enduring, the dutiful, the elect; one ought to follow a good and wise man, as the moon follows the path of the stars.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 16

Pleasure or Preference (Piya-vaggo)

- 209 He who gives himself to vanity, and does not give himself to meditation, forgetting the real aim (of life) and grasping at pleasure, will in time envy him who has exerted himself in meditation.
- 210 Let no man ever look for what is pleasant, or what is unpleasant. Not to see what is pleasant is pain, and it is pain to see what is unpleasant.
- 211 Let, therefore, no man love anything; loss of the beloved is evil. Those who love nothing and hate nothing, have no fetters.
- 212 From pleasure comes grief, from pleasure comes fear; he who is free from pleasure knows neither grief nor fear.
- 213 From affection comes grief, from affection comes fear; he who is free from affection knows neither grief nor fear.
- 214 From lust comes grief, from lust comes fear; he who is free from lust knows neither grief nor fear.

- 215 From love comes grief, from love comes fear; he who is free from love knows neither grief nor fear.
- 216 From greed comes grief, from greed comes fear; he who is free from greed knows neither grief nor fear.
- 217 He who possesses virtue and intelligence, who is just, speaks the truth, and does what is his own business, him the world will hold dear.
- 218 He in whom a desire for the Ineffable (Nirvana) has sprung up, who is satisfied in his mind, and whose thoughts are not bewildered by love, he is called urdhvamsrotas (carried upwards by the stream).
- 219 Kinsmen, friends, and lovers salute a man who has been long away, and returns safe from afar.
- 220 In like manner his good works receive him who has done good, and has gone from this world to the other;--as kinsmen receive a friend on his return.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 17

Anger (Kodha-vaggo)

- 221 Let a man leave anger, let him forsake pride, let him overcome all bondage! No sufferings befall the man who is not attached to name and form, and who calls nothing his own.
- 222 He who holds back rising anger like a rolling chariot, him I call a real driver; other people are but holding the reins.
- 223 Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!
- 224 Speak the truth, do not yield to anger; give, if thou art asked for little; by these three steps thou wilt go near the gods.
- 225 The sages who injure nobody, and who always control their body, they will go to the unchangeable place (Nirvana), where, if they have gone, they will suffer no more.
- 226 Those who are ever watchful, who study day and night, and who strive after Nirvana, their passions will come to an end.
- 227 This is an old saying, O Atula, this is not only of to-day: 'They blame him who sits silent, they blame him who speaks much, they also blame him who says little; there is no one on earth who is not blamed.'
- 228 There never was, there never will be, nor is there now, a man who is always blamed, or a man who is always praised.
- 229 But he whom those who discriminate praise continually day after day, as without blemish, wise, rich in knowledge and virtue,
- 230 who would dare to blame him, like a coin made of gold from the Gambu river? Even the gods praise him, he is praised even by Brahman.
- 231 Beware of bodily anger, and control thy body! Leave the sins of the body, and with thy body practise virtue!
- 232 Beware of the anger of the tongue, and control thy tongue! Leave the sins of the tongue, and practise virtue with thy tongue!
- 233 Beware of the anger of the mind, and control thy mind! Leave the sins of the mind, and practise virtue with thy mind!
- 234 The wise who control their body, who control their tongue, the wise who control their mind, are indeed well controlled.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 18

Faults or Impurity (Mala-vaggo)

- 235 Thou art now like a sear leaf, the messengers of death (Yama) have come near to thee; thou standest at the door of thy departure, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.
- 236 Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt enter into the heavenly world of the elect (Ariya).
- 237 Thy life has come to an end, thou art come near to death (Yama), there is no resting-place for thee on the road, and thou hast no provision for thy journey.
- 238 Make thyself an island, work hard, be wise! When thy impurities are blown away, and thou art free from guilt, thou wilt not enter again into birth and decay.
- 239 Let a wise man blow off the impurities of his self, as a smith blows off the impurities of silver one by one, little by little, and from time to time.
- 240 As the impurity which springs from the iron, when it springs from it, destroys it; thus do a transgressor's own works lead him to the evil path.
- 41 The taint of prayers is non-repetition; the taint of houses, non-repair; the taint of the body is sloth; the taint of a watchman, thoughtlessness.
- 242 Bad conduct is the taint of woman, greediness the taint of a benefactor; tainted are all evil ways in this world and in the next
- 243 But there is a taint worse than all taints,--ignorance is the greatest taint. O mendicants! throw off that taint, and become taintless!
- 244 Life is easy to live for a man who is without shame, a crow hero, a mischief-maker, an insulting, bold, and wretched fellow.
- 245 But life is hard to live for a modest man, who always looks for what is pure, who is disinterested, quiet, spotless, and intelligent.

- 246 He who destroys life, who speaks untruth, who in this world takes what is not given him, who goes to another man's wife:
- 247 And the man who gives himself to drinking intoxicating liquors, he, even in this world, digs up his own root
- 248 O man, know this, that the unrestrained are in a bad state; take care that greediness and vice do not bring thee to grief for a long time!
- 249 The world gives according to their faith or according to their pleasure: if a man frets about the food and the drink given to others, he will find no rest either by day or by night.
- 250 He in whom that feeling is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, finds rest by day and by night.
- 251 There is no fire like passion, there is no shark like hatred, there is no snare like folly, there is no torrent like greed.
- 252 The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler.
- 253 If a man looks after the faults of others, and is always inclined to be offended, his own passions will grow, and he is far from the destruction of passions.
- 254 There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. The world delights in vanity, the Tathagatas (the Buddhas) are free from vanity.
- 255 There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samana by outward acts. No creatures are eternal; but the awakened (Buddha) are never shaken.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 19

The Just or The Righteous (Dhammattha-vaggo)

- 256 A man is not just if he carries a matter by violence; no, he who distinguishes both right and wrong, who is learned and leads others.
- 257 not by violence, but by law and equity, and who is guarded by the law and intelligent, he is called just.
- 258 A man is not learned because he talks much; he who is patient, free from hatred and fear, he is called learned.
- 259 A man is not a supporter of the law because he talks much; even if a man has learnt little, but sees the law bodily, he is a supporter of the law, a man who never neglects the law.
- 260 A man is not an elder because his head is grey; his age may be ripe, but he is called 'Old-in-vain.'
- 261 He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder.
- 262 An envious greedy, dishonest man does not become respectable by means of much talking only, or by the beauty of his complexion.
- 263 He in whom all this is destroyed, and taken out with the very root, he, when freed from hatred and wise, is called respectable.
- 264 Not by tonsure does an undisciplined man who speaks falsehood become a Samana; can a man be a Samana who is still held captive by desire and greediness?
- 265 He who always quiets the evil, whether small or large, he is called a Samana (a quiet man), because he has quieted all evil.
- 266 A man is not a mendicant (Bhikshu) simply because he asks others for alms; he who adopts the whole law is a Bhikshu, not he who only begs.
- 267 He who is above good and evil, who is chaste, who with knowledge passes through the world, he indeed is called a
- 268, 269. A man is not a Muni because he observes silence (mona, i.e. mauna), if he is foolish and ignorant; but the wise who, taking the balance, chooses the good and avoids evil, he is a Muni, and is a Muni thereby; he who in this world weighs both sides is called a Muni.
- 270 A man is not an elect (Ariya) because he injures living creatures; because he has pity on all living creatures, therefore is a man called Ariya.
- 271, 272. Not only by discipline and vows, not only by much learning, not by entering into a trance, not by sleeping alone, do I earn the happiness of release which no worldling can know. Bhikshu, be not confident as long as thou hast not attained the extinction of desires.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 20

he Way (Magga-vaggo)

- 273 The best of ways is the eightfold; the best of truths the four words; the best of virtues passionlessness; the best of men he who has eyes to see.
- 274 This is the way, there is no other that leads to the purifying of intelligence. Go on this way! Everything else is the deceit of Mara (the tempter).
- 275 If you go on this way, you will make an end of pain! The way was preached by me, when I had understood the removal of the thorns (in the flesh).
- 276 You yourself must make an effort. The Tathagatas (Buddhas) are only preachers. The thoughtful who enter the way are freed from the bondage of Mara.

- 277 'All created things perish,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain; this is the way to purity.
- 278 'All created things are grief and pain,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain; this is the way that leads to purity.
- 279 'All forms are unreal,' he who knows and sees this becomes passive in pain; this is the way that leads to purity.
- 280 He who does not rouse himself when it is time to rise, who, though young and strong, is full of sloth, whose will and thought are weak, that lazy and idle man will never find the way to knowledge.
- 281 Watching his speech, well restrained in mind, let a man never commit any wrong with his body! Let a man but keep these three roads of action clear, and he will achieve the way which is taught by the wise.
- 282 Through zeal knowledge is gotten, through lack of zeal knowledge is lost; let a man who knows this double path of gain and loss thus place himself that knowledge may grow.
- 283 Cut down the whole forest (of lust), not a tree only! Danger comes out of the forest (of lust). When you have cut down both the forest (of lust) and its undergrowth, then, Bhikshus, you will be rid of the forest and free!
- 284 So long as the love of man towards women, even the smallest, is not destroyed, so long is his mind in bondage, as the calf that drinks milk is to its mother.
- 285 Cut out the love of self, like an autumn lotus, with thy hand! Cherish the road of peace. Nirvana has been shown by Sugata (Buddha).
- 286 'Here I shall dwell in the rain, here in winter and summer,' thus the fool meditates, and does not think of his death.
- 287 Death comes and carries off that man, praised for his children and flocks, his mind distracted, as a flood carries off a sleeping village.
- 288 Sons are no help, nor a father, nor relations; there is no help from kinsfolk for one whom death has seized.
- 289 A wise and good man who knows the meaning of this, should quickly clear the way that leads to Nirvana.

#### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 21

Miscellaneous (Pakiṇṇaka-vaggo)

- 290 If by leaving a small pleasure one sees a great pleasure, let a wise man leave the small pleasure, and look to the great.
- 291 He who, by causing pain to others, wishes to obtain pleasure for himself, he, entangled in the bonds of hatred, will never be free from hatred.
- 292 What ought to be done is neglected, what ought not to be done is done; the desires of unruly, thoughtless people are always increasing.
- 293 But they whose whole watchfulness is always directed to their body, who do not follow what ought not to be done, and who steadfastly do what ought to be done, the desires of such watchful and wise people will come to an end.
- 294 A true Brahmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two valiant kings, though he has destroyed a kingdom with all its subjects.
- 295 A true Brahmana goes scatheless, though he have killed father and mother, and two holy kings, and an eminent man besides
- 296 The disciples of Gotama (Buddha) are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on Buddha.
- 297 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the law.
- 298 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their thoughts day and night are always set on the church.
  299 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and
- their thoughts day and night are always set on their body.
- 300 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in compassion.
- 301 The disciples of Gotama are always well awake, and their mind day and night always delights in meditation.
- 302 It is hard to leave the world (to become a friar), it is hard to enjoy the world; hard is the monastery, painful are the houses; painful it is to dwell with equals (to share everything in common) and the itinerant mendicant is beset with pain. Therefore let no man be an itinerant mendicant and he will not be beset with pain.
- 303 Whatever place a faithful, virtuous, celebrated, and wealthy man chooses, there he is respected.
- 304 Good people shine from afar, like the snowy mountains; bad people are not seen. like arrows shot by night.
- 305 He alone who, without ceasing, practises the duty of sitting alone and sleeping alone, he, subduing himself, will rejoice in the destruction of all desires alone, as if living in a forest.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 22

The Hell or The Downward Course (Niraya-vaggo)

306 He who says what is not, goes to hell; he also who, having done a thing, says I have not done it. After death both are equal, they are men with evil deeds in the next world.

- 307 Many men whose shoulders are covered with the yellow gown are ill-conditioned and unrestrained; such evil-doers by their evil deeds go to hell.
- 308 Better it would be to swallow a heated iron ball, like flaring fire, than that a bad unrestrained fellow should live on the charity of the land.
- 309 Four things does a wreckless man gain who covets his neighbour's wife,—a bad reputation, an uncomfortable bed, thirdly, punishment, and lastly, hell.
- 310 There is bad reputation, and the evil way (to hell), there is the short pleasure of the frightened in the arms of the frightened, and the king imposes heavy punishment; therefore let no man think of his neighbour's wife.
- 311 As a grass-blade, if badly grasped, cuts the arm, badlypractised asceticism leads to hell.
- 312 An act carelessly performed, a broken vow, and hesitating obedience to discipline, all this brings no great reward
- 313 If anything is to be done, let a man do it, let him attack it vigorously! A careless pilgrim only scatters the dust of his passions more widely.
- 314 An evil deed is better left undone, for a man repents of it afterwards; a good deed is better done, for having done it, one does not repent.
- 315 Like a well-guarded frontier fort, with defences within and without, so let a man guard himself. Not a moment should escape, for they who allow the right moment to pass, suffer pain when they are in hell.
- 316 They who are ashamed of what they ought not to be ashamed of, and are not ashamed of what they ought to be ashamed of, such men, embracing false doctrines enter the evil path.
- 317 They who fear when they ought not to fear, and fear not when they ought to fear, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.
- 318 They who forbid when there is nothing to be forbidden, and forbid not when there is something to be forbidden, such men, embracing false doctrines, enter the evil path.
- 319 They who know what is forbidden as forbidden, and what is not forbidden as not forbidden, such men, embracing the true doctrine, enter the good path.

### DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 23

The Elephant (N□ga-vaggo)

- 320 Silently shall I endure abuse as the elephant in battle endures the arrow sent from the bow: for the world is ill-natured.
- 321 They lead a tamed elephant to battle, the king mounts a tamed elephant; the tamed is the best among men, he who silently endures abuse.
- 322 Mules are good, if tamed, and noble Sindhu horses, and elephants with large tusks; but he who tames himself is better still.
- 323 For with these animals does no man reach the untrodden country (Nirvana), where a tamed man goes on a tamed animal, viz. on his own well-tamed self.
- 324 The elephant called Dhanapalaka, his temples running with sap, and difficult to hold, does not eat a morsel when bound; the elephant longs for the elephant grove.
- 325 If a man becomes fat and a great eater, if he is sleepy and rolls himself about, that fool, like a hog fed on wash, is born again and again.
- 326 This mind of mine went formerly wandering about as it liked, as it listed, as it pleased; but I shall now hold it in thoroughly, as the rider who holds the hook holds in the furious elephant.
- 327 Be not thoughtless, watch your thoughts! Draw yourself out of the evil way, like an elephant sunk in mud.
- 328 If a man find a prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, he may walk with him, overcoming all dangers, happy, but considerate.
- 329 If a man find no prudent companion who walks with him, is wise, and lives soberly, let him walk alone, like a king who has left his conquered country behind,—like an elephant in the forest.
- 330 It is better to live alone, there is no companionship with a fool; let a man walk alone, let him commit no sin, with few wishes, like an elephant in the forest.
- 331 If an occasion arises, friends are pleasant; enjoyment is pleasant, whatever be the cause; a good work is pleasant in the hour of death; the giving up of all grief is pleasant.
- 332 Pleasant in the world is the state of a mother, pleasant the state of a father, pleasant the state of a Samana, pleasant the state of a Brahmana.
- 333 Pleasant is virtue lasting to old age, pleasant is a faith firmly rooted; pleasant is attainment of intelligence, pleasant is avoiding of sins.

# DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 24

Thirst or Craving (Taṇh□-vaggo)

334 The thirst of a thoughtless man grows like a creeper; he runs from life to life, like a monkey seeking fruit in the forest.

- 335 Whomsoever this fierce thirst overcomes, full of poison, in this world, his sufferings increase like the abounding Birana grass.
- 336 He who overcomes this fierce thirst, difficult to be conquered in this world, sufferings fall off from him, like water-drops from a lotus leaf.
- 337 This salutary word I tell you, 'Do ye, as many as are here assembled, dig up the root of thirst, as he who wants the sweet-scented Usira root must dig up the Birana grass, that Mara (the tempter) may not crush you again and again, as the stream crushes the reeds.'
- 338 As a tree, even though it has been cut down, is firm so long as its root is safe, and grows again, thus, unless the feeders of thirst are destroyed, the pain (of life) will return again and again.
- 339 He whose thirst running towards pleasure is exceeding strong in the thirty-six channels, the waves will carry away that misguided man, viz. his desires which are set on passion.
- 340 The channels run everywhere, the creeper (of passion) stands sprouting; if you see the creeper springing up, cut its root by means of knowledge.
- 341 A creature's pleasures are extravagant and luxurious; sunk in lust and looking for pleasure, men undergo (again and again) birth and decay.
- 342 Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare; held in fetters and bonds, they undergo pain for a long time, again and again.
- 343 Men, driven on by thirst, run about like a snared hare; let therefore the mendicant drive out thirst, by striving after passionlessness for himself.
- 344 He who having got rid of the forest (of lust) (i.e. after having reached Nirvana) gives himself over to forest-life (i.e. to lust), and who, when removed from the forest (i.e. from lust), runs to the forest (i.e. to lust), look at that man! though free, he runs into bondage.
- 345 Wise people do not call that a strong fetter which is made of iron, wood, or hemp; far stronger is the care for precious stones and rings, for sons and a wife.
- 346 That fetter wise people call strong which drags down, yields, but is difficult to undo; after having cut this at last, people leave the world, free from cares, and leaving desires and pleasures behind.
- 347 Those who are slaves to passions, run down with the stream (of desires), as a spider runs down the web which he has made himself; when they have cut this, at last, wise people leave the world free from cares, leaving all affection behind.
- 348 Give up what is before, give up what is behind, give up what is in the middle, when thou goest to the other shore of existence; if thy mind is altogether free, thou wilt not again enter into birth and decay.
- 349 If a man is tossed about by doubts, full of strong passions, and yearning only for what is delightful, his thirst will grow more and more, and he will indeed make his fetters strong.
- 350 If a man delights in quieting doubts, and, always reflecting, dwells on what is not delightful (the impurity of the body, &c.), he certainly will remove, nay, he will cut the fetter of Mara.
- 351 He who has reached the consummation, who does not tremble, who is without thirst and without sin, he has broken all the thorns of life: this will be his last body.
- 352 He who is without thirst and without affection, who understands the words and their interpretation, who knows the order of letters (those which are before and which are after), he has received his last body, he is called the great sage, the great man.
- 353 'I have conquered all, I know all, in all conditions of life I am free from taint; I have left all, and through the destruction of thirst I am free; having learnt myself, whom shall I teach?'
- 354 The gift of the law exceeds all gifts; the sweetness of the law exceeds all sweetness; the delight in the law exceeds all delights; the extinction of thirst overcomes all pain.
- 355 Pleasures destroy the foolish, if they look not for the other shore; the foolish by his thirst for pleasures destroys himself, as if he were his own enemy.
- 356 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by passion: therefore a gift bestowed on the passionless brings great reward.
- 357 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by hatred: therefore a gift bestowed on those who do not hate brings great reward.
- 358 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by vanity: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from vanity brings great reward.
- 359 The fields are damaged by weeds, mankind is damaged by lust: therefore a gift bestowed on those who are free from lust brings great reward.

# DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 25

The Bhikshu or The Mendicant (Bhikkhu-vaggo)

360 Restraint in the eye is good, good is restraint in the ear, in the nose restraint is good, good is restraint in the tongue.

- 361 In the body restraint is good, good is restraint in speech, in thought restraint is good, good is restraint in all things. A Bhikshu, restrained in all things, is freed from all pain.
- 362 He who controls his hand, he who controls his feet, he who controls his speech, he who is well controlled, he who delights inwardly, who is collected, who is solitary and content, him they call Bhikshu.
- 363 The Bhikshu who controls his mouth, who speaks wisely and calmly, who teaches the meaning and the law, his word is sweet.
- 364 He who dwells in the law, delights in the law, meditates on the law, follows the law, that Bhikshu will never fall away from the true law.
- 365 Let him not despise what he has received, nor ever envy others: a mendicant who envies others does not obtain peace of mind.
- 366 A Bhikshu who, though he receives little, does not despise what he has received, even the gods will praise him, if his life is pure, and if he is not slothful.
- 367 He who never identifies himself with name and form, and does not grieve over what is no more, he indeed is called a Bhikshu.
- 368 The Bhikshu who acts with kindness, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha, will reach the quiet place (Nirvana), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.
- 369 O Bhikshu, empty this boat! if emptied, it will go quickly; having cut off passion and hatred thou wilt go to Nirvana.
- 370 Cut off the five (senses), leave the five, rise above the five. A Bhikshu, who has escaped from the five fetters, he is called Oghatinna, 'saved from the flood.'
- 371 Meditate, O Bhikshu, and be not heedless! Do not direct thy thought to what gives pleasure that thou mayest not for thy heedlessness have to swallow the iron ball (in hell), and that thou mayest not cry out when burning, 'This is pain.'
- 372 Without knowledge there is no meditation, without meditation there is no knowledge: he who has knowledge and meditation is near unto Nirvana.
- 373 A Bhikshu who has entered his empty house, and whose mind is tranquil, feels a more than human delight when he sees the law clearly.
- 374 As soon as he has considered the origin and destruction of the elements (khandha) of the body, he finds happiness and joy which belong to those who know the immortal (Nirvana).
- 375 And this is the beginning here for a wise Bhikshu: watchfulness over the senses, contentedness, restraint under the law; keep noble friends whose life is pure, and who are not slothful
- 376 Let him live in charity, let him be perfect in his duties; then in the fulness of delight he will make an end of suffering.
- 377 As the Vassika plant sheds its withered flowers, men should shed passion and hatred, O ye Bhikshus!
- 378 The Bhikshu whose body and tongue and mind are quieted, who is collected, and has rejected the baits of the world, he is called quiet.
- 379 Rouse thyself by thyself, examine thyself by thyself, thus self- protected and attentive wilt thou live happily, O Bhikshu! 380 For self is the lord of self, self is the refuge of self, therefore curb thyself as the merchant curbs a good horse.
- 381 The Bhikshu, full of delight, who is calm in the doctrine of Buddha will reach the quiet place (Nirvana), cessation of natural desires, and happiness.
- 382 He who, even as a young Bhikshu, applies himself to the doctrine of Buddha, brightens up this world, like the moon when free from clouds.

## DHAMMAPADA CHAPTER 26

The Brahmana or The Arhat (Br□hmaṇa-vaggo)

- 383 Stop the stream valiantly, drive away the desires, O Brahmana! When you have understood the destruction of all that was made, you will understand that which was not made.
- 384 If the Brahmana has reached the other shore in both laws (in restraint and contemplation), all bonds vanish from him who has obtained knowledge.
- 385 He for whom there is neither this nor that shore, nor both, him, the fearless and unshackled, I call indeed a Brahmana.
- 386 He who is thoughtful, blameless, settled, dutiful, without passions, and who has attained the highest end, him I call indeed a Brahmana.
- 387 The sun is bright by day, the moon shines by night, the warrior is bright in his armour, the Brahmana is bright in his meditation; but Buddha, the Awakened, is bright with splendour day and night.
- 388 Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brahmana; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravragita (Pabbagita, a pilgrim).
- 389 No one should attack a Brahmana, but no Brahmana (if attacked) should let himself fly at his aggressor! Woe to him who strikes a Brahmana, more woe to him who flies at his aggressor!

390 It advantages a Brahmana not a little if he holds his mind back from the pleasures of life; when all wish to injure has vanished, pain will cease.

391 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not offend by body, word, or thought, and is controlled on these three

392 After a man has once understood the law as taught by the Well- awakened (Buddha), let him worship it carefully, as the Brahmana worships the sacrificial fire.

393 A man does not become a Brahmana by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahmana.

394 What is the use of platted hair, O fool! what of the raiment of goat-skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.

395 The man who wears dirty raiments, who is emaciated and covered with veins, who lives alone in the forest, and meditates, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

396 I do not call a man a Brahmana because of his origin or of his mother. He is indeed arrogant, and he is wealthy: but the poor, who is free from all attachments, him I call indeed a Brahmana.

397 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has cut all fetters, who never trembles, is independent and unshackled.

398 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has cut the strap and the thong, the chain with all that pertains to it, who has burst the bar, and is awakened.

399 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, though he has committed no offence, endures reproach, bonds, and stripes, who has endurance for his force, and strength for his army.

400 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is free from anger. dutiful, virtuous, without appetite, who is subdued, and has received his last body.

401 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who does not cling to pleasures, like water on a lotus leaf, like a mustard seed on the point of a needle.

402 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, even here, knows the end of his suffering, has put down his burden, and is unshackled.

403 Him I call indeed a Brahmana whose knowledge is deep, who possesses wisdom, who knows the right way and the wrong, and has attained the highest end.

404 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who keeps aloof both from laymen and from mendicants, who frequents no houses, and has but few desires.

405 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who finds no fault with other beings, whether feeble or strong, and does not kill nor cause slaughter

406 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is tolerant with the intolerant, mild with fault-finders, and free from passion among the passionate.

407 Him I call indeed a Brahmana from whom anger and hatred, pride and envy have dropt like a mustard seed from the point of a needle.

408 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who utters true speech instructive and free from harshness, so that he offend no one.

409 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who takes nothing in the world that is not given him, be it long or short, small or large, good or bad.

410 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who fosters no desires for this world or for the next, has no inclinations, and is unshackled.

411 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has no interests, and when he has understood (the truth), does not say How, how? and who has reached the depth of the Immortal.

412 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who in this world is above good and evil, above the bondage of both, free from grief from sin, and from impurity.

413 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who is bright like the moon, pure, serene, undisturbed, and in whom all gaiety is extinct

414 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has traversed this miry road, the impassable world and its vanity, who has gone through, and reached the other shore, is thoughtful, guileless, free from doubts, free from attachment, and content,

415 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who in this world. leaving all desires, travels about without a home, and in whom all concupiscence is extinct.

416 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, leaving all longings, travels about without a home, and in whom all covetousness is extinct.

417 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who, after leaving all bondage to men, has risen above all bondage to the gods, and is free from all and every bondage.

418 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has left what gives pleasure and what gives pain, who is cold, and free from all germs (of renewed life), the hero who has conquered all the worlds

419 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who knows the destruction and the return of beings everywhere, who is free from bondage, welfaring (Sugata), and awakened (Buddha).

420 Him I call indeed a Brahmana whose path the gods do not know, nor spirits (Gandharvas), nor men, whose passions are extinct, and who is an Arhat (venerable).

421 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who calls nothing his own, whether it be before, behind, or between, who is poor, and free from the love of the world.

422 Him I call indeed a Brahmana, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

423 Him I call indeed a Brahmana who knows his former abodes, who sees heaven and hell, has reached the end of births, is perfect in knowledge, a sage, and whose perfections are all perfect.

#### THE LOTUS SUTRA

The Saddharma-Pundarika Or, The Lotus Of The True Law. Homage To All The Buddhas And Bodhisattvas. Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21. Translation: Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern, 1884 Estimated Range of Dating: 1st century B.C

(The Lotus Sutra [Sanskrit: Saddharma Pundarika Sutra lit. 'Sutra on the White Lotus of the True Dharma'] is one of the most influential and venerated Buddhist Mahayana sutras. It is the main scripture on which the Tiantai, Tendai, Cheontae, and Nichiren schools of Buddhism were established. It is also influential for other East Asian Buddhist schools, such as Zen, the Lotus Sutra is undoubtedly the most famous of all Buddhist texts. For many Buddhists in East Asia since early times, the Lotus Sutra contains the final teaching of Shakyamuni Buddha — complete and sufficient for salvation.

Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern, 1884 (1833-1917), a Dutch linguist and Orientalist, translated this pretty version from Sanskrit directly into English. It was published as Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884. In the literature, he is usually referred to as H. Kern or Hendrik Kern; a few other scholars bear the same surname.

Two central teachings of the Lotus Sutra have been very influential for Mahayana Buddhism. The first is the doctrine of the One Vehicle, which says that all Buddhist paths and practices lead to Buddhahood and so they are all merely "skillful means" (upaya) of reaching Buddhahood. The second is the idea that the lifespan of the Buddha is immeasurable and that therefore, he did not really pass on into final Nirvana (he only appeared to do so as upaya), but is still active teaching the Dharma. The title "Lotus Sutra" can be found in the following story.

In a story of chapter 11 (in Bunno Kato's translation it is chapter 12!). Maniusri (the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature) praises the Naga king Sagara's daughter and says she can attain Buddhahood. The bodhisattva Prajnakuta is skeptical of this, and then the Naga princess appears. Shariputra (the Buddha's first chief disciple) says to the daughter of the dragon: "You state that ... you attained the supreme Way [the highest level of Buddhist scholarship and experience]. This thing is hard to believe .. Because the body of a women is filthy and not a vessel of the Law.... Now, the dragon's daughter possessed a precious pearl which she presented to the Buddha, and which the Buddha immediately accepted.... At that moment the entire congregation saw the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male, perfect in bodhisattva-deeds [high level of righteousness and wisdom], who instantly went to the world Spotless ... where she sat on a precious lotus flower [of enlightenment], attaining Perfect Enlightenment and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe [of wisdom]."

This story has an interesting parallel in the Gospel of Thomas which was found in Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945; full title: The Gospel of Didimus Judas Thomas. In this Gospel of Thomas (verse 114, The Grand Bible, p. 758-760), we read: "Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary [Magdalene] go forth from among us, for women are not worthy of the life [of enlightenment]. Jesus said: Behold, I shall lead her, that I may make her male, in order that she also may become a living spirit [of righteousness and wisdom] like you males. For every woman who makes herself male shall enter into the kingdom of heaven [of wisdom]." This is one of the most remarkabe Christian texts in history because it seems to be a quote from the Buddhist Lotus Sutra.

The Chinese "Threefold Lotus Sutra" is the Chinese version of this Sutra. [See its introduction, Grand Bible, Scriptures of China: see also the Gospel of Thomas.1

Three translations of the Lotus Sutra into Chinese are extant. It was first translated into Chinese by Dharmarakşa's team in 286 AD in Chang'an during the Western Jin Period (265-317 AD). It was initially held that the source text was in Sanskrit, however, the view that the source text was actually in a Prakrit language has gained widespread acceptance.

This early translation by Dharmarakşa was superseded by a translation in seven fascicles by Kumarajiva's team in 406 AD which became the standard translation in East Asian Buddhism. According to Jean-Noël Robert, Kumarajiva relied heavily on the earlier version. The Sanskrit editions are not widely used outside of academia. Kumarajiva's version is

missing the Devadatta chapter which had been present in the Dharmaraksa version.

The third extant version, The Supplemented Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Dharma (Chinese: Tian Pin Miao Fa Lian Hua Jing), in 7 volumes and 27 chapters, is a revised version of Kumarajiva's text, translated by Inanagupta and Dharmagupta in 601 AD. This version included elements that were absent in the Kumarajiva text, including the Devadatta chapter, various verses and the concluding part of chapter 25. Later, these elements were added back to the Kumarajiva text. The Chinese Lotus Sutra has been translated into other asian languages including Uighur, Tangut, and more recently colloquial Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Korean.)

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 1

The Way In (Introductory)

Thus have I heard. Once upon a time the Lord was staying at Ragagriha, on the Gridhrakuta mountain, with a numerous assemblage of monks, twelve hundred monks, all of them Arhats, stainless, free from depravity, self-controlled, thoroughly emancipated in thought and knowledge, of noble breed, (like unto) great elephants, having done their task, done their duty, acquitted their charge, reached the goal; in whom the ties which bound them to existence were wholly destroyed, whose minds were thoroughly emancipated by perfect knowledge, who had reached the utmost perfection in subduing all their thoughts; who were possessed of the transcendent faculties; eminent disciples, such as the venerable Agnata-Kaundinya, the venerable Asvagit, the venerable Vashpa, the venerable Mahanaman, the venerable Bhadrikal, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa, the venerable Kasyapa of Uruvilva, the venerable Kasyapa of Nadi, the venerable Kasvapa of Gaya, the venerable Sariputra, the venerable Maha-Maudgalyayana, the venerable Maha-Katyayana, the venerable Aniruddha, the venerable Revata, the venerable Kapphina, the venerable Gavampati, the venerable Pilindavatsa, the venerable Vakula, the venerable Bharadvaga, the venerable Maha-Kaushthila, the venerable Nanda (alias Mahananda), the venerable Upananda, the venerable Sundara-Nanda, the venerable Purna Maitravaniputra, the venerable Subhuti, the venerable Rahula; with them yet other great disciples, as the venerable Ananda, still under training, and two thousand other monks, some of whom still under training, the others masters; with six thousand nuns having at their head Mahapragapati, and the nun Yasodhara, the mother of Rahula, along with her train; (further) with eighty thousand Bodhisattvas, all unable to slide back, endowed with the spells of supreme, perfect enlightenment, firmly standing in wisdom; who moved onward the never deviating wheel of the law; who had propitiated many hundred thousands of Buddhas; who under many hundred thousands of Buddhas had planted the roots of goodness, had been intimate with many hundred thousands of Buddhas, were in body and mind fully penetrated with the feeling of charity; able in communicating the wisdom of the Tathagatas; very wise, having reached the perfection of wisdom; renowned in many hundred thousands of worlds; having saved many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings; such as the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mangusri, as prince royal; the Bodhisattvas Mahasattyas Avalokitesvara. Mahasthamaprapta. Nityodyukta, Anikshiptadhura. Sarvarthanaman. Ratnakandra, Bhaishagyaraga, Pradanasura, Ratnakandra, Ratnaprabha. Purnakandra. Mahivikramin. Trailokavikramin, Anantavikramin, Mahapratibhana, Satatasamitabhiyukta, Dharanidhara, Akshayamati, Padmasri, Nakshatraraga, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Simha.

With them were also the sixteen virtuous men to begin with Bhadrapala, to wit, Bhadrapala, Ratnikara, Susarthavaha, Naradatta, Guhagupta, Varunadatta, Indradatta, Uttaramati, Viseshamati, Vardhamanamati, Amoghadarsin, Susamsthita, Suvikrantavikramin, Anupamamati, Suryagarbha, and Dharanidhara; besides eighty thousand Bodhisattvas, among whom the fore-mentioned were the chiefs; further Sakra, the ruler of the celestials, with twenty thousand gods, his followers, such as the god Kandra (the Moon), the god Surya (the Sun), the god Samantagandha (the Wind), the god Ratnaprabha, the god Avabhasaprabha, and others; further, the four great rulers of the cardinal points with thirty thousand gods in their train, viz. the great ruler Virudhaka, the great ruler Virupaksha, the great ruler Dhritarashtra, and the great ruler Vaisravana; the god Isvara and the god Mahesvara, each followed by thirty thousand gods; further, Brahma Sahdmpati and his twelve thousand followers, the BrahmakAyika gods, amongst whom Brahma Sikhin and Brahma Gyotishprabha, with the other twelve thousand Brahmakdyika gods; together with the eight Naga kings and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Nigas in their train, viz. the Naga king Nanda, the Naga king Upananda, Sagara, Vasuki, Takshaka, Manasvin, Anavatapta, and Utpalaka; further, the four Kinnara kings with many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of followers, viz. the Kinnara king Druma, the Kinnara king Mahadharma, the Kinnara king

Sudharma, and the Kinnara king Dharmadhara; besides, the four divine beings (called) Gandharvakayikas with many hundred thousand Gandharvas in their suite, viz. the Gandharva Manogna, the Gandharva Manognasvara, the Gandharva Madhurasvara; further, the four chiefs of the demons followed by many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of demons, viz. the chief of the demons Bali, Kharaskandha, Vemakitri, and Rahu; along with the four Garuda chiefs followed by many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Garudas, viz. the Garuda chiefs Mahategas, Mahakaya, Mahapurna, and Maharddhiprapta, and with Agatasatru, king of Magadha, the son of Vaidehi.

Now at that time it was that the Lord surrounded, attended, honoured, revered, venerated, worshipped by the four classes of hearers, after expounding the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, sat crosslegged on the seat of the law and entered upon the meditation termed 'the station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon his meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, Mandaravasa and great Mandaravas, Mangushakas and great Mangushakas, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha field shook in six ways: it moved, removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together in that congregation, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers, gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in esstasy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the evebrows of the Lord. It extended over eighteen hundred thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly illuminated by its radiance, down to the great hell Aviki and up to the limit of existence. And the beings in any of the six states of existence became visible, all without exception. Likewise the Lords Buddhas staying, living, and existing in those Buddha-fields became all visible, and the law preached by them could be entirely heard by all beings. And the monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, Yogins and students of Yoga, those who had obtained the fruition (of the Paths of sanctification) and those who had not, they, too, became visible. And the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in those Buddhafields who plied the Bodhisattva-course with ability. due to their earnest belief in numerous and various lessons and the fundamental ideas, they, too, became all visible. Likewise the Lords Buddhas in those Buddha-fields who had reached final Nirvana became visible, all of them. And the Stupas made of jewels and containing the relics of the extinct Buddhas became all visible in those Buddha-fields.

Then rose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya this thought: O how great a wonder does the Tathagata display! What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord producing so great a wonder as this? And such astonishing, prodigious, inconceivable, powerful miracles now appear, although the Lord is absorbed in meditation! Why, let me inquire about this matter; who would be able here to explain it to me? He then thought: Here is Mangusri. the prince royal, who has plied his office under former Ginas and planted the roots of goodness, while worshipping many Buddhas. This Mangusri, the prince royal, must have witnessed before such signs of the former Tathagatas, those Arhats, those perfectly enlightened Buddhas; of yore he must have enjoyed the grand conversations on the law. Therefore will I inquire about this matter with Mangusri, the prince roval.

And the four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, numerous gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, on seeing the magnificence of this great miracle of the Lord, were struck with astonishment, amazement and curiosity, and thought: Let us inquire why this magnificent miracle has been produced by the great power of the Lord.

At the same moment, at that very instant, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya knew in his mind the thoughts arising in the minds of the four classes of hearers and he spoke to Mangusri, the prince royal: What, O Mangusri, is the cause, what is the reason of this wonderful, prodigious, miraculous shine having been produced by the Lord? Look, how these eighteen thousand Buddha-fields appear variegated, extremely beautiful, directed by Tathagatas and superintended by Tathagatas.

Then it was that Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, addressed Mangusri, the prince royal, in the following stanzas:

1 Why, Mangusri, does this ray darted by the guide of men shine forth from between his brows? this single ray issuing from the circle of hair? and why this abundant rain of Mandaravas?

- 2 The gods, overjoyed, let drop Mangushakas and sandal powder, divine, fragrant, and delicious.
- 3 This earth is, on every side, replete with splendour, and all the four classes of the assembly are filled with delight, while the whole field shakes in six different ways, frightfully.
- 4 And that ray in the eastern quarter illuminates the whole of eighteen thousand Buddha-fields, simultaneously, so that those fields appear as gold-coloured.
- 5 (The universe) as far as the (hell) Aviki (and) the extreme limit of existence, with all beings of those fields living in any of the six states of existence, those who are leaving one state to be born in another;
- 6 Their various and different actions in those states have become visible; whether they are in a happy, unhappy, low, eminent, or intermediate position, all that I see from this place.
- 7 I see also the Buddhas, those lions of kings, revealing and showing the essence of the law, comforting many kotis of creatures and emitting sweet-sounding voices.
- 8 They let go forth, each in his own field, a deep, sublime, wonderful voice, while proclaiming the Buddha-laws by means of myriads of kotis of illustrations and proofs.
- 9 And to the ignorant creatures who are oppressed with toils and distressed in mind by birth and old age, they announce the bliss of Rest, saying: This is the end of trouble, O monks.
- 10 And to those who are possessed of strength and vigour and who have acquired merit by virtue or earnest belief in the Buddhas, they show the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, by observing this rule of the law.
- 11 And the other sons of the Sugata who, strivinor after superior knowledge, have constantly accomplished their various tasks, them also they admonish to enlightenment.
- 12 From this place, O Mangughosha, I see and hear such things and thousands of kotis of other particulars besides; I will only describe some of them.
- 13 I see in many fields Bodhisattvas by many thousands of kotis, like sands of the Ganges, who are producing enlightenment according to the different degree of their power.
- 14 There are some who charitably bestow wealth, gold, silver, gold money, pearls, jewels, conch shells, stones', coral, male and female slaves, horses, and sheep;
- 15 As well as litters adorned with jewels. They are spending gifts with glad hearts, developing themselves for superior enlightenment, in the hope of gaining the vehicle.
- 16 (Thus they think): 'The best and most excellent vehicle in the whole of the threefold world is the Buddha-vehicle magnified by the Sugatas. May I, forsooth, soon gain it after my spending such gifts.'
- 17 Some give carriages yoked with four horses and furnished with benches, flowers, banners, and flags; others give objects made of precious substances.
- 18 Some, again, give their children and wives; others their own flesh; (or) offer, when bidden, their hands and feet, striving to gain supreme enlightenment.
- 19 Some give their heads, others their eyes, others their dear own body, and after cheerfully bestowing their gifts they aspire to the knowledge of the Tathagatas.
- 20 Here and there, O Mangusri, I behold beings who have abandoned their flourishing kingdoms, harems, and continents, left all their counsellors and kinsmen,
- 21 And betaken themselves to the guides of the world to ask for the most excellent law, for the sake of bliss; they put on reddish-yellow robes, and shave hair and beard.
- 22 1 see also many Bodhisattvas like monks, living in the forest, and others inhabiting the empty wilderness, engaged in reciting and reading.
- 23 And some Bodhisattvas I see, who, full of wisdom (or constancy), betake themselves to mountain caves, where by cultivating and meditating the Buddha-knowledge they arrive at its perception.
- 24 Others who have renounced all sensual desires, by purifying their own self, have cleared their sphere and obtained the five transcendent faculties, live in the wilderness, as (true) sons of the Sugata.
- 25 Some are standing firm, the feet put together and the hands joined in token of respect towards the leaders, and are praising joyfully the king of the leading Ginas in thousands of stanzas
- 26 Some thoughtful, meek, and tranquil, who have mastered the niceties of the course of duty, question the highest of men about the law, and retain in their memory what they have learnt.
- 27 And I see here and there some sons of the principal Gina who, after completely developing their own self, are preaching the law to many kotis of living beings with many myriads of illustrations and reasons.
- 28 joyfully they proclaim the law, rousing many Bodhisattvas; after conquering the Evil One with his hosts and vehicles, they strike the drum of the law.
- 29 I see some sons of the Sugata, humble, calm, and quiet in conduct, living under the command of the Sugatas, and honoured by men, gods, goblins, and Titans.

- 30 Others, again, who have retired to woody thickets, are saving the creatures in the hells by emitting radiance from their body, and rouse them to enlightenment.
- 31 There are some sons of the Gina who dwell in the forest, abiding in vigour, completely renouncing sloth, and actively engaged in walking; it is by energy that they are striving for supreme enlightenment.
- 32 Others complete their course by keeping a constant purity and an unbroken morality like precious stones and jewels; by morality do these strive for supreme enlightenment.
- 33 Some sons of the Gina, whose strength consists in forbearance, patiently endure abuse, censure, and threats from proud monks. They try to attain enlightenment by dint of forbearance.
- 34 Further, I see Bodhisattvas, who have forsaken all wanton pleasures, shun unwise companions and delight in having intercourse with genteel men (aryas);
- 35 Who, with avoidance of any distraction of thoughts and with attentive mind, during thousands of kotis of years have meditated in the caves of the wilderness; these strive for enlightenment by dint of meditation.
- 36 Some, again, offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples gifts (consisting) in food hard and soft, meat and drink, medicaments for the sick, in plenty and abundance.
- 37 Others offer in presence of the Ginas and the assemblage of disciples hundreds of kotis of clothes, worth thousands of kotis, and garments of priceless value.
- 38 They bestow in presence of the Sugatas hundreds of kotis of monasteries which they have caused to be built of precious substances and sandal-wood, and which are furnished with numerous lodgings (or couches).
- 39 Some present the leaders of men and their disciples with neat and lovely gardens abounding with fruits and beautiful flowers, to serve as places of daily recreation.
- 40 When they have, with joyful feelings, made such various and splendid donations, they rouse their energy in order to obtain enlightenment; these are those who try to reach supreme enlightenment by means of charitableness.
- 41 Others set forth the law of quietness, by many myriads of illustrations and proofs; they preach it to thousands of kotis of living beings; these are tending to supreme enlightenment by science.
- 42 (There are) sons of the Sugata who try to reach enlightenment by wisdom; they understand the law of indifference and avoid acting at the antinomy (of things), unattached like birds in the sky.
- 43 Further, I see, O Mangughosha, many Bodhisattvas who have displayed steadiness under the rule of the departed Sugatas, and now are worshipping the relics of the Ginas.
- 44 1 see thousands of kotis of Stupas, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, which have been raised by these sons of the Gina and now adorn kotis of grounds.
- 45 Those magnificent Supas, made of seven precious substances, with their thousands of kotis of umbrellas and banners, measure in height no less than 5000 yoganas and 2000 in circumference.
- 46 They are always decorated with flags; a multitude of bells is constantly heard sounding; men, gods, goblins, and Titans pay their worship with flowers, perfumes, and music.
- 47 Such honour do the sons of the Sugata render to the relics of the Ginas, so that all directions of space are brightened as by the celestial coral trees in full blossom.
- 48 From this spot I behold all this; those numerous kotis of creatures; both this world and heaven covered with flowers, owing to the single ray shot forth by the Gina.
- 49 O how powerful is the Leader of men! how extensive and bright is his knowledge! that a single beam darted by him over the world renders visible so many thousands of fields!
- 50 We are astonished at seeing this sign and this wonder, so great, so incomprehensible. Explain me the matter, O Mangusvara! the sons of Buddha are anxious to know it.
- 51 The four classes of the congregation in joyful expectation gaze on thee, O hero, and on me; gladden (their hearts); remove their doubts; grant a revelation, O son of Sugata!
- 52 Why is it that the Sugata has now emitted such a light? O how great is the power of the Leader of men! O how extensive and holy is his knowledge!
- 53 That one ray extending from him all over the world makes visible many thousands of fields. It must be for some purpose that this great ray has been emitted.
- 54 Is the Lord of men to show the primordial laws which he, the Highest of men, discovered on the terrace of enlightenment? Or is he to prophesy the Bodhisattvas their future destiny?
- 55 There must be a weighty reason why so many thousands of fields have been rendered visible, variegated, splendid, and shining with gems, while Buddhas of infinite sight are appearing.
- 56 Maitreya asks the son of Gina; men, gods, goblins, and Titans, the four classes of the congregation, are eagerly awaiting what answer Mangusvara shall give in explanation.

Whereupon Mangusri, the prince royal, addressed Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, and the whole assembly of Bodhisattvas (in these words): It is the intention of the Tathagata, young men of good family, to begin a grand discourse for the teaching of the law, to pour the great rain of the law, to make resound the great drum of the law, to raise the great banner of the law, to kindle the great torch of the law, to blow the great conch trumpet of the law, and to strike the great tymbal of the law. Again, it is the intention of the Tathagata, young men of good family, to make a grand exposition of the law this very day. Thus it appears to me, young men of good family, as I have witnessed a similar sign of the former Tathagatas, the Arhats, the perfectly enlightened. Those former Tathagatas, etc., they, too, emitted a lustrous ray, and I am convinced that the Tathagata is about to deliver a grand discourse for the teaching of the law and make his grand speech on the law everywhere heard, he having shown such a foretoken. And because the Tathagata, etc., wishes that this Dharmaparyaya meeting opposition in all the world be heard everywhere, therefore does he display so great a miracle and this fore-token consisting in the lustre occasioned by the emission of a ray.

I remember, young men of good family, that in the days of yore, many immeasurable, inconceivable, immense, infinite, countless Æons, more than countless Æons ago, nay, long and very long before, there was born a Tathagata called Kandrasuryapradipa, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, knower of the world, an incomparable tamer of men, a teacher (and ruler) of gods and men, a Buddha and Lord. He showed the law; he revealed the duteous course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, good in substance and form, complete and perfect, correct and pure. That is to say, to the disciples he preached the law containing the four Noble Truths, and starting from the chain of causes and effects, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation, woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvana; and to the Bodhisattvas he preached the law connected with the six Perfections, and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme. perfect enlightenment.

[Now, young men of good family, long before the time of that Tathagata Kandrasuryapradipa, the Arhat, etc., there had appeared a Tathagata, etc., likewise called Kandrasuryapradipa, after whom, O Agita, there were twenty thousand Tathagatas, etc., all of them bearing the name of Kandrasuryapradipa, of the same lineage and family name, to wit, of Bharadvaga. All those twenty thousand Tathagatas, O Agita, from the first to the last, showed the law, revealed the course which is holy at its commencement, holy in its middle, holy at the end, etc. etc.]

The aforesaid Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata etc., when a young prince and not yet having left home (to embrace the ascetic life), had eight sons, viz. the young princes Sumati Anantamati Ratnamati Viseshamati Vimatisamudghatin, Ghoshamati, and Dharmamati. These eight young princes, Agita, sons to the Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata, had an immense fortune. Each of them was in possession of four great continents, where they exercised the kingly sway. When they saw that the Lord had left his home to become an ascetic, and heard that he had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, they forsook all of them the pleasures of royalty and followed the example of the Lord by resigning the world; all of them strove to reach superior enlightenment and became preachers of the law. While constantly leading a holy life, those young princes planted roots of goodness under many thousands of Buddhas.

It was at that time, Agita, that the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata, etc., after expounding the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Great Exposition,' a text of great extension, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, at the same moment and instant, at the same gathering of the classes of hearers, sat cross-legged on the same seat of the law, and entered upon the meditation termed 'the Station of the exposition of Infinity;' his body was motionless, and his mind had reached perfect tranquillity. And as soon as the Lord had entered upon meditation, there fell a great rain of divine flowers, Mandaravas and great Mandaravas, Mangushakas and great Mangushakas, covering the Lord and the four classes of hearers, while the whole Buddha-field shook in six ways; it moved, removed, trembled, trembled from one end to the other, tossed, tossed along.

Then did those who were assembled and sitting together at that congregation, monks, nuns, male and fe-male lay devotees, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men and beings not human, as well as governors of a region, rulers of armies and rulers of four continents, all of them with their followers gaze on the Lord in astonishment, in amazement, in ecstavy.

And at that moment there issued a ray from within the circle of hair between the eyebrows of the Lord. It extended over eighteen hundred thousand Buddha-fields in the eastern quarter, so that all those Buddha-fields appeared wholly

illuminated by its radiance, just like the Buddha-fields do now, O Agita.

[At that juncture, Agita, there were twenty kotis of Bodhisattvas following the Lord. All hearers of the law in that assembly, on seeing how the world was illuminated by the lustre of that ray, felt astonishment, amazement, ecstasy, and curiosity.]

Now it happened, Agita, that under the rule of the aforesaid Lord there was a Bodhisattva called Varaprabha, who had eight hundred pupils. It was to this Bodhisattva Varaprabha that the Lord, on rising from his meditation, revealed the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.' He spoke during fully sixty intermediate kalpas, always sitting on the same seat, with immovable body and tranquil mind. And the whole assembly continued sitting on the same seats, listening to the preaching of the Lord for sixty intermediate kalpas, there being not a single creature in that assembly who felt fatigue of body or mind.

As the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathagata, etc., during sixty intermediate kalpas had been expounding the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' a text of great development, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper to all Buddhas, he instantly announced his complete Nirvana to the world, including the gods, Maras and Brahmas, to all creatures, including ascetics, Brahmans, gods, men and demons, saying: To-day, O monks, this very night, in the middle watch, will the Tathagata, by entering the element of absolute Nirvana, become wholly extinct.

Thereupon, Agita, the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathigata, etc., predestinated the Bodhisattva called Srigarbha to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and then spoke thus to the whole assembly: O monks, this Bodhisattva Srigarbha here shall immediately after me attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become Vimalanetra, the Tathagata, etc.

Thereafter, Agita, that very night, at that very watch, the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, the Tathalgata, etc., became extinct by entering the element of absolute Nirvana. And the aforementioned Dharmaparyaya, termed 'the Lotus of the True Law,' was kept in memory by the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Varaprabha; during eighty intermediate kalpas did the Bodhisattva Varaprabha keep and reveal the commandment of the Lord who had entered Nirvana. Now it so happened, Agita, that the eight sons of the Lord Kandrasuryapradipa, Mati and the rest, were pupils to that very Bodhisattva Varaprabha. They were by him made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, and in after times they saw and worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, all of whom had attained supreme, perfect enlightenment, the last of them being Dipankara, the Tathalgata, etc.

Amongst those eight pupils there was one Bodhisattva who attached an extreme value to gain, honour and praise, and was fond of glory, but all the words and letters one taught him faded (from his memory), did not stick. So he got the appellation of Yasaskama. He had propitiated many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas by that root of goodness, and afterwards esteemed, honoured, respected, revered, venerated, worshipped them. Perhaps, Agita, thou feelest some doubt, perplexity or misgiving that in those days, at that time, there was another Bodhisvattva Mahasattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law, But do not think so, Why? because it is myself who in those days, at that time, was the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Varaprabha, preacher of the law; and that Bodhisattva named Yasaskama, the lazy one, it is thyself, Agita, who in those days, at that time, wert the Bodhisattva named Yasaskama, the lazy one.

And so, Agita, having once seen a similar foretoken of the Lord, I infer from a similar ray being emitted just now, that the Lord is about to expound the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law.'

And on that occasion, in order to treat the subject more copiously, Mangusri, the prince royal, uttered the following stanzas:

57 I remember a past period, inconceivable, illimited kalpas ago, when the highest of beings, the Gina of the name of Kandrasuryapradipa, was in existence.

58 He preached the true law, he, the leader of creatures; he educated an infinite number of kotis of beings, and roused inconceivably many Bodhisattvas to acquiring supreme Buddha-knowledge.

59 And the eight sons born to him, the leader, when he was prince royal, no sooner saw that the great sage had embraced ascetic life, than they resigned worldly pleasures and became monks.

60 And the Lord of the world proclaimed the law, and revealed to thousands of kotis of living beings the Sutra, the development, which by name is called 'the excellent Exposition of Infinity.'

61 Immediately after delivering his speech, the leader crossed his legs and entered upon the meditation of 'the excellent Exposition of the Infinite.' There on his seat of the law the eminent seer continued absorbed in meditation.

- 62 And there fell a celestial rain of Mandaravas, while the drums (of heaven) resounded without being struck; the gods and elves in the sky paid honour to the highest of men.
- 63 And simultaneously all the fields (of Buddha) began trembling. A wonder it was, a great prodigy. Then the chief emitted from between his brows one extremely beautiful ray,
- 64 Which moving to the eastern quarter glittered, illuminating the world all over the extent of eighteen thousand fields. It manifested the vanishing and appearing of beings.
- 65 Some of the fields then seemed jewelled, others showed the hue of lapis lazuli, all splendid, extremely beautiful, owing to the radiance of the ray from the leader.
- 66 Gods and men, as well as Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, nymphs, Kinnaras, and those occupied with serving the Sugata became visible in the spheres and paid their devotion.
- 67 The Buddhas also, those self-born beings, appeared of their own accord, resembling golden columns; like unto a golden disk (within lapis lazuli), they revealed the law in the midst of the assembly.
- 68 The disciples, indeed, are not to be counted: the disciples of Sugata are numberless. Yet the lustre of the ray renders them all visible in every field.
- 69 Energetic, without breach or flaw in their course, similar to gems and jewels, the sons of the leaders of men are visible in the mountain caves where tbeyare dwelling.
- 70 Numerous Bodhisattvas, like the sand of the Ganges, who are spending all their wealth in giving alms, who have the strength of patience, are devoted to contemplation and wise, become all of them visible by that ray.
- 71 Immovable, unshaken, firm in patience, devoted to contemplation, and absorbed in meditation are seen the true sons of the Sugatas while they are striving for supreme enlightenment by dint of meditation.
- 72 They preach the law in many spheres, and point to the true, quiet, spotless state they know. Such is the effect produced by the power of the Sugata.
- 73 And all the four classes of hearers on seeing the power of the mighty Kandrarkadipa were filled with joy and asked one another: How is this?
- 74 And soon afterwards, as the Leader of the world, worshipped by men, gods, and goblins, rose from his meditation, he addressed his son Varaprabha, the wise Bodhisattva and preacher of the law:
- 75 'Thou art wise, the eye and refuge of the world; thou art the trustworthy keeper of my law, and canst bear witness as to the treasure of laws which I am to lay bare to the weal of living beings.'
- 76 Then, after rousing and stimulating, praising and lauding many Bodhisattvas, did the Gina proclaim the supreme laws during fully sixty intermediate kalpas.
- 77 And whatever excellent supreme law was proclaimed by the Lord of the world while continuing sitting on the very same seat, was kept in memory by Varaprabha, the son of Gina, the preacher of the law.
- 78 And after the Gina and Leader had manifested the supreme law and stimulated the numerous crowd, he spoke, that day, towards the world including the gods (as follows):
- 79 'I have manifested the rule of the law; I have shown the nature of the law; now, O monks, it is the time of my Nirvana; this very night, in the middle watch.
- 80 'Be zealous and strong in persuasion; apply yourselves to my lessons; (for) the Ginas, the great seers, are but rarely met with in the lapse of myriads of kotis of Æons.'
- 81 The many sons of Buddha were struck with grief and filled with extreme sorrow when they heard the voice of the highest of men announcing that his Nirvana was near at hand.
- 82 To comfort so inconceivably many kotis of living beings the king of kings said: 'Be not afraid, O monks; after my Nirvana there shall be another Buddha.
- 83 'The wise Bodhisattva Srigarbha, after finishing his course in faultless knowledge, shall reach highest, supreme enlightenment, and become a Gina under the name of Vimalagranetra.'
- 84 That very night, in the middle watch, he met complete extinction, like a lamp when the cause (of its burning) is exhausted. His relics were distributed, and of his Stupas there was an infinite number of myriads of kotis.
- 85 The monks and nuns at the time being, who strove after supreme, highest enlightenment, numerous as sand of the Ganges, applied themselves to the commandment of the Sugata.
- 86 And the monk who then was the preacher of the law and the keeper of the law, Varaprabha, expounded for fully eighty intermediate kalpas the highest laws according to the commandment (of the Sugata).
- 87 He had eight hundred pupils, who all of them were by him brought to full development. They saw many kotis of Buddhas, great sages, whom they worshipped.
- 88 By following the regular course they became Buddhas in several spheres, and as they followed one another in immediate succession they successively foretold each other's future destiny to Buddhaship.

89 The last of these Buddhas following one another was Dipankara. He, the supreme god of gods, honoured by crowds of sages, educated thousands of kotis of living beings.

90 Among the pupils of Varaprabha, the son of Gina, at the time of his teaching the law, was one slothful, covetous, greedy of gain and cleverness.

91 He was also excessively desirous of glory, but very fickle, so that the lessons dictated to him and his own reading faded from his memory as soon as learnt.

92 His name was Yasaskama, by which he was known everywhere. By the accumulated merit of that good action, spotted as it was,

93 He propitiated thousands of kotis of Buddhas, whom he rendered ample honour. He went through the regular course of duties and saw the present Buddha Sakyasimha.

94 He shall be the last to reach superior enlightenment and become a Lord known by the family name of Maitreya, who shall educate thousands of kotis of creatures.

95 He who then, under the rule of the extinct Sugata, was so slothful, was thyself, and it was I who then was the preacher of the law.

96 As on seeing a foretoken of this kind I recognise a sign such as I have seen manifested of yore, therefore and on that account I know.

97 That decidedly the chief of Ginas, the supreme king of the Sakyas, the All-seeing, who knows the highest truth, is about to pronounce the excellent Satra which I have heard before.

98 That very sign displayed at present is a proof of the skilfulness of the leaders; the Lion of the Sakyas is to make an exhortation, to declare the fixed nature of the law.

99 Be well prepared and well minded; join your hands: he who is affectionate and merciful to the world is going to speak, is going to pour the endless rain of the law and refresh those that are waiting for enlightenment.

100 And if some should feel doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving in any respect, then the Wise One shall remove it for his children, the Bodhisattvas here striving after enlightenment.

## LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 2

On Skilfulness.

The Lord then rose with recollection and consciousness from his meditation, and forthwith addressed the venerable Sariputra: The Buddha knowledge, Sariputra, is profound, difficult to understand, difficult to comprehend. It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to fathom the knowledge arrived at by the Tathagatas, etc., and that, Sariputra, because the Tathagatas have worshipped many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas; because they have fulfilled their course for supreme, complete enlightenment, during many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons; because they have wandered far, displaying energy and possessed of wonderful and marvellous properties; possessed of properties difficult to understand; because they have found out things difficult to understand; because they

The mystery of the Tathagatas, etc., is difficult to understand, Sariputra, because when they explain the laws (or phenomena, things) that have their causes in themselves they do so by means of skilfulness, by the display of knowledge, by arguments, reasons, fundamental ideas, interpretations, and suggestions. By a variety of skilfulness they are able to release creatures that are attached to one point or another. The Tathagatas, etc., Sariputra, have acquired the highest perfection in skilfulness and the display of knowledge; they are endowed with wonderful properties, such as the display of free and unchecked knowledge; the powers; the absence of hesitation; the independent conditions; the strength of the organs; the constituents of Bodhi; the contemplations; emancipations; meditations; the degrees of concentration of mind. The Tathagatas, etc., Sariputra, are able to expound various things and have something wonderful and marvellous. Enough, Sariputra, let it suffice to say, that the Tathagatas, etc., have something extremely wonderful, Sariputra. None but a Tathagatha, Sariputra, can impart to a Tathagata those laws which the Tathagata knows. And all laws, Sariputra, are taught by the Tathagata, and by him alone; no one but he knows all laws, what they are, how they are, like what they are, of what characteristics and of what nature they are.

And on that occasion, to set forth the same subject more copiously, the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

I Innumerable are the great heroes in the world that embraces gods and men; the totality of creatures is unable to completely know the leaders.

2 None can know their powers and states of emancipation, their absence of hesitation and Buddha properties, such as they are

3 Of yore have I followed in presence of kotis of Buddhas the good course which is profound, subtle, difficult to understand, and most difficult to find.

4 After pursuing that career during an inconceivable number of kotis of Æons, I have on the terrace of enlightenment discovered the fruit thereof.

5 And therefore I recognise, like the other chiefs of the world, how it is, like what it is, and what are its characteristics.

6 It is impossible to explain it; it is unutterable; nor is there such a being in the world.

7 To whom this law could be explained or who would be able to understand it when explained, with the exception of the Bodhisattvas, those who are firm in resolve.

8 As to the disciples of the Knower of the world, those who have done their duty and received praise from the Sugatas, who are freed from faults and have arrived at the last stage of bodily existence, the Gina-knowledge lies beyond their sphere.

9 If this whole sphere were full of beings like Sarisuta, and if they were to investigate with combined efforts, they would be unable to comprehend the knowledge of the Sugata.

10 Even if the ten points of space were full of sages like thee, ay, if they were full of such as the rest of my disciples,

11 And if those beings combined were to investigate the knowledge of the Sugata, they would, all together, not be able to comprehend the Buddha-knowledge in its whole immensity.

12 If the ten points of space were filled with Pratyekabuddhas, free from faults, gifted with acute faculties, and standing in the last stage of their existence, as numerous as reeds and bamboos in Ganges, with undivided attention and subtle wit, even then that (knowledge) would be beyond their ken.

13 And if combined for an endless number of myriads of kotis of Æons, they were to investigate a part only of my superior laws, they would never find out its real meaning.

14 If the ten points of space were full of Bodhisattvas who, after having don their duty under many kotis of Buddhas, investigated all things and preached many sermons, after entering a new vehicle [or rather a new career];

15 If the whole world were full of them, as of dense reeds and bamboos, without any interstices, and if all combined wre to investigge the law which the Sugata has realised;

16 If they were going on investigating for many kotis of Æons, as incalculable as the sand of the Ganges, with undivided attention and subtle wit, even then that knowledge would be beyond their understanding.

17 If such Bodhisattwas as are unable to fall back, numerous

17 If such Bodhisattvas as are unable to fall back, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, were to investigate it with undivided attention, it would prove to lie beyond their ken.

18 Profound are the laws of the Buddhas, and subtle; all inscrutable and faultless. I myself know them as well as the Ginas do in the ten directions of the world.

19 Thou, Sariputra, be full of trust in what the Sugata declares. The Gina speaks no falsehood, the great Seer who has so long preached the highest truth.

20 I address all disciples here, those who have set out to reach the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, those who are roused to activity at my Nirvana, and those who have been released from the series of evils.

21 It is by my superior skilfulness that I explain the law at great length to the world at large. I deliver whosoever are attached to one point or another, and show the three vehicles.

The eminent disciples in the assembly headed by Agnata-Kaundinya, the twelve hundred Arhats faultess and self-controlled, the other monks, nuns, male and femal lay devotees using the vehicle of disciples, and those who had entered the vehicle of Pratyeka-buddhas, all of them made this reflection: What may be the cause, what the reason of the Lord so extremely extolling the skilfulness of the Tathagatas? of his extolling it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered;' of his extolling it by saying, 'It is difficult for all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas to understand it.' But as yet the Lord has declared no more than one kind of emancipation, and therefore we also should acquire the Buddha-laws on reaching Nirvana. We do not catch the meaning of this utterance of the Lord.

And the venerable Sariputra, who apprehended the doubt and uncertainty of the four classes of the audience and guessed their thoughts from what was passing in his own mind, himself being in doubt about the law, then said to the Lord: What, O Lord, is the cause, what the reason of the Lord so repeatedly and extremely extolling the skilfulness, knowledge, and preaching of the Tathagata? Why does he repeatedly extol it by saying, 'Profound is the law by me discovered; it is difficult to understand the mystery of the Tathagatas.' Never before have I heard from the Lord such a discourse on the law. Those four classes of the audience, O Lord, are overcome with doubt and perplexity. Therefore may the Lord be pleased to explain what the Tathagata is alluding to, when repeatedly extolling the profound law of the Tathagatas.

On that occasion the venerable Sariputra uttered the following stanzas:

22 Now first does the Sun of men utter such a speech: 'I have acquired the powers, emancipations, and numberless meditations.'

23 And thou mentionest the terrace of enlightenment without any one asking thee: thou mentionest the mystery, although no one asks thee.

24 Thou speakest unasked and laudest thine own course; thou mentionest thy having obtained knowledge and pronouncest profound words.

25 To-day a question rises in my mind and of these selfcontrolled, faultless beings striving after Nirvana: Why does the Gina speak in this manner?

26 Those who aspire to the enlightenment of Pratyekabuddhas, the nuns and monks, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, and great serpents, are talking together, while looking up to the highest of men,

27 And ponder in perplexity. Give an elucidation, great Sage, to all the disciples of Sugata here assembled.

28 Myself have reached the perfection (of virtue), have been taught by the supreme Sage; still, O highest of men! even in my position I feel some doubt whether the course (of duty) shown to me shall receive its final sanction by Nirvana.

29 Let thy voice be heard, O thou whose voice resounds like an egregious kettle-drum! proclaim thy law such as it is. The legitimate sons of Gina here standing and gazing at the Gina, with joined hands;

30 As well as the gods, Nagas, goblins, Titans, numbering thousands of kotis, like sand of the of the Ganges; and those that aspire to superior enlightenment, here standing, fully eighty thousand in number;

31 Further, the kings, rulers of provinces and paramount monarchs, who have flocked thither from thousands of kotis of countries, are now standing with joined hands, and respectful, thinking: How are we to fulfil the course of duty?

The venerable Sariputra having spoken, the Lord said to him: Enough, Sariputra; it is of no use explaining this matter. Why? Because, Sariputra, the world, including the gods, would be frightened if this matter were expounded.

But the venerable Sariputra entreated the Lord a second time, saying: Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter, for in this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings who have seen former Buddhas, who are intelligent, and will believe, value, and accept the words of the Lord.

The venerable Sariputra addressed the Lord with this stanza: 32 Speak clearly, O most eminent of Ginas! in this assembly there are thousands of living beings trustful, affectionate, and respectful towards the Sugata; they will understand the law by there expounded.

And the Lord said a second time to the venerable Sariputra; Enough, Sariputra; it is of no use explaining this matter for the the world, including the gods, would be frightened if this matter were expounded, and some monks might be proud and come to a heavy fall.

And on theat occasion uttered the Lord the following stanza:

33 Speak no more of it that I sould declare this law! This knowledge is too subtle, inscrutable, and there are too many unwise men who in their conceit and foolishness would scoff at the law revealed.

A third time the venerable Sariputra entreated the Lord, saying, Let the Lord expound, let the Sugata expound this matter. In this assembly, O Lord, there are many hundreds of living beings my equals, and many hundreds, many thousands, many hundred thousands, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other living beings more, who in former births have been brought by the Lord to full ripeness. They will believe, value, and accept what the Lord declares, which shall tend to their advantage, weal, and happiness in length of time.

On that occasion the venerable Sariputra uttered the following stanzas:

34 Explain the law, O thou most high of men! I, thine eldest son, beseech thee. Here are thousands of kotis of beings who are to believe in the law by thee revealed.

35 And those beings that in former births so long and constantly have by thee been brought to full maturity and now are all standing here with joined hands, they, too, are to believe in this law.

36 Let the Sugata, seeing the twelve hundred, my equals, and those who are striving after superior enlightenment, speak to them and produce in them an extreme joy.

When the Lord for the third time heard the entreaty of the venerable Sariputra, he spoke to him as follows: Now that thou entreatest the Tathagata a third time, Sariputra, I will answer thee. Listen then, Sariputra, take well and duly to heart what I am saying; I am going to speak.

Now it happened that the five thousand proud monks, nuns and lay devotees of both sexes in the congregatino rose from their seats and, after saluting with their heads the Lord's feet, went to leave the assembly. Owing to the principle of good which there is in pride they imagined having attained what they had not, and having understood what they had not. Therefore, thinking themselves aggrieved, they went to leave the assembly, to which the Lord by his silence showed assent.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Sariputra: My congregation, Sariputra, has been cleared from the chaff, freed from the trash; it is firmly established in the strength of faith. It is good, Sariputra, that those proud ones are gone away. Now I am going to expound the matter, Sariputra.

'Very well, Lord,' replied the venerable Sariputra. The Lord then began and said:

It is but now and then, Sariputra, that the Tathagata preaches such a discourse on the law as this. just as but now and then is seen the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree, Sariputra, so does the Tathagata but now and then preach such a discourse on the law. Believe me, Sariputra; I speak what is real, I speak what is truthful, I speak what is right. It is difficult to understand the exposition of the mystery of the Tathagata, Sariputra; for in elucidating the law, Sariputra, I use hundred thousands of various skilful means, such as explanations, different interpretations, indications, illustrations. It is not by reasoning, Sariputra, that the law is to be found: it is beyond the pale of reasoning, and must be learnt from the Tathagata, For, Sariputra, it is for a sole object, a sole aim, verily a lofty object, a lofty aim that the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appears in the world. And what is that sole object, that sole aim, that lofty object, that lofty aim of the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appearing in the world? To show all creatures the sight of Tathagataknowledge does the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appear in the world: to open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathagata-knowledge does the Buddha, the Tathagata, etc., appear in the world. This, O Sariputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the sole purpose of his appearance in the world. Such then, Sariputra, is the sole object, the sole aim, the lofty object, the lofty aim of the Tathagata. And it is achieved by the Tathagata. For, Sariputra, I do show all creatures the sight of Tathagata-knowledge; I do open the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathagata-knowledge, Sariputra; I do firmly establish the teaching of Tathagata-knowledge, Sariputra; l do lead the teaching of Tathagata-knowledge on the right path, Sariputra. By means of one sole vehicle, to wit, the Buddha-vehicle, Sariputra, do I teach creatures the law; there is no second vehicle, nor a third. This is the nature of the law. Sariputra, universally in the world, in all directions, For, Sariputra, all the Tathagatas, etc., who in times past existed in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures, and who preached the law to gods and men with able means, such as several directions and indications, various arguments, reasons, illustrations, fundamental ideas, interpretations, paying regard to the dispositions of creatures whose inclinations and temperaments are so manifold, all those Buddhas and Lords, Sariputra, have preached the law to creatures by means of only one vehicle, the Buddhavehicle, which finally leads to omniscience; it is identical with showing all creatures the sight of Tathagata-knowledge; with opening the eyes of creatures for the sight of Tathagata-knowledge; with the awakening (or admonishing) by the display (or sight) of Tathagata -knowledge; with leading the teaching of Tathagata-knowledge on the right path. Such is the law they have preached to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra who have heard the law from the past Tathagatas, etc., have all of them reached supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathagatas, etc., who shall exist in future, Sariputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions for the weal of many, the happiness of many, out of pity to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of creatures, and who shall preach the law to gods and men (etc., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they shall preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra, who shall hear the law from the future Tathagatas, etc., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

And the Tathagatas, etc., who now at present are staying, living, existing, Sariputra, in countless, innumerable spheres in all directions, etc., and who are preaching the law to gods and men (etc., as above till) the right path. Such is the law they are preaching to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra, who are hearing the law from the present Tathagatas, etc., shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.

I myself also, Sariputra, am at the present period a Tathagata, etc., for the weal of many (etc., till) manifold; I myself also, Sariputra, am preaching the law to creatures (etc. till) the right path. Such is the law I preach to creatures. And those creatures, Sariputra, who now are hearing the law from me, shall all of them reach supreme, perfect enlightenment. In this sense, Sariputra, it must be understood that nowhere in the world a second vehicle is taught, far less a third.

Yet, Sariputra, when the Tathagatas, etc., happen to appear at the decay of the epoch, the decay of creatures, the decay of besetting sins, the decay of views, or the decay of lifetime; when they appear amid such signs of decay at the disturbance of the epoch; when creatures are much tainted, full of greed and poor in roots of goodness; then, Sariputra, the Tathagatas, etc., use, skilfully, to designate that one and sole Buddha-vehicle by the appellation of the threefold vehicle. Now, Sariputra, such disciples, Arhats, or Pratyekabuddhaswho do not hear their actually being called to the Buddha-vehicle by the Tathagata, who do not perceive, nor heed it, those, Sariputra, should not be acknowledged as

disciples of the Tathagata, nor as Arhats, nor as Pratvekabuddhas.

Again, Sariputra, if there be some monk or nun pretending to Arhatship without an earnest vow to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment and saying, 'I am standing too high for the Buddha-vehicle, I am in my last appearance in the body before complete Nirvana,' then, Sariputra, consider such a one to be conceited. For, Sariputra, it is unfit, it is improper that a monk, a faultless Arhat, should not believe in the law which he hears from the Tathagata in his presence. I leave out of question when the Tathagata shall have reached complete Nirvana; for at that period, that time, Sariputra, when the Tathagata shall be wholly extinct, there shall be none who either knows by heart or preaches such Sutras as this. It will be under other Tathagatas, etc., that they are to be freed from doubts. In respect to these things believe my words, Sariputra, value them, take them to heart; for there is no falsehood in the Tathagatas, Sariputra, There is but one vehicle, Sariputra, and that the Buddha-vehicle.

And on that occasion to set forth this matter more copiously the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 37 No less than five thousand monks, nuns, and lay devotees of both sexes, full of unbelief and conceit,
- 38 Remarking this slight, went, defective in training and foolish as they were, away in order to beware of damage.
- 39 The Lord, who knew them to be the dregs of the congregation, exclaimed: They have no sufficient merit to hear this law.
- 40 My congregation is now pure, freed from chaff; the trash is removed and the pith only remains.
- 41 Hear from me, Sariputra, how this law has been discovered by the highest man, and how the mighty Buddhas are preaching it with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.
- 42 1 know the disposition and conduct, the various inclinations of kotis of living beings in this world; I know their various actions and the good they have done before.
- 43 Those living beings I initiate in this (law) by the aid of manifold interpretations and reasons; and by hundreds of arguments and illustrations have I, in one way or another, gladdened all creatures.
- 44 I utter both Sutras and stanzas; legends, Gatakas, and prodigies, besides hundreds of introductions and curious parables.
- 45 I show Nirvana to the ignorant with low dispositions, who have followed no course of duty under many kotis of Buddhas, are bound to continued existence and wretched.
- 46 The self-born one uses such means to manifest Buddhaknowledge, but he shall never say to them, Ye also are to become Buddhas.
- 47 Why should not the mighty one, after having waited for the right time, speak, now that he perceives the right moment is come? This is the fit opportunity, met somehow, of commencing the exposition of what really is.
- 48 Now the word of my commandment, as contained in nine divisions, has been published according to the varying degree of strength of creatures. Such is the device I have shown in order to introduce (creatures) to the knowledge of the giver of
- 49 And to those in the world who have always been pure, wise, good-minded, compassionate sonsof Buddha and done their duty under many kotis of Buddhas will I make known amplified Sutras.
- 50 For they are endowed with such gifts of mental disposition and such advantages of a blameless outward form that I can announce to them: in future ye shall become Buddhas benevolent and compassionate.
- 51 Hearing which, all of them will be pervaded with delight (at the thought): We shall become Buddhas pre-eminent in the world. And I, perceiving their conduct, will again reveal amplified Sutras.
- 52 And those are the disciples of the Leader, who have listened to my word of command. One sinale stanza learnt or kept in memory suffices, no doubt of it, to lead all of them to enlightenment.
- 53 There is, indeed, but one vehicle; there is no second, nor a third anywhere in the world, apart from the case of the Purushottamas using an expedient to show that there is a diversity of vehicles.
- 54 The Chief of the world appears in the world to reveal the Buddha-knowledge. He has but one aim, indeed, no second; the Buddhas do not bring over (creatures) by an inferior vehicle.
- 55 There where the self-born one has established himself, and where the object of knowledge is, of whatever form or kind; (where) the powers, the stages of meditation, the emancipations, the perfected faculties (are); there the beings also shall be established.
- 56 1 should be guilty of envy, should I, after reaching the spotless eminent state of enlightenment, establish any one in the inferior vehicle. That would not be seem me.
- 57 There is no envy whatever in me; no jealousy, no desire, nor passion. Therefore I am the Buddha, because the world follows my teaching'.

- 58 When, splendidly marked with (the thirty-two) characteristics, I am illuminating this whole world, and, worshipped by many hundreds of beings, I show the (unmistakable) stamp of the nature of the law;
- 59 Then, Sariputra, I think thus: How will all beings by the thirty-two characteristics mark the self-born Seer, who of his own accord sheds his lustre all over the world?
- 60 And while I am thinking and pondering, when my wish has been fulfilled and my vow accomplished I no more reveal Buddha-knowledge
- 61 If, O son of Sari, I spoke to the creatures, 'Vivify in your minds the wish for enlightenment,' they would in their ignorance all go astray and never catch the meaning of my good words.
- 62 And considering them to be such, and that they have not accomplished their course of duty in previous existences, (I see how) they are attached and devoted to sensual pleasures, infatuated by desire and blind with delusion.
- 63 From lust they run into distress; they are tormented in the six states of existence and people the cemetery again and again; they are overwhelmed with misfortune, as they possess little virtue.
- 64 They are continually entangled in the thickets of (sectarian) theories, such as, 'It is and it is not; it is thus and it is not thus.' In trying to get a decided opinion on what is found in the sixty-two (heretical) theories they come to embrace falsehood and continue in it.
- 65 They are hard to correct, proud, hypocritical, crooked, malignant, ignorant, dull; hence they do not hear the good Buddha-call, not once in kotis of births.
- 66 To those, son of Sari, I show a device and say: Put an end to your trouble. When I perceive creatures vexed with mishap I make them see Nirvana.
- 67 And so do I reveal all those laws that are ever holy and correct from the very first. And the son of -Buddha who has completed his course shall once be a Gina.
- 68 It is but my skilfulness which prompts me to manifest three vehicles; for there is but one vehicle and one track; there is also but one instruction by the leaders.
- 69 Remove all doubt and uncertainty; and should there be any who feel doubts, (let them know that) the Lords of the world speak the truth; this is the only vehicle, a second there is not.
- 70 The former Tathagatas also, living in the past for innumerable Æons, the many thousands of Buddhas who are gone to final rest, whose number can never be counted,
- 71 Those highest of men have all of them revealed most holy laws by means of illustrations, reasons, and arguments, with many hundred proofs of skilfulness.
- 72 And all of them have manifested but one vehicle and introduced but one on earth; by one vehicle have they led to full ripeness inconceivably many thousands of kotis of beings.
- 73 Yet the Ginas possess various and manifold means through which the Tathagata reveals to the world, including the gods, superior enlightenment, in consideration of the inclinations and dispositions (of the different beings).
- 74 And all in the world who are hearing or have heard the law from the mouth of the Tathagatas, given alms, followed the moral precepts, and patiently accomplished the whole of their religious duties;
- 75 Who have acquitted themselves in point of zeal and meditation, with wisdom reflected on those laws, and performed several meritorious actions, have all of them reached enlightenment.
- 76 And such beings as were living patient, subdued, and disciplined, under the rule of the Ginas of those times, have all of them reached enlightenment.
- 77 Others also, who paid worship to the relics of the departed Ginas, erected many thousands of Stupas made of gems, gold, silver, or crystal,
- 78 Or built Stupas of emerald, cat's eye, pearls, egregious lapis lazuli, or sapphire; they have all of them reached enlightenment.
- 79 And those who erected Stupas from marble, sandalwood, or eagle-wood; constructed Stupas from Deodar or a combination of different sorts of timber;
- 80 And who in gladness of heart built for the Ginas Stupas of bricks or clay; or caused mounds of earth to be raised in forests and wildernesses in dedication to the Ginas;
- 81 The little boys even, who in playing erected here and there heaps of sand with the intention of dedicating them as Stupas to the Ginas, they have all of them reached enlightenment.
- 82 Likewise have all who caused jewel images to be made and dedicated, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, reached enlightenment.
- 83 Others who had images of Sugatas made of the seven precious substances, of copper or brass, have all of them reached enlightenment.
- 84 Those who ordered beautiful statues of Sugatas to be made of lead, iron, clay, or plaster have etc.
- 85 Those who made images (of the Sugatas) on painted walls, with complete limbs and the hundred holy signs,

whether they drew them themselves or had them drawn by others, have etc.

- 86 Those even, whether men or boys, who during the lesson or in play, by way of amusement, made upon the walls (such) images with the nail or a piece of wood,
- 87 Have all of them reached enlightenment; they have become compassionate, and, by rousing many Bodhisattvas, have saved kotis of creatures.
- 88 Those who offered flowers and perfumes to the relics of the Tathagatas, to Stupas, a mound of earth, images of clay or drawn on a wall;
- 89 Who caused musical instruments, drums, conch trumpets, and noisy great drums to be played, and raised the rattle of tymbals at such places in order to celebrate the highest enlightenment:
- 90 Who caused sweet lutes, cymbals, tabors, small drums, reed-pipes, flutes of ekonnada or sugar-cane to be made, have all of them reached enlightenment.
- 91 Those who to celebrate the Sugatas made thoughts, one shall in course of time see kotis of Buddhas.
- 92 They have all of them reached enlightenment. By paying various kinds of worship to the relics of the Sugatas, by doing but a little for the relics, by making resound were it but a single musical instrument:
- 93 Or by worshipping were it but with a single flower, by drawing on a wall the images of the Sugatas, by doing worship were it even with distracted thoughts, one shall in course of time see kotis of Buddhas.
- 94 Those who, when in presence of a Stupa, have offered their reverential salutation, be it in a complete form or by merely joining the hands; who, were it but for a single moment, bent their head or body;
- 95 And who at Stupas containing relics have one single time said: Homage be to Buddha! albeit they did it with distracted thoughts, all have attained superior enlightenment.
- 96 The creatures who in the days of those Sugatas, whether already extinct or still in existence, have heard no more than the name of the law, have all of them reached enlightenment.
- 97 Many kotis of future Buddhas beyond imagination and measure shall likewise reveal this device as Ginas and supreme Lords.
- 98 Endless shall be the skilfulness of these leaders of the world, by which they shall educate kotis of beings to that Buddha-knowledge which is free from imperfection.
- 99 Never has there been any being who, after hearing the law of those (leaders), shall not become Buddha; for this is the fixed vow of the Tathagatas: Let me, by accomplishing my course of duty, lead others to enlightenment.
- 100 They are to expound in future days many thousand kotis of heads of the law; in their Tathagataship they shall teach the law by showing the sole vehicle before-mentioned.
- 101 The line of the law forms an unbroken continuity and the nature of its properties is always manifest. Knowing this, the Buddhas, the highest of men, shall reveal this single vehicle
- 102 They shall reveal the stability of the law, its being subjected to fixed rules, its unshakeable perpetuity in the world, the awaking of the Buddhas on the elevated terrace of the earth, their skilfulness.
- 103 In all directions of space are standing Buddhas, like sand of the Ganges, honoured by gods and men; these also do, for the weal of all beings in the world, expound superior enlightenment.
- 104 Those Buddhas while manifesting skilfulness display various vehicles though, at the same time, indicating the one single vehicle: the supreme place of blessed rest.vious actions; with due regard to their strenuousness and vigour, as well as their inclination, the Buddhas impart their lights to them.
- 105 Acquainted as they are with the conduct of all mortals, with their peculiar dispositions and previous actions; with due regard to their strenuousness and vigour, as well as their inclination, the Buddhas impart their lights to them.
- 106 By dint of knowledge the leaders produce many illustrations, arguments, and reasons; and considering how the creatures have various inclinations they impart various directions.
- 107 And myself also, the leader of the chief Ginas, am now manifesting, for the weal of creatures now living, this Buddha enlightenment by thousands of kotis of various directions.
- 108 I reveal the law in its multifariousness with regard to the inclinations and dispositions of creatures. I use different means to rouse each according to his own character. Such is the might of my knowledge.
- 109 I likewise see the poor wretches, deficient in wisdom and conduct, lapsed into the mundane whirl retained in dismal places, plunged in affliction incessantly renewed.
- 110 Fettered as they are by desire like the yak by its tail, continually blinded by sensual pleasure, they do not seek the Buddha, the mighty one; they do not seek the law that leads to the end of pain.
- 111 Staying in the six states of existence, they are benumbed in their senses, stick unmoved to the low views, and suffer pain on pain. For those I feel a great compassion.

- 112 On the terrace of enlightenment I have remained three weeks in full, searching and pondering on such a matter, steadily looking up to the tree there (standing).
- 113 Keeping in view that king of trees with anunwavering gaze I walked round at its foot (thinking): This law is wonderful and lofty, whereas creatures are blind with dulness and ignorance.
- 114 Then it was that Brahma entreated me, and so did Indra, the four rulers of the cardinal points, Mahesvara, Isvara, and the hosts of Maruts by thousands of kotis.
- 115 All stood with joined hands and respectful, while myself was revolving the matter in my mind (and thought): What shall I do? At the very time that I am uttering syllables, beings are oppressed with evils.
- 116 In their ignorance they will not heed the law I announce, and in consequence of it they will ncur some penalty. It would be better were I never to speak. May my quiet extinction take place this very day!
- 117 But on remembering the former Buddhas and their skilfulness, (I thought): Nay, I also will manifest this tripartite Buddha-enlightenment.
- 118 When I was thus meditating on the law, the other Buddhas in all the directions of space appeared to me in their own body and raised their voice, crying 'Amen.
- 119 'Amen, Solitary, first Leader of the world! now that thou hast come to unsurpassed knowledge, and art meditating on the skilfulness of the leaders of the world, thou repeatest their teaching.
- 120 'We also, being Buddhas, will make clear the highest word, divided into three parts; for men (occasionally) have low inclinations, and might perchance from ignorance not believe (us, when we say), Ye shall become Buddhas.
- 121 'Hence we will rouse many Bodhisattvas by the display of skilfulness and the encouraging of the wish of obtaining fruits.'
- 122 And I was delighted to hear the sweet voice of the leaders of men; in the exultation of my heart I said to the blessed saints, 'The words of the eminent sages are not spoken in vain.
- 123 'I, too, will act according to the indications of the wise leaders of the world; having myself been born in the midst of the degradation of creatures, I have known agitation in this dreadful world.'
- 124 When I had come to that conviction, O son of Sari, I instantly went to Benares, where I skilfully preached the law to the five Solitaries, that law which is the base of final heatitude.
- 125 From that moment the wheel of my law has been moving, and the name of Nirvana made its appearance in the world, as well as the name of Arhat, of Dharma, and Sangha.
- 126 Many years have I preached and pointed to the stage of Nirvana, the end of wretchedness and mundane existence. Thus I used to speak at all times.
- 127 And when I saw, Sariputra, the children of the highest of men by many thousands of kotis, numberless, striving after the supreme, the highest enlightenment;
- 128 And when such as had heard the law of the Ginas, owing to the many-sidedness of (their) skilfulness, had approached me and stood before my face, all of them with joined hands, and respectful;
- 129 Then I conceived the idea that the time had come for me to announce the excellent law and to reveal supreme enlightenment, for which task I had been born in the world.
- 130 This (event) to-day will be hard to be understood by the ignorant who imagine they see here a sign, as they are proud and dull. But the Bodhisattvas, they will listen to me.
- 131 And I felt free from hesitation and highly cheered; putting aside all timidity, I began speaking in the assembly of the sons of Sugata, and roused them to enlightenment.
- 132 On beholding such worthy sons of Buddha (I said): Thy doubts also will be removed, and these twelve hundred (disciples) of mine, free from imperfections, will all of them become Buddhas.
- 133 Even as the nature of the law of the former mighty saints and the future Ginas is, so is my law free from any doubtfulness, and it is such as I to-day preach it to thee.
- 134 At certain times, at certain places, somehow do the leaders appear in the world, and after their appearance will they, whose view is boundless, at one time or another preach a similar law.
- 135 It is most difficult to meet with this superior law, even in myriads of kotis of Æons; very rare are the beings who will adhere to the superior law which they have heard from me.
- 136 Just as the blossom of the glomerous fig-tree is rare, albeit sometimes, at some places, and somehow it is met with, as something pleasant to see for everybody, as a wonder to the world including the gods;
- 137 (So wonderful) and far more wonderful is the law I proclaim. Any one who, on hearing a good exposition of it, shall cheerfully accept it and recite but one word of it, will have done honour to all Buddhas.
- 138 Give up all doubt and uncertainty in this respect; I declare that I am the king of the law (Dharmaraga); I am

urging others to enlightenment, but I am here without disciples.

- 139 Let this mystery be for thee, Sariputra, for all disciples of mine, and for the eminent Bodhisattvas, who are to keep this mystery.
- 140 For the creatures, when at the period of the five depravities, are vile and bad; they are blinded by sensual desires, the fools, and never turn their minds to enlightenment.
- 141 (Some) beings, having heard this one and sole vehicle manifested by the Gina, will in days to come swerve from it, reject the Sutra, and go down to hell.
- 142 But those beings who shall be modest and pure, striving after the supreme and the highest enlightenment, to them shall I unhesitatingly set forth the endless forms of this one and sole vehicle.
- 143 Such is the mastership of the leaders; that is, their skilfulness. They have spoken in many mysteries; hence it is difficult to understand (them).
- 144 Therefore try to understand the mystery of the Buddhas, the holy masters of the world; forsake all doubt and uncertainty: you shall become Buddhas; rejoice!

## LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 3

A Parable.

Then the venerable Sariputra, pleased, glad, charmed, cheerful, thrilling with delight and joy, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and, looking up to the Lord with a steady gaze, addressed him in this strain: I am astonished. amazed, O Lord! I am in ecstasy to hear such a call from the Lord. For when, before I had heard of this law from the Lord, I saw other Bodhisattvas, and heard that the Bodhisattvas would in future get the name of Buddhas, I felt extremely sorry, extremely vexed to be, deprived from so grand a sight as the Tathagata-knowledge. And whenever, O Lord, for my daily recreation I was visiting the caves of rocks or mountains, wood thickets, lovely gardens, rivers, and roots of trees, I always was occupied with the same and ever-reeurring thought: 'Whereas the entrance into the fixed points [Or, elements] of the law is nominally equal, we have been dismissed by the Lord with the inferior vehicle.' Instantly, however. O Lord. I felt that it was our own fault, not the Lord's. For had we regarded the Lord at the time of his giving the allsurpassing demonstration of the law, that is, the exposition of supreme, perfect enlightenment, then, O Lord, we should have become adepts in those laws. But because, without understanding the mystery of the Lord, we, at the moment of the Bodhisattvas not being assembled, heard only in a hurry, caught, meditated, minded, took to heart the first lessons pronounced ori the law, therefore, O Lord, I used to pass day and night in self-reproach. (But) to-day, O Lord, I have reached complete extinction; to-day, O Lord, I have become calm; to-day, O Lord, I am wholly come to rest; today, O Lord, I have reached Arhatship; to-day, O Lord, I am the Lord's eldest son, born from his law, sprung into existence by the law, made by the law, inheriting from the law, accomplished by the law. My burning has left me, O Lord, now that I have heard this wonderful law, which I had not leant before, announced by the voice from the mouth of the

And on that occasion the venerable Sariputra addressed the Lord in the following stanzas:

- 1 I am astonished, great Leader, I am charmed to hear this voice; I feel no doubt any more; now am I fully ripe for the superior vehicle.
- 2 Wonderful is the voice [Rather, call] of the Sugatas; it dispels the doubt and pain of living beings; my pain also is all gone now that I, freed from imperfections, have heard that voice (or, call).
- 3 When I was taking my daily recreation or was walking in woody thickets, when betaking myself to the roots of trees or to mountain caves, I indulged in no other thought but this:
- 4 'O how am I deluded by vain thoughts! whereas the faultless laws are, nominally, equal, shall I in future not preach the superior law in the world?
- 5 'The thirty-two characteristic signs have failed me, and the gold colour of the skin has vanished; all the (ten) powers and emancipations have likewise been lost. O how have I gone astray at the equal laws!
- 6 'The secondary signs also of the great Seers, the eighty excellent specific signs, and the eighteen uncommon properties have failed me. O how am I deluded!'
- 7 And when I had perceived thee, so benigh and merciful to the world, and was lonely walking to take my daily recreation, I thought: 'I am excluded from that inconceivable, unbounded knowledge!'
- 8 Days and nights, O Lord, I passed always thinking of the same subject; I would ask the Lord whether I had lost my rank or not.
- 9 In such reflections, O Chief of Ginas, I constantly passed my days and nights; and on seeing many other Bodhisattvas praised by the Leader of the world,
- 10 And on hearing this Buddha-law, I thought: 'To be sure, this is expounded mysteriously'; it is an inscrutable, subtle,

and faultless science, which is announced by the Ginas on the terrace of enlightenment.'

- 11 Formerly I was attached to (heretical) theories, being a wandering monk and in high honour (or, of the same opinions) with the heretics; afterwards has the Lord, regarding my disposition, taught me Nirvana, to detach me from perverted views.
- 12 After having completely freed myself from all (heretical) views and reached the laws of void, (I conceive) that I have become extinct; yet this is not deemed to be extinction.
- 13 But when one becomes Buddha, a superior being, honoured by men, gods, goblins, Titans, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, then one will be completely extinct.
- 14 All those (former) cares have now been dispelled, since I have heard the voice. Now am I extinct, as thou announcest my destination (to Nirvana) before the world including the gods.
- 15 When I first heard the voice of the Lord, I had a great terror lest it might be Mara, the evil one, who on this occasion had adopted the disguise of Buddha.
- 16 But when the unsurpassed Buddha-wisdom had been displayed in and established with arguments, reasons, and illustrations, by myriads of kotis, then I lost all doubt about the law I heard.
- 17 And when thou hadst mentioned to me the thousands of kotis of Buddhas, the past Ginas who have come to final rest, and how they preached this law by firmly establishing it through skilfulness:
- 18 How the many future Buddhas and those who are now existing, as knowers of the real truth, shall expound or are expounding this law by hundreds of able devices;
- 19 And when thou wert mentioning thine own course after leaving home, how the idea of the wheel of the law presented itself to thy mind and how thou decidedst upon preaching the law.
- 20 Then I was convinced: This is not Mara; it is the Lord of the world, who has shown the true course; no Maras can here abide. So then my mind (for a moment) was overcome with perplexity;
- 21 But when the sweet, deep, and lovely voice of Buddha gladdened me, all doubts were scattered, my perplexity vanished, and I stood firm in knowledge.
- 22 I shall become a Tathagata, undoubtedly, worshipped in the world including the gods; I shall manifest Buddha-wisdom, mysteriously rousing many Bodhisattvas.

After this speech of the venerable Sariputra, the Lord said to him: I declare to thee, Sariputra, I announce to thee, in presence of this world including the gods, Maras, and Brahmas, in presence of this people, including ascetics and Brahmans, that thou, Sariputra, hast been by me made ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment, in presence of twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, and that thou, Sariputra, hast for a long time followed my commandments. Thou, Sariputra, art, by the counsel of the Bodhisattva, by the decree of the Bodhisattva, reborn here under my rule. Owing to the mighty will of the Bodhisattva thou, Sariputra, hast no recollection of thy former vow to observe the (religious) course; of the counsel of the Bodhisattva, the decree of the Bodhisattva. Thou thinkest that thou hast reached final rest. I, wishing to revive and renew in thee the knowledge of thy former yow to observe the (religious) course. will reveal to the disciples the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law,' this Suranta, etc.

Again, Sariputra, at a future period, after innumerable, inconceivable, immeasurable Æons, when thou shalt have learnt the true law of hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, showed devotion in various ways, and achieved the present Bodhisattva-course, thou shalt become in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Padmaprabha, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, a knower of the world, an unsurpassed tamer of men, a master of gods and men, a Lord Ruddha

At that time then, Sariputra, the Buddha-field of that Lord, the Tathagata Padmaprabha, to be called Viraga, will be level, pleasant, delightful, extremely beautiful to see, pure, prosperous, rich, quiet, abounding with food, replete with many races of men; it will consist of lapis lazuli, and contain a checker-board of eight compartments distinguished by gold threads, each compartment having its jewel tree always and perpetually filled with blossoms and fruits of seven precious substances.

Now that Tathagata Padmaprabha, etc., Sariputra, will preach the law by the instrumentality of three vehicles. Further, Sariputra, that Tathagata will not appear at the decay of the Æon, but preach the law by virtue of a vow.

That Æon, Sariputra, will be named Maharatnapratimandita (i. e. ornamented with magnificent jewels). Knowest thou, Sariputra, why that Æon is named Maharatnapratimandita? The Bodhisattvas of a Buddha-field, Sariputra, are called ratnas (jewels), and at that time there will be many Bodhisattvas in that sphere (called) Viraga; innumerable, incalculable, beyond computation, abstraction

made from their being computed by the Tathagatas. On that account is that Æon called Maharatnapratimandita.

Now, to proceed, Sariputra, at that period the Bodhisattvas of that field will in walking step on jewel lotuses. And these Bodhisattvas will not be plying their work for the first time, they having accumulated roots of goodness and observed the course of duty under many hundred thousand Buddhas; they are praised by the Tathagatas for their zealous application to Buddha-knowledge; are perfectioned in the rites preparatory to transcendent knowledge; accomplished in the direction of all true laws; mild, thoughtful. Generally, Sariputra, will that Buddha-region teem with such Bodhisattvas.

As to the lifetime, Sariputra, of that Tathagata Padmaprabha, it will last twelve intermediate kalpas, if we leave out of account the time of his being a young prince. And the lifetime of the creatures then living will measure eight intermediate kalpas. At the expiration of twelve intermediate kalpas, Sariputra, the Tathagata Padmaprabha, after announcing the future destiny of the Bodhisattva called Dhritiparipurnan [Dhriti, perserverence, endurance. Dhritiparipurna is, full of perserverence or endurance] to superior perfect enlightenment, is to enter complete Nirvana. 'This Bodhisattva Mahasattva Dhritiparipurna, O monks, shall immediately after me come to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He shall become in the world a Tathagata named Padmavrishabhavikramin, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc.'

Now the Tathigata Padmavrishabhavikramin, Sariputra, will have a Buddha-field of quite the same description. The true law, Sariputra, of that Tathagata Padmavrishabhavikramin will, after his extinction, last thirty-two intermediate kalpas, and the counterfeit of his true law will last as many intermediate kalpas.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 23 Thou also, son of Sari, shalt in future be a Gina, a Tathagata named Padmaprabha, of illimited sight; thou shalt educate thousands of kotis of living beings.
- 24 After paying honour to many kotis of Buddhas, making strenuous efforts in the course of duty, and after having produced in thyself the ten powers, thou shalt reach supreme, perfect enlightenment.
- 25 Within a period inconceivable and immense there shall be an Æon rich in jewels (or, the Æon jewel-rich), and a sphere named Viraga, the pure field of the highest of men;
- 26 And its ground will consist of lapis lazuli, and be set off with gold threads; it will have hundreds of jewel trees, very beautiful, and covered with blossoms and fruits
- 27 Bodhisattvas of good memory, able in showing the course of duty which they have been taught under hundreds of Buddhas, will come to be born in that field.
- 28 And the afore-mentioned Gina, then in his last bodily existence, shall, after passing the state of prince royal, renounce sensual pleasures, leave home (to become a wandering ascetic), and thereafter reach the supreme and the highest enlightenment.
- 29 The lifetime of that Gina will be precisely twelve intermediate kalpas, and the life of men will then last eight intermediate kalpas.
- 30 After the extinction of the Tathigata the true law will continue thirty-two Æons in full, for the benefit of the world, including the gods.
- 31 When the true law shall have come to an end, its counterfeit will stand for thirty-two intermediate kalpas. The dispersed relics of the holy one will always be honoured by men and ends.
- 32 Such will be the fate of that Lord. Rejoice, O son of Sari, for it is thou who shalt be that most excellent of men, so unsurpassed.

The four classes of the audience, monks, nuns, lay devotees male and female, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men and beings not human, on hearing the announcement of the venerable Sariputra's destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment, were so pleased, glad, charmed, thrilling with delight and joy, that they covered the Lord severally with their own robes, while Indra the chief of gods, Brahma Sahampati, besides hundred thousands of kotis of other divine beings, covered him with heavenly garments and bestrewed him with flowers of heaven, Mandaravas and great Mandaravas. High aloft they whirled celestial clothes and struck hundred thousands of celestial musical instruments and cymbals, high in the sky; and after pouring a great rain of flowers they uttered these words: The wheel of the law has been put in motion by the Lord, the first time at Benares at Rishipatana in the Deer-park; to-day has the Lord again put in motion the supreme wheel of the law

And on that occasion those divine beings uttered the following stanzas:

33 The wheel of the law was put in motion by thee, O thou that art unrivalled in the world, at Benares, O great hero! (that wheel which is the rotation of) the rise and decay of all aggregates.

- 34 There it was put in motion for the first time; now, a second time, is it turned here, O Lord. Today, O Master, thou hast preached this law, which is hard to be received with faith.
- 35 Many laws have we heard near the Lord of the world, but never before did we hear a law like this.
- 36 We receive with gratitude, O great hero, the mysterious speech of the great Sages, such as this prediction regarding the self-possessed Arva Sariputra.
- 37 May we also become such incomparable Buddhas in the world, who by mysterious speech announce supreme Buddhaenlightenment.
- 38 May we also, by the good we have done in this world and in the next, and by our having propitiated the Buddha, be allowed to make a vow for Buddhaship.

Thereupon the venerable Sariputra thus spoke to the Lord: My doubt is gone, O Lord, my uncertainty is at an end on hearing from the mouth of the Lord my destiny to supreme enlightenment. But these twelve hundred self-controlled (disciples), O Lord, who have been placed by thee on the stage of Saikshas, have been thus admonished and instructed: 'My preaching of the law, O monks, comes to this, that deliverance from birth, decrepitude, disease, and death is inseparably connected with Nirvana;' and these two thousand monks, O Lord, thy disciples, both those who are still under training and adepts, who all of them are free from false views about the soul, false views about existence, false views about cessation of existence, free, in short, from all false views, who are fancying themselves to have reached the stage of Nirvana, these have fallen into uncertainty by hearing from the mouth of the Lord this law which they had not heard before. Therefore, O Lord, please speak to these monks, to dispel their uneasiness, so that the four classes of the audience, O Lord, may be relieved from their doubt and perplexity.

On this speech of the venerable Sariputra the Lord said to him the following: Have I not told thee before, Sariputra, that the Tathagata, etc., preaches the law by able devices, varying directions and indications, fundamental ideas, interpretations, with due regard to the different dispositions and inclinations of creatures whose temperaments are so various? All his preachings of the law have no other end but supreme and perfect enlightenment, for which he is rousing beings to the Bodhisattva-course. But, Sariputra, to elucidate this matter more at large, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

Let us suppose the following case, Sariputra. In a certain village, town, borough, province, kingdom, or capital, there was a certain housekeeper, old, aged, decrepit, very advanced in years, rich, wealthy, opulent; he had a great house, high, spacious, built a long time ago and old, inhabited by some two, three, four, or five hundred living beings. The house had but one door, and a thatch; its terraces were tottering, the bases of its pillars rotten, the coverings and plaster of the walls loose. On a sudden the whole house was from every side put in conflagration by a mass of fire. Let us suppose that the man had many little boys, say five, or ten, or even twenty, and that he himself had come out of the house.

Now, Sariputra, that man, on seeing the house from every side wrapt in a blaze by a great mass of fire, got afraid, frightened, anxious in his mind, and made the following reflection: I myself am able to come out from the burning house through the door, quickly and safely, without being touched or scorched by that great mass of fire; but my children, those young boys, are staying in the burning house, playing, amusing, and diverting themselves with all sorts of sports. They do not perceive, nor know, nor understand, nor mind that the house is on fire, and do not get afraid. Though scorched by that great mass of fire, and affected with such a mass of pain, they do not mind the pain, nor do they conceive the idea of escaping.

The man, Sariputra, is strong, has powerful arms, and (so) he makes this reflection: I am strong, and have powerful arms; why, let me gather all my little boys and take them to my breast to effect their escape from the house. A second reflection then presented itself to his mind: This house has but one opening: the door is shut; and those boys, fickle, unsteady, and childlike as they are, will, it is to be feared, run hither and thither, and come to grief and disaster in this mass of fire. Therefore I will warn them. So resolved, he calls to the boys: Come, my children; the house is burning with a mass of fire; come, lest ve be burnt in that mass of fire, and come to grief and disaster. But the ignorant boys do not heed the words of him who is their well-wisher; they are not afraid, not alarmed, and feel no misgiving; they do not care, nor fly, nor even know nor understand the purport of the word 'burning;' on the contrary, they run hither and thither, walk about, and repeatedly look at their father; all, because they are so ignorant

Then the man is going to reflect thus: The house is burning, is blazing by a mass of fire. It is to be feared that myself as well as my children will come to grief and disaster. Let me therefore by some skilful means get the boys out of the house. The man knows the disposition of the boys, and has a clear perception of their inclinations. Now these boys happen to

have many and manifold toys to play with, pretty, nice, pleasant, dear, amusing, and precious. The man, knowing the disposition of the boys, says to them: My children, your toys, which are so pretty, precious, and admirable, which you are so loth to miss, which are so various and multifarious, (such as) bullock-carts, goat-carts, deer-carts, which are so pretty, nice, dear, and precious to you, have all been put by me outside the house-door for you to play with. Come, run out, leave the house; to each of you I shall give what he wants, Come soon; come out for the sake of these toys. And the boys, on hearing the names mentioned of such playthings as they like and desire, so agreeable to their taste, so pretty, dear, and delightful, quickly rush out from the burning house, with eager effort and great alacrity, one having no time to wait for the other, and pushing each other on with the cry of 'Who shall arrive first, the very first?'

The man, seeing that his children have safely and happily escaped, and knowing that they are free from danger, goes and sits down in the open air on the square of the village, his heart filled with joy and delight, released from trouble and hindrance, quite at ease. The boys go up to the place where their father is sitting, and say: 'Father, give us those toys to play with, those bullock-carts, goat-carts, and deer-carts.' Then, Sariputra, the man gives to his sons, who run swift as the wind, bullock-carts only, made of seven precious substances, provided with benches, hung with a multitude of small bells, lofty, adorned with rare and wonderful jewels, embellished with jewel wreaths, decorated with garlands of flowers, carpeted with cotton mattresses and woollen coverlets, covered with white cloth and silk, having on both sides rosy cushions, yoked with white, very fair and fleet bullocks, led by a multitude of men. To each of his children he gives several bullockcarts of one appearance and one kind, provided with flags, and swift as the wind. That man does so, Sariputra, because being rich, wealthy, and in possession of many treasures and granaries, he rightly thinks: Why should I give these boys inferior carts, all these boys being my own children, dear and precious? I have got such great vehicles, and ought to treat all the boys equally and without partiality. As I own many treasures and granaries, I could give such great vehicles to all beings, how much more then to my own children. Meanwhile the boys are mounting the vehicles with feelings of astonishment and wonder. Now, Sariputra, what is thy opinion? Has that man made himself guilty of a falsehood by first holding out to his children the prospect of three vehicles and afterwards giving to each of them the greatest vehicles only, the most magnificent vehicles?

Sariputra answered: By no means, Lord; by no means, Sugata. That is not sufficient, O Lord, to qualify the man as a speaker of falsehood, since it only was a skilful device to persuade his children to go out of the burning house and save their lives. Nay, besides recovering their very body, O Lord, they have received all those toys. If that man, O Lord, had given no single cart, even then he would not have been a speaker of falsehood, for he had previously been meditating on saving the little boys from a great mass of pain by some able device. Even in this case, O Lord, the man would not have been guilty of falsehood, and far less now that he, considering his having plenty of treasures and prompted by no other motive but the love of his children, gives to all, to coax them, vehicles of one kind, and those the greatest vehicles. That man, Lord, is not guilty of falsehood.

The venerable Siriputra having thus spoken, the Lord said to him: Very well, very well, Sariputra, quite so; it is even as thou sayest. So, too, Sariputra, the Tathagata, etc., is free from all dangers, wholly exempt from all misfortune, despondency, calamity, pain, grief, the thick enveloping dark mists of ignorance. He, the Tathagata, endowed with Buddha-knowledge, forces, absence of hesitation, uncommon properties, and mighty by magical power, is the father of the world, who has reached the highest perfection in the knowledge of skilful means, who is most merciful, longsuffering, benevolent, compassionate. He appears in this triple world, which is like a house the roof and shelter whereof are decayed, (a house) burning by a mass of misery, in order to deliver from affection, hatred, and delusion the beings subject to birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, the dark enveloping mists of ignorance, in order to rouse them to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Once born, he sees how the creatures are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed by birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency; how for the sake of enjoyments, and prompted by sensual desires, they severally suffer various pains. In consequence both of what in this world they are seeking and what they have acquired, they will in a future state suffer various pains, in hell, in the brute creation, in the realm of Yama; suffer such pains as poverty in the world of gods or men, union with hateful persons or things, and separation from the beloved ones. And whilst incessantly whirling in that mass of evils they are sporting, playing, diverting themselves; they do not fear, nor dread, nor are they seized with terror; they do not know, nor mind; they are not startled, do not try to escape, but are enjoying themselves in that triple world which is like unto a burning

house, and run hither and thither. Though overwhelmed by that mass of evil, they do not conceive the idea that they must beware of it

Under such circumstances, Sariputra, the Tathagata reflects thus: Verily, I am the father of these beings; I must save them from this mass of evil, and bestow on them the immense, inconceivable bliss of Buddha-knowledge, wherewith they shall sport, play, and divert themselves, wherein they shall find their rest.

Then, Sariputra, the Tathagata reflects thus: If, in the conviction of my possessing the power of knowledge and magical faculties, I manifest to these beings the knowledue, forces, and absence of hesitation of the Tathagata, without availing myself of some device, these beings will not escape. For they are attached to the pleasures of the five senses, to worldly pleasures; they will not be freed from birth, old age, disease, death, grief, wailing, pain, melancholy, despondency, by which they are burnt, tormented, vexed, distressed. Unless they are forced to leave the triple world which is like a house the shelter and roof whereof is in a blaze, how are they to get acquainted with Buddha-knowledge?

Now, Sariputra, even as that man with powerful arms, without using the strength of his arms, attracts his children out of the burning house by an able device, and afterwards gives them magnificent, great carts, so, Sariputra, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., possessed of knowledge and freedom from all hesitation, without using them, in order to attract the creatures out of the triple world which is like a burning house with decayed roof and shelter, shows, by his knowledge of able devices, three vehicles, viz. the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, and the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. By means of these three vehicles he attracts the creatures and speaks to them thus: Do not delight in this triple world, which is like a burning house, in these miserable forms, sounds, odours, flavours, and contacts. For in delighting in this triple world ye are burnt, heated, inflamed with the thirst inseparable from the pleasures of the five senses. Fly from this triple world; betake yourselves to the three vehicles: the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratvekabuddhas, the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. I give you my pledge for it, that I shall give you these three vehicles; make an effort to run out of this triple world. And to attract them I say: These vehicles are grand, praised by the Aryas, and provided with most pleasant things; with such you are to sport, play, and divert yourselves in a noble manner. Ye will feel the great delight of the faculties, powers, constituents of Bodhi, meditations, the (eight) degrees of emancipation, selfconcentration and the results of self-concentration and ve will become greatly happy and cheerful.

Now, Sariputra, the beings who have become wise have faith in the Tathagata, the father of the world, and consequently apply themselves to his commandments. Amongst them there are some who, wishing to follow the dictate of an authoritative voice, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathagata to acquire the knowledge of the four great truths, for the sake of their own complete Nirvana. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the disciples, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys will fly from that burning house, prompted by a desire of getting a cart yoked with deer. Other beings desirous of the science without a master, of self-restraint and tranquillity, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tatha'gata to learn to understand causes and effects, for the sake of their own complete Nirvana. These one may say to be those who, coveting the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, fly from the triple world, just as some of the boys fly from the burning house, prompted by the desire of getting a cart voked with goats. Others again desirous of the knowledge of the allknowing, the knowledge of Buddha, the knowledge of the self-born one, the science without a master, apply themselves to the commandment of the Tathagata to learn to understand the knowledge, powers, and freedom from hesitation of the Tathagata, for the sake of the common weal and happiness, out of compassion to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the world at large, both gods and men, for the sake of the complete Nirvana of all beings. These one may say to be those who, coveting the great vehicle, fly from the triple world. Therefore they are called Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. They may be likened to those among the boys who have fled from the burning house prompted by the desire of getting a cart voked with bullocks

In the same manner, Sariputra, as that man, on seeing his children escaped from the burning house and knowing them safely and happily rescued and out of danger, in the consciousness of his great wealth, gives the boys one single grand cart; so, too, Sariputra, the Tathigata, the Arhat, etc., on seeing many kotis of beings recovered from the triple world, released from sorrow, fear, terror, and calamity, having escaped owing to the command of the Tathagata, delivered from all fears, calamities, and difficulties, and having reached the bliss of Nirvana, so, too, Sariputra, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., considering that he possesses great wealth of knowledge, power, and absence of hesitation, and that all beings are his children, leads them by no other vehicle

but the Buddha-vehicle to full development. But he does not teach a particular Nirvana for each being; he causes all beings to reach complete Nirvana by means of the complete Nirvana of the Tathigata. And those beings, Sariputra, who are delivered from the triple world, to them the Tathagata gives as toys to amuse themselves with the lofty pleasures of the Aryas, the pleasures of meditation, emancipation, selfconcentration, and its results; (toys) all of the same kind. Even as that man, Sariputra, cannot be said to have told a falsehood for having held out to those boys the prospect of three vehicles and given to all of them but one great vehicle, a magnificent vehicle made of seven precious substances, decorated with all sorts of ornaments, a vehicle of one kind, the most egregious of all, so, too, Sariputra, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., tells no falsehood when by an able device he first holds forth three vehicles and afterwards leads all to complete Nirvana by the one great vehicle. For the Tathagata, Sariputra, who is rich in treasures and storehouses of abundant knowledge, powers, and absence of hesitation, is able to teach all beings the law which is connected with the knowledge of the all-knowing. In this way, Sariputra, one has to understand how the Tatha'gata by an able device and direction shows but one vehicle, the great vehicle.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- $39\,$  A man has an old house, large, but very infirm; its terraces are decaying and the columns rotten at their bases.
- 40 The windows and balconies are partly ruined, the wall as well as its coverings and plaster decaying; the coping shows rents from age; the thatch is everywhere pierced with holes.
- 41 It is inhabited by no less than five hundred beings; containing many cells and closets filled with excrements and disgusting.
- 42 Its roof-rafters are wholly ruined; the walls and partitions crumbling away; kotis of vultures nestle in it, as well as doves, owls, and other birds.
- 43 There are in every corner dreadful snakes, most venomous and horrible; scorpions and mice of all sorts; it is the abode of very wicked creatures of every description.
- 44 Further, one may meet in it here and there beings not belonging to the human race. It is defiled with excrement and urine, and teeming with worms, insects, and fire-flies; it resounds from the howling of dogs and jackals.
- 45 In it are horrible hyenas that are wont to devour human carcasses; many dogs and jackals greedily seeking the matter of corpses.
- 46 Those animals weak from perpetual hunger go about in several places to feed upon their prey, and quarrelling fill the spot with their cries. Such is that most horrible house.
- 47 There are also very malign goblins, who violate human corpses; in several spots there are centipedes, huge snakes, and viners
- 48 Those animals creep into all corners, where they make nests to deposit their brood, which is often devoured by the goblins.
- 49 And when those cruel-minded goblins are satiated with feeding upon the flesh of other creatures, so that their bodies are big, then they commence sharply fighting on the spot.
- 50 In the wasted retreats are dreadful, malign urchins, some of them measuring one span, others one cubit or two cubits, all nimble in their movements
- 51 They are in the habit of seizing dogs by the feet, throwing them upside down upon the floor, pinching their necks and using them ill.
- 52 There also live yelling ghosts naked, black, wan, tall, and high, who, hungry and in quest of food, are here and there emitting cries of distress.
- 53 Some have a mouth like a needle, others have a face like a cow's; they are of the size of men or dogs, go with entangled hair, and utter plaintive cries from want of food.
- 54 Those goblins, ghosts, imps, like vultures, are always looking out through the windows and loopholes, in all directions in search of food.
- 55 Such is that dreadful house, spacious and high, but very infirm, full of holes, frail and dreary. (Let us suppose that) it is the property of a certain man,
- 56 And that while he is out of doors the house is reached by a conflagration, so that on a sudden it is wrapt in a blazing mass of fire on every side.
- 57 The beams and rafters consumed by the fire, the columns and partitions in flame are crackling most dreadfully, whilst gobling and ghosts are yelling
- goblins and ghosts are yelling.

  58 Vultures are driven out by hundreds; urchins withdraw with parched faces; hundreds of mischievous beasts of prey I run, scorched, on every side, crying and shouting.
- 59 Many poor devils move about, burnt by the fire; while burning they tear one another with the teeth, and bespatter each other with their blood.
- 60 Hyenas also perish there, in the act of eating one another. The excrements burn, and a loathsome stench spreads in all directions
- 61 The centipedes, trying to fly, are devoured by the urchins. The ghosts, with burning hair, hover about, equally vexed with hunger and heat.

- 62 In such a state is that awful house, where thousands of flames are breaking out on every side. But the man who is the master of the house looks on from without.
- 63 And he hears his own children, whose minds are engaged in playing with their toys, in their fondness of which they amuse themselves, as fools do in their ignorance.
- 64 And as he hears them he quickly steps in to save his children, lest his ignorant children might perish in the flames.
- 65 He tells them the defect of the house, and says: This, young man of good family, is a miserable house, a dreadful one; the various creatures in it, and this fire to boot, form a series of evils.
- 66 In it are snakes, mischievous goblins, urchins, and ghosts in great number; hyenas, troops of dogs and jackals, as well as vultures, seeking their prev.
- 67 Such beings live in this house, which, apart from the fire, is extremely dreadful, and miserable enough; and now comes to it this fire blazing on all sides.
- 68 The foolish boys, however, though admonished, do not mind their father's words, deluded as they are by their toys; they do not even understand him.
- 69 Then the man thinks: I am now in anxiety on account of my children. What is the use of my having sons if I lose them? No, they shall not perish by this fire.
- 70 Instantly a device occurred to his mind: These young (and ignorant) children are fond of toys, and have none just now to play with. Oh, they are so foolish!
- 71 He then says to them: Listen, my sons, I have carts of different sorts, yoked with deer, goats, and excellent bullocks, lofty, great, and completely furnished.
- 72 They are outside the house; run out, do with them what you like; for your sake have I caused them to be made. Run out all together, and rejoice to have them.
- 73 All the boys, on hearing of such carts, exert themselves, immediately rush out hastily, and reach, free from harm, the open air.
- 74 On seeing that the children have come out, the man betakes himself to the square in the centre of the village, and there from the throne he is sitting on he says: Good people, now I feel at ease.
- 75 These poor sons of mine, whom I have recovered with difficulty, my own dear twenty young children, were in a dreadful, wretched, horrible house, full of many animals.
- 76 As it was burning and wrapt in thousands of flames, they were amusing themselves in it with playing, but now I have rescued them all. Therefore I now feel most happy.
- 77 The children, seeing their father happy, approached him, and said: Dear father, give us, as you have promised', those nice vehicles of three kinds:
- 78 And make true all that you promised us in the house when saying, 'I will give you three sorts of vehicles.' Do give them; it is now the right time.
- 79 Now the man (as we have supposed) had a mighty treasure of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls; he possessed bullion, numerous slaves, domestics, and vehicles of various kinds:
- 80 Carts made of precious substances, yoked with bullocks, most excellent, with benches and a row of tinkling bells, decorated with umbrellas and flags, and adorned with a network of gems and pearls.
- 81 They are embellished with gold, and artificial wreaths hanging down here and there; covered all around with excellent cloth and fine white muslin.
- 82 Those carts are moreover furnished with choice mattresses of fine silk, serving for cushions, and covered with choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans, and worth thousands of kotis.
- 83 The carts are yoked with white bullocks, well fed, strong, of great size, very fine, who are tended by numerous persons.
- 84 Such excellent carts that man gives to all his sons, who, overjoyed and charmed, go and play with them in all directions.
- 85 In the same manner, Sariputra, I, the great Seer, am the protector and father of all beings, and all creatures who, childlike, are captivated by the pleasures of the triple world, are my sons.
- 86 This triple world is as dreadful as that house, overwhelmed with a number of evils, entirely inflamed on every side by a hundred different sorts of birth, old age, and disease
- 87 But I, who am detached from the triple world and serene am living in absolute retirement in a wood. This triple world is my domain, and those who in it are suffering from burning heat are my sons.
- 88 And I told its evils because I had resolved upon saving them, but they would not listen to me, because all of them were ignorant and their hearts attached to the pleasures of sense.
- 89 Then I employ an able device, and tell them of the three vehicles, so showing them the means of evading the numerous evils of the triple world which are known to me.
- 90 And those of my sons who adhere to me, who are mighty in the six transcendent faculties (Abhignas) and the triple

- science, the Pratyekabuddhas, as well as the Bodhisattvas unable to slide back;
- 91 And those (others) who equally are my sons, to them I just now am showing, by means of this excellent allegory, the single Buddha-vehicle. Receive it; ye shall all become Ginas.
- 92 It is most excellent and sweet, the most exalted in the world, that knowledge of the Buddhas, the most high among men; it is something sublime and adorable.
- 93 The powers, meditations, degrees of emancipation and self-concentration by many hundreds of kotis, that is the exalted vehicle in which the sons of Buddha take a neverending delight.
- 94 In playing with it they pass days and nights, fortnights, months, seasons, years, intermediate kalpas, nay, thousands of kotis of kalpas.
- 95 This is the lofty vehicle of jewels which sundry Bodhisattvas and the disciples listening to the Sugata employ to go and sport on the terrace of enlightenment.
- 96 Know then, Tishya, that there is no second vehicle in this world anywhere to be found, in whatever direction thou shalt search, apart from the device (shown) by the most high among men.
- 97 Ye are my children, I am your father, who has removed you from pain, from the triple world, from fear and danger, when you had been burning for many kotis of Æons.
- 98 And I am teaching blessed rest (Nirvana), in. so far as, though you have not yet reached (final) rest, you are delivered from the trouble of the mundane whirl, provided you seek the vehicle of the Buddhas.
- 99 Any Bodhisattvas here present obey my Buddha-rules. Such is the skilfulness of the Gina that he disciplines many Bodhisattvas.
- 100 When the creatures in this world delight in low and contemptible pleasures, then the Chief of the world, who always speaks the truth, indicates pain as the (first) great truth
- 101 And to those who are ignorant and too simple-minded to discover the root of that pain I lay open the way: 'Awaking of full consciousness, strong desire is the origin of pain.'
- 102 Always try, unattached, to suppress desire. This is my third truth, that of suppression. It is an infallible means of deliverance; for by practising this method one shall become emancipated.
- 103 And from what are they emancipated, Sariputra? They are emancipated from chimeras. Yet they are not wholly freed; the Chief declares that they have not yet reached (final and complete) rest in this world.
- 104 Why is it that I do not pronounce one to be delivered before one's having reached the highest, supreme enlightenment? (Because) such is mywill; I am the ruler of the law, who is born in this world to lead to beatitude.
- $105\ This,$  Sariputra, is the closing word of my law which now at the last time I pronounce for the weal of the world including the gods. Preach it in all quarters.
- 106 And if some one speaks to you these words, 'I joyfully accept,' and with signs of utmost reverence receives this Sutra, thou mayst consider that man to be unable to slide back.
- 107 To believe in this Sutra one must have seen former Tathagatas, paid honour to them, and heard a law similar to
- 108 To believe in my supreme word one must have seen me; thou and the assembly of monks have seen all these Bodhisattyas.
- 109 This Sutra is apt to puzzle the ignorant, and I do not pronounce it before having penetrated to superior knowledge. Indeed, it is not within the range of the disciples, nor do the Pratyekabuddhas come to it.
- 110 But thou, Siriputra, hast good will, not to speak of my other disciples here. They will walk in my faith, though each cannot have his individual knowledge.
- 111 But do not speak of this matter to haughty persons, nor to conceited ones, nor to Yogins who are not self-restrained; for the fools, always revelling in sensual pleasures, might in their blindness scorn the law manifested.
- 112 Now hear the dire results when one scorns my skilfulness and the Buddha-rules for ever fixed in the world; when one, with sullen brow, scorns the vehicle.
- 113 Hear the destiny of those who have scorned such a Sutra like this, whether during my lifetime or after my Nirvana, or who have wronged the monks.
- 114 After having disappeared from amongst men, they shall dwell in the lowest hell (Aviki) during a whole kalpa, and thereafter they shall fall lower and lower, the fools, passing through repeated births for many intermediate kalpas.
- 115 And when they have vanished from amongst the inhabitants of hell, they shall further descend to the condition of brutes, be even as dogs and jackals, and become a sport to others.
- 116 Under such circumstances they shall grow blackish of colour, spotted, covered with sores, itchy; moreover, they shall be hairless and feeble, (all) those who have an aversion to my supreme enlightenment.

- 117 They are ever despised amongst animals; hit by clods or weapons they yell; everywhere they are threatened with sticks, and their bodies are emaciated from hunger and thirst.
- 118 Sometimes they become camels or asses, carrying loads, and are beaten with whips and sticks; they are constantly occupied with thoughts of eating, the fools who have scorned the Buddharule
- 119 At other times they become ugly jackals, half blind and crippled; the helpless creatures are vexed by the village boys, who throw clods and weapons at them.
- 120 Again shooting off from that place, those fools become animals with bodies of five hundred yoganas, whirling round, dull and lazy.
- 121 They have no feet, and creep on the belly; to be devoured by many kotis of animals is the dreadful punishment they have to suffer for having scorned a Sutra like this.
- 122 And whenever they assume a human shape, they are born crippled, maimed, crooked, one-eyed, blind, dull, and low, they having no faith in my Sutra.
- 123 Nobody keeps their side; a putrid smell is continually issuing from their mouths; an evil spirit has entered the body of those who do not believe in this supreme enlightenment.
- 124 Needy, obliged to do menial labour, always in another's service, feeble, and subject to many diseases they go about in the world, unprotected.
- 125 The man whom they happen to serve is unwilling to give them much, and what he gives is soon lost. Such is the fruit of sinfulness.
- 126 Even the best-prepared medicaments, administered to them by able men, do, under those circumstances, but increase their illness, and the disease has no end.
- 127 Some commit thefts, affrays, assaults, or acts of hostility, whereas others commit robberies of goods; (all this) befalls the sinner.
- 128 Never does he behold the Lord of the world, the King of kings ruling the earth, for he is doomed to live at a wrong time, he who scorns my Buddha-rule.
- 129 Nor does that foolish person listen to the law; he is deaf and senseless; he never finds rest, because he has scorned this enlightenment.
- 130 During many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the sand of the Ganges he shall be dull and defective; that is the evil result from scorning this Sutra.
- 131 Hell is his garden (or monastery), a place of misfortune his abode; he is continually living amongst asses, hogs, jackals, and dogs.
- 132 And when he has assumed a human shape he is to be blind, deaf, and stupid, the servant of another, and always poor.
- 133 Diseases, myriads of kotis of wounds on the body, scab, itch, scurf, leprosy, blotch, a foul smell are, in that condition, his covering and apparel.
- 134 His sight is dim to distinguish the real. His anger appears mighty in him, and his passion is most violent; he always delights in animal wombs.
- 135 Were I to go on, Sariputra, for a whole Æon, enumerating the evils of him who shall scorn my Sutra, I should not come to an end.
- 136 And since I am fully aware of it, I command thee, Sariputra, that thou shalt not expound a Sutra like this before foolish people.

  137 But those who are sensible, instructed, thoughtful.
- clever, and learned, who strive after the highest supreme enlightenment, to them expound its real meaning. 138 Those who have seen many kotis of Buddhas, planted
- immeasurably many roots of goodness, and undertaken a strong vow, to them expound its real meaning.
- 139 Those who, full of energy and ever kindhearted, have a long time been developing the feeling of kindness, have given up body and life, in their presence thou mayst preach this Sutra.
- 140 Those who show mutual love and respect, keep no intercourse with ignorant people, and are content to live in mountain caverns, to them expound this hallowed Sutra.
- 141 If thou see sons of Buddha who attach themselves to virtuous friends and avoid bad friends, then reveal to them this Sutra.
- 142 Those sons of Buddha who have not broken the moral vows, are pure like gems and jewels, and devoted to the study of the great Sutras, before those thou mayst propound this Sutra.
- 143 Those who are not irascible, ever sincere, full of compassion for all living beings, and respectful towards the Sugata, before those thou mayst propound this Sutra.
- 144 To one who in the congregation, without any hesitation and distraction of mind, speaks to expound the law, with many myriads of kotis of illustrations, thou mayst manifest this Sutra.
- 145 And he who, desirous of acquiring all-knowingness, respectfully lifts his joined hands to his head, or who seeks in all directions to find some monk of sacred eloquence;
- 146 And he who keeps (in memory) the great Ritras, while he never shows any liking for other books, nor even knows a

single stanza from another work; to all of them thou mayst expound this sublime Sutra.

147 He who seeks such an excellent Sutra as this, and after obtaining it devoutly worships it, is like the man who wears a relic of the Tathagata he has eagerly sought for.

148 Never mind other Satras nor other books in which a profane philosophy is taught; such books are fit for the foolish; avoid them and preach this Sutra.

149 During a full Æon, Sariputra, I could speak of thousands of kotis of (connected) points, (but this suffices); thou mayst reveal this Sutra to all who are striving after the highest supreme enlightenment.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 4

Disposition.

As the venerable Subhuti, the venerable MahaKatyayana, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa, and the venerable Maha-Maudgalyayana heard this law unheard of before, and as from the mouth of the Lord they heard the future destiny of Sariputra to superior perfect enlightenment, they were struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. They instantly rose from their seats and went up to the place where the Lord was sitting; after throwing their cloak over one shoulder, fixing the right knee on the ground and lifting up their joined hands before the Lord, looking up to him, their bodies bent, bent down and inclined, they addressed the Lord in this strain:

Lord, we are old, aged, advanced in years; honoured as seniors in this assemblage of monks. Worn out by old age we fancy that we have attained Nirvana: we make no efforts. O Lord, for supreme perfect enlightenment; our force and exertion are inadequate to it. Though the Lord preaches the law and has long continued sitting, and though we have attended to that preaching of the law, yet, O Lord, as we have so long been sitting and so long attended the Lord's service, our greater and minor members, as well as the joints and articulations, begin to ache. Hence, O Lord, we are unable, in spite of the Lord's preaching, to realise the fact that all is vanity (or void), purposeless (or causeless, or unconditioned), and unfixed; we have conceived no longing after the Buddhalaws, the divisions of the Buddha-fields, the sports [or display of magical phenomenal of the Bodhisattvas or Tathagatas. For by having fled out of the triple world, O Lord, we imagined having attained Nirvana, and we are decrepit from old age. Hence, O Lord, though we have exhorted other Bodhisattvas and instructed them in supreme perfect enlightenment, we have in doing so never conceived a single thought of longing. And just now, O Lord, we are hearing from the Lord that disciples also may be predestined to supreme perfect enlightenment. We are astonished and amazed, and deem it a great gain, O Lord, that to-day, on a sudden, we have heard from the Lord a voice such as we never heard before. We have acquired a magnificent jewel, O Lord, an incomparable jewel. We had not sought, nor searched, nor expected, nor required so magnificent a jewel. It has become clear to us. O Lord: it has become clear to us. O Sugata.

It is a case, O Lord, as if a certain man went away from his father and betook himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty or forty or fifty. In course of time the one (the father) becomes a great man; the other (the son) is poor; in seeking a livelihood for the sake of food and clothing he roams in all directions and goes to some place, whereas his father removes to another country. The latter has much wealth, gold, corn, treasures, and granaries; possesses much (wrought) gold and silver, many gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, and stones(?), corals, gold and silver; many slaves male and female, servants for menial work, and journeymen; is rich in elephants, horses, carriages, cows, and sheep. He keeps a large retinue; has his money invested in great territories, and does great things in business, money-lending, agriculture, and commerce.

In course of time, Lord, that poor man, in quest of food and clothing, roaming through villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, reaches the place where his father, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, is residing. Now the poor man's father, Lord, the owner of much wealth and gold, treasures and granaries, who was residing in that town, had always and ever been thinking of the son he had lost fifty years ago, but he gave no utterance to his thoughts before others, and was only pining in himself and thinking: I am old, aged, advanced in years, and possess abundance of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, but have no son. It is to be feared lest death shall overtake me and all this perish unused. Repeatedly he was thinking of that son: O how happy should I be, were my son to enjoy this mass of wealth!

Meanwhile, Lord, the poor man in search of food and clothing was gradually approaching the house of the rich man, the owner of abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. And the father of the poor man happened to sit at the door of his house, surrounded and waited upon by a great crowd of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; he was sitting on a magnificent throne with a footstool decorated with gold and silver, while dealing with hundred thousands of kotis of gold-pieces, and fanned

with a chowrie, on a spot under an extended awning inlaid with pearls and flowers and adorned with hanging garlands of jewels; sitting (in short) in great pomp. The poor man, Lord, saw his own father in such pomp sitting at the door of the house, surrounded with a great crowd of people and doing a householder's business. The poor man frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over the body, and agitated in mind, reflects thus: Unexpectedly have I here fallen in with a king or grandee. People like me have nothing to do here; let me go; in the street of the poor I am likely to find food and clothing without much difficulty. Let me no longer tarry at this place, lest I be taken to do forced labour or incur some other injury.

Thereupon, Lord, the poor man quickly departs, runs off, does not tarry from fear of a series of supposed dangers. But the rich man, sitting on the throne at the door of his mansion, has recognised his son at first sight, in consequence whereof he is content, in high spirits, charmed, delighted, filled with joy and cheerfulness. He thinks: Wonderful! he who is to enjoy this plenty of bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries, has been found! He of whom I have been thinking again and again, is here now that I am old, aged, advanced in vears

At the same time, moment, and instant, Lord, he despatches couriers, to whom he says: Go, sirs, and quickly fetch me that man. The fellows thereon all run forth in full speed and overtake the poor man, who, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, agitated in mind, utters a lamentable cry of distress, screams, and exclaims: I have given you no offence. But the fellows drag the poor man, however lamenting, violently with them. He, frightened, terrified, alarmed, seized with a feeling of horripilation all over his body, and agitated in mind, thinks by himself: I fear lest I shall be punished with capital punishment; I am lost. He faints away, and falls on the earth. His father dismayed and near despondency says to those fellows: Do not carry the man in that manner. With these words he sprinkles him with cold water without addressing him any further. For that householder knows the poor man's humble disposition I and his own elevated position; yet he feels that the man is his son.

The householder, Lord, skilfully conceals from every one that it is his son. He calls one of his servants and says to him: Go, sirrah, and tell that poor man: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free. The servant obeys, approaches the poor man and tells him: Go, sirrah, whither thou likest; thou art free, The poor man is astonished and amazed at hearing these words: he leaves that spot and wanders to the street of the poor in search of food and clothing. In order to attract him the householder practises an able device. He employs for it two men ill-favoured and of little splendour. Go, says he, go to the man you saw in this place; hire him in your own name for a double daily fee, and order him to do work here in my house. And if he asks: What - work shall I have to do? tell him: Help us in clearing the heap of dirt. The two fellows go and seek the poor man and engage him for such work as mentioned. Thereupon the two fellows conjointly with the poor man clear the heap of dirt in the house for the daily pay they receive from the rich man, while they take up their abode in a hovel of straw in the neighbourhood of the rich man's dwelling. And that rich man beholds through a window his own son clearing the heap of dirt, at which sight he is anew struck with wonder and astonishment.

Then the householder descends from his mansion, lays off his wreath and ornaments, parts with his soft, clean, and gorgeous attire, puts on dirty raiment, takes a basket in his right hand, smears his body with dust, and goes to his son, whom he greets from afar, and thus addresses: Please, take the baskets and without delay remove the dust. By this device he manages to speak to his son, to have a talk with him and say: Do, sirrah, remain here in my service; do not go again to another place; I will give thee extra pay, and whatever thou wantest thou mayst confidently ask me, be it the price of a pot, a smaller pot, a boiler or wood, or be it the price of salt, food, or clothing. I have got an old cloak, man; if thou shouldst want it, ask me for it. I will give it. Any utensil of such sort, when thou wantest to have it, I will give thee. Be at ease, fellow; look upon me as if I were thy father, for I am older and thou art younger, and thou hast rendered me much service by clearing this heap of dirt, and as long as thou hast been in my service thou hast never shown nor art showing wickedness crookedness, arrogance, or hypocrisy: I have discovered in thee no vice at all of such as are commonly seen in other manservants. From henceforward thou art to me like my own son.

From that time, Lord, the householder, addresses the poor man by the name of son, and the latter feels in presence of the householder as a son to his father. In this manner, Lord, the householder affected with longing for his son employs him for the clearing of the heap of dirt during twenty years, at the end of which the poor man feels quite at ease in the mansion to go in and out, though he continues taking his abode in the hovel

After a while, Lord, the householder falls sick, and feels that the time of his death is near at hand. He says to the poor

man: Come hither, man, I possess abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries. I am very sick, and wish to have one upon whom to bestow (my wealth); by whom it is to be received, and with whom it is to be deposited. Accept it. For in the same manner as I am the owner of it, so art thou, but thou shalt not suffer anything of it to be wasted.

And so, Lord, the poor man accepts the abundant bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries of the rich man, but for himself he is quite indifferent to it, and requires nothing from it, not even so much as the price of a prastha of flour; he continues living in the same hovel of straw and considers himself as poor as before.

After a while, Lord, the householder perceives that his son is able to save, mature and mentally developed; that in the consciousness of his nobility he feels abashed, ashamed, disousted, when thinking of his former poverty. The time of his death approaching, he sends for the poor man, presents him to a gathering of his relations, and before the king or king's peer and in the presence of citizens and country-people makes the following speech: Hear, gentlemen! this is my own son, by me begotten. It is now fifty years that he disappeared from such and such a town. He is called so and so, and myself am called so and so. In searching after him I have from that town come hither. He is my son, I am his father. To him I leave all my revenues, and all my personal (or private) wealth shall he acknowledge (his own).

The poor man, Lord, hearing this speech was astonished and amazed; he thought by himself: Unexpectedly have I obtained this bullion, gold, money and corn, treasures and granaries.

Even so, O Lord, do we represent the sons of the Tathagata, and the Tathagata says to us: Ye are my sons, as the householder did. We were oppressed, O Lord, with three difficulties, viz. the difficulty of pain, the difficulty of conceptions, the difficulty of transition (or evolution); and in the worldly whirl we were disposed to what is low. Then have we been prompted by the Lord to ponder on the numerous inferior laws (or conditions, things) that are similar to a heap of dirt. Once directed to them we have been practising, making efforts, and seeking for nothing but Nirvana as our fee. We were content, O Lord, with the Nirvana obtained, and thought to have gained much at the hands of the Tathagata because of our having applied ourselves to these laws, practised, and made efforts. But the Lord takes no notice of us, does not mix with us, nor tell us that this treasure of the Tathagata's knowledge shall belong to us, though the Lord skilfully appoints us as heirs to this treasure of the knowledge of the Tathagata And we O Lord are not (impatiently) longing to enjoy it, because we deem it a great gain already to receive from the Lord Nirvana as our fee. We preach to the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas a sublime sermon about the knowledge of the Tathagata; we explain, show, demonstrate the knowledge of the Tathagata, O Lord, without longing. For the Tathagata by his skilfulness knows our disposition, whereas we ourselves do not know, nor apprehend. It is for this very reason that the Lord just now tells us that we are to him as sons, and that he reminds us of being heirs to the Tathagata. For the case stands thus: we are as sons to the Tathagata, but low (or humble) of disposition; the Lord perceives the strength of our disposition and applies to us the denomination of Bodhisattvas; we are, however, charged with a double office in so far as in presence of Bodhisattyas we are called persons of low disposition and at the same time have to rouse them to Buddha-enlightenment. Knowing the strength of our disposition the Lord has thus spoken, and in this way, O Lord, do we say that we have obtained unexpectedly and without longing the jewel of omniscience, which we did not desire, nor seek, nor search after, nor expect, nor require; and that inasmuch as we are the sons of the Tathagata.

On that occasion the venerable Maha-Kasyapa uttered the following stanzas:

1 We are stricken with wonder, amazement, and rapture at hearing a Voice; it is the lovely voice, the leader's voice, that so unexpectedly we hear to-day.

- 2 In a short moment we have acquired a great heap of precious jewels such as we were not thinking of, nor requiring. All of us are astonished to hear it.
- 3 It is like (the history of) a young, person who, seduced by foolish people, went away from his father and wandered to another country far distant.
- 4 The father was sorry to perceive that his son had run away and in his sorrow roamed the country in all directions during no less than fifty years.
- 5 In search of his son he came to some great city, where he built a house and dwelt, blessed with all that can gratify the five senses
- 6 He had plenty of bullion and gold, money and corn, conch shells, stones (?), and coral; elephants, horses, and footboys; cows cattle and sheep:
- 7 Interests, revenues, landed properties; male and female slaves and a great number of servants; was highly honoured by thousands of kolis and a constant favourite of the king's.

- 8 The citizens bow to him with joined hands, as well as the villagers in the rural districts; many merchants come to him, (and) persons charged with numerous affairs.
- 9 In such way the man becomes wealthy, but he gets old, aged, advanced in years, and he passes days and nights always sorrowful in mind on account of his son.
- 10 'It is fifty years since that foolish son has run away. I have got plenty of wealth and the hour of my death draws near.'
- 11 Meanwhile that foolish son is wandering from village to villave, poor and miserable, seeking food and clothing.
- 12 When begging, he at one time gets something, another time he does not. He grows lean in his travels, the unwise boy, while his body is vitiated with scabs and itch.
- 13 In course of time he in his rovings reaches the town where his father is living, and comes to his father's mansion to beg for food and raiment.
- 14 And the wealthy, rich man happens to sit at the door on a throne under a canopy expanded in the sky and surrounded with many hundreds of living beings.
- 15 His trustees stand round him, some of them counting money and bullion, some writing bills, some lending money on interest.
- 16 The poor man, seeing the splendid mansion of the householder, thinks within himself: Where am I here? This man must be a king or a grandee.
- 17 Let me not incur some injury and be caught to do forced labour. With these reflections he hurried away inquiring after the road to the street of the poor.
- 18 The rich man on the throne is glad to see his own son, and despatches messengers with the order to fetch that poor
- 19 The messengers immediately seize the man, but he is no sooner caught than he faints away (as he thinks): These are certainly executioners who have approached me; what do I want clothing or food?
- 20 On seeing it, the rich, sagacious man (thinks): This ignorant and stupid person is of low disposition and will have no faith in my magnificence', nor believe that I am his father.
- 21 Under those circumstances he orders persons of low character, crooked, one-eyed, maimed, ill-clad, and blackish 1, to go and search that man who shall do menial work.
- 22 'Enter my service and cleanse the putrid heap of dirt, replete with faeces and urine; I will give thee a double salary' (are the words of the message).
- 23 On hearing this call the poor man comes and cleanses the said spot; be takes up his abode there in a hovel near the mansion
- 24 The rich man continually observes him through the windows (and thinks): There is my son engaged in a low occupation, cleansing the heap of dirt.
- 25 Then he descends, takes a basket, puts on dirty garments, and goes near the man. He chides him, saying: Thou dost not perform thy work.
- 26 I will give thee double salary and twice more ointment for the feet; I will give thee food with salt, potherbs, and, besides, a cloak.
- 27 So he chides him at the time, but afterwards he wisely conciliates him (by saying): Thou dost thy work very well, indeed; thou art my son, surely; there is no doubt of it.
- 28 Little by little he makes the man enter the house, and employs him in his service for fully twenty years, in the course of which time he succeeds in inspiring him with confidence.
- 29 At the same time he lays up in the house gold, pearls, and crystal, draws up the sum total, and is always occupied in his mind with all that property.
- 30 The ignorant man, who is living outside the mansion, alone in a hovel, cherishes no other ideas but of poverty, and thinks to himself. Mine are no such possessions!
- 31 The rich man perceiving this of him (thinks): My son has arrived at the consciousness of being noble. He calls together a gathering of his friends and relatives (and says): I will give all my property to this man.
- 32 In the midst of the assembly where the king, burghers, citizens, and many merchantmen were present, he speaks thus: This is my son whom I lost a long time ago.
- 33 It is now fully fifty years-and twenty years more during which I have seen him-that he disappeared from such and such a place and that in his search I came to this place.
- 34 He is owner of all my property; to him I leave it all and entirely; let him do with it what he wants; I give him my whole family property.
- 35 And the (poor) man is struck with surprise; remembering his former poverty, his low disposition 1, and as he receives those good things of his father's and the family property, he thinks: Now am I a happy man.
- 36 In like manner has the leader, who knows our low disposition (or position), not declared to us: 'Ye shall become Buddhas,' but, 'Ye are, certainly, my disciples and sons.'
- 37 And the Lord of the world enjoins us: Teach, Kasyapa, the superior path to those that strive to attain the highest summit of enlightenment, the path by following which they are to become Buddhas.

- 38 Being thus ordered by the Sugata, we show the path to many Bodhisattvas of great might, by means of myriads of kolis of illustrations and proofs.
- 39 And by hearing us the sons of Gina realise that eminent path to attain enlightenment, and in that case receive the prediction that they are to become Buddhas in this world.
- 40 Such is the work we are doing strenuously, preserving this law-treasure and revealing it to the sons of Gina, in the manner of that man who had deserved the confidence of that (other man).
- 41 Yet, though we diffuse the Buddha-treasure we feel ourselves to be poor; we do not require the knowledge of the Gina, and yet, at the same time, we reveal it.
- 42 We fancy an individual [i.e. separate] Nirvana; so far, no further does our knowledge reach; nor do we ever rejoice at hearing of the divisions of Buddha-fields.
- 43 All these laws are faultless, unshaken, exempt from destruction and commencement; but there is no law-' in them. When we hear this, however, we cannot believe.
- 44 We have put aside all aspiration to superior Buddhaknowledge a long time ago; never have we devoted ourselves to it. This is the last and decisive word spoken by the Gina.
- 45 In this bodily existence, closing with Nirvana, we have continually accustomed our thoughts to the void; we have been released from the evils of the triple world we were suffering from, and have accomplished the command of the Gina.
- 46 To whom(soever) among the sons of Gina who in this world are on the road to superior enlightenment we revealed (the law), and whatever law we taught, we never had any predilection for it.
- 47 And the Master of the world, the Self-born one, takes no notice of us, waiting his time; he does not explain the real connection of the things, as he is testing our disposition.
- 48 Able in applying devices at the right time, like that rich man (he says): 'Be constant in subduing your low disposition,' and to those who are subdued he gives his wealth.
- 49 It is a very difficult task which the Lord of the world is performing, (a task) in which he displays his skilfulness, when he tames his sons of low disposition and thereupon imparts to them his knowledge.
- 50 On a sudden have we to-day been seized with surprise, just as the poor man who acquired riches; now for the first time have we obtained the fruit under the rule of Buddha, (a fruit) as excellent as faultless.
- 51 As we have always observed the moral precepts under the rule of the Knower of the world, we now receive the fruit of that morality which we have formerly practised.
- 52 Now have we obtained the egregious, hallowed, exalted, and perfect fruit of our having observed an excellent and pure spiritual life under the rule of the Leader.
- 53 Now, O Lord, are we disciples, and we shall proclaim supreme enlightenment everywhere, reveal the word of enlightenment, by which we are formidable disciples.
- 54 Now have we become Arhats, O Lord; and deserving of the worship of the world, including the gods, Maras and Brahmas, in short, of all beings.
- 55 Who is there, even were he to exert himself during kotis of Æons, able to thwart thee, who accomplishes in this world of mortals such difficult things as those, and others even more difficult 1?
- 56 It would be difficult to offer resistance with hands, feet, head, shoulder, or breast, (even were one to try) during as many complete Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges.
- 57 One may charitably give food, soft and solid, clothing, drink, a place for sleeping and sitting, with clean coverlets; one may build monasteries of sandal-wood, and after furnishing them with double pieces of fine white muslin, present them;
- 58 One may be assiduous in giving medicines of various kinds to the sick, in honour of the Sugata; one may spend alms during as many Æons as there are grains of sand in the Ganges-even then one will not be able to offer resistance.
- 59 Of sublime nature, unequalled power, miraculous might, firm in the strength of patience is the Buddha; a great ruler is the Gina, free from imperfections. The ignorant cannot bear (or understand) such things as these.
- 60 Always returning, he preaches the law to those whose course (of life) is conditioned, he, the Lord of the law, the Lord of all the world, the great Lord, the Chief among the leaders of the world.
- 61 Fully aware of the circumstances (or places) of (all) beings he indicates their duties, so multifarious, and considering the variety of their dispositions he inculcates the law with thousands of arguments.
- 62 He, the Tathagata, who is fully aware of the course of all beings and individuals, preaches a multifarious law, while pointing to this superior enlightenment.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 5

On Plant

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Maha-Kasyapa and the other senior great disciples, and said: Very well, very well, Kasyapa; you have done very well to proclaim the real

qualities of the Tathagata. They are the real qualities of the Tathagata, Kasyana, but he has many more, innumerable, incalculable, the end of which it would be difficult to reach, even were one to continue enumerating them for immeasurable Æons. The Tathagata, Kasyapa, is the master of the law, the king, lord, and master of all laws. And whatever law for any case has been instituted by the Tathagata, remains unchanged. All laws, Kasyapa, have been aptly instituted by the Tathagata. In his Tathagata-wisdom he has instituted them in such a manner that all those laws finally lead to the stage of those who know all. The Tathagata also distinctly knows the meaning of all laws. The Tathagata, the Arhat, etc. is possessed of the faculty of penetrating all laws, possessed of the highest perfection of knowledge, so that he is able to decide all laws, able to display the knowledge of the allknowing, impart the knowledge of the all-knowing, and lay down (the rules of) the knowledge of the all-knowing.

It is a case, Kasyapa, similar to that of a great cloud big with rain, coming up in this wide universe over all grasses, shrubs, herbs, trees of various species and kind, families of plants of different names growing on earth, on hills, or in mountain caves, a cloud covering the wide universe to pour down its rain everywhere and at the same time. Then, Kasyapa, the grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees in this universe, such as have young and tender stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have middle-sized stalks, twigs, leaves, and foliage, and such as have the same fully developed, all those grasses, shrubs, herbs, and wild trees, smaller and greater (other) trees will each, according to its faculty and power, suck the humid element from the water emitted by that great cloud, and by that water which, all of one essence, has been abundantly poured down by the cloud, they will each, according to its germ, acquire a regular development, growth, shooting up, and bigness; and so they will produce blossoms and fruits, and will receive, each severally, their names. Rooted in one and the same soil, all those families of plants and germs are drenched and vivified by water of one essence throughout.

In the same manner, Kasyapa, does the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc. appear in the world. Like unto a great cloud coming up, the Tathagata appears and sends forth his call to the whole world, including gods, men, and demons'. And even as a great cloud. Kasyapa, extending over the whole universe. in like manner, Kasyapa, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., before the face of the world, including gods, men, and demons, lifts his voice and utters these words: I am the Tathagata, O ye gods and men! the Arhat, the perfectly enlightened one; having reached the shore myself, I carry others to the shore; being free, I make free; being comforted, I comfort; being perfectly at rest, I lead others to rest. By my perfect wisdom I know both this world and the next, such as they really are. I am all-knowing, all-seeing. Come to me, ye gods and men! hear the law. I am he who indicates the path; who shows the path, as knowing the path, being acquainted with the path. Then, Kasyapa, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings come to hear the law of the Tathagata; and the Tathagata, who knows the difference as to the faculties and the energy of those beings, produces various Dharmaparyayas, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this present life, but also after death will reach happy states, where they are to enjoy many pleasures and hear the law. By listening to the law they will be freed from hindrances and in due course apply themselves to the law of the all-knowing, according to their faculty, power, and strength.

Even as the great cloud, Kasyapa, after expanding over the whole universe, pours out the same water and recreates by it all grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees; even as all these grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees, according to their faculty, power, and strength, suck in the water and thereby attain the full development assigned to their kind; in like manner, Kasyapa, is the law preached by the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., of one and the same essence, that is to say, the essence of it is deliverance, the final aim being absence of passion, annihilation, knowledge of the all-knowing. As to that, Kasyapa, (it must be understood) that the beings who hear the law when it is preached by the Tathagata, who keep it in their memory and apply themselves to it, do not know, nor perceive, nor understand their own self. For, Kasyapa, the Tathagata only really knows who, how, and of what kind those beings are; what, how, and whereby they are meditating; what, how, and whereby they are contemplating; what, why, and whereby they are attaining. No one but the Tathagata, Kasyapa, is there present, seeing all intuitively, and seeing the state of those beings in different stages, as of the lowest, highest, and mean grasses, shrubs, herbs, and trees. I am he, Kasyapa, who, knowing the law which is of but one essence, viz. the essence of deliverance, (the law) ever peaceful, ending in Nirvana, (the law) of eternal rest, having but one stage and placed in voidness, (who knowing this) do not on a sudden reveal to all the knowledge of the all-knowing, since I pay regard to the dispositions of all beings.

You are astonished, Kasyapa, that you cannot fathom the mystery expounded by the Tathagata. It is, Kasyapa, because

the mystery expounded by the Tathagatas, the Arhats, etc. is difficult to be understood.

And on that occasion, the more fully to explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- I I am the Dharmaraga, born in the world as the destroyer of existence. I declare the law to all beings after discriminating their dispositions.
- 2 Superior men of wise understanding guard the word, guard the mystery, and do not reveal it to living beings.
- 3 That science is difficult to be understood; the simple, if hearing it on a sudden, would be perplexed; they would in their ignorance fall out of the way and go astray.
- 4 I speak according to their reach and faculty; by means of various meanings I accommodate my view (or the theory).
- 5 It is, Kasyapa, as if a cloud rising above the horizon shrouds all space (in darkness) and covers the earth.
- 6 That great rain-cloud big with water, is wreathed with flashes of lightning and rouses with its thundering call all creatures.
- 7 By warding off the sunbeams, it cools the region; and gradually lowering so as to come in reach of hands, it begins pouring down its water all around.
- 8 And so, flashing on every side, it pours out an abundant mass of water equally, and refreshes this earth.
- 9 And all herbs which have sprung up on the face of the earth, all grasses, shrubs, forest trees, other trees small and great;
- 10 The various field fruits and whatever is green; all plants on hills, in cayes and thickets:
- 11 All those grasses, shrubs, and trees are vivified by the cloud that both refreshes the thirsty earth and waters the herbs.
- 12 Grasses and shrubs absorb the water of one essence which issues from the cloud according to their faculty and reach.
- 13 And all trees, great, small, and mean, drink that water according to their growth and faculty, and grow lustily.
- 14 The great plants whose trunk, stalk, bark, twigs, pith, and leaves are moistened by the water from the cloud develop their blossoms and fruits.
- 15 They yield their products, each according to its own faculty, reach, and the particular nature of the germ; still the water emitted (from the cloud) is of but one essence.
- 16 In the same way, Kasyapa, the Buddha comes into the world like a rain-cloud, and, once born, he, the world's Lord, speaks and shows the real course of life.
- 17 And the great Seer, honoured in the world, including the gods, speaks thus: I am the Tathagata, the highest of men, the Gina: I have appeared in this world like a cloud.
- 18 I shall refresh all beings whose bodies are withered, who are clogged to the triple world. I shall bring to felicity those that are pining away with toils, give them pleasures and (final) rest.
- 19 Hearken to me, ye hosts of gods and men; approach to behold me: I am the Tathagata, the Lord, who has no superior, who appears in this world to save.
- 20 To thousands of kotis of living beings I preach a pure and most bright law that has but one scope, to wit, deliverance and rest.
- 21 I preach with ever the same voice, constantly taking enlightenment as my text. For this is equal for all; no partiality is in it, neither hatred nor affection.
- 22 I am inexorable, bear no love nor hatred towards any one, and proclaim the law to all creatures without distinction, to the one as well as the other.
- 23 Whether walking, standing, or sitting, I am exclusively occupied with this task of proclaiming the law. I never get tired of sitting on the chair I have ascended.
- 24 I recreate the whole world like a cloud shedding its water without distinction; I have the same feelings for respectable people as for the low; for moral persons as for the immoral;
- 25 For the deprayed as for those who observe the rules of good conduct; for those who hold sectarian views and unsound tenets as for those whose views are sound and correct.
- 26 I preach the law to the inferior (in mental culture) as well as to persons of superior understanding and extraordinary faculties; inaccessible to weariness, I spread in season the rain of the law.
- 27 After hearing me, each according to his faculty, the several beings find their determined place in various situations, amongst gods, men, beautiful beings, amongst Indras, Brahmas, or the monarchs, rulers of the universe.
- 28 Hear, now, I am going to explain what is meant by those plants of different size, some of them being low in the world, others middle-sized and great.
- 29 Small plants are called the men who walk in the knowledge of the law, which is free from evil after the attaining of Nirvana, who possess the six transcendent faculties and the triple science.
- 30 Mean plants are called the men who, dwelling in mountain caverns, covet the state of a Pratyekabuddha, and whose intelligence is moderately purified.

- 31 Those who aspire to become leading men (thinking), I will become a Buddha, a chief of gods and men, and who practise exertion and meditation, are called the highest plants.
- 32 But the sons of Sugata, who sedulously practise benevolence and a peaceful conduct, who have arrived at certainty about their being leading men, these are called trees.
- 33 Those who move forward the wheel that never rolls back, and with manly strength stand firm in the exercise of miraculous power, releasing many kolis of beings, those are called great trees.
- 34 Yet it is one and the same law which is preached by the Gina, like the water emitted by the cloud is one and the same; different only are the faculties as described, just as the plants on the face of the earth.
- 35 By this parable thou mayst understand the skilfulness of the Tathagata, how he preaches one law, the various developments whereof may be likened to drops of rain.
- 36 I also pour out rain: the rain of the law by which this whole world is refreshed; and each according to his faculty takes to heart this wellspoken law that is one in its essence.
- 37 Even as all grasses and shrubs, as well as plants of middle size, trees and great trees at the time of rain look bright in all quarters:
- 38 So it is the very nature of the law to promote the everlasting weal of the world; by the law the whole world is recreated, and as the plants (when refreshed) expand their blossoms, the world does the same when refreshed.
- 39 The plants that in their growth remain middle-sized, are Arhats (saints) stopping when they have overcome frailties, (and) the Pratyekabuddhas who, living in woody thickets, accomplish this well-spoken law.
- 40 (But) the many Bodhisattvas who, thoughtful and wise, go their way all over the triple world, striving after supreme enlightenment, they continue increasing in growth like trees.
- 41 Those who, endowed with magical powers and being adepts in the four degrees of meditation, feel delight at hearing of complete voidness and emit thousands of rays, they are called the great trees on earth.
- 42 So then, Kasyapa, is the preaching of the law, like the water poured out by the cloud everywhere alike; by which plants and men(?) thrive, endless (and eternal) blossoms (are produced).
- 43 I reveal the law which has its cause in itself; at due time I show Buddha-enlightenment; this is my supreme skilfulness and that of all leaders of the world.
- 44 What I here say is true in the highest sense of the word; all my disciples attain Nirvana; by following the sublime path of enlightenment all my disciples shall become Buddhas.

And further, Kasyapa, the Tathagata, in his educating creatures, is equal (i.e. impartial) and not unequal (i. e. partial). As the light of the sun and moon, Kasyapa, shines upon all the world, upon the virtuous and the wicked, upon high and low, upon the fragrant and the ill-smelling; as their beams are sent down upon everything equally, without inequality (partiality); so, too, Kasyapa, the intellectual light of the knowledge of the omniscient, the Tathagatas, the Arhats, etc., the preaching of the true law proceeds equally in respect to all beings in the five states of existence, to all who according to their particular disposition are devoted to the great vehicle, or to the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or to the vehicle of the disciples. Nor is there any deficiency or excess in the brightness of the Tathagataknowledge up to one's becoming fully acquainted with the law. There are not three vehicles, Kasyapa; there are but beings who act differently; therefore it is declared that there are three vehicles.

When the Lord had thus spoken, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa said to him: Lord, if there are not three vehicles, for what reason then is the designation of disciples (Sravakas), Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas kept up in the present times?

On this speech the Lord answered the venerable Maha-Kasyapa as follows: It is, Kasyapa, as if a potter made different vessels out of the same clay. Some of those pots are to contain sugar, others ghee, others curds and milk; others, of inferior quality, are vessels of impurity. There is no diversity in the clay used; no, the diversity of the pots is only due to the substances which are put into each of them. In like manner, Kasyapa, is there but one vehicle, viz. the Buddha-vehicle; there is no second vehicle, no third.

The Lord having thus spoken, the venerable Maha-Kasyapa said: Lord, if the beings are of different disposition, will there be for those who have left the triple world one Nirvana, or two, or three? The Lord replied: Nirvana, Kasyapa, is a consequence of understanding that all laws (things) are equal. Hence there is but one Nirvana, not two, not three. Therefore, Kasyapa, I will tell thee a parable, for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.

It is a case, Kasyapa, similar to that of a certain blind-born man, who says: There are no handsome or ugly shapes; there are no men able to see handsome or ugly shapes; there exists no sun nor moon; there are no asterisms nor planets; there are no men able to see planets. But other persons say to the blind-born: There are handsome and ugly shapes; there are men able to see handsome and ugly shapes; there is a sun and moon;

there are asterisms and planets; there are men able to see planets. But the blind-born does not believe them, nor accept what they say. Now there is a physician who knows all diseases. He sees that blind-born man and makes to himself this reflection: The disease of this man originates in his sinful actions in former times. All diseases possible to arise are fourfold: rheumatical, cholerical, phlegmatical, and caused by a complication of the (corrupted) humours. The physician, after thinking again and again on a means to cure the disease. makes to himself this reflection: Surely, with the drugs in common use it is impossible to cure this disease, but there are in the Himalaya, the king of mountains, four herbs, to wit: first, one called Possessed-of-all-sorts-of-colours-and-flavours; second, Delivering-from-all-diseases; third, Delivering-fromall-poisons; fourth, Procuring-happiness-to-those-standingin-the-right-place. As the physician feels compassion for the blind-born man he contrives some device to get to the Himalaya, the king of mountains. There he goes up and down and across to search. In doing so he finds the four herbs. One he gives after chewing it with the teeth; another after pounding; another after having it mixed with another drug and boiled; another after having it mixed with a raw drug; another after piercing with a lancet somewhere a vein; another after singeing it in fire; another after combining it with various other substances so as to enter in a compound potion, food, etc. Owing to these means being applied the blindborn recovers his eyesight, and in consequence of that recovery he sees outwardly and inwardly, far and near, the shine of sun and moon, the asterisms, planets, and all phenomena. Then he says: O how foolish was I that I did not believe what they told me, nor accepted what they affirmed. Now I see all; I am delivered from my blindness and have recovered my eyesight; there is none in the world who could surpass me. And at the same moment Seers of the five transcendent faculties [the five senses], strong in the divine sight and hearing, in the knowledge of others' minds, in the memory of former abodes, in magical science and intuition, speak to the man thus: Good man, thou hast just recovered thine eyesight, nothing more, and dost not know yet anything. Whence comes this conceitedness to thee? Thou hast no wisdom, nor art thou a clever man. Further they say to him: Good man, when sitting in the interior of thy room, thou canst not see nor distinguish forms outside, nor discern which beings are animated with kind feelings and which with hostile feelings; thou canst not distinguish nor hear at the distance of five yoganas the voice of a man or the sound of a drum, conch trumpet, and the like; thou canst not even walk as far as a kos without lifting up thy feet; thou hast been produced and developed in thy mother's womb without remembering the fact; how then wouldst thou be clever, and how canst thou say: I see all? Good man, thou takest darkness for light, and takest light for darkness.

Whereupon the Seers are asked by the man: By what means and by what good work shall I acquire such wisdom and with your favour acquire those good qualities (or virtues)? And the Seers say to that man: If that be thy wish, go and live in the wilderness or take thine abode in mountain caves, to meditate on the law and cast off evil passions. So shalt thou become endowed with the virtues of an ascetic and acquire the transcendent faculties. The man catches their meaning and becomes an ascetic. Living in the wilderness, the mind intent upon one sole object, he shakes off worldly desires, and acquires the five transcendent faculties. After that acquisition he reflects thus: Formerly I did not do the right thing; hence no good accrued to me. Now, however, I can go whither my mind prompts me; formerly I was ignorant, of little understanding, in fact, a blind man.

Such, Kasyapa, is the parable I have invented to make thee understand my meaning. The moral to be drawn from it is as follows. The word 'blindborn,' Kasyapa, is a designation for the creatures staying in the whirl of the world with its six states; the creatures who do not know the true law and are heaping up the thick darkness of evil passions. Those are blind from ignorance, and in consequence of it they build up conceptions; in consequence of the latter name-and-form, and so forth, up to the genesis of this whole huge mass of evils.

So the creatures blind from ignorance remain in the whirl of life, but the Tathagata, who is out of the triple world, feels compassion, prompted by which, like a father for his dear and only son, he appears in the triple world and sees with his eye of wisdom that the creatures are revolving in the circle of the mundane whirl, and are toiling without finding the right means to escape from the rotation. And on seeing this he comes to the conclusion: Yon beings, according to the good works they have done in former states, have feeble aversions and strong attachments; (or) feeble attachments and strong aversions; some have little wisdom, others are clever; some have soundly developed views, others have unsound views. To all of them the Tathagata skilfully shows three vehicles.

The Seers in the parable, those possessing the five transcendent faculties and clear-sight, are the Bodhisattvas who produce enlightened thought, and by the acquirement of acquiescence in the eternal law awake us to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

The great physician in the parable is the Tathagata. To the blind-born may be likened the creatures blind with infatuation. Attachment, aversion, and infatuation are likened to rheum, bile, and phlegm. The sixty-two false theories also must be looked upon as such (i. e. as doshas, 'humours and corrupted humours of the body,' 'faults and corruptions'). The four herbs are like vanity (or voidness), causelessness (or purposelessness), unfixedness, and reaching Nirvana. Just as by using different drugs different diseases are healed, so by developing the idea of vanity (or voidness), purposelessness, unfixedness, (which are) the principles of emancipation, is ignorance suppressed; the suppression of ignorance is succeeded by the suppression of conceptions (or fancies); and so forth, up to the suppression of the whole huge mass of evils. And thus one's mind will dwell no more on good nor on evil.

To the man who recovers his eyesight is likened the votary of the vehicle of the disciples and of Pratyekabuddhas. He rends the ties of evil passion in the whirl of the world; freed from those ties he is released from the triple world with its six states of existence. Therefore the votary of the vehicle of the disciples may think and speak thus: There are no more laws to be penetrated; I have reached Nirvana. Then the Tathagata preaches to him: How can he who has not penetrated all laws have reached Nirvana? The Lord rouses him to enlightenment, and the disciple, when the consciousness of enlightenment has been awakened in him, no longer stays in the mundane whirl, but at the same time has not yet reached Nirvana. As he has arrived at true insight, he looks upon this triple world in every direction as void, resembling the produce of magic, similar to a dream, a mirage, an echo. He sees that all laws (and phenomena) are unborn and undestroyed, not bound and not loose, not dark and not bright. He who views the profound laws in such a light, sees, as if he were not seeing, the whole triple world full of beings of contrary and omnifarious fancies and dispositions.

And on that occasion, in order to more amply explain the same subject, the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 45 As the rays of the sun and moon descend alike on all men, good and bad, without deficiency (in one case) or surplus (in the other):
- 46 So the wisdom of the Tathagata shines like the sun and moon, leading all beings without partiality.
- 47 As the potter, making clay vessels, produces from the same clay pots for sugar, milk, ghee, or water;
- 48 Some for impurities, others for curdled milk, the clay used by the artificer for the vessels being of but one sort;
- 49 As a vessel is made to receive all its distinguishing qualities according to the quality of the substance laid into it, so the Tathagatas, on account of the diversity of taste,
- 50 Mention a diversity of vehicles, though the Buddhavehicle be the only indisputable one. He who ignores the rotation of mundane existence, has no perception of blessed
- 51 But he who understands that all laws are void and without reality (and without individual character) penetrates the enlightenment of the perfectly enlightened Lords in its very essence.
- 52 One who occupies a middle position of wisdom is called a Pratyekagina (i. e. Pratyekabuddha); one lacking the insight of yoidness is termed a disciple.
- 53 But after understanding all laws one is called a perfectlyenlightened one; such a one is assiduous in preaching the law to living beings by means of hundreds of devices.
- 54 It is as if some blind-born man, because he sees no sun, moon, planets, and stars, in his blind ignorance (should say): There are no visible things at all.
- 55 But a great physician taking compassion on the blind man, goes to the Himalaya, where (seeking) across, up and down.
- 56 He fetches from the mountain four plants; the herb Ofall-colours-flavours-and-cases, and others. These he intends to apply.
- 57 He applies them in this manner: one he gives to the blind man after chewing it, another after pounding, again another by introducing it with the point of a needle into the man's body.
- 58 The man having got his eyesight, sees the sun, moon, planets, and stars, and arrives at the conclusion that it was from sheer ignorance that he spoke thus as he had formerly done.
- 59 In the same way do people of great ignorance, blind from their birth, move in the turmoil of the world, because they do not know the wheel of causes and effects, the path of toils.
- 60 In the world so blinded by ignorance appears the highest of those who know all, the Tathagata, the great physician, of compassionate nature.
- 61 As an able teacher he shows the true law; he reveals supreme Buddha-enlightenment to him who is most advanced.
- 62 To those of middling wisdom the Leader preaches a middling enlightenment; again another enlightenment he recommends to him who is afraid of the mundane whirl.

- 63 The disciple who by his discrimination has escaped from the triple world thinks he has reached pure, blest Nirvana, but it is only by knowing all laws (and the universal laws) that the immortal Nirvana is reached.
- 64 In that case it is as if the great Seers, moved by compassion, said to him: Thou art mistaken; do not be proud of thy knowledge.
- 65 When thou art in the interior of thy room, thou canst not perceive what is going on without, fool as thou art.
- 66 Thou who, when staying within, dost not perceive even now what people outside are doing or not doing, how wouldst thou be wise, fool as thou art?
- 67 Thou art not able to hear a sound at a distance of but five yoganas, far less at a greater distance.
- 68 Thou canst not discern who are malevolent or benevolent towards thee. Whence then comes that pride to thee?
- 69 If thou hast to walk so far as a kos, thou canst not go without a beaten track; and what happened to thee when in thy mother's womb thou hast immediately forgotten.

70 In this world he is called all-knowing who possesses the five transcendent faculties, but when thou who knowest nothing pretendest to be allknowing, it is an effect of infatuation.

- 71 If thou art desirous of omniscience, direct thy attention to transcendent wisdom; then betake thy self to the wilderness and meditate on the pure law; by it thou shalt acquire the transcendent faculties.
- 72 The man catches the meaning, goes to the wilderness, meditates with the greatest attention, and, as he is endowed with good qualities, ere long acquires the five transcendent faculties.
- 73 Similarly all disciples fancy having reached Nirvana, but the Gina instructs them (by saying): This is a (temporary) repose, no final rest.
- 74 It is an artifice of the Buddhas to enunciate this dogma. There is no (real) Nirvana without all-knowingness; try to reach this.
- 75 The boundless knowledge of the three paths (of time), the six utmost perfections (Paramitas), voidness, the absence of purpose (or object), the absence of finiteness;
- 76 The idea of enlightenment and the other laws leading to Nirvana, both such as are mixed with imperfection and such as are exempt from it, such as are tranquil and comparable to ethereal space;
- 77 The four Brahmaviharas and the four Sangrahas, as well as the laws sanctioned by eminent sages for the education of creatures:
- 78 (He who knows these things) and that all phenomena have the nature of illusion and dreams, that they are pithless as the stem of the plantain, and similar to an echo;
- 79 And who knows that the triple world throughout is of that nature, not fast and not looge, he knows rest.
- 80 He who considers all laws to be alike, void, devoid of particularity and individuality, not derived from an intelligent cause; nay, who discerns that nothingness is law;
- 81 Such a one has great wisdom and sees the whole of the law entirely. There are no three vehicles by any means; there is but one vehicle in this world.
- 82 All laws (or the laws of all) are alike, equal, for all, and ever alike. Knowing this, one understands immortal blest Nirvana.

## LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 6

Announcement Of Future Destiny.

After pronouncing these stanzas the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known to you that the monk Kasyapa, my disciple, here present, shall do homage to thirty thousand kotis of Buddhas; shall respect, honour, and worship them; and shall keep the true law of those Lords and Buddhas. In his last bodily existence in the world Avabhasa (i. e. lustre), in the age (Æon) Mahavyuha (i.e. great division) he shall be a Tathagata, an Arhat, etc. etc., by the name of Rasmiprabhasa (i.e. beaming with rays). His lifetime shall last twelve intermediate kalpas. and his true law twenty intermediate kalpas: the counterfeit of his true law shall last as many intermediate kalpas. His Buddha-field will be pure, clean, devoid of stones, grit, gravel; of pits and precipices; devoid of gutters and dirty pools; even, pretty, beautiful, and pleasant to see; consisting of lapis lazuli, adorned with jewel-trees, and looking like a checker-board with eight compartments set off with gold threads. It will be strewed with flowers, and many hundred thousand Bodhisattvas are to appear in it. As to disciples, there will be innumerable hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of them. Neither Mara the evil one, nor his host will be discoverable in it, though Mara and his followers shall afterwards be there; for they will apply themselves to receive the true law under the command of that very Lord Rasmiprabhasa.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

1 With my Buddha-eye, monks, I see that the senior Kasyapa here shall become a Buddha at a future epoch, in an

incalculable Æon, after he shall have paid homage to the most high of men.

- 2 This Kasyapa shall see fully thirty thousand kotis of Ginas, under whom he shall lead a spiritual life for the sake of Buddha-knowledge.
- 3 After having paid homage to those highest of men and acquired that supreme knowledge, he shall in his last bodily existence be a Lord of the world, a matchless, great Seer.
- 4 And his field will be magnificent, excellent, pure, goodly, beautiful, pretty, nice, ever delightful, and set off with gold threads.
- 5 That field, monks, (appearing like) a board divided into eight compartments, will have several jewel-trees, one in each compartment, from which issues a delicious odour.
- 6 It will be adorned with plenty of flowers, and embellished with variegated blossoms; in it are no pits nor precipices; it is even, goodly, beautiful.
- 7 There will be found hundreds of kotis of Bodhisattvas, subdued of mind and of great; magical power, mighty keepers of Sutrantas of great extension.
- 8 As to disciples, faultless, princes of the law, standing in their last period of life, their number can never be known, even if one should go on counting for Æons, and that with the aid of divine knowledge.
- 9 He himself shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas, and his true law twenty complete Æons; the counterfeit is to continue as many Æons, in the domain of Rasmiprabhasa.

Thereupon the venerable senior Maha-Maudgalyayana, the venerable Subhuti, and the venerable Maha-Katyayana, their bodies trembling, gazed up to the Lord with unblenching eyes, and at the same moment severally uttered, in mental concert, the following stanzas:

- 10 O hallowed one (Arhat), great hero, Sakya-lion, most high of men! out of compassion to us speak the Buddha-word.
- 11 The highest of men, the Gina, he who knows the fatal term, will, as it were, sprinkle us with nectar by predicting our destiny also.
- 12 (It is as if) a certain man, in time of famine, comes and gets good food, but to whom, when the food is already in his hands, they say that he should wait.
- 13 Similarly it was with us, who after minding the lower vehicle, at the calamitous conjuncture of a bad time, were longing for Buddha-knowledge.
- 14 But the perfectly-enlightened great Seer has not yet favoured us with a prediction (of our destiny), as if he would say: Do not eat the food that has been put into your hand.
- 15 Quite so, O hero, we were longing as we heard the exalted voice (and thought): Then shall we be at rest [And felicitous, blest, beatified (nirvritra)], when we shall have received a prediction.
- 16 Utter a prediction, O great hero, so benevolent and merciful! let there be an end of our feeling of poverty!

And the Lord, who in his mind apprehended the thoughts arising in the minds of those great senior disciples, again addressed the complete assembly of monks: This great disciple of mine, monks, the senior Subhuti, shall likewise pay homage to thirty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Under them shall he lead a spiritual life and achieve enlightenment. After the performance of such duties shall he, in his last bodily existence, become a Tathagata in the world, an Arhat, etc. etc., by the name of Sasiketu [moon-signal].

His Buddha-field will be called Ratnasambhava and his epoch Ratnaprabhasa. And that Buddha-field will be even, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, devoid of jits and precipices, devoid of sewers, nice, covered with flowers. And there will men have their abode in palaces (or towers) given them for their use. In it will be many disciples, innumerable, so that it would be impossible to terminate the calculation. Many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas also will be there. The lifetime of that Lord is to last twelve intermediate kalpas, his true law is to continue twenty intermediate kalpas, and its counterfeit as many. That Lord will, while standing poised in the firmament [Properly, standing as a great meteor], preach the law to the monks, and educate many thousands of Bodhisattvas and disciples.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 17 I have something to announce monks, something to make known; listen then to me: The senior Subhuti, my disciple, shall in days to come be a Buddha.
- 18 After having seen of most mighty Buddhas thirty myriads of kotis in full, he shall enter upon the straight course to obtain this knowledge.
- 19 In his last bodily existence shall the hero, possessed of the thirty-two distinctive signs, become a great Seer, similar to a column of gold, beneficial and bounteous to the world.
- 20 The field where that friend of the world shall save myriads of kotis of living beings will be most beautiful, pretty, and delightful to people at large.
- 21 In it will be many Bodhisattvas to turn the wheel that never rolls back (or never deviates); endowed with keen

faculties they will, under that Gina, be the ornaments of the Buddha-field.

- 22 His disciples are so numerous as to pass calculation and measure; gifted with the six transcendent faculties, the triple science and magic power; firm in the eight emancipations.
- 23 His magic power, while he reveals supreme enlightenment, is inconceivable. Gods and men, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, will always reverentially salute him with joined hands.
- 24 He shall stay twelve intermediate kalpas; the true law of that most high of men is to last twenty intermediate kalpas and the counterfeit of it as many.

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known that the senior Maha-Katyayana here present, my disciple, shall pay homage to eight thousand kotis of Buddhas; shall show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship; at the expiration of those Tathagatas he shall build Stupas, a thousand yoganas in height, fifty yoganas in circumference, and consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl, emerald, and, seventhly, coral. Those Stupas he shall worship with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers. Afterwards he shall again pay a similar homage to twenty kotis of Buddhas; show them respect, honour, reverence, veneration, and worship. Then in his last bodily existence, his last corporeal appearance, he shall be a Tathagata in the world, an Arhat, etc. etc., named Gambunada-prabhasa (i.e. gold-shine), endowed with science and conduct, etc. His Buddha-field will be thoroughly pure, even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jeweltrees, interlaced with gold threads, strewed with flowers, free from beings of the brute creation, hell, and the host of demons, replete with numerous men and gods, adorned with many hundred thousand disciples and many hundred thousand Bodhisattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twelve intermediate kalpas; his true law shall continue twenty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 25 Listen all to me, ye monks, since I am going to utter an infallible word. Katyayana here, the senior, my disciple, shall render worship to the Leaders.
- 26 He shall show veneration of various kinds and in many ways to the Leaders, after whose expiration he shall build Stupas, worshipping them with flowers and perfumes.
- 27 In his last bodily existence he shall be a Gina, in a thoroughly pure field, and after acquiring full knowledge he shall preach to a thousand kotis of living beings.
- 28 He shall be a mighty Buddha and illuminator, highly honoured in this world, including the gods, under the name of Gambunada-prabhasa, and save kotis of gods and men.
- 29 Many Bodhisattvas as well as disciples, beyond measure and calculation, will in that field adorn the reign of that Buddha, all of them freed from existence and exempt from existence.

Again the Lord addressed the complete assembly of monks: I announce to you, monks, I make known, that the senior Maha-Maudgalyayana here present, my disciple, shall propitiate twenty-eight thousand Buddhas and pay those Lords homage of various kinds; he shall show them respect, etc., and after their expiration build Stupas consisting of seven precious substances, to wit, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, red pearl, emerald, and, seventhly, coral; (Stupas) a thousand yoganas in height and five hundred yoganas in circumference, which Stilpas he shall worship in different ways, with flowers, incense, perfumed wreaths, ointments, powder, robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and triumphal streamers.

Afterwards he shall again pay a similar worship to twenty hundred thousand kotis of Buddhas; he shall show respect, etc., and in his last bodily existence become in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Tamalapatrakandanagandha, endowed with science and conduct, etc. The field of that Buddha will be called Manobhirama; his period Ratipratipurna. And that Buddha-field will be even, nice, pretty, beautiful, crystalline, variegated with jewel-trees, strewn with detached flowers, replete with gods and men, frequented by hundred thousands of Seers, that is to say, disciples and Bodhisattvas. The measure of his lifetime shall be twenty-four intermediate kalpas; his true law is to last forty intermediate kalpas and its counterfeit as many.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 30 The scion of the Mudgala-race, my disciple here, after leaving human existence shall see twenty thousand mighty Ginas and eight (thousand) more of these faultless beings.
- 31 Under them he shall follow a course of duty, trying to reach Buddha-knowledge; he shall pay homage in various ways to those Leaders and to the most high of men.
- 32 After keeping their true law, of wide reach and sublime, for thousands of kotis of Æons, he shall at the expiration of those, Sugatas worship their Stupas.

33 In honour of those most high Ginas, those mighty beings I so beneficial to the world, he shall erect Stupas consisting of precious substances, and decorated with triumphal streamers, worshipping them with flowers, perfumes, and the sounds of music

34 At the period of his last bodily existence he shall, in a nice and beautiful field, be a Buddha bounteous and compassionate to the world, under the name of Tamalapatrakandanagandha.

35 The measure of that Sugata's life shall be fully twentyfour intermediate kalpas, during which he shall be assiduous in declaring the Buddha-rule to men and gods.

- 36 That Gina shall have many thousands of kotis of disciples, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, gifted with the six transcendent faculties and the triple science, and possessed of magic power, under the command of that Sugata.
- 37 Under the reign of that Sugata there shall also appear numerous Bodhisattvas, many thousands of them, unable to slide back (or to deviate), developing zeal, of extensive knowledge and studious habits.

38 After that Gina's expiration his true law shall measure in time twenty-four intermediate kalpas in full; its counterfeit shall have the same measure.

39 These are my five mighty disciples whom I have destined to supreme enlightenment and to become in future self-born Ginas; now hear from me their course. [In this chapter only four disciples are mentioned; the fifth must be Sariputra, whose destination has been predicted before].

## LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 7

Ancient Devotion.

Of yore, monks, in the past, incalculable, more than incalculable, inconceivable, immense, measureless Æons since, nay, at a period, an epoch far beyond, there appeared in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. etc., in the sphere Sambhava (i. e. origin, genesis), in the period Maharupa. (You ask), monks, how long ago is it that the Tathagata was born? Well, suppose some man was to reduce to powder the whole mass of the earth element as much as is to be found in this whole universe; that after taking one atom of dust from this world he is to walk a thousand worlds farther in easterly direction to deposit that single atom; that after taking a second atom of dust and walking a thousand worlds farther he deposits that second atom, and proceeding in this way at last gets the whole of the earth element deposited in eastern direction. Now, monks, what do you think of it, is it possible by calculation to find the end or limit of these worlds? They answered: Certainly not, Lord: certainly not, Sugata. The Lord said: On the contrary, monks, some arithmetician or master of arithmetic might, indeed, be able by calculation to find the end or limit of the worlds, both those where the atoms have been deposited and where they have not, but it is impossible by applying the rules of arithmetic to find the limit of those hundred thousands of myriads of Æons, so long, so inconceivable, so immense is the number of Æons which have elapsed since the expiration of that Lord, the Tathagata Mahabhignagnanabhibhu. Yet, monks, I perfectly remember that Tathagata who has been extinct for so long a time, as if he had reached extinction to-day or yesterday, because of my possessing the mighty knowledge and sight of the Tathagata.

And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas:

- 1 I remember the great Seer Abhignagnanabhibhu, the most high of men, who existed many kotis of Æons ago as the superior Gina of the period.
- 2 If, for example, some men after reducing this universe to atoms of dust took one atom to deposit it a thousand regions farther on;
- 3 If he deposited a second, a third atom, and so proceeded until he had done with the whole mass of dust, so that this world were empty and the mass of dust exhausted;
- 4 To that immense mass of the dust of these worlds, entirely reduced to atoms, I liken the number of Æons past.
- 5 So immense is the number of kotis of Æons past since that extinct Sugata; the whole of (existing) atoms is no (adequate) expression of it; so many are the Æons which have expired
- 6 That Leader who has expired so long ago, those disciples and Bodhisattvas, I remember all of them as if it were to-day or yesterday. Such is the knowledge of the Tathagatas.
- 7 So endless, monks, is the knowledge of the Tathagata; I know what has taken place many hundreds of Æons ago, by my precise and faultless memory.

To proceed, monks, the measure of the lifetime of the Tathagata Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Arhat, etc. was fifty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons.

In the beginning when the Lord had not yet reached supreme, perfect enlightenment and had just occupied the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, he discomfited and defeated the whole host of Mara, after which he thought: I am to reach perfect enlightenment. But those laws (of perfect enlightenment) had not yet dawned upon him. He stayed on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of

enlightenment during one intermediate kalpa. He stayed there a second, a third intermediate kalpa, but did not yet attain supreme, perfect enlightenment. He remained a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth, a ninth, a tenth intermediate kalpa on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment, continuing sitting cross-legged without in the meanwhile rising. He stayed, the mind motionless, the body unstirring and untrembling, but those laws had not yet dawned upon him.

Now, monks, while the Lord was just on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, the gods of Paradise (Trayastrimsas) prepared him a magnificent royal throne, a hundred yoganas high, on occupying which the Lord attained supreme, perfect enlightenment; and no sooner had the Lord occupied the seat of enlightenment than the Brahmakayika gods scattered a rain of flowers all around the seat of enlightenment over a distance of a hundred yoganas; in the sky they let loose storms by which the flowers, withered, were swept away. From the beginning of the rain of flowers, while the Lord was sitting on the seat of enlightenment, it poured without interruption during fully ten intermediate kalpas, covering the Lord. That rain of flowers having once begun falling continued to the moment of the Lord's complete Nirvana. The angels belonging to the division of the four guardians of the cardinal points made the celestial drums of the gods resound; they made them resound without interruption in honour of the Lord who had attained the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. Thereafter, during fully ten intermediate kalpas, they made uninterruptedly resound those celestial musical instruments up to the moment of the complete extinction of the Lord.

Again, monks, after the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment. Immediately on knowing his having become enlightened the sixteen sons born to that Lord when a prince royal, the eldest of whom was named Gnanakara-which sixteen young princes, monks, had severally toys to play with, variegated and pretty-those sixteen princes, I repeat, monks, left their toys, their amusements, and since they knew that the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., had attained supreme, perfect knowledge, went, surrounded and attended by their weeping mothers and nurses, along with the noble, rich king Kakravartin, many ministers, and hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of living beings, to the place where the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., was seated on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment. They went up to the Lord in order to honour, respect, worship, revere, and venerate him, saluted his feet with their heads, made three turns round him keeping him to the right, lifted up their joined hands, and praised the Lord, face to face, with the following stanzas:

- 8 Thou art the great physician, having no superior, rendered perfect in endless Æons. Thy benign wish of saving all mortals (from darkness) has to-day been fulfilled.
- 9 Most difficult things hast thou achieved during the ten intermediate kalpas now past; thou hast been sitting all that time without once moving thy body, hand, foot, or any other
- 10 Thy mind also was tranquil and steady, motionless, never to be shaken; thou knewest no distraction; thou art completely quiet and faultless.
- 11 Joy with thee! that thou so happily and safely, without any hurt, hast reached supreme enlightenment. How great a fortune is ours! we congratulate ourselves, O Lion amongst kings!
- 12 These unhappy creatures, vexed in all ways, deprived of eyes, as it were, and joyless, do not find the road leading to the end of toils, nor develop energy for the sake of deliverance.
- 13 Dangers are for a long time on the increase and the laws (or phenomena, things) are deprived of the (possession of a) celestial body; the word of the Gina is not being heard; the whole world is plunged in thick darkness.
- 14 But to-day (or now) hast thou, Majesty of the world, reached this hallowed, high, and faultless spot; we as well as the world are obliged to thee, and approach to seek our refuge with thee, O Protector!

When, O monks, those sixteen princes in the condition of boys, childlike and young, had with such stanzas celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., they urged the Lord to move on the wheel of the law: Preach the law, O Lord; preach the law, O Sugata, for the weal of the public, the happiness of the public, out of compassion for the world; for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the people generally, both of gods and men. And on that occasion they uttered the following stanzas:

15 Preach the law, O thou who art marked with a hundred auspicious signs, O Leader, O incomparable great Seer! thou hast attained exalted, sublime knowledge; let it shine in the world, including the gods.

16 Release us as well as these creatures; display the knowledge of the Tathagatas, that we also and, further, these beings may obtain this supreme enlightenment.

17 Thou knowest every course (of duty) and knowledge; thou knowest the (mental and moral) disposition and the

good works done in a former state; the (natural) bent of all living beings. Move on the most exalted, sublime wheel!

Then, monks, as the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres in each of the ten directions of space were shaken in six different ways and became illumined with a great lustre. And in the intervals between all those spheres, in the dreary places of dark gloom, where even the sun and moon, so powerful, mighty, and splendid, have no advantage of the shining power they are endowed with, have no advantage of the colour and brightness they possess, even in those places a great lustre arose instantly. And the beings who appeared in those intervals behold each other, acknowledge each other, (and exclaim): Lo, there are other beings also here appearing! lo, there are other beings also here appearing! The palaces and aerial cars of the gods in all those spheres up to the Brahmaworld shook in six different ways and became illumined with a great lustre, surpassing the divine majesty of the gods. So then, monks, a great earthquake and a great, sublime lustre arose simultaneously. And the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels to the east, in these fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres, began excessively to glitter, glow, and sparkle in splendo,ur and glory. And those Brahma-angels made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres went all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sarvasattvatratri (i.e. Saviour of all beings), addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in the following stanzas:

18 Our aerial cars to-day (or now) are all bristling with rays in an extraordinary degree, and blazing in beautiful splendour and brilliancy. What may be the cause of it?

19 Come, let us investigate the matter, what divine being has to-day sprung into existence, whose power, such as was never seen before, here now appears?

20 Or should it be the Buddha, the king of kings, who today has been born somewhere in the world, and whose birth is announced by such a token that all the points of the horizon are now blazing in splendour?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the western quarter, where those great Brahma-angels, O monks, stationed in the western quarter, saw the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., on the summit of the exalted terrace of enlightenment, seated on the royal throne at the foot of the tree of enlightenment, surrounded and attended by gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, while his sons, the sixteen young princes, were urging him to move forward the wheel of the law. On seeing which the Brahma-angels came up to the Lord, saluted his feet with their heads, walked many hundred thousand times round him from left to right, strewing (flowers) and overwhelming both him and the tree of enlightenment, over a distance of ten yoganas, with those flower-bags as large as Mount Sumeru. After that they presented to the Lord their aerial cars (with the words): Accept, O Lord, these aerial cars out of compassion to us; use, O Sugata, those cars out of compassion

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

- 21 A (or the) wonderful, matchless Gina, so beneficial and merciful, has arisen in the world. Thou art born a protector, a ruler (and teacher), a master; to-day all quarters are blessed.
- 22 We have come as far as fully fifty thousand kotis of worlds from here to humbly salute the Gina by surrendering our lofty acriel cars all together.
- 23 We possess these variegated and bright cars, owing to previous works; accept them to oblige us, and make use of them to thine heart's content, O Knower of the world!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him, saying: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! May the Lord preach final rest! May the Lord release all beings! Be favourable, O Lord, to this world! Preach the law, O Lord, to this world, including gods, Maras, and Brahma-angels; to all people, including ascetics and Brahmans, gods, men, and demons! It will tend to the weal of the public, to the happiness of the public; out of mercy to the world, for the benefit and happiness of the people at large, both gods and men.

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanza:

24 Show the law, O Lord; show it, O most high of men! Show the power of thy kindness; save the tormented beings.

25 Rare is the light of the world like the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree. Thou hast arisen, O great Hero; we pray to thee. the Tathagata.

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahmaangels in the south-eastern quarter in the fifty hundred
thousand myriads of spheres began excessively to glitter, glow,
and sparkle in splendour and glory. And those Brahma-angels
made this reflection: What may be foreboded by these aerial
cars so excessively glittering, glowing, and sparkling in
splendour and glory? Thereupon, monks, the Brahma-angels
in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres went
all to each other's abodes and communicated the matter to one
another. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named
Adhimatrakarunika (i.e. exceedingly compassionate),
addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the
following stanzas:

- 26 What foretoken is it we see to-day (or now), friends? Who or what is foreboded by the celestial cars shining with such uncommon glory?
- 27 May, perhaps, some blessed divine being have come hither, by whose power all these aerial cars are illumined?
- 28 Or may the Buddha, the most high of men, have appeared in this world, that by his power these celestial cars are in such a condition as we see them?
- 29 Let us all together go and search; no trifle can be the cause of it; such a foretoken, indeed, was never seen before.
- 30 Come, let us go and visit kotis of fields, along the four quarters; a Buddha will certainly now have made his appearance in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the north-western quarterir, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed in the north-western quarter, saw the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu [etc., as above till compassion to usl.

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

- 31 Homage to thee, matchless great Seer, chief god of gods, whose -voice is sweet as the lark's'. Leader in the world, including the gods, I salute thee, who art so benign and bounteous to the world.
- 32 How wonderful, O Lord, is it that after so long a time thou appearest in the world. Eighty hundred complete Æons this world of the living was without Buddha'.
- 33 It was deprived of the most high of men; hell was prevailing and the celestial bodies constantly went on waning during eighty hundred complete Æons.
- 34 But now he has appeared, owing to our good works, who is (our) eye, refuge, resting-place, protection, father, and kinsman; he, the benign and bounteous one, the King of the law

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas: they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

- 35 Move forward the exalted wheel, O great ascetic! reveal the law in all directions; deliver all beings oppressed with suffering; produce amongst mortals gladness and joy!
- 36 Let them by hearing the law partake of enlightenment and reach divine places. Let all shake off their demon body and be peaceful, meek, and at ease.

And the Lord, O monks, silently intimated his assent to these Brahma-angels also.

Somewhat later, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahmaangels in the southern quarter [etc., as above till to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sudharma, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels in stanza:

37 It cannot be without cause or reason, friends, that today (or now) all these celestial cars are so brilliant; this bespeaks some portent somewhere in the world. Come, let us go and investigate the matter.

38 No such portent has appeared in hundreds of Æons past. Either some god has been born or a Buddha has arisen in this world.

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted [etc., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

39 Most rare (and precious) is the sight of the Leaders. Be welcome, thou dispeller of worldly defilement. It is after a

long time that thou now appearest in the world; after hundreds of complete Æons one (now) beholds thee.

- 40 Refresh the thirsty creatures, O Lord of the world! Now first thou art seen; it is not easy to behold thee. As rare (or precious) as the flowers of the glomerated fig-tree is thine appearance, O Lord.
- 41 By thy power these aerial cars of ours are so uncommonly illumined now, O Leader. To show us thy favour accept them. O thou whose look pierces everywhere!

After the great Brahma-angels, monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with these seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [as above till gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following stanzas:

- 42 Preach the law, O Lord and Leader! move forward the wheel of the law, make the drum of the law resound, and blow the conch-trumpet of the law.
- 43 Shed the rain of the true law over this world and proclaim the sweet-sounding, good word; manifest the law required, save myriads of kotis of beings.

And the Lord, monks, silently intimated his assent to the Brahma-angels.

Repetition; the same occurred in the south-west, in the west, in the north-west, in the north, in the north-east, in the nadir.

Then, monks, the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels in the nadir, in those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres [etc., as above till to one another]. After that, monks, the great Brahma-angel, named Sikhin, addressed the numerous host of Brahma-angels with the following stanzas:

- 44 What may be the cause, O friends, that our cars are so bright with splendour, colour, and light? What may be the reason of their being so exceedingly glorious?
- 45 We have seen nothing like this before nor heard of it from others. These (cars) are now bright with splendour and exceedingly glorious; what may be the cause of it?

46 Should it be some god who has been bestowed upon the world in recompense of good works, and whose grandeur thus comes to light? Or is perhaps a Buddha born in the world?

Thereupon, monks, the great Brahma-angels in the fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of spheres mounted all together their own divine aerial cars, took with them divine bags, as large as Mount Sumeru, with celestial flowers, and went through the four quarters successively until they arrived at the zenith, where those great Brahma-angels, stationed at the zenith, saw the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu [etc., as above till compassion to us].

On that occasion, monks, after presenting their own cars to the Lord, the Brahma-angels celebrated the Lord, face to face, with the following seasonable stanzas:

- 47 How goodly is the sight of the Buddhas, the mighty Lords of the world; those Buddhas who are to deliver all beings in this triple world.
- 48 The all-seeing Masters of the world send their looks in all directions of the horizon, and by opening the gate of immortality they make people reach the (safe) shore.
- 49 An inconceivable number of Æons now past were void, and all quarters wrapt in darkness, as the chief Ginas did not appear.
- 50 The dreary hells, the brute creation and demons were on the increase; thousands of kotis of living beings fell into the state of ghosts.
- 51 The heavenly bodies were on the wane; after their disappearance they entered upon evil ways; their course became wrong because they did not hear the law of the Buddhas.
- 52 All creatures lacked dutiful behaviour, purity, good state, and understanding; their happiness was lost, and the consciousness of happiness was gone.
- 53 They did not observe the rules of morality; were firmly rooted in the false law; not being led by the Lord of the world, they were precipitated into a false course.
- 54 Hail! thou art come at last, O Light of the world! thou, born to be bounteous towards all beings.
- 55 Hail! thou hast safely arrived at supreme Buddhaknowledge; we feel thankful before thee, and so does the world, including the gods.
- 56 By thy power, O mighty Lord, our aerial cars are glittering; to thee we present them, great Hero; deign to accept them, great Solitary.
- 57 Out of grace to us, O Leader, make use of them-, so that we, as well as all (other) beings, may attain supreme enlightenment.

After the great Brahma-angels, O monks, had celebrated the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., face to face, with seasonable stanzas, they besought him: May the Lord move forward the wheel of the law! [etc., as above till both gods and men.]

Thereupon, monks, those fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels addressed the Lord, with one voice, in common chorus, with the following two stanzas:

58 Move forward the exalted, unsurpassed wheel! beat the drum of immortality! release all beings from hundreds of evils, and show the path of Nirvana.

59 Expound the law we pray for; show thy favour to us and this world. Let us hear thy sweet and lovely voice which thou hast exercised during thousands of kotis of Æons.

Now, monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu the Tathagata, etc., being acquainted with the prayer of the hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Brahma-angels and of the sixteen princes, his sons, commenced at that juncture to turn the wheel that has three turns and twelve parts, the wheel never moved by any ascetic, Brahman, god, demon, nor by any one else. (His preaching) consisted in this: This is pain; this is the origin of pain; this is the suppression of pain; this is the treatment leading to suppression of pain. He moreover extensively set forth how the series of causes and effects is evolved, (and said): It is thus, monks. From ignorance proceed conceptions (or fancies); from conceptions (or fancies) proceeds understanding; from understanding name and form; from name and form the six senses; from the six senses proceeds contact: from contact sensation: from sensation proceeds longing; from longing proceeds striving; from striving as cause issues existence; from existence birth; from birth old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and despondency. So originates this whole mass of misery. From the suppression of ignorance results the suppression of conceptions; from the suppression of conceptions results that of understanding; from the suppression of understanding results that of name and form; from the suppression of name and form results that of the six senses; from the suppression of the six senses results that of contact; from the suppression of contact results that of sensation; from the suppression of sensation results that of longing; from the suppression of longing results that of striving; from the suppression of striving results that of existence; from the suppression of existence results that of birth; from the suppression of birth results that of old age, death, mourning, lamentation, sorrow, dismay, and despondency. In this manner the whole mass of misery is suppressed.

And while this wheel of the law, monks, was being moved onward by the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., in presence of the world, including the gods, demons, and Brahma-angels; of the assemblage, including ascetics and Brahmans; then, at that time, on that occasion, the minds of sixty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings were without effort freed from imperfections and became all possessed of the triple science, of the sixfold transcendent wisdom of the emancinations and meditations. In due course monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., again gave a second exposition of the law; likewise a third and a fourth exposition. And at each exposition, monks, the minds of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of beings, like the sands of the river Ganges, were without effort freed from imperfections. Afterwards, monks, the congregation of disciples of that Lord was so numerous as to surpass all calculation.

Meanwhile, monks, the sixteen princes, the youths, had, full of faith, left home to lead the vagrant life of mendicants, and had all of them become novices, clever, bright, intelligent, pious, followers of the course (of duty) under many hundred thousand Buddhas, and striving after supreme, perfect enlightenment. These sixteen novices, monks, said to the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., the following: O Lord, these many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of disciples of the Tathagata have become very mighty, very powerful, very potent, owing to the Lord's teaching of the law. Deign, O Lord, to teach us also, for mercy's sake, the law with a view to supreme, perfect enlightenment, so that we also may follow the teaching of the Tathagata. We want, O Lord, to see the knowledge of the Tathagata; the Lord can himself testify to this, for thou, O Lord, who knowest the disposition of all beings, also knowest ours.

Then, monks, on seeing that those princes, the youths, had chosen the vagrant life of mendicants and become novices, the half of the whole retinue of the king Kakravartin, to the number of eighty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings, chose the vagrant life of mendicants.

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., viewing the prayer of those novices at the lapse of twenty thousand Æons, amply and completely revealed the Dharmaparyaya called 'the Lotus of the True Law, a text of great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas and proper for all Buddhas, in presence of all the four classes of auditors.

In course of time, monks, those sixteen novices grasped, kept, and fully penetrated the Lord's teaching.

Subsequently, monks, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., foretold those sixteen novices their future djestiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. And while the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., was propounding the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, the disciples as well as the sixteen novices were full of faith, and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings acquired perfect certainty.

Thereupon, monks, after propounding the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law during eight thousand Æons without interruption, the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., entered the monastery to retire for the purpose of meditation, and in that retirement, monks, the Tathagata continued in the monastery during eighty-four thousand kotis of Æons.

Now, monks, when the sixteen novices perceived that the Lord was absorbed, they sat down on the seats, the royal thrones which had been prepared for each of them, and amply expounded, during eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis, the Dharmaparryaya of the Lotus of the True Law to the four classes. By doing this, monks, each of those novices, as Bodhisattvas fully developed, instructed, excited, stimulated, edified, confirmed in respect to supreme, perfect enlightenment 60 x 60 hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges.

Now, monks, at the lapse of eighty-four thousand Æons the Lord Mahabhignagnanabhibhu, the Tathagata, etc., rose from his meditation, in possession of memory and consciousness, whereafter he went up to the seat of the law, designed for him, in order to occupy it.

As soon as the Lord had occupied the seat of the law, monks, he cast his looks over the whole circle of the audience and addressed the congregation of monks: They are wonderfully gifted, monks, they are prodigiously gifted, these sixteen novices, wise, servitors to many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, observers of the course (of duty), who have received Buddha-knowledge, transmitted Buddha-knowledge, expounded Buddha-knowledge. Honour these sixteen novices, monks, again and again; and all, be they devoted to the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, or the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas, who shall not reject nor repudiate the preaching of these young men of good family, O monks, shall quickly gain supreme, perfect enlightenment, and obtain Tathagata-knowledge.

In the sequel also, monks, have these young men of good family repeatedly revealed this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus, of the True Law under the mastership of that Lord. And the 60 x 60 hundred thousand myriads of kotis of living beings, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, who by each of the sixteen novices, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, in the quality of Bodhisattva, had been roused to enlightenment, all those beings followed the example of the sixteen novices in choosing along with them the vagrant life of mendicants, in their several existences; they enjoyed their sight and heard the law from their mouth. They propitiated forty kotis of Buddhas, and some are doing so up to this day.

I announce to you, monks, I declare to you: Those sixteen princes, the youths, who as novices under the mastership of the Lord were interpreters of the law, have all reached supreme, perfect enlightenment, and all of them are staying, existing, living even now, in the several directions of space, in different Buddha-fields, preaching the law to many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of disciples and Bodhisattyas to wit: In the east, monks, in the world Abhirati the Tathagata named Akshobhya, the Arhat, etc., and the Tathagata Merukuta, the Arhat, etc. In the south-east, monks, is the Tathagata Simhaghosha, etc., and the Tathagata Simhadhvaga, etc. In the south, monks, is the Tathagata named Akasapratishthita, etc., and the Tathagata named Nityapariniryrita, etc. In the southwest, monks, is the Tathagata named Indradhyaga, etc., and the Tathagata named Brahmadhvaga, etc. In the west, monks, is the Tathagata named Amitayus, etc., and the Tathagata named Sarvalokadhatupadravodvegapratyuttirna, etc. In the northmonks, is the Tathagata named Tamalapatrakandanagandhabhigna, etc., and the Tathagata Merukalpa, etc. In the north, monks, is the Tathagata named Meghasvarapradipa, etc., and the Tathagata named Meghasvararaga, etc. In the north-east, monks, is the

Sarvalokabhayagitakkhambhitatvavidhvamsanakara, the Arhat, etc., and, the sixteenth, myself, Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., who have attained supreme, perfect enlightenment in the centre of this Saha-world.

Further, monks, those beings who have heard the law from us when we were novices, those many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings, numerous as the sands of the river Ganges, whom we have severally initiated in supreme, perfect enlightenment, they are up to this day standing on the stage of disciples and matured for supreme, perfect enlightenment. In regular turn they are to attain supreme, perfect enlightenment, for it is difficult, monks, to penetrate the knowledge of the Tathagatas. And which are those beings, monks, who, innumerable, incalculable like the sands of the Ganges, those hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of living beings, whom I, when I was a Bodhisattva under the mastership of that Lord, have taught the law of omniscience? Yourselves, monks, were at that time those beings.

And those who shall be my disciples in future, when I shall have attained complete Nirvana, shall learn the course (of duty) of Bodhisattvas, without conceiving the idea of their being Bodhisattvas. And, monks, all who shall have the idea

of complete Nirvana, shall reach it. It should be added, monks, as I stay under different names in other worlds, they shall there be born again seeking after the knowledge of the Tathagatas, and there they shall anew hear this dogma: The complete Nirvana of the Tathagatas is but one; there is no other, no second Nirvana of the Tathagatas. Herein, monks, one has to see a device of the Tathagatas and a direction for the preaching of the law. When the Tathagata, monks, knows that the moment of his complete extinction has arrived, and sees that the assemblage is pure, strong in faith, penetrated with the law of voidness, devoted to meditation, devoted to great meditation, then, monks, the Tathagata, because the time has arrived, calls together all Bodhisattvas and all disciples to teach them thus: There is, O monks, in this world no second vehicle at all, no second Nirvana, far less a third. It is an able device of the Tathagata, monks, that on seeing creatures far advanced on the path of perdition, delighting in the low and plunged in the mud of sensual desires, the Tathagata teaches them that Nirvana to which they are attached.

By way of example, monks, suppose there is some dense forest five hundred voganas in extent which has been reached by a great company of men. They have a guide to lead them on their journey to the Isle of Jewels, which guide, being able, clever, sagacious, well acquainted with the difficult passages of the forest, is to bring the whole company out of the forest. Meanwhile that great troop of men, tired, weary, afraid, and anxious, say: 'Verily, Master, guide, and leader, know that we are tired, weary, afraid, and anxious; let us return; this dense forest stretches so far.' The guide, who is a man of able devices, on seeing those people desirous of returning, thinks within himself: It ought not to be that these poor creatures should not reach that great Isle of Jewels. Therefore out of pity for them he makes use of an artifice. In the middle of that forest he produces a magic city more than a hundred or two hundred voganas in extent. Thereafter he says to those men: 'Be not afraid, sirs, do not return; there you see a populous place where you may take repose and perform all you have to do; there stay in the enjoyment of happy rest. Let him who after reposing there wants to do so, proceed to the great Isle of Jewels.'

Then, monks, the men who are in the forest are struck with astonishment, and think: We are out of the forest; we have reached the place of happy rest; let us stay here. They enter that magic city, in the meaning that they have arrived at the place of their destination, that they are saved and in the enjoyment of rest. They think: We are at rest, we are refreshed'. After a while, when the guide perceives that their fatigue is gone, he causes the magic city to disappear, and says to them: 'Come, sirs, there you see the great Isle of Jewels quite near; as to this great city, it has been produced by me for no other purpose but to give you some repose.'

In the same manner, monks, is the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., your guide, and the guide of all other beings. Indeed, monks, the Tathagata, etc., reflects thus: Great is this forest of evils which must be crossed, left, shunned. It ought not to be that these beings, after hearing the Buddha-knowledge, should suddenly turn back and not proceed to the end because they think. This Buddha-knowledge is attended with too many difficulties to be gone through to the end. Under those circumstances the Tathagata, knowing the creatures to be feeble of character, (does) as the guide (who) produces the magic city in order that those people may have repose, and after their having taken repose, he tells them that the city is one produced by magic. In the same manner, monks, the Tathagata, etc., to give a repose to the creatures, very skilfully teaches and proclaims two stages of

Nirvana, viz. the stage of the disciples and that of the Pratyekabuddhas. And, monks, when the creatures are there halting, then the Tathagata, etc., himself, pronounces these words: 'You have not accomplished your task, monks; you have not finished what you had to do. But behold, monks! the Buddha-knowledge is near; behold and be convinced: what to you (seems) Nirvana, that is not Nirvana. Nay, monks, it is an able device of the Tathagatas, etc., that they expound three vehicles.'

And in order to explain this same subject more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

60 The Leader of the world, Abhignagnanabhibhu, having occupied the terrace of enlightenment, continued ten complete intermediate kalpas without gaining enlightenment, though he saw the things in their very essence.

61 Then the gods, Nagas, demons, and goblins, zealous to honour the Gina, sent down a rain of flowers on the spot where the Leader awakened to enlightenment.

62 And high in the sky they beat the cymbals to worship and honour the Gina, and they were vexed that the Gina delayed so long in coming to the highest place.

63 After the lapse of ten intermediate kalpas the Lord Anabhibhu attained enlightenment; then all gods, men, serpents, and demons were glad and overjoyed.

64 The sixteen sons of the Leader of men, those heroes, being at the time young princes, rich in virtues, came along

with thousands of kotis of living beings to honour the eminent chiefs of men.

65 And after saluting the feet of the Leader they prayed: Reveal the law and refresh us as well as this world with thy good word, O Lion amongst kings.

66 After a long time thou art seen (again) in the ten points of this world; thou appearest, great Leader, while the aerial cars of the Brahma-angels are stirring to reveal a token to living beings.

67 In the eastern quarter fifty thousand kotis of fields have been shaken, and the lofty angelic cars in them have become excessively brilliant.

68 The Brahma-angels on perceiving this foretoken went and approached the Chief of the Leaders of the world, and, covering him with flowers, presented all of them their cars to him.

69 They prayed him to move forward the wheel of the law, and celebrated him with stanzas and songs. But the king of kings was silent, (for he thought): The time has not yet arrived for me to proclaim the law.

70 Likewise in the south, west, north, the nadir, zenith, and in the intermediate points of the compass there were thousands of kotis of Brahma-angels.

71 Unremittingly covering the Lord (with flowers) they saluted the feet of the Leader, presented all their aerial cars, celebrated him, and again prayed:

72 Move forward the wheel, O thou whose sight is infinite! Rarely art thou met in (the course of) many kotis of £ons. Display the benevolence thou hast observed in so many former generations; open the gate of immortality.

73 On hearing their prayer, he whose sight is infinite exposed the multifarious law and the four Truths, extensively. All existences (said he) spring successively from their antecedents.

74 Starting from Ignorance, the Seer proceeded to speak of death, endless woe; all those evils spring from birth. Know likewise that death is the lot of mankind.

75 No sooner had he expounded the multifarious, different, endless laws, than eighty myriads of kotis of creatures who had heard them quickly attained the stage of disciples.

76 On a second occasion the Gina expounded many laws, and beings like the sands of the Ganges became instantly purified and disciples.

77 From that moment the assembly of that Leader of the world was innumerable; no man would be able to reach the term (of its number), even were he to go on counting for myriads of kotis of Æons.

78 Those sixteen princes also, his own dear sons, who had become mendicants and novices, said to the Gina: 'Expound, O Chief, the superior law;

79 'That we may become sages, knowers of the world, such as thyself art, O supreme of all Ginas, and that all these beings may become such as thyself art, O hero, O clear-sighted one.'

80 And the Gina, considering the wish of his sons, the young princes, explained the highest superior enlightenment by means of many myriads of kotis of illustrations.

81 Demonstrating with thousands of arguments and elucidating the knowledge of transcendent wisdom, the Lord of the world indicated the veritable course (of duty) such as was followed by the wise Bodhisattvas.

82 This very Sutra of orreat extension, this good Lotus of the True Law, was by the Lord delivered in many thousands of stanzas, so numerous as to equal the sands of the Ganges.

83 After delivering this Sutra, the Gina entered the monastery for the purpose of becoming absorbed in meditation; during eighty-four complete Æons the Lord of the world continued meditating, sitting on the same seat.

84 Those novices, perceiving that the Chief remained in the monastery without coming out of it, imparted to many kotis of creatures that Buddha-knowledge, which is free from imperfections and blissful.

85 On the seats which they had made to be prepared, one for each, they expounded this very Sutra under the mastership of the Sugata of that period. A service of the same kind they render to me.

86 Innumerable as the sands of sixty thousand (rivers like the) Ganges were the beings then taught; each of the sons of the Sugata converted (or trained) endless beings.

87 After the Gina's complete Nirvana they commenced a wandering life and saw kotis of Buddhas; along with those pupils they rendered homage to the most exalted amongst men.

88 Having observed the extensive and sublime course of duty and reached enlightenment in the ten points of space, those sixteen sons of the Gina became themselves Ginas, two by two, in each point of the horizon.

89 And all those who had been their pupils became disciples of those Ginas, and gradually obtained possession of enlightenment by various means.

90 I myself was one of their number, and you have all been taught by me. Therefore you are my disciples now also, and I lead you all to enlightenment by (my) devices.

91 This is the cause dating from old, this is the motive of my expounding the law, that I lead you to superior enlightenment This being the case, monks, you need not be afraid.

92 It is as if there were a forest dreadful, terrific, barren, without a place of refuge or shelter, replete with wild beasts, deprived of water, frightful for persons of no experience.

93 (Suppose further that) many thousand men have come to the forest, that waste track of wilderness which is fully five hundred yoganas in extent.

94 And he who is to act as their guide through that rough and horrible forest is a rich man, thoughtful, intelligent, wise, well instructed, and undaunted.

95 And those beings, numbering many kotis, feel tired, and say to the guide: 'We are tired, Master; we are not able to go on; we should like now to return.'

96 But he, the dexterous and clever guide, is searching in his mind for some apt device. Alas! he thinks, by going back these foolish men will be deprived of the possession of the jewels.

97 Therefore let me by dint of magic power now produce a great city adorned with thousands of kotis of buildings and embellished by monasteries and parks.

98 Let me produce ponds and canals; (a city) adorned with gardens and flowers, provided with walls and gates, and inhabited by an infinite number of men and women.

99 After creating that city he speaks to them in this manner: 'Do not fear, and be cheerful; you have reached a most excellent city; enter it and do your business, speedily.

100 'Be joyful and at ease; you have reached the limit of the whole forest.' It is to give them a time for repose that he speaks these words, and, in fact, they recover from their weariness.

101 As he perceives that they have sufficiently reposed, he collects them and addresses them again: 'Come, hear what I have to tell you: this city have I produced by magic'.

102 'On seeing you fatigued, I have, lest you should go back, made use of this device; now strain your energy to reach the Isle.'

103 In the same manner, monks, I am the guide, the conductor of thousands of kotis of living beings; in the same manner I see creatures toiling and unable to break the shell of the egg of evils'.

104 Then I reflect on this matter: These beings have enjoyed repose, have been tranquillised; now I will remind them of the misery of all things (and I say): 'At the stage of Arhat you shall reach your aim.'

105 At that time, when you shall have attained that state, and when I see all of you have become Arhats, then will I call you all together and explain to you how the law really is.

106 It is an artifice of the Leaders, when they, the great Seers, show three vehicles, for there is but one vehicle, no second; it is only to help (creatures) that two vehicles are spoken of.

107 Therefore I now tell you, monks: Rouse to the utmost your lofty energy for the sake of the knowledge of the all-knowing; as yet, you have not come so far as to possess complete Nirvana.

108 But when you shall have attained the knowledge of the all-knowing and the ten powers proper to Ginas, you shall become Buddhas marked by the thirty-two characteristic signs and have rest for ever.

109 Such is the teaching of the Leaders: in order to give quiet they speak of repose, (but) when they see that (the creatures) have had a repose, they, knowing this to be no final resting-place, initiate them in the knowledge of the all-knowing

## LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 8

Announcement Of The Future Destiny Of The Five Hundred Monks.

On hearing from the Lord that display of skilfulness and the instruction by means of mysterious speech; on hearing the announcement of the future destiny of the great Disciples, as well as the foregoing tale concerning ancient devotion and the leadership of the Lord, the venerable Purna, son of Maitrayani, was filled with wonder and amazement, thrilled with pure-heartedness, a feeling of delight and joy. He rose from his seat, full of delight and joy, full of great respect for the law, and while prostrating himself before the Lord's feet, made within himself the following reflection: Wonderful, O Lord; wonderful, O Sugata; it is an extremely difficult thing that the Tathagatas, etc., perform, the conforming to this world, composed of so many elements, and preaching the law to all creatures with many proofs of their skilfulness, and skilfully releasing them when attached to this or that. What could we do. O Lord, in such a case? None but the Tathagata knows our inclination and our ancient course. Then, after saluting with his head the Lord's feet, Parna went and stood apart, gazing up to the Lord with unmoved eyes and so showing his veneration.

And the Lord, regarding the mental disposition of the venerable Purna, son of Maitrayani, addressed the entire assembly of monks in this strain: Ye monks, see this disciple, Purna, son of Maitrayani, whom I have designated as the foremost of preachers in this assembly, praised for his many virtues, and who has applied himself in various ways to comprehend the true law. He is the man to excite, arouse, and stimulate the four classes of the audience: unwearied in the

preaching of the law; as capable to preach the law as to oblige his fellow-followers of the course of duty. The Tathagata excepted, monks, there is none able to equal Purna, son of Maitrayani, either essentially or in accessories. Now, monks, do you suppose that he keeps my true law only? No, monks, you must not think so. For I remember, monks, that in the past, in the times of the ninety-nine Buddhas, the same Purna kept the true law under the mastership of those Buddhas. Even as he is now with me, so he has, in all periods, been the foremost of the preachers of the law; has in all periods been a consummate knower of Voidness; has in all periods acquired the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat; has in all periods reached mastership in the transcendent wisdom of the Bodhisattvas. He has been a strongly convinced preacher of the law, exempt from doubt, and quite pure. Under the mastership of those Buddhas he has during his whole existence observed a spiritual life, and everywhere they termed him 'the Disciple.' By this means he has promoted the interest of innumerable, incalculable hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of beings, and brought innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. In all periods he has assisted the creatures in the function of a Buddha, and in all periods he has purified his own Buddhafield, always striving to bring creatures to ripeness. He was also, monks, the foremost among the preachers of the law under the seven Tathagatas, the first of whom is Vipasyin and the seventh myself.

And as to the Buddhas, monks, who have in future to appear in this Bhadra-kalpa, to the number of a thousand less four, under the mastership of them also shall this same Purna, son of Maitrayani, be the foremost among the preachers of the law and the keeper of the true law. Thus he shall keep the true law of innumerable and incalculable Lords and Buddhas in future, promote the interest of innumerable and incalculable beings, and bring innumerable and incalculable beings to full ripeness for supreme and perfect enlightenment. Constantly and assiduously he shall be instant in purifying his own Buddha-field and bringing creatures to ripeness. After completing such a Bodhisattva-course, at the end of innumerable, incalculable Æons, he shall reach supreme and perfect enlightenment; he shall in the world be the Tathagata called Dharmaprabhasa, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. He shall appear in this very Buddha-field.

Further, monks, at that time the Buddha-field spoken of will look as if formed by thousands of spheres similar to the sands of the river Ganges. It will be even, like the palm of the hand, consist of seven precious substances, be without hills, and filled with high edifices of seven precious substances. There will be cars of the gods stationed in the sky; the gods will behold men, and men will behold the gods. Moreover, monks, at that time that Buddha-field shall be exempt from places of punishment and from womankind, as all beings shall be born by apparitional birth. They shall lead a spiritual life, have ideal bodies, be self-lighting, magical, moving in the firmament, strenuous, of good memory, wise, possessed of gold-coloured bodies, and adorned with the thirty-two characteristics of a great man. And at that time, monks, the beings in that Buddha-field will have two things to feed upon, viz. the delight in the law and the delight in meditation. There will be an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattyas; all endowed with great transcendent wisdom, accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat, able in instructing creatures. He (that Buddha) will have a number of disciples, beyond all calculation, mighty in magic, powerful, masters in the meditation of the eight emancipations. So immense are the good qualities that Buddha-field will be possessed of. And that Æon shall be called Ratnavabhasa (i.e. radiant with gems), and that world Suvisuddha (i.e. very pure). His lifetime shall last immense, incalculable Æons; and after the complete extinction of that Lord Dharmaprabhasa, the Tathagata, etc., his true law shall last long, and his world shall be full of Stupas made of precious substances. Such inconceivable good qualities, monks, shall the Buddha-field of that Lord be possessed of.

So spoke the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following stanzas:

1 Listen to me, monks, and hear how my son has achieved his course of duty, and how he, welltrained and skilful, has observed the course of enlightenment.

2 Viewing these beings to be lowly-disposed and to be startled at the lofty vehicle, the Bodhisattvas become disciples and exercise Pratyekabuddhaship.

3 By many hundreds of able devices they bring numerous Bodhisattvas to full ripeness and declare: We are but disciples, indeed, and we are far away from the highest and supreme enlightenment.

4 It is by learning from them this course (of duty) that kotis of beings arrive at full ripeness, who (at first), lowly-disposed and somewhat lazy, in course of time all become Buddhas.

5 They follow a course in ignorance (thinking): We, disciples, are of little use, indeed! In despondency they descend

into all places of existence (successively), and (so) clear their own field.

- 6 They show in their own persons that they are not free from affection, hatred, and infatuation; and on perceiving (other) beings clinging to (heretical) views, they go so far as to accommodate themselves to those views.
- 7 By following such a course my numerous disciples skilfully save creatures; simple people would go mad, if they were taught the whole course of life (or story).
- 8 Purna here, monks, my disciple, has formerly fulfilled his course (of duty) under thousands of kotis of Buddhas, he has got possession of this true law by seeking after Buddhaknowledge.
- 9 And at all periods has he been the foremost of the disciples, learned, a brilliant orator, free from hesitation; he has, indeed, always been able to excite to gladness and at all times ready to perform the Buddha-task.
- 10 He has always been accomplished in the sublime transcendent faculties and endowed with the distinctive qualifications of an Arhat; he knew the faculties and range of (other) beings, and has always preached the perfectly pure law
- 11 By exposing the most eminent of true laws he has brought thousands of kotis of beings to full ripeness for this supreme, foremost vehicle, whilst purifying his own excellent field.
- 12 In future also he shall likewise honour thousands of kotis of Buddhas, acquire knowledge of the most eminent of good laws, and clean his own field.
- 13 Always free from timidity he shall preach the law with thousands of kotis of able devices, and bring many beings to full ripeness for the knowledge of the all-knowing that is free from imperfections.
- 14 After having paid homage to the Chiefs of men and always kept the most eminent of laws, he shall in the world be a Buddha self-born, widely renowned everywhere by the name of Dharmaorabhasa.
- 15 And his field shall always be very pure and always set off with seven precious substances; his Æon shall be (called) Ratnavabhasa, and his world Suvisuddha.
- 16 That world shall be pervaded with many thousand kotis of Bodhisattvas, accomplished masters in the great transcendent sciences, pure in every respect, and endowed with magical power.
- 17 At that period the Chief shall also have an assemblage of thousands of kotis of disciples, endowed with magical power, adepts at the meditation of the (eight) emancipations, and accomplished in the (four) distinctive qualifications of an Arhat
- 18 And all beings in that Buddha-field shall be pure and lead a spiritual life. Springing into existence by apparitional birth, they shall all be goldcoloured and display the thirty-two characteristic signs.
- 19 They shall know no other food but pleasure in the law and delight in knowledge. No womankind shall be there, nor fear of the places of punishments or of dismal states.
- 20 Such shall be the excellent field of Purna, who is possessed of all good qualities; it shall abound with all goodly things, a small part (only) of which has here been mentioned.

Then this thought arose in the mind of those twelve hundred self-controlled (Arhats): We are struck with wonder and amazement. (How) if the Tathagata would predict to us severally our future destiny as the Lord has done to those other great disciples? And the Lord apprehending in his own mind what was going on in the minds of these great disciples addressed the venerable Maha-Kasyapa: Those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers whom I am now beholding from face to face, to all those twelve hundred self-controlled hearers, Kasyapa, I will presently foretell their destiny. Amongst them, Kasyapa, the monk Kaundinya, a great disciple, shall, after sixty-two hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, become a Tathagata, an Arhat, etc., under the name of Samantaprabhasa, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc., etc.; but of those (twelve hundred). Kasyapa, five hundred shall become Tathagatas of the same name. Thereafter shall all those five hundred great disciples reach supreme and perfect enlightenment, all bearing the name of Samantaprabhasa; viz. Gaya-Kasyapa, Nadi-Kasyapa, Uruvilva.-Kasyapa, Kala, Kalodayin, Aniruddha, Kapphina, Vakkula, Kunda, Svagata, and the rest of the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats).

- And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:
- 21 The scion of the Kundina family, my disciple here, shall in future be a Tathagata, a Lord of the world, after the lapse of an endless period; he shall educate hundreds of kotis of living beings.
- 22 After seeing many endless Buddhas, he shall in future, after the lapse of an endless period, become the Gina Samantaprabhasa, whose field shall be thoroughly pure.
- 23 Brilliant, gifted with the powers of a Buddha, with a voice far resounding in all quarters, waited upon by thousands of kotis of beinas, he shall preach supreme and eminent enlightenment.

- 24 There shall be most zealous Bodhisattvas, mounted on lofty aereal cars, and moving, meditative, pure in morals, and assiduous in doing good.
- 25 After hearing the law from the highest of men, they shall invariably go to other fields, to salute thousands of Buddhas and show them great honour.
- 26 But ere long they shall return to the field of the Leader called Prabhasa, the Tathagata. So great shall be the power of their course (of duty).
- 27 The measure of the lifetime of that Sugata shall be sixty thousand Æons, and, after the complete extinction of that mighty one, his true law shall remain twice as long in the world.
- 28 And the counterfeit of it shall continue three times as long. When the true law of that holy one shall he exhausted, men and gods shall be vexed.
- 29 There shall appear a complete number of five hundred Chiefs, supreme amongst men, who shall bear the same name with that Gina, Samantaprabha, and follow one another in regular succession.
- 30 All shall have like divisions, magical powers, Buddhafields, and hosts (of followers). Their true law also shall be the same and stand equally long.
- 31 All shall have in this world, including the gods, the same voice as Samantaprabha'sa, the highest of men, such as I have mentioned before.
- 32 Moved by benevolence and compassion they shall in succession foretell each other's destiny, with the words: This is to be my immediate successor, and he is to command the world as I do at present.
- 33 Thus, Kasyapa, keep now in view I here these self-controlled (Arhats), no less than five hundred (in number), as well as my other disciples, and speak of this matter to the other disciples.

On hearing from the Lord the announcement of their own future destiny, the five hundred Arhats, contented, satisfied, in high spirits and ecstasy, filled with cheerfulness, joy, and delight, went up to the place where the Lord was sitting, reverentially saluted with their heads his feet, and spoke thus: We confess our fault, O Lord, in having continually and constantly persuaded ourselves that we had arrived at final Nirvana, as (persons who are) dull, inept, ignorant of the rules, For, O Lord, whereas we should have thoroughly penetrated the knowledge of the Tathagatas, we were content with such a trifling degree of knowledge.

It is, O Lord, as if some man having come to a friend's house got drunk or fell asleep, and that friend bound a priceless gem within his garment, with the thought: Let this gem be his. After a while, O Lord, that man rises from his seat and travels further; he goes to some other country, where he is befallen by incessant difficulties, and has great trouble to find food and clothing. By dint of great exertion he is hardly able to obtain a bit of food, with which (however) he is contented and satisfied. The old friend of that man, O Lord, who bound within the man's garment that priceless gem, happens to see him again and says: How is it, good friend, that thou hast such difficulty in seeking food and clothing, while I, in order that thou shouldst live in ease, good friend, have bound within thy garment a priceless gem, quite sufficient to fulfil all thy wishes? I have given thee that gem, my good friend, the very gem I have bound within thy garment. Still thou art deliberating: What has been bound? by whom? for what reason and purpose? It is something foolish, my good friend, to be contented, when thou hast with (so much) difficulty to procure food and clothing. Go, my good friend, betake thyself, with this gem, to some great city, exchange the gem for money, and with that money do all that can be done with money.

In the same manner, O Lord, has the Tathagata formerly, when he still followed the course of duty of a Bodhisattva, raised in us also ideas of omniscience, but we, O Lord, did not perceive, nor know it. We fancied, O Lord, that on the stage of Arhat we had reached Nirvana. We live in difficulty, O Lord, because we content ourselves with such a trifling degree of knowledge. But as our strong aspiration after the knowledge of the all-knowing has never ceased, the Tathagata teaches us the right: 'Have no such idea of Nirvana, monks; there are in your intelligence roots of goodness which of yore I have fully developed. In this you have to see an able device of mine that from the expressions used by me, in preaching the law, you fancy Nirvana to take place at this moment.' And after having taught us the right in such a way, the Lord now predicts our future destiny to supreme and perfect knowledge.

And on that occasion the five hundred self-controlled (Arhats), Agnata-Kaundinya and the rest, uttered the following stanzas:

- 34 We are rejoicing and delighted to hear this unsurpassed word of comfort that we are destined to the highest, supreme enlightenment. Homage be to thee. O Lord of unlimited sight!
- 35 We confess our fault before thee; we were so childish, nescient, ignorant that we were fully contented with a small part of Nirvana, under the mastership of the Sugata.
- 36 This is a case like that of a certain man who enters the house of a friend, which friend, being rich and wealthy, gives him much food, both hard and soft.

- 37 After satiating him with nourishment, he gives him a jewel of great value. He ties it with a knot within the upper robe and feels satisfaction at having given that jewel.
- 38 The other man, unaware of it, goes forth and from that place travels to another town. There he is befallen with misfortune and, as a miserable beggar, seeks his food in affliction.
- 39 He is contented with the pittance he gets by begging without caring for dainty food; as to that jewel, he has forgotten it; he has not the slightest remembrance of its having been tied in his upper robe.
- 40 Under these circumstances he is seen by his old friend who at home gave him that jewel. This friend properly reprimands him and shows him the jewel within his robe.
- 41 At this sight the man feels extremely happy. The value of the jewel is such that he becomes a very rich man, of great power, and in possession of all that the five senses can enjoy.
- 42 In the same manner, O Lord, we were unaware of our former aspiration, (the aspiration) laid in us by the Tathagata himself in previous existences from time immemorial.
- 43 And we were living in this world, O Lord, with dull understanding and in ignorance, under the mastership of the Sugata; for we were contented with a little of Nirvana; we required nothing higher, nor even cared for it.
- 44 But the Friend of the world has taught us better: 'This is no blessed Rest at all; the full knowledge of the highest men, that is blessed Rest, that is supreme beatitude.'
- 45 After hearing this sublime, grand, splendid, and matchless prediction, O Lord, we are greatly elated with joy, when thinking of the prediction (we shall have to make to each other) in regular succession.

#### LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 9

Announcement Of The Future Destiny Of Ananda, Rahula, And The Two Thousand Monks.

On that occasion the venerable Ananda made this reflection: Should we also receive a similar prediction? Thus thinking, pondering, wishing, he rose from his seat, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet and uttered the following words. And the venerable Rahula also, in whom rose the same thought and the same wish as in Ananda, prostrated himself at the Lord's feet, and uttered these words: 'Let it be our turn also, O Lord; let it be our turn also, O Lord; let it be our turn also, O Sugata. The Lord is our father and procreator, our refuge and protection. For in this world, including men, gods, and demons, O Lord, we are particularly distinguished, as people say: These are the Lord's sons, the Lord's attendants; these are the keepers of the law-treasure of the Lord. Therefore, Lord, it would seem meet, were the Lord ere long to predict our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.'

Two thousand other monks, and more, both such as were still under training and such as were not, likewise rose from their seats, put their upper robes upon one shoulder, stretched their joined hands towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him, all pre-occupied with the same thought, viz. of this very Buddha-knowledge: Should we also receive a prediction of our destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Then the Lord addressed the venerable Ananda in these words: Thou, Ananda, shalt in future become a Tathagata by the name of Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. After having honoured, respected, venerated, and worshipped sixtytwo kotis of Buddhas, kept in memory the true law of those Buddhas and received this command, thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment, and bring to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattyas similar to the sands of twenty Ganges. And thy Buddha-field shall consist of lapis lazuli and be superabundant. The sphere shall be named Anavanamita-vaig-ayanta and the Æon Manognasabdabhigargita. The lifetime of that Lord Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., shall measure an immense number of Æons, Æons the term of which is not to be found by calculation. So many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of incalculable Æons shall last the lifetime of that Lord. Twice as long. Ananda, after the complete extinction of that Lord, shall his true law stand, and twice as long again shall continue its counterfeit. And further, Ananda, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, shall in all directions of space speak the praise of that Tathagata Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, Arhat, etc.

- I I announce to you, congregated monks, that Ananda-Bhadra, the keeper of my law, shall in future become a Gina, after having worshipped sixty kotis of Sugatas.
- 2 He shall be widely renowned by the name of Sagarabuddhidharin Abhignaprapta [These names may be translated by 'possessor of an intellect (unfathomable) as the ocean, having arrived at transcendant wisdom.'], in a beautiful, thoroughly clear field, (termed) Anavanata Vaigayanti (i. e. triumphal banner unlowered).
- 3 There shall be Bodhisattvas like the sands of the Ganges and even more, whom he shall bring to full ripeness; he shall

be a Gina endowed with great (magical) power, whose word shall widely resound in all quarters of the world.

- 4 The duration of his life shall be immense. He shall always be benign and merciful to the world. After the complete extinction of that Gina and mighty saint [Tayin], his true law shall stand twice as long.

  5 The counterfeit (shall continue) twice as long under the
- 5 The counterfeit (shall continue) twice as long under the rule of that Gina. Then also shall beings like grains of sand of the Ganges produce in this world what is the cause of Buddhaenlightenment.

In that assembly were eight thousand Bodhisattvas who had newly entered the vehicle. To them this thought presented itself: Never before did we have such a sublime prediction to Bodhisattvas, far less to disciples. What may be the cause of it? what the motive? The Lord, who apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those Bodhisattvas, addressed them in these words: Young men of good family, I and Ananda have in the same moment, the same instant conceived the idea of supreme and perfect enlightenment in the presence of the Tathagata Dharmagahanabhyudgataraga, the Arhat, etc. At that period, young men of good family, he (Ananda) constantly and assiduously applied himself to great learning, whereas I was applying myself to strenuous labour. Hence I sooner arrived at supreme and perfect enlightenment, whilst Ananda-Bhadra was the keeper of the law-treasure of the Lords Buddhas; that is to say, young men of good family, he made a vow to bring Bodhisattvas to full development.

When the venerable Ananda, heard from the Lord the announcement of his own destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment, when he learned the good qualities of his Buddha-field and its divisions, when he heard of the vow he had made in the past, he felt pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight. And at that juncture he remembered the true law of many hundred thousand rnyriads of kotis of Buddhas and his own vow of vore.

And on that occasion the venerable Ananda uttered the following stanzas:

6 Wonderful, boundless are the Ginas who remind us of the law preached by the extinct Ginas and mighty saints. Now I remember it as if it had happened to-day or yesterday.

7 1 am freed from all doubts; I am ready for enlightenment. Such is my skilfulness, (as) I am the servitor, and keep the true law for the sake of enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the venerable Rahula-Bhadra in these words: Thou, Rahula, shalt be in future a Tathagata of the name of Saptaratnapadmavikrantagamin, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. After having honoured, respected, venerated, worshipped a number of Tathagata, etc., equal to the atoms of ten worlds, thou shalt always be the eldest son of those Lords Buddhas, just as thou art mine at present. And, Rahula, the measure of the lifetime of that Lord Saptaratnapadmavikrantagamin, the Tathagata, etc., and the abundance of all sorts of good qualities (belonging to him) shall be exactly the same as of the Lord Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.; likewise shall the divisions of the Buddha-field and its qualities be the same as those possessed by that Lord. And, Rahula, thou shalt be the eldest son of that Tathagata Sagaravaradharabuddhivikriditabhigna, the Arhat, etc. Afterwards thou shalt arrive at supreme and perfect enlightenment.

- 8 Rahula here, my own eldest son, who was born to me when I was a prince royal, he, my son, after my reaching enlightenment, is a great Seer, an heir to the law.
- 9 The great number of kotis of Buddhas which he shall see in future, is immense. To all these Ginas he shall be a son, striving after enlightenment.
- 10 Unknown is this course (of duty) to Rahula, but I know his (former) vow. He glorifies the Friend of the world (by saying): I am, forsooth, the Tathagata's son.
- 11 Innumerable myriads of kotis of good qualities, the measure of which is never to be found, appertain to this Rahula, my son; for it has been said: He exists by reason of enlightenment.

The Lord now again regarded those two thousand disciples. both such as were still under training and such as were not, who were looking up to him with serene, mild, placid minds And the Lord then addressed the venerable Ananda: Seest thou, Ananda, these two thousand disciples, both such as are still under training and such as are not? I do, Lord; I do, Sugata.' The Lord proceeded: All these two thousand monks. Ananda, shall simultaneously accomplish the course of Bodhisattvas, and after honouring, respecting, venerating, worshipping Buddhas as numerous as the atoms of fifty worlds, and after acquiring the true law, they shall, in their last bodily existence, attain supreme and perfect enlightenment at the same time, the same moment, the same instant, the same juncture in all directions of space, in different worlds, each in his own Buddha-field. They shall become Tathagatas, Arhats, etc., by the name of Ratnaketuragas. Their lifetime shall last a complete Æon. The division and good qualities of their Buddha-fields shall be equal; equal also shall be the number of the congregation of

their disciples and Bodhisattvas; equal also shall be their complete extinction, and their true law shall continue an equal time.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 12 These two thousand disciples, Ananda, who here are standing before me, to them, the sages, I now predict that in future they shall become Tathagatas.
- 13 After having paid eminent worship to the Buddhas, by means of infinite comparisons and examples, they shall, when standing in their last bodily existence, reach my extreme enlightenment.
- 14 They shall all, under the same name, in every direction, at the same moment and instant, and sitting at the foot of the most exalted tree, become Buddhas, after they shall have reached the knowledge.
- 15 All shall bear the same name of Ketus of the Ratna, by which they shall be widely famed in this world. Their excellent fields shall be equal, and equal the congregation of disciples and Bodhisattyas.

16 Strong in magic power, they shall all simultaneously, in every direction of space, reveal the law in this world and all at once become extinct; their true law shall last equally long.

And the disciples, both such as were still under training and such as were not, on hearing from the Lord, face to face, the prediction concerning each of them, were pleased, exultant, ravished, joyous, filled with cheerfulness and delight, and addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

17 We are satisfied, O Light of the world, to hear this prediction; we are pleased, O Tathagata, as if sprinkled with nectar

18 We have no doubt, no uncertainty that we shall become supreme amongst men; to-day we have obtained felicity, because we have heard that prediction.

#### LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 10

The Preacher.

The Lord then addressed the eighty thousand Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas by turning to Bhaishagyaraga as their representative. Seest thou, Bhaishagyaraga, in this assembly the many gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, votaries of the vehicle of disciples, votaries of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas, and those of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, who have heard this Dharmaparyaya from the mouth of the Tathagata? 'I do, Lord; I do, Sugata.' The Lord proceeded: Well, Bhaishagyaraga, all those Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who in this assembly have heard, were it but a single stanza, a single verse (or word), or who even by a single rising thought have joyfully accepted this Sutra, to all of them, Bhaishagyaraga, among the four classes of my audience I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. And all whosoever, Bhaishagyaraga, who, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata shall hear this Dharmanaryaya and after hearing, were it but a single stanza, joyfully accept it, even with a single rising thought, to those also, Bhaishagyaraga, be they young men or young ladies of good family, I predict their destiny to supreme and perfect enlightenment. Those young men or ladies of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, shall be worshippers of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas. Those young men or ladies of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, shall have made a vow under hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddhas. They must be considered as being reborn amongst the people of Gambudvipa, out of compassion to all creatures. Those who shall take, read, make known, recite, copy, and after copying always keep in memory and from time to time regard were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyaya; who by that book shall feel veneration for the Tathagatas, treat them with the respect due to Masters, honour, revere, worship them; who shall worship that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, etc., and with acts of reverence such as bowing and joining hands; in short, Bhaishagyaraga, any young men or young ladies of good family who shall keep or joyfully accept were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyaya, to all of them, Bhaishagyaraga, I predict their being destined to supreme and perfect enlightenment.

Should some man or woman, Bhaishagyaraga, happen to ask: How now have those creatures to be who in future are to become Tathagatas, Arhats, etc.? then that man or woman should be referred to the example of that young man or young lady of good family. Whoever is able to keep, recite, or teach, were it but a single stanza of four lines, and whoever shows respect for this Dharmaparyaya, that young man or young lady of good family shall in future become a Tathagata, etc.; be persuaded of it.' For, Bhaishagyaraga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be considered to be a Tathagata, and by the whole world, including the gods, honour should be done to such a Tathagata who keeps were it but a single stanza of this Dharmaparyaya, and far more, of course, to one who grasps, keeps, comprehends, makes known, copies, and after copying always retains in his memory this

Dharmaparyaya entirely and completely, and who honours that book with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, music, joined hands, reverential bows and salutations. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, must be held to be accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment; must be held to be the like of a Tathagata, who out of compassion and for the benefit of the world, by virtue of a former vow, makes his appearance here in Gambudvipa, in order to make this Dharmaparyaya generally known. Whosoever, after leaving his own lofty conception of the law and the lofty Buddha-field occupied by him, in order to make generally known this Dharmaparyaya, after my complete Nirvana, may be deemed to have appeared in the predicament of a Tathagata, such a one, Bhaishagyaraga, be it a young man or a young lady of good family, must be held to perform the function of the Tathagata, to be a deputy of the Tathagata. As such, Bhaishagyaraga, should be acknowledged the young man or the young lady of good family, who communicates this Dharmaparyaya, after the complete Nirvana of the Tathagata, were it but in secret or by stealth or to one single creature that he communicated or told it.

Again, Bhaishagyaraga, if some creature vicious, wicked, and cruel-minded should in the (current) Age speak something injurious in the face of the Tathagata, and if some should utter a single harsh word, founded or unfounded, to those irreproachable preachers of the law and keepers of this Sutranta, whether lay devotees or clergymen, I declare that the latter sin is the graver. For, Bhaishagyaraga, such a young man or young lady of good family must be held to be adorned with the apparel of the Tathagata. He carries the Tathagata on his shoulder, Bhaishagyaraga, who after having copied this Dharmaparyaya and made a volume of it, carries it on his shoulder. Such a one, wherever he goes, must be saluted by all beings with joined hands, must be honoured, respected, worshipped, venerated, revered by gods and men with flowers. incense, perfumed garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, musical instruments, with food, soft and hard, with nourishment and drink, with vehicles, with heaps of choice and gorgeous jewels. That preacher of the law must be honoured by heaps of gorgeous jewels being presented to that preacher of the law. For it may be that by his expounding this Dharmaparyaya, were it only once, innumerable, incalculable beings who hear it shall soon become accomplished in supreme and perfect enlightenment.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following

- 1 He who wishes to be established in Buddhahood and aspires to the knowledge of the Self-born must honour those who keep this doctrine.
- 2 And he who is desirous of omniscience and thinks: How shall I soonest reach it? must try to know this Sutra by heart, or at least honour one who knows it.
- 3 He has been sent by the Lord of the world to convert (or catechise) men, he who out of compassion for mankind recites this Sutra.
- 4 After giving up a good position, that great man has come hither, he who out of compassion for mankind keeps this Sutra (in memory).
- 5 It is by force of his position, that in the last times he is seen preaching this unsurpassed Sutra.
- 6 That preacher of the law must be honoured with divine and human flowers and all sorts of perfumes; be decked with divine cloth and strewed with jewels.
- 7 One should always reverentially salute him with joined hands, as if he were the Chief of Ginas or the Self-born, he who in these most dreadful, last days keeps this Sutra of the Extinct (Buddha).
- 8 One should give food, hard and soft, nourishment and drink, lodging in a convent, kotis of robes to honour the son of Gina, when he has propounded, be it but once, this Sutra.
- 9 He performs the task of the Tathagatas and has been sent by me to the world of men, he who in the last days shall copy, keep, or hear this Sutra.
- 10 The man who in wickedness of heart or with frowning brow should at any time of a whole Æon utter something injurious in my presence, commits a great sin.
- 11 But one who reviles and abuses those guardians of this Sutranta, when they are expounding this Sutra, I say that he commits a still greater sin.
- 12 The man who, striving for superior enlightenment, shall in a complete Æon praise me in my face with joined hands, with many myriads of kotis of stanzas,
- 13 Shall thence derive a great merit, since he has glorified me in gladness of heart. But a still greater merit shall he acquire who pronounces the praise of those (preachers).
- 14 One who shall during eighteen thousand kotis of Æons pay worship to those objects of veneration, with words, visible things, flavours, with divine scents and divine kinds of touch,
- $15\,\mathrm{ff}$  such a one, by his paying that worship to the objects of veneration during eighteen thousand kotis of &ons, happens to hear this Sutra, were it only once, he shall obtain an amazingly great advantage.

I announce to thee, Bhaishagyaraga, I declare to thee, that many are the Dharmaparyayas which I have propounded, am propounding, and shall propound. And among all those Dharmaparyayas, Bhaishagyaraga, it is this which is apt to meet with no acceptance with everybody, to find no belief with everybody. This, indeed, Bhaishagyaraga, is the transcendent spiritual esoteric lore of the law, preserved by the power of the Tathagatas, but never divulged; it is an article (of creed) not yet made known. By the majority of people, Bhaishagyaraga, this Dharmaparyaya is rejected during the lifetime of the Tathagata; in far higher degree such will be the case after his complete extinction.

Nevertheless, Bhaishagyaraga, one has to consider those young men or young ladies of good family to be invested with the robes of the Tathagata; to be regarded and blessed by the Tathagatas living in other worlds, that they shall have the force of individual persuasion, the force that is rooted in virtue, and the force of a pious vow. They shall dwell apart in the convents of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga, and shall have their heads stroked by the hand of the Tathagata, those young men and young ladies of good family, who after the complete extinction of the Tathagata shall believe, read, write, honour this Dharmaparyaya and recite it to others.

Again, Bhaishagyaraga, on any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyaya is expounded, preached, written, studied, or recited in chorus, on that spot, Bhaishagyaraga, one should build a Tathagata-shrine, magnificent, consisting of precious substances, high, and spacious; but it is not necessary to depose in it relics of the Tathagata. For the body of the Tathagata is, so to say, collectively deposited there. Any spot of the earth where this Dharmaparyaya is expounded or taught or recited or rehearsed in chorus or written or kept in a volume, must be honoured, respected, revered, worshipped as if it were a Stupa, with all sorts of flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, ointment, powder, clothes, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal streamers, with all kinds of song, music, dancing, musical instruments, castanets, and shouts in chorus. And those, Bhaishagyaraga, who approach a Tathagata-shrine to salute or see it, must be held to be near supreme and perfect enlightenment. For, Bhaishagyaraga, there are many laymen as well as priests who observe the course of a Bodhisattva without, however, coming so far as to see, hear, write or worship this Dharmaparyaya. So long as they do not hear this Dharmaparyaya, they are not yet proficient in the course of a Bodhisattva. But those who hear this Dharmaparyaya and thereupon accept, penetrate, understand, comprehend it, are at the time near supreme, perfect enlightenment, so to say, immediately near it.

It is a case. Bhaishagyaraga, similar to that of a certain man. who in need and in quest of water, in order to get water, causes a well to be dug in an and tract of land. So long as he sees that the sand being dug out is dry and white, he thinks: the water is still far off. After some time he sees that the sand being dug out is moist, mixed with water, muddy, with trickling drops, and that the working men who are engaged in digging the well are bespattered with mire and mud. On seeing that foretoken, Bhaishagyaraga, the man will be convinced and certain that water is near. In the same manner, Bhaishagyaraga, will these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas be far away from supreme and perfect enlightenment so long as they do not hear, nor catch, nor penetrate, nor fathom, nor mind this Dharmaparyaya. But when the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas shall hear, catch, penetrate, study, and mind this Dharmaparyaya, then, Bhaishagyaraga, they will be, so to say, immediately near supreme, perfect enlightenment. From this Dharmaparyaya, Bhaishagyaraga, will accrue to creatures supreme and perfect enlightenment. For this Dharmaparyaya contains an explanation of the highest mystery, the secret article of the law which the Tathagatas, etc., have revealed for the perfecting of the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. Any Bodhisattva, Bhaishagyaraga, who is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyaya, may be held, Bhaishagyaraga, to have (but) newly entered the vehicle. If, however, a votary of the vehicle of the disciples is startled, feels anxiety, gets frightened at this Dharmaparyaya, such a person, devoted to the vehicle of the disciples. Bhaishagyaraga, may be deemed a conceited man.

Any Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Bhaishagyaraga, who after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, in the last times, the last period shall set forth this Dharmaparyaya to the four classes of hearers, should do so, Bhaishagyariga, after having entered the abode of the Tathagata, after having put on the robe of the Tathagata, and occupied the pulpit of the Tathagata. And what is the abode of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga? It is the abiding in charity (or kindness) to all beings; that is the abode of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga, which the young man of good family has to enter. And what is the robe of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga? It is the apparel of sublime forbearance; that is the robe of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga, which the young man of good family has to put on. What is the pulpit of the Tathagata, Bhaishagyaraga? It is the entering into the voidness (or complete abstraction) of all laws (or things); that is the pulpit, Bhaishagyaraga, on which the young man of good family has to sit in order to set

forth this Dharmaparyaya to the four classes of hearers. A Bodhisattva ought to propound this Dharmaparyaya with unshrinking mind, before the face of the congregated Bodhisattvas, the four classes of hearers, who are striving for the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, and I, staying in another world, Bhaishagyaraga, will by means of fictious creatures make the minds of the whole congregation favourably disposed to that young man of good family, and I will send fictious monks. nuns, male and female lay devotees in order to hear the sermon of the preacher, who are unable to gainsay or contradict him. If afterwards he shall have retired to the forest, I will send thither many gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, and great serpents to hear him preach, while I, staying in another world, Bhaishagyaraga, will show my face to that young man of good family, and the words and syllables of this Dharmaparyaya which he happens to have forgotten will I again suggest to him when he repeats

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

16 Let one listen to this exalted Sutra, avoiding all distractedness; for rare is the occasion (given) for hearing it, and rare also the belief in it.

17 It is a case similar to that of a certain man who in want of water goes to dig a well in an arid tract of land, and sees how again and again only dry sand is being dug up.

18 On seeing which he thinks: the water is far off; a token of its being far off is the dry white sand which appears in digging.

19 But when he (afterwards) sees again and again the sand moist and smooth, he gets the conviction that water cannot be very far off.

20 So, too, are those men far from Buddha-knowledge who have not heard this Sutra and have failed to repeatedly meditate on it.

21 But those who have heard and oft meditated on this profound king amongst Sutras, this authoritative book for disciples.

22 Are wise and near Buddha-knowledge, even as from the moisture of sand may be inferred that water is near.

23 After entering the abode of the Gina, putting on his robe and sitting down on my seat, the preacher should, undaunted, expound this Sutra.

24 The strength of charity (or kindness) is my abode; the apparel of forbearence is my robe; and voidness (or complete abstraction) is my seat; let (the preacher) take his stand on this and preach.

25 Where clods, sticks, pikes, or abusive words and threats fall to the lot of the preacher, let him be patient, thinking of me

26 My body has existed entire in thousands of kotis of regions; during a number of kotis of.Æons beyond comprehension I teach the law to creatures.

27 To that courageous man who shall proclaim this Sutra after my complete extinction I will also send many creations.
28 Monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, will honour

him as well as the classes of the audience.
29 And should there be some to attack him with clods, sticks, injurious words, threats, taunts, then the creations shall defend him.

30 And when he shall stay alone, engaged in study, in a lonely place, in the forest or the hills.

31 Then will I show him my luminous body and enable him to remember the lesson he forgot.

32 While he is living lonely in the wilderness, I will send him gods and goblins in great number to keep him company.

33 Such are the advantages he is to enjoy; whether he is preaching to the four classes, or living, a solitary, in mountain caverns and studying his lesson, he will see me.

34 His readiness of speech knows no impediment; he understands the manifold requisites of exegesis; he satisfies thousands of kotis of beings because he is, so to say, inspired (or blessed) by the Buddha.

35 And the creatures who are entrusted to his care shall very soon all become Bodhisattvas, and by cultivating his intimacy they shall behold Buddhas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 11

Apparition Of A Stupa.

Then there arose a Stupa, consisting of seven precious substances, from the place of the earth opposite the Lord, the assembly being in the middle, a Stupa five hundred yoganas in height and proportionate in circumference. After its rising, the Stupa, a meteoric phenomenon, stood in the sky sparkling, beautiful, nicely decorated with five thousands of arches, embellished by thousands of banners and triumphal streamers, hung with thousands of jewel-garlands and with hourplates and bells, and emitting the scent of Xanthochymus and sandal, which scent filled this whole world. Its row of umbrellas rose so far on high as to touch the abodes of the four guardians of the horizon and the gods. It consisted of seven precious substances, viz. gold, silver, lapis lazuli, Musaragalva, emerald, red coral, and Karketana-stone. This Stupa of

precious substances once formed, the gods of paradise strewed and covered it with Mandarava and great Mandara flowers. And from that Stupa of precious substances there issued this voice: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sakyamuni! thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. So it is, Lord; so it is, Sugata.

At the sight of that great Stupa of precious substances, that meteoric phenomenon in the sky, the four classes of hearers were filled with gladness delight, satisfaction and joy. Instantly they rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and remained standing in that position. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mahapratibhana, perceiving the world, including gods, men, and demons, filled with curiosity, said to the Lord: O Lord, what is the cause, what is the reason of so magnificent a Stupa of precious substances appearing in the world? Who is it, O Lord, who causes that sound to go out from the magnificent Stupa of precious substances? Thus asked, the Lord spake to Mahapratibhana, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, as follows: In this great Stupa of precious substances, Mahapratibhana, the proper body of the Tathagata is contained condensed; his is the Stupa; it is he who causes this sound to go out.

In the point of space below, Mahapratibhana, there are innumerable thousands of worlds. Further on is the world called Ratnavisuddha, there is the Tathagata named Prabhutaratna, the Arhat, etc. This Lord of yore made this vow: Formerly, when following the course of a Bodhisattva, I have not arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment before I had heard this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. serving for the instruction of Bodhisattvas. But from the moment that I had heard this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, I have become fully ripe for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Now, Mahapratibhana, that Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., at the juncture of time when his complete extinction was to take place, announced in presence of the world, including the gods: After my complete extinction, monks, one Stupa must be made of precious substances of this frame (or form) of the proper body of the Tathagata; the other Stupas, again, should be made in Thereupon, dedication (or in reference) to me. Mahapratibhana, the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., pronounced this blessing: Let my Stupas here, this Stupa of my proper bodily frame (or form), arise wherever in any Buddha-field in the ten directions of space, in all worlds, the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is propounded, and let it stand in the sky above the assembled congregation when this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is being preached by some Lord Buddha or another, and let this Stupa of the frame (or form) of my proper body give a shout of applause to those Buddhas while preaching this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. It is that Stupa, Mahapratibhana, of the relics of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., which, while I was preaching this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Sahaworld, arose above this assembled congregation and, standing as a meteor in the sky, gave its applause.

Then said Mahapratibhana, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, to the Lord: Show us, O Lord, through thy power the frame of the afore-mentioned Tathagata. Whereon the Lord spake to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mahapratibhana as follows: This Lord Prabhutaratna, Mahapratibhana, has made a grave and pious vow. That vow consisted in this: When the Lords, the Buddhas, being in other Buddha-fields, shall preach this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, then let this Stupa of the frame of my proper body be near the Tathagata to hear from him this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law And when those Lords those Buddhas wish to uncover the frame of my proper body and show it to the four classes of hearers, let then the Tathagata-frames, made by the Tathagatas in all quarters, in different Buddha-fields, from their own proper body, and preaching the law to creatures, under different names in several Buddha-fields, let all those Tathagata-frames, made from the proper body, united together, along with this Stupa containing the frame of my own body, be opened and shown to the four classes of hearers. Therefore, Mahapratibhana, have I made many Tathagataframes which in all quarters, in several Buddha-fields in thousands of worlds, preach the law to creatures. All those ought to be brought hither.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mahapratibhana said to the Lord: Then, O Lord, shall we reverentially salute all those bodily emanations of the Tathagata and created by the Tathagata.

And instantly the Lord darted from the circle of hair on his brow a ray, which was no sooner darted than the Lords, the Buddhas stationed in the east in fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, became all visible, and the Buddha-fields there, consisting of crystal, became visible, variegated with jewel trees, decorated with strings of fine cloth, replete with many hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas, covered with canopies, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold. And in those fields appeared the Lords, the Buddhas, teaching with sweet and gentle voice the law to creatures; and those

Buddha-fields seemed replete with hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas. So, too, it was in the south-east; so in the souths oin the south-west; so in the north-east; so in the north-so in the north-east; so in the nadir; so in the zenith; so in the ten directions of space; in each direction were to be seen many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, in many worlds similar to the sands of the river Ganges, Lords Buddhas in many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields.

Those Tathagatas, etc., in the ten directions of space then addressed each his own troop of Bodhisattvas: We shall have to go, young men of good family, to the Saha-world near the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., to humbly salute the Stupa of the relics of Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc. Thereupon those Lords, those Buddhas resorted with their own satellites, each with one or two, to this Saha-world. At that period this all-embracing world was adorned with jewel trees; it consisted of lapis lazuli, was covered with a network of seven precious substances and gold, smoking with the odorous incense of magnificent jewels, everywhere strewn with Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers, decorated with a network of little bells, showing a checker board divided by gold threads into eight compartments, devoid of villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, and royal capitals, without Kala-mountain, without the mountains Mukilinda and great Mukilinda, without a mount Sumeru, without a Kakravala (i. e. horizon) and great Kakravala (i. e. extended horizon), without other principal mountains, without great oceans, without rivers and great rivers, without bodies of gods, men, and demons, without hells, without brute creation, without a kingdom of Yama. For it must be understood that at that period all beings in any of the six states of existence in this world had been removed to other worlds, with the exception of those who were assembled at that congregation. Then it was that those Lords, those Buddhas, attended by one or two satellites, arrived at this Saha-world and went one after the other to occupy their place close to the foot of a jewel tree. Each of the jewel trees was five hundred yoganas in height, had boughs, leaves, foliage, and circumference in proportion, and was provided with blossoms and fruits. At the foot of each jewel tree stood prepared a throne, five voganas in height, and adorned with magnificent jewels. Each Tathagata went to occupy his throne and sat on it cross-legged. And so all the Tathagatas of the whole sphere sat cross-legged at the foot of the jewel trees.

At that moment the whole sphere was replete with Tathagatas, but the beings produced from the proper body of the Lord Sakvamuni had not yet arrived not even from a single point of the horizon. Then the Lord Sakvamuni, the Tathagata, etc., proceeded to make room for those Tathagata-frames that were arriving one after the other. On every side in the eight directions of space (appeared) twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields of lapis lazuli, decked with a network of seven precious substances and gold, decorated with a fringe of little bells, strewn with Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers, covered with heavenly awnings, hung with wreaths of heavenly flowers, smoking with heavenly odorous incense. All those twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields were without villages, towns, boroughs, etc.; without Kalamountain, etc.; without great oceans, etc.; without bodies of gods, etc. All those Buddha-fields were so arranged by him as to form one Buddha-field, one soil, even, lovely, set off with trees of seven precious substances, trees five hundred yoganas in height and circumference, provided with boughs, flowers, and fruits in proportion. At the foot of each tree stood prepared a throne, five yoganas in height and width, consisting of celestial gems, glittering and beautiful. The Tathagatas arriving one after the other occupied the throne near the foot of each tree, and sat cross-legged. In like manner the Tathagata Sakyamuni prepared twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other worlds, in every direction of space, in order to give room to the Tathagatas who were arriving one after the other. Those twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds in every direction of space were likewise so made by him as to be without villages, towns, etc. [as above]. They were without bodies of gods, etc. [as above]; all those beings had been removed to other worlds. These Buddhafields also were of lapis lazuli, etc. [as above]. All those jewel trees measured five hundred yoganas, and near them were thrones, artificially made and measuring five yoganas. Then those Tathagatas sat down cross-legged, each on a throne at the foot of a jewel tree.

At that moment the Tathagatas produced by the Lord Sakyamuni, who in the east were preaching the law to creatures in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, all arrived from the ten points of space and sat down in the eight quarters. Thereupon thirty kotis of worlds in each direction were occupied by those Tathagatas from all the eight quarters. Then, seated on their thrones, those Tathagatas deputed their satellites into the presence of the Lord Sakyamuni, and after giving them bags with jewel flowers enjoined them thus: Go, young men of good family, to the Gridhraktila mountain,

where the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., is; salute him reverentially and ask, in our name, after the state of health, well-being, lustiness, and comfort both of himself and the crowd of Bodhisattvas and disciples. Strew him with this heap of jewels and speak thus: Would the Lord Tathagata deign to open this great Stupa of jewels? It was in this manner that all those Tathagatas deputed their satellites.

And when the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, perceived that his creations, none wanting, had arrived; perceived that they were severally seated on their thrones, and perceived that the satellites of those Tathagatas, etc., were present, he, in consideration of the wish expressed by those Tathagatas, etc., rose from his seat and stood in the sky, as a meteor. And all the four classes of the assembly rose from their seats, stretched out their joined hands, and stood gazing up to the face of the Lord. The Lord then, with the right fore-finger, unlocked the middle of the great Stupa of jewels, which showed like a meteor, and so severed the two parts. Even as the double doors of a great city gate separate when the bolt is removed, so the Lord opened the great Stupa, which showed like a meteor, by unlocking it in the middle with the right forefinger. The great Stupa of iewels had no sooner been opened than the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., was seen sitting cross-legged on his throne, with emaciated limbs and faint body, as if absorbed in abstract meditation, and he pronounced these words: Excellent, excellent, Lord Sakvamuni: thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparvaya of the Lotus of the True Law. I repeat, thou hast well expounded this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, Lord Sakyamuni, to the (four) classes of the assembly. I myself, Lord, have come hither to hear the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law.

Now the four classes of the assembly, on perceiving the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who had been extinct for many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons, speaking in this way, were filled with wonder and amazement. Instantly they covered the Lord Prabhataratna, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., with heaps of divine and human flowers. And then the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., ceded to the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., the half of the seat on that very throne within that same great Stupa of jewels and said: Let the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., sit down here. Whereon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., sat down upon that half-seat together with the other Tathagata, so that both Tathagatas were seen as meteors in the sky, sitting on the throne in the middle of the great Stupa of jewels.

And in the minds of those four classes of the assembly rose this thought: We are far off from the two Tathagatas; therefore let us also, through the power of the Tathagata, rise up to the sky. As the Lord apprehended in his mind what was going on in the minds of those four classes of the assembly, he instantly, by magic power, established the four classes as meteors in the sky. Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, addressed the four classes: Who amongst you, monks, will endeavour to expound this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law in this Saha-world? The fatal term, the time (of death), is now at hand; the Tathagata longs for complete extinction, monks, after entrusting to you this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 1 Here you see, monks, the great Seer, the extinct Chief, within the Stupa of jewels, who now has come to hear the law. Who would not call up his energy for the law's sake?
- 2 Albeit completely extinct for many kotis of  $\pounds$ ons, he yet now comes to hear the law; for the law's sake he moves hither and thither; very rare (and very precious) is a law like this.
- 3 This Leader practised a vow when he was in a former existence; even after his complete extinction he wanders through this whole world in all ten points of space.
- 4 And all these (you here see) are my proper bodies, by thousands of kotis, like the sands of the Ganges; they have appeared that the law may be fulfilled I and in order to see this extinct Master.
- 5 After laying out for each his peculiar field, as well as having (created) all disciples, men and gods, in order to preserve the true law, as long as the reign of the law shall last,
- 6 I have by magic power cleared many worlds, destined as seats for those Buddhas, and transported all creatures.
- 7 It has (always) been my anxious care how this line of the law might be manifested. So (you see) Buddhas here in immense number staying at the foot of trees like a great multitude of lotuses.
- 8 Many kotis of bases of trees are brightened by the Leaders sitting on the thrones which are perpetually occupied by them and brightened as darkness is by fire.
- 9 A delicious fragrance spreads from the Leaders of the world over all quarters, (a fragrance) by which, when the wind is blowing, all these creatures are intoxicated.
- 10 Let him who after my extinction shall keep this Dharmaparyaya quickly pronounce his declaration in the presence of the Lords of the world.

- 11 The Seer Prabhutaratna who, though completely extinct, is awake, will hear the lion's roar of him who shall take this resolution.
- 12 Myself, in the second place, as well as the many Chiefs who have flocked hither by kotis, will hear that resolution from the son of Gina, who is to exert himself to expound this law
- 13 And thereby shall I always be honoured as well as Prabheitaratna, the self-born Gina, who perpetually wanders through the quarters and intermediate quarters in order to hear such a law as this.
- 14 And these (other) Lords of the world here present, by whom this soil is so variegated and splendid, to them also will accrue ample and manifold honour from this Sutra being preached.
- 15 Here on this seat you see me, together with the Lord next to me, in the middle of the Stupa; likewise many other Lords of the world here present, in many hundreds of fields.
- 16 Ye, young men of good family, mind, for mercy's sake towards all beings, that it is a very difficult task to which the Chief urges you.
- 17 One might expound many thousands of Sutras, like to the sands of the Ganges, without overmuch difficulty.
- 18 One who after grasping the Sumeru in the fist were to hurl it a distance of kotis of fields, would do nothing very difficult.
- 19 Nor would it be so very difficult if one could shake this whole universe by the thumb to hurl it a distance of kotis of fields.
- 20 Nor would one who, after taking stand on the limit of the existing world, were to expound the law and thousands of other Sutras, do something so very difficult.
- 21 But to keep and preach this Sutra in the dreadful period succeeding the extinction of the Chief of the world, that is difficult.
- 22 To throw down the totality of ether-element after compressing it in one fist, and to leave it behind after having thrown it away, is not difficult.
- 23 But to copy a Sutra like this in the period after my extinction, that is difficult.
- 24 To collect the whole earth-element at a nail's end, cast it away, and then walk off to the Brahma-world,
- 25 Is not difficult, nor would it require a strength surpassing everybody's strength to do this work of difficulty.
- 26 Something more difficult than that will he do who in the last days after my extinction shall pronounce this Sutra, were it but a single moment.
- 27 It will not be difficult for him to walk in the midst of the conflagration at the (time of the) end of the world, even if he carries with him a load of hay.
- 28 More difficult it will be to keep this Sutra after my extinction and teach it to a single creature.
- 29 One may keep the eighty-four thousand divisions of the law and expound them, with the instructions and such as they have been set forth, to kotis of living beings;
- 30 This is not so difficult; nor is it, to train at the present time monks, and confirm my disciples in the five parts of transcendent knowledge.
- 31 But more difficult is it to keep this Satra, believe in it, adhere to it, or expound it again and again.
- 32 Even he who confirms many thousands of kotis of Arhats, blest with the possession of the six transcendent faculties (Abhignas), like sands of the Ganges,
- 33 Performs something not so difficult by far as the excellent man does who after my extinction shall keep my sublime law.
- 34 I have often, in thousands of worlds, preached the law, and to-day also I preach it with the view that Buddha-knowledge may be obtained.
- 35 This Sutra is declared the principal of all Sutras; he who keeps in his memory this Stitra, keeps the body of the Gina.
- 36 Speak, O young men of good family, while the Tathagata is (still) in your presence, who amongst you is to exert himself in later times to keep the Sutra.
- 37 Not only I myself shall be pleased, but the Lords of the world in general, if one would keep for a moment this Sutra so difficult to keep.

  38 Such a one shall ever be praised by all the Lords of the
- world, famed as an eminent hero, and ouick in arrivinLy at transcendent wisdom.
- 39 He shall be entrusted with the leadership amongst the sons of the Tathagatas, he who, after having reached the stage of meekness, shall keep this Sutra.
- 40 He shall be the eye of the world, including gods and men, who shall speak this Sutra after the extinction of the Chief of men
- 41 He is to be venerated by all beings, the wise man who in the last times shall preach this Sutra (were it but) a single moment

Thereupon the Lord addressed the whole company of Bodhisattvas and the world, including gods and demons, and said: Of yore, monks, in times past I have, unwearied and without repose, sought after the Sutra of the Lotus of the True Law, during immense, immeasurable Æons; many Æons

before I have been a king, during many thousands of Æons. Having once taken the strong resolution to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment, my mind did not swerve from its aim. I exerted myself to fulfil the six Perfections (Paramitas), bestowing immense alms: gold, money, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones (?), coral, gold and silver, emerald, Musaragalva, red pearls; villages, towns, boroughs, provinces, kingdoms, royal capitals; wives, sons, daughters, slaves, male and female; elephants, horses, cars, up to the sacrifice of life and body, of limbs and members, hands, feet, head. And never did the thought of self-complacency rise in me. In those days the life of men lasted long, so that for a time of many hundred thousand years I was exercising the rule of a King of the Law for the sake of duty, not for the sake of enjoyment. After installing in government the eldest prince royal, I went in quest of the best law in the four quarters, and had promulgated with sound of bell the following proclamation: He who procures for me the best laws or points out what is useful, to him will I become a servant. At that time there lived a Seer; he told me: Noble king, there is a Sutra, called the Lotus of the True Law, which is an exposition of the best law. If thou consent to become my servant, I will teach thee that law. And I, glad, content, exulting and ravished at the words I heard from the Seer, became his pupil, and said: I will do for thee the work of a servant. And so having agreed upon becoming the servant of the Seer, I performed the duties of a servitor, such as fetching grass, fuel, water, bulbs, roots, fruit, etc. I held also the office of a doorkeeper. When I had done such kind of work at day-time. Lat night kept his feet while he was lying on his couch, and never did I feel fatigue of body or mind. In such occupations I passed a full millennium.

And for the fuller elucidation of this matter the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

- 42 I have a remembrance of past ages when I was Dharmika, the King of the Law, and exercised the royal sway for duty's sake, not for love's sake, in the interest of the best laws.
- 43 I let go out in all directions this proclamation: I will become a servant to him who shall explain Dharma. At that time there was a far-seeing Sage, a revealer of the Sutra called the True Law.
- 44 He said to me: If thou wish to know Dharma, become my servant; then I will explain it to thee. As I heard these words I rejoiced and carefully performed such work as a servant ought to do.
- 45 I never felt any bodily nor mental weariness since I had become a servant for the sake of the true law. I did my best for real truth's sake, not with a view to win honour or enjoy pleasure.
- 46 That king meanwhile, strenuously and without engaging in other pursuits, roamed in every direction during thousands of kotis of complete Æons without being able to obtain the Sutra called Dharma.

Now, monks, what is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the king? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was myself, who at that time, at that juncture was the king. What then, monks, is your opinion? that it was another who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer? No, you must certainly not hold that view. For it was this Devadatta himself, the monk I, who at that time, at that juncture was the Seer. Indeed, monks, Devadatta was my good friend. By the aid of Devadatta have I accomplished the six perfect virtues (Paramitas). Noble kindness, noble compassion, noble sympathy, noble indifference, the thirty-two signs of a great man, the eighty lesser marks, the gold-coloured tinge, the ten powers, the fourfold absence of hesitation, the four articles of sociability, the eighteen uncommon properties, magical power, ability to save beings in all directions of space,-all this (have I got) after having come to Devadatta. I announce to you, monks, I declare to you: This Devadatta, the monk, shall in an age to come, after immense, innumerable Æons, become a Tathagata named Devaraga (i. e. King of the gods), an Arhat, etc., in the world Devasopana (i. e. Stairs of the gods). The lifetime of that Tathagata Devaraga, monks, shall measure twenty intermediate kalpas. He shall preach the law in extension, and beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall through him forsake all evils and realise Arhatship. Several beings shall also elevate their minds to Pratyekabuddhaship, whereas beings equal to the sands of the river Ganges shall elevate their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, and become endowed with unflinching patience. Further, monks, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata Devaragu, his true law shall stay twenty intermediate kalpas. His body shall not be seen divided into different parts (and relics); it shall remain as one mass within a Stupa of seven precious substances, which Stupa is to be sixty hundred yoganas in height and forty yoganas in extension. All, gods and men, shall do worship to it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, unguents, powder, clothes, umbrellas, banners, flags, and celebrate it with stanzas and songs. Those who shall turn round that Stupa from left to right or humbly salute it, shall some of them realise Arhatship, others attain Pratyekabuddhaship; others, gods and men, in immense number, shall raise their minds to supreme, perfect enlightenment, never to return.

Thereafter the Lord again addressed the assembly of monks: Whosoever in future, monks, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, shall hear this chapter of the Sutra of the Lotus of the True Law, and by doing so be relieved from doubt, become pure-minded, and put reliance on it, to such a one the door of the three states of misfortune shall be shut: he shall not fall so low as to be born in hell, among beasts, or in Yama's kingdom. When born in the Buddha-fields in the ten points of space he shall at each repeated birth hear this very Sutra, and when born amongst gods or men he shall attain an eminent rank. And in the Buddha-field where he is to be born he shall appear by metamorphosis on a lotus of seven precious substances, face to face with the Tathagata.

At that moment a Bodhisattva of the name of Pragnakuta, having come from beneath the Buddha-field of the Tathagatna, said to the Tathagata Prabhutaratna: Lord, let us resort to our own Buddha-field. But the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, said to the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta: Wait a while, young man of good family, first have a discussion with my Bodhisattva Mangusri, the prince royal, to settle some point of the law. And at the same moment, lo, Mangusri, the prince royal, rose seated on a centifolious lotus that was large as a carriage yoked with four horses, surrounded and attended by many Bodhisattvas, from the bosom of the sea, from the abode of the Naga-king Sagara (i. e. Ocean). Rising high into the sky he went through the air to the Gridhrakuta mountain to the presence of the Lord. There Mangusri, the prince royal, alighted from his lotus, reverentially saluted the feet of the Lord Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, went up to the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta and, after making the usual complimentary questions as to his health and welfare, seated himself at some distance. The Bodhisattva Pragnakuta then addressed to Mangusri, the prince royal, the following question: Mangusri, how many beings hast thou educated during thy stay in the sea? Mangusri answered: Many, innumerable, incalculable beings have I educated, so innumerable that words cannot express it, nor thought conceive it. Wait a while, young man of good family, thou shalt presently see a token. No sooner had Mangusri, the prince royal, spoken these words than instantaneously many thousands of lotuses rose from the bosom of the sea up to the sky, and on those lotuses were seated many thousands of Bodhisattvas, who flocked through the air to the Gridhrakilla, mountain, where they stayed, appearing as meteors. All of them had been educated by Mangusri, the prince royal, to supreme, perfect enlightenment. The Bodhisattvas amongst them who had formerly striven after the great vehicle extolled the virtues of the great vehicle and the six perfect virtues (Paramitas). Such as had been disciples extolled the vehicle of disciples. But all acknowledged the voidness (or vanity) of all laws (or things), as well as the virtues of the great vehicle. Mangusri, the prince royal, said to the Bodhisattva Pragntakuta: Young man of good family, while I was staying in the bosom of the great ocean I have by all means educated creatures, and here thou seest the result. Whereupon the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta questioned Mangusri, the prince royal, in chanting the following stanzas:

47 O thou blessed one, who from thy wisdom art called the Sage, by whose power is it that thou to-day (or now) hast educated those innumerable beings? Tell it me upon my question, O thou god amongst men.

48 What law hast thou preached, or what Sutra, in showing the path of enlightenment, so that those who are there with you have conceived the idea of enlightenment? that, once having gained a safe ford', they have been decisively established in omniscience?

Mangusri answered: In the bosom of the sea I have expounded the Lotus of the True Law and no other Sutra. Pragnakuta said: That Sutra is profound, subtle, difficult to seize; no other Sutra equals it. Is there any creature able to understand this jewel of a Sutra or to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment? Mangusri replied: There is, young man of good family, the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, eight years old, very intelligent, of keen faculties, endowed with prudence in acts of body, speech, and mind, who has caught and kept all the teachings, in substance and form, of the Tathagatas, who has acquired in one moment a thousand meditations and proofs of the essence of all laws. She does not swerve from the idea of enlightenment, has great aspirations, applies to other beings the same measure as to herself; she is apt to display all virtues and is never deficient in them. With a bland smile on the face and in the bloom of an extremely handsome appearance she speaks words of kindliness and compassion. She is fit to arrive at supreme, perfect enlightenment. The Bodhisattva Praggakuta said: I have seen how the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, when he was striving after enlightenment, in the state of a Bodhisattva, performed innumerable good works', and during many Æons never slackened in his arduous task. In the whole universe there is not a single spot so small as a mustard-seed where he has not surrendered his body for the sake of creatures. Afterwards he arrived at enlightenment. Who then would believe that she should have been able to arrive at supreme, perfect knowledge in one moment?

At that very moment appeared the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, standing before their face. After reverentially saluting the feet of the Lord she stationed herself at some distance and uttered on that occasion the following stanzas:

49 Spotless, bright, and of unfathomable light is that ethereal body, adorned with the thirty-two characteristic signs, pervading space in all directions.

50 He is possessed of the secondary marks and praised by every being, and accessible to all, like an open market-place.

51 I have obtained enlightenment according to my wish; the Tathagata can bear witness to it; I will extensively reveal the law that releases from sufferance.

Then the venerable Sariputra said to that daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king: Thou hast conceived the idea of enlightenment, young lady of good family, without sliding back, and art gifted with immense wisdom, but supreme, perfect enlightenment is not easily won. It may happen, sister, that a woman displays an unflagging energy, performs good works for many thousands of Aeons, and fulfils the six perfect virtues (Paramitas), but as yet there is no example of her having reached Buddhaship, and that because a woman cannot occupy the five ranks, viz. 1. the rank of Brahma; 2. the rank of Indra; 3. the rank of a chief guardian of the four quarters; 4. the rank of Kakravartin; 5. the rank of a Bodhisattva incapable of sliding back.

Now the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, had at the time a gem which in value outweighed the whole universe. That gem the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, presented to the Lord, and the Lord graciously accepted it. Then the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, said to the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta and the senior priest Sariputra: Has the Lord readily accepted the gem I presented him or has he not? The senior priest answered: As soon as it was presented by thee, so soon it was accepted by the Lord. The daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, replied: If I were endowed with magic power, brother Sariputra, I should sooner have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and there would have been none to receive this gem.

At the same instant, before the sight of the whole world and of the senior priest Sariputra, the female sex of the daughter of Sagara, the Naga-king, disappeared; the male sex appeared and she manifested herself as a Bodhisattva, who immediately went to the South to sit down at the foot of a tree made of seven precious substances, in the world Vimala (i.e. spotless), where he showed himself enlightened and preaching the law, while filling all directions of space with the radiance of the thirtytwo characteristic signs and all secondary marks. All beings in the Saha-world beheld that Lord while he received the homage of all, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and was engaged in preaching the law. And the beings who heard the preaching of that Tathagata became incapable of sliding back in supreme, perfect enlightenment. And that world Vimala and this Saha-world shook in six different ways. Three thousand living beings from the congregational circle of the Lord Sakyamuni gained the acquiescence in the eternal law, whereas three hundred thousand beings obtained the prediction of their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the Bodhisattva Pragnakuta and the senior priest Sariputra were silent.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 12

Exertion.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga and the Bodhisattva Mahapratibhana, with a retinue of twenty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas, spoke before the face of the Lord the following words: Let the Lord be at ease in this respect; we will after the extinction of the Tathagata expound this Paryaya to (all) creatures, though we are aware, O Lord, that at that period there shall be malign beings, having few roots of goodness, conceited, fond of gain and honour, rooted in unholiness, difficult to tame, deprived of good will, and full of unwillingness. Nevertheless, O Lord, we will at that period read, keep, preach, write, honour, respect, venerate, worship this Sutra; with sacrifice of body and life, O Lord, we will divulge this Sutra. Let the Lord be at ease.

Thereupon five hundred monks of the assembly, both such as were under training and such as were not, said to the Lord: We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyaya, though in other worlds. Then all the disciples of the Lord, both such as were under training and such as were not, who had received from the Lord the prediction as to their (future) supreme enlightenment, all the eight thousand monks raised their joined hands towards the Lord and said: Let the Lord be at case. We also will divulge this Dharmaparyaya, after the complete extinction of the Lord, in the last days, the last period, though in other worlds. For in this Saha-world, O Lord, the creatures are conceited, possessed of few roots of goodness, always vicious in their thoughts, wicked, and naturally perverse.

Then the noble matron Gautami, the sister of the Lord's mother, along with six hundred nuns, some of them being under training, some being not, rose from her seat, raised the

joined hands towards the Lord and remained gazing up to him. Then the Lord addressed the noble matron Gautami: Why dost thou stand so dejected, gazing up to the Tathagata? (She replied): I have not been mentioned by the Tathagata, nor have I received from him a prediction of my destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. (He said): But, Gautami, thou hast received a prediction with the prediction regarding the whole assembly. Indeed, Gautami, thou shalt from henceforward, before the face of thirty-eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas, be a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law. These six thousand nuns also, partly perfected in discipline, partly not, shall along with others become Bodhisattvas and preachers of the law before the face of the Tathagatas. Afterwards, when thou shalt have completed the course of a Bodhisattva, thou shalt become, under the name of Sarva sattvapri yadarsana (i. e. lovely to see for all beings), a Tathagata, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc. And that Tathagata Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, O Gautami, shall give a prediction by regular succession to those six thousand Bodhisattvas concerning their destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Then the nun Yasodhara, the mother of Rahula, thought thus: The Lord has not mentioned my name. And the Lord comprehending in his own mind what was going on in the mind of the nun Yasodhara said to her: I announce to thee, Yasodhara, I declare to thee: Thou also shalt before the face of ten thousand kotis of Buddhas become a Bodhisattva and preacher of the law, and after regularly completing the course of a Bodhisattva thou shalt become a Tathagata, named Rasmisatasahasraparipurnadhvaga, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., in the world Bhadra; and the lifetime of that Lord Rasmisatasahasrapariptrnadhvaga shall be unlimited

When the noble matron Gautami, the nun, with her suite of six thousand nuns, and Yasodhara, the nun, with her suite of four thousand nuns, heard from the Lord their future destiny to supreme, perfect enlio,htenment, they uttered, in wonder and amazement, this stanza:

1 O Lord, thou art the trainer, thou art the leader; thou art the master of the world, including the gods; thou art the giver of comfort, thou who art worshipped by men and gods. Now, indeed, we feel satisfied.

After uttering this stanza the nuns said to the Lord: We also, O Lord, will exert ourselves to divulge this Dharmaparyaya in the last days, though in other worlds.

Thereafter the Lord looked towards the eighty hundred thousand Bodhisattvas who were gifted with magical spells and capable of moving forward the wheel that never rolls back. No sooner were those Bodhisattvas regarded by the Lord than they rose from their seats, raised their joined hands towards the Lord and reflected thus: The Lord invites us to make known the Dharmaparyaya. Agitated by that thought they asked one another: What shall we do, young men of good family, in order that this Dharmaparyaya may in future be made known as the Lord invites us to do? Thereupon those young men of good family, in consequence of their reverence for the Lord and their own pious vow in their previous course, raised a lion's roar before the Lord: We, O Lord, will in future, after the complete extinction of the Lord, go in all directions in order that creatures shall write, keep, meditate, divulge this Dharmaparyaya, by no other's power but the Lord's. And the Lord, staying in another world, shall protect, defend, and guard us.

Then the Bodhisattvas unanimously in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

- 2 Be at ease, O Lord. After thy complete extinction, in the horrible last period of the world, we will proclaim this sublime Sutra.
- 3 We will suffer, patiently endure, O Lord, the injuries, threats, blows and threats with sticks at the hands of foolish men.
- 4 At that dreadful last epoch men will be malign, crooked, wicked, dull, conceited, fancying to have come to the limit when they have not.
- 5 'We do not care but to live in the wilderness and wear a patched cloth; we lead a frugal life;' so will they speak to the ignorant.
- 6 And persons greedily attached to enjoyments will preach the law to laymen and be honoured as if they possessed the six transcendent qualities.
- 7 Cruel-minded and wicked men, only occupied with household cares, will enter our retreat in the forest and become our calumniators.
- 8 The Tirthikas, themselves bent on profit and honour, will say of us that we are so, and-shame on such monks!-they will preach their own fictions.
- 9 Prompted by greed of profit and honour they will compose Sutras of their own invention and then, in the midst of the assembly, accuse us of plagiarism.
- 10 To kings, princes, king's peers, as well as to Brahmans and commoners, and to monks of other confessions,
- 11 They will speak evil of us and propagate the Tirthadoctrine. We will endure all that out of reverence for the great Seers

- 12 And those fools who will not listen to us, shall (sooner or later) become enlightened, and therefore will we forbear to the last
- 13 In that dreadful, most terrible period of frightful general revolution will many fiendish monks stand up as our revilers.
- 14 Out of respect for the Chief of the world we will bear it, however difficult it be; girded with the girdle of forbearance will I proclaim this Sutra.
- 15 Î do not care for my body or life, O Lord, but as keepers of thine entrusted deposit we care for enlightenment.
- 16 The Lord himself knows that in the last period there are (to be) wicked monks who do not understand mysterious speech.
- 17 One will have to bear frowning looks, repeated disavowal (or concealment), expulsion from the monasteries, many and manifold abuses.
- 18 Yet mindful of the command of the Lord of the world we will in the last period undauntedly proclaim this Sutra in the midst of the congregation.
- 19 We will visit towns and villages everywhere, and transmit to those who care for it thine entrusted deposit, O
- 20 O Chief of the world, we will deliver thy message; be at ease then, tranquil and quiet, great Seer.
- 21 Light of the world, thou knowest the disposition of all who have flocked hither from every direction, (and thou knowest that) we speak a word of truth.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 13

Peaceful Life

Mangusri, the prince royal, said to the Lord: It is difficult, Lord, most difficult, what these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas will attempt out of reverence for the Lord. How are these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas to promulgate this Dharmaparyaya at the end of time, at the last period? Whereupon the Lord answered Mangusri, the prince royal: A Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, he who is to promulgate this Dharmaparyaya at the end of time, at the last period, must be firm in four things. In which things? The Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, must be firm in his conduct and proper sphere if he wishes to teach this Dharmaparyaya. And how, Mangusri, is a Bodhisattva Mahasattva firm in his conduct and proper sphere? When the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, is patient, meek, has reached the stage of meekness; when he is not rash, nor envious; when, moreover, Mangusri, he clings to no law whatever and sees the real character of the laws (or things); when he is refraining from investigating and discussing these laws, Mangusri: that is called the conduct of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva. And what is the proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri? When the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Mangusri, does not serve, not court, not wait upon kings; does not serve, not court, not wait upon princes; when he does not approach them; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon persons of another sect, Karakas, Pariyragakas, Agivakas, Nirgranthas [Three kinds of mendicant friars not belonging to the Buddhist, nor to the Gaina persuasion], nor persons passionately fond of fine literature; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon adepts at worldly spells, and votaries of a worldly philosophy, nor keep any intercourse with them; when he does not go to see Kandalas, jugglers, vendors of pork, poulterers, deer-hunters, butchers, actors and dancers, wrestlers, nor resort to places whither others flock for amusement and sport; when he keeps no intercourse with them unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and that freely; when he does not serve, not court, not wait upon monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, who are adherents of the vehicle of disciples, nor keep intercourse with them; when he does not come in contact with them at the place of promenade or in the monastery, unless from time to time to preach the law to them when they come to him, and even that freely. This, Mangusri, is the proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva.

Again, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva does not take hold of some favourable opportunity or another to preach the law to females every now and anon, nor is he desirous of repeatedly seeing females; nor does he think it proper to visit families and then too often address a girl, virgin, or young wife, nor does he greet them too fondly in return. He does not preach the law to a hermaphrodite, keeps no intercourse with such a person, nor greets too friendly in return. He does not enter a house alone in order to receive alms, unless having the Tathagata in his thoughts. And when he happens to preach the law to females, he does not do so by passionate attachment to the law, far less by passionate attachment to a woman. When he is preaching, he does not display his row of teeth, let alone a quick emotion on his physiognomy. He addresses no novice, male or female, no nun. no monk, no young boy, no young girl, nor enters upon a conversation with them; he shows no great readiness in answering their address, nor cares to give too frequent answers. This, Mangusri, is called the first proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva.

Further, Mangusri, a Bodhisattva Mahasattva looks upon all laws (and things) as void; he -sees them duly established, remaining unaltered, as they are in reality, not liable to be disturbed, not to be moved backward, unchangeable, existing in the highest sense of the word (or in an absolute sense), having the nature of space, escaping explanation and expression by means of common speech, not born, composed and simple, aggregated and isolated, not expressible in words, independently established, manifesting themselves owing to a perversion of perception. In this way then, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva constantly views all laws, and if he abides in this course, he remains in his own sphere. This, Mangusri, is the second proper sphere of a Bodhisattva Mahasattva.

And in order to expound this matter in greater detail, the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 1 The Bodhisattva who, undaunted and unabashed, wishes to set forth this Sutra in the dreadful period hereafter,
- 2 Must keep to his course (of duty) and proper sphere; he must be retired and pure, constantly avoid intercourse with kings and princes.
- 3 Nor should he keep up intercourse with king's servants, nor with Kandalas, jugglers, and Tirthikas in general.
- 4 He ought not to court conceited men, but catechise such as keep to the religion. He must also avoid such monks as follow the precepts of the Arhat [of the Gainas], and immoral men.
- 5 He must be constant in avoiding a nun who is fond of banter and chatter; he must also avoid notoriously loose female lay devotees.
- 6 He should shun any intercourse with such female lay devotees as seek their highest happiness in this transient world. This is called the proper conduct of a Bodhisattva.
- 7 But when one comes to him to question him about the law for the sake of superior enlightenment, he should, at any time, speak freely, always firm and undaunted.
- 8 He should have no intercourse with women and hermaphrodites; he should also shun the young wives and girls in families.
- 9 He must never address them to ask after their health. He must also avoid intercourse with vendors of pork and mutton.
- 10 With any persons who slay animals of various kind for the sake of profit, and with such as sell meat he should avoid having any intercourse.
- 11 He must shun the society of whoremongers, players, musicians, wrestlers, and other people of that sort.
- 12 He should not frequent whores, nor other sensual persons; he must avoid any exchange of civility with them.
- 13 And when the sage has to preach for a woman, he should not enter into an apartment with her alone, nor stay to banter.
- 14 When he has often to enter a village in quest of food, he must have another monk with him or constantly think of the Buddha.
- 15 Herewith have I shown the first sphere of proper conduct. Wise are they who, keeping this Sqtra in memory, live according to it.
- 16 And when one observes no law at all, low, superior or mean, composed or uncomposed, real or not real;
- 17 When the wise man does not remark, 'This is a woman,' nor marks, 'This is a man;' when in searching he finds no laws (or things), because they have never existed;
- 18 This is called the observance of the Bodhisattvas in general. Now listen to me when I set forth what should be their proper sphere.
- 19 All laws (i.e. the laws, the things) have been declared to be non-existing, not appearing, not produced, void, immovable, everlasting; this is called the proper sphere of the wise.
- 20 They have been divided into existing and non-existing, real and unreal, by those who had wrong notions; other laws also, of permanency, of being produced, of birth from something already produced, are wrongly assumed.
- 21 Let (the Bodhisattva) be concentrated in mind, attentive, ever firm as the peak of Mount Sumeru, and in such a state (of mind) look upon all laws (and things) as having the nature of space [i.e. as being void],
- 22. Permanently equal to space, without essence, immovable, without substantiality. These, indeed, are the laws, all and for ever. This is called the proper sphere of the wise
- 23. The monk observing this rule of conduct given by me may, after my extinction, promulgate this Sutra in the world, and shall feel no depression.
- 24. Let the sage first, for some time, coerce his thoughts, exercise meditation with complete absorption, and correctly perform all that is required for attaining spiritual insight, and then, after rising (from his pious meditation), preach with unquailing mind.
- 25. The kings of this earth and the princes who listen to the law protect him. Others also, both laymen (or burghers) and Brahmans, will be found together in his congregation.

Further, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata at the end of time, the last period, the last five hundred years, when the true law is in a state of decay, is going to propound this Dharmaparyaya, must be in a peaceful state (of mind) and then preach the law, whether he knows it by heart or has it in a book. In his sermon he will not be too prone to carping at others, not blame other preaching friars, not speak scandal nor propagate scandal. He does not mention by name other monks, adherents of the vehicle of disciples, to propagate scandal. He cherishes even no hostile feelings against them, because he is in a peaceful state. All who come, one after the other, to hear the sermon he receives with benevolence, and preaches the law to them without invidiousness. He refrains from entering upon a dispute; but if he is asked a question, he does not answer in the way of (those who follow) the vehicle of disciples; on the contrary, he answers as if he had attained Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 26 The wise man is always at ease, and in that state he preaches the law, seated on an elevated pulpit which has been prepared for him on a clean and pretty spot.
- 27 He puts on a clean, nice, red robe, dyed with good colours, and a black woollen garment and a long undergarment;
- 28 Having duly washed his feet and rubbed his head and face with smooth ointments, he ascends the pulpit, which is provided with a footbank and covered with pieces of fine cloth of various sorts, and sits down.
- 29 When he is thus seated on the preacher's pulpit and all who have gathered round him are attentive, he proceeds to deliver many discourses, pleasing by variety, before monks and nuns.
- 30 Before male and female lay devotees, kings and princes. The wise man always (takes care to) deliver a sermon diversified in its contents and sweet, free from invidiousness.
- 31 If occasionally he is asked some question, even after he has commenced, he will explain the matter anew in regular order, and he will explain it in such away that his hearers gain enlightenment.
- 32 The wise man is indefatigable; not even the thought of fatigue will rise in him; he knows no listlessness, and so displays to the assembly the strength of charity.
- 33 Day and night the wise man preaches this sublime law with myriads of kotis of illustrations; he edifies and satisfies his audience without ever requiring anything.
- 34 Solid food, soft food, nourishment and drink, cloth, couches, robes, medicaments for the sick, all this does not occupy his thoughts, nor does he want anything from the congregation.
- 35 On the contrary, the wise man is always thinking. How can I and these beings become Buddhas? I will preach this true law, upon which the happiness of all beings depends, for the benefit of the world.
- 36 The monk who, after my extinction, shall preach in this way, without envy, shall not meet with trouble, impediment, grief or despondency.
- 37 Nobody shall frighten him, beat or blame him; never shall he be driven away, because he is firm in the strength of forbearance.
- 38 The wise man who is peaceful, so disposed as I have just said, possesses hundreds of kotis of advantages, so many that one would not be able to enumerate them in hundreds of Aeons.

Again, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who lives after the extinction of the Tathagata at the end of time when the true law is in decay, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who keeps this Sutra is not envious, not false, not deceitful; he does not speak disparagingly of other adherents of the vehicle of Bodhisattvas, nor defame, nor humble them. He does not bring forward the shortcomings of other monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, neither of the adherents of the vehicle of disciples nor of those of the vehicle of Pratyekabuddhas. He does not say: You young men of good family, you are far off from supreme, perfect enlightenment; you give proof of not having arrived at it; you are too fickle in your doings and not capable of acquiring true knowledge. He does not in this way bring forward the shortcomings of any adherent of the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas. Nor does he show any delight in disputes about the law, or engage in disputes about the law, and he never abandons the strength of charity towards all beings. In respect to all Tathagatas he feels as if they were his fathers, and in respect to all Bodhisattvas as if they were his masters. And as to the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in all directions of space, he is assiduous in paying homage to them by good will and respect. When he preaches the law, he preaches no less and no more than the law, without partial predilection for (any part of) the law, and he does not show greater favour to one than to another, even from love of the law.

Such, Mangusri, is the third quality with which a Bodhisattva Mahasattva is endowed who is to expound this Dharmaparyaya after the extinction of the Tathagata at the end of time when the true law is in decay; who will live at ease' and not be annoyed in the exposition of this Dharmaparyaya. And in the synod he will have allies, and he will find auditors at his sermons who will listen to this Dharmaparyaya, believe,

accept, keep, read, penetrate, write it and cause it to be written, and who, after it has been written and a volume made of it, will honour, respect, esteem, and worship it.

This said the Lord, and thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added the following:

- 39 The wise man, the preacher, who wishes to expound this Sutra must absolutely renounce falsehood, pride, calumny, and envy.
- 40 He should never speak a disparaging word of anybody; never engage in a dispute on religious belief; never say to such as are guilty of shortcomings, You will not obtain superior knowledge.
- 41 He is always sincere, mild, forbearing; (as) a (true) son of Sugata he will repeatedly preach the law without any feeling of vexation.
- 42 The Bodhisattvas in all directions of space, who out of compassion for creatures are moving in the world, are my teachers;' (thus thinking) the wise man respects them as his masters.
- 43 Cherishing the memory of the Buddhas, the supreme amongst men, he will always feel towards them as if they were his fathers, and by forsaking all idea of pride he will escape hindrance.
- 44 The wise man who has heard this law, should be constant in observing it. If he earnestly strives after a peaceful life, kotis of beings will surely protect him.

Further, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva, living at the time of destruction of the true law after the extinction of the Tathagata, who is desirous of keeping this Dharmaparyaya, should live as far as possible away from laymen and friars, and lead a life of charity. He must feel affection for all beings who are striving for enlightenment and therefore make this reflection: To be sure, they are greatly perverted in mind, those beings who do not hear, nor perceive, nor understand the skilfulness and the mystery of the Tathagata, who do not inquire for it, nor believe in it, nor even are willing to believe in it. Of course, these beings do not penetrate, nor understand this Dharmaparyaya. Nevertheless will I, who have attained this supreme, perfect knowledge, powerfully bend to it the mind of every one, whatever may be the position he occupies, and bring about that he accepts, understands, and arrives at full ripeness.

By possessing also this fourth quality, Mangusri, a Bodhisattva Mahasattva, who is to expound the law after the extinction of the Tathagata, will be unmolested, honoured, respected, esteemed, venerated by monks, nuns, and lay devotees, male and female, by kings, princes, ministers, king's officers, by citizens and country people, by Brahmans and laymen; the gods of the sky will, full of faith, follow his track to hear the law, and the angels will follow his track to protect him; whether he is in a village or in a monastery, they will approach him day and night to put questions about the law, and they will be satisfied, charmed with his explanation. For this Dharmaparyaya, Mangusri, has been blessed by all Buddhas. With the past, future, and present Tathagata, Mangusri, this Dharmaparyaya is for ever blessed. Precious in all worlds, Mangusri, is the sound, rumour, or mentioning of this Dharmaparyaya.

It is a case, Mangusri, similar to that of a king, a ruler of armies, who by force has conquered his own kingdom, whereupon other kings, his adversaries, wage war against him. That ruler of armies has soldiers of various description to fight with various enemies. As the king sees those soldiers fighting, he is delighted with their gallantry, enraptured, and in his delight and rapture he makes to his soldiers several donations, such as villages and village grounds, towns and grounds of a town; garments and head-gear; hand-ornaments, necklaces, gold threads, earrings, strings of pearls, bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch-shells, stones (?). corals: he, moreover, gives elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers, male and female slaves, vehicles, and litters. But to none he makes a present of his crown jewel, because that jewel only fits on the head of a king. Were the king to give away that crown jewel, then that whole royal army, consisting of four divisions, would be astonished and amazed. In the same manner, Mangusri, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., exercises the reign of righteousness (and of the law) in the triple world which he has conquered by the power of his arm and the power of his virtue. His triple world is assailed by Mara, the Evil One. Then the Aryas, the soldiers of the Tathagata, fight with Mara. Then, Mangusri, the king of the law, the lord of the law, expounds to the Arvas, his soldiers, whom he sees fighting, hundred thousands of Sutras in order to encourage the four classes. He gives them the city of Nirvana, the great city of the law; he allures them with that city of Nirvana, but he does not preach to them such a Dharmaparyaya as this. just as in that case, Mangusri, that king, ruler of armies, astonished at the great valour of his soldiers in battle gives them all his property, at last even his crown jewel, and just as that crown jewel has been kept by the king on his head to the last, so, Mangusri, the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., who as the great king of the law in the triple world exercises his sway with justice, when he sees disciples and Bodhisattvas fighting against the Mara of fancies or the Mara of sinful inclinations.

and when he sees that by fighting they have destroyed affection, hatred, and infatuation, overcome the triple world and conquered all Maras, is satisfied, and in his satisfaction he expounds to those noble (arya) soldiers this Dharmaparyaya which meets opposition in all the world, the unbelief of all the world, a Dharmaparyaya never before preached, never before explained. And the Tathagata bestows on all disciples the noble crown jewel, that most exalted crown jewel which brings omniscience to all. For this, Mangusri, is the supreme preaching of the Tathagatas; this is the last Dharmaparyaya of the Tathagatas; this is the most profound discourse on the law, a Dharmaparyaya meeting opposition in all the world. In the same manner, Mangusri, as that king of righteousness and ruler of armies took off the crown jewel which he had kept so long a time and gave it (at last) to the soldiers, so, Mangusri, the Tathagata now reveals this long-kept mystery of the law exceeding all others, (the mystery) which must be known by the Tathagatas.

And in order to elucidate this matter more in detail, the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

- 45 Always displaying the strength of charity, always filled with compassion for all creatures, expounding this law, the Sugatas have approved this exalted Sutra.
- 46 The laymen, as well as the mendicant friars, and the Bodhisattvas who shall live at the end of time, must all show the strength of charity, lest those who hear the law reject it.
- 47 But I, when I shall have reached enlightenment and be established in Tathagataship, will initiate (others), and after having initiated disciples preach everywhere this superior enlightenment.
- 48 It is (a case) like that of a king, ruler of armies, who gives to his soldiers various things, gold, elephants, horses, cars, foot soldiers; he also gives towns and villages, in token of his contentment.
- 49 In his satisfaction he gives to some hand-ornaments, silver and gold thread; pearls, gems, conch-shells, stones (?), coral; he also gives slaves of various description.
- 50 But when he is struck with the incomparable daring of one amongst the soldiers, he says: Thou. hast admirably done this; and, taking off his crown, makes him a present of the jewel.
- 51 Likewise do I, the Buddha, the king of the law, I who have the force of patience and a large treasure of wisdom, with justice govern the whole world, benign, compassionate, and nitiful
- 52 And seeing how the creatures are in trouble, I pronounce thousands of kotis of Sutrantas, when I perceive the heroism of those living beings who by pure-mindedness overcome the sinful inclinations of the world.
- 53 And the king of the law, the great physician, who expounds hundreds of kotis of Paryayas, when he recognises that creatures are strong, shows them this Sutra, comparable to a crown jewel.
- 54 This is the last Sutra proclaimed in the world, the most eminent of all my Sutras, which I have always kept and never divulged. Now I am going to make it known; listen all.
- 55 There are four qualities to be acquired by those who at the period after my extinction desire supreme enlightenment and perform my charge. The qualities are such as follows.
- 56 The wise man knows no vexation, trouble, sickness; the colour of his skin is not blackish; nor does he dwell in a miserable town.
- 57 The great Sage has always a pleasant look, deserves to be honoured, as if he were the Tathagata himself, and little angels shall constantly be his attendants.
- 58 His body can never be hurt by weapons, poison, sticks, or clods, and the mouth of the man who utters a word of abuse against him shall be closed.
- 59 He is a friend to all creatures in the world. He goes all over the earth as a light, dissipating the gloom of many kotis of creatures, he who keeps this Sutra after my extinction.
- 60 In his sleep he sees visions in the shape of Buddha; he sees monks and nuns appearing on thrones and proclaiming the many-sided law.
- 61 He sees in his dream gods and goblins, (numerous) as the sands of the Ganges, as well as demons and Nagas of many kinds, who lift their joined hands and to whom he expounds the eminent law.
- 62 He sees in his dream the Tathagata preaching the law to many kotis of beings with lovely voice, the Lord with golden colour.
- 63 And he stands there with joined hands glorifying the Seer, the highest of men, whilst the Gina, the great physician, is expounding the law to the four classes.
- 64 And he, glad to have heard the law, joyfully pays his worship, and after having soon reached the knowledge which never slides back, he obtains, in dream, magical spells.
- 65 And the Lord of the world, perceiving his good intention, announces to him his destiny of becoming a leader amongst men: Young man of good family (says he), thou shalt here reach in future supreme, holy knowledge.
- 66 Thou shalt have a large field and four classes (of hearers), even as myself, that respectfully and with joined hands shall hear from thee the vast and faultless law.

- 67 Again he sees his own person occupied with meditating on the law in mountain caverns; and by meditating he attains the very nature of the law and, on obtaining complete absorption, sees the Gina.
- 68 And after seeing in his dream the goldcoloured one, him who displays a hundred hallowed signs, he hears the law, whereafter he preaches it in the assembly. Such is his dream.
- 69 And in his dream he also forsakes his whole realm, harem, and numerous kinsfolk; renouncing all pleasures he leaves home (to become an ascetic), and betakes himself to the place of the terrace of enlightenment.
- 70 There, seated upon a throne at the foot of a tree to seek enlightenment, he will, after the lapse of seven days, arrive at the knowledge of the Tathagatas.
- 71 On having reached enlightenment he will rise up from that place to move forward the faultless wheel and preach the law during an inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of #Gons
- 72 After having revealed perfect enlightenment and led many kotis of beings to perfect rest, he himself will be extinguished like a lamp when the oil is exhausted. So is that vision.
- 73 Endless, Mangughosha, are the advantages which constantly are his who at the end of time shall expound this Sutra of superior enlightenment that I have perfectly explained.

#### LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 14

Issuing Of Bodhisattvas From The Gaps Of The Earth.

Out of the multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who had flocked from other worlds, Bodhisattvas eight (times) equal to the sands of the river Ganges then rose from the assembled circle. Their joined hands stretched out towards the Lord to pay him homage, they said to him: If the Lord will allow us, we also would, after the extinction of the Lord, reveal this Dharmaparyaya in this Saha-world; we would read, write, worship it, and wholly devote ourselves to that law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to grant to us also this Dharmaparyaya. And the Lord answered: Nay, young men of good family, why should you occupy yourselves with this task? I have here in this Saha-world thousands of Bodhisattvas equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, forming the train of one Bodhisattva; and of such Bodhisattvas there is a number equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, each of these Bodhisattvas having an equal number in their train, who at the end of time, at the last period after my extinction, shall keep, read, proclaim this Dharmaparyaya.

No sooner had the Lord uttered these words than the Sahaworld burst open on every side, and from within the clefts arose many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas with gold-coloured bodies and the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, who had been staying in the element of ether underneath this great earth, close to this Saha-world. These then on hearing the word of the Lord came up from below the earth. Each of these Bodhisattyas had a train of thousands of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers; (each had) a troop, a great troop, as teacher of a troop. Of such Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a troop, a great troop, as teachers of a troop, there were hundred thousands of myriads of kotis equal to the sands of sixty Ganges rivers, who emerged from the gaps of the earth in this Saha-world. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of fifty Ganges rivers; much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a train of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of forty Ganges rivers; Of 30, 20, 10, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 Ganges river; of 1/2, 1/4, 1/6, 1/10, 30, 20, 10, 3, 4, 3, 2, 1 Gailges 11/e1, 01 1/2, 1/4, 1/0, 1/10, 1/20, 1/50, 1/100, 1/1000, 1/100,000, 1/10,000,000, 1/100 X 10,000,000, 1/100 X 10,000,000, 1/100 X 1000 X 10,000,000, 1/100 X 1000 X 10,000 X 10,000,000 part of the river Ganges. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having a train of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas; of one koli; of one hundred thousand: of one thousand: Of 500: Of 400: Of 300: Of 200; Of 100; Of 50; Of 40; Of 30; Of 20; Of 10; Of 5, 4, 3, 2. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas having one follower. Much more there were to be found of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas standing isolated. They cannot be numbered, counted, calculated, compared, known by occult science, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who emerged from the gaps of the earth to appear in this Saha-world. And after they had successively emerged they went up to the Stupa of precious substances which stood in the sky, where the Lord Prabhutaratna, the extinct Tathagata, was seated along with the Lord Sakyamuni on the throne. Whereafter they saluted the feet of both Tathagatas, etc., as well as the images of Tathagatas produced by the Lord Sakyamuni from his own body, who all together were seated on thrones at the foot of various iewel trees on every side in all directions, in different worlds. After these Bodhisattvas had many hundred thousand times saluted, and thereon circumambulated the Tathagatas, etc., from left to right, and celebrated them with various Bodhisattva hymns, they went and kept themselves at a little distance, the joined hands stretched out to honour the Lord

Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc.

And while those Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who had emerged from the gaps of the earth were saluting and celebrating the Tathagatas by various Bodhisattva hymns, fifty intermediate kalpas in full rolled away, during which fifty intermediate kalpas the Lord Sakyamuni remained silent, and likewise the four classes of the audience. Then the Lord produced such an effect of magical power that the four classes fancied that it had been no more than one afternoon, and they saw this Saha-world assume the appearance of hundred thousands of worlds replete with Bodhisattvas. The four Bodhisattvas Mahisattvas who were the chiefest of that great host of Bodhisattvas, viz. the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Visishtakaritra (i.e. of eminent conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Anantakaritra (i.e. of endless conduct), the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Visuddhakaritra (i.e. of correct conduct), and the Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Supratishthitakaritra (i.e. of very steady conduct), these four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas standing at the head of the great host, the great multitude of Bodhisattvas stretched out the joined hands towards the Lord and addressed him thus: Is the Lord in good health? Does he enjoy well-being and good ease? Are the creatures decorous, docile, obedient, correctly performing their task, so that they give no trouble to the

And those four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas addressed the Lord with the two following stanzas:

- 1 Does the Lord of the world, the illuminator, feel at ease? Dost thou feel free from bodily disease, O Perfect One?
- 2 The creatures, we hope, will be decorous, docile, performing the orders of the Lord of the world, so as to give no trouble.

And the Lord answered the four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas: So it is, young men of good family, I am in good health, well-being, and at ease. And these creatures of mine are decorous, docile, obedient, well performing what is ordered; they give no trouble when I correct them; and that, young men of good family, because these creatures, owing to their being already prepared under the ancient, perfectly enlightened Buddhas, have but to see and hear me to put trust in me, to understand and fathom the Buddha-knowledge. And those who fulfilled their duties in the stage of disciples have now been introduced by me into Buddha-knowledge and well instructed in the highest truth.

And at that time the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas uttered the following stanzas:

- 3 Excellent, excellent, O great Hero! we are happy to hear that those creatures are decorous, docile, well performing their duty':
- 4 And that they listen to thy profound knowledge, O Leader, and that after listening to it they have put trust in it and understand it

This said, the Lord declared his approval to the four Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who were at the head of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, saying: Well done, young men of good family, well done, that you so congratulate the Tathagata.

And at that moment the following thought arose in the mind of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya and the eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges: We never yet saw so great a host, so great a multitude of Bodhisattvas; we never yet heard of such a multitude, that after issuing from the gaps of the earth has stood in the presence of the Lord to honour, respect, venerate, worship him and greet him with joyful shouts. Whence have these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas flocked hither?

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya, feeling within himself doubt and perplexity, and inferring from his own thoughts those of the eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas similar to the sands of the river Ganges, stretched out his joined hands towards the Lord and questioned him about the matter by uttering the following stanzas:

- 5 Here are many thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas, numberless, whom we never saw before; tell us, O supreme of
- 6 Whence and how do these mighty persons come? Whence have they come here under the form of great bodies'?
- 7 All are great Seers, wise and strong in memory, whose outward appearance is lovely to see; whence have they come?
- 8 And each of those Bodhisattvas, O Lord of the world, has an immense train, like the sands of the Ganges.
- 9 The train of (each) glorious Bodhisattva is equal to the sands of sixty Ganges in full. All are striving after enlightenment.
- 10 Of such heroes and mighty possessors of a troop the followers are equal to the sands of sixty Ganges.
- 11 There are others, still more numerous, with an unlimited train, like the sands of fifty, forty, and thirty Ganges;
- 12 Who have a train equal to the (sands of) twenty Ganges. Still more numerous are the mighty sons of Buddha, who have each a train (equal to the sands) of ten, of five Ganges.

- 13 Whence, O Leader, has such an assembly flocked hither?
- 14 There are others who have each a train of pupils and companions equal to the sands of four, three, or two Ganges.
- 15 There are others more numerous yet; it would be impossible to calculate their number in thousands of kotis of Fons
- 16 (Equal to) a half Ganges, one third, one tenth, one twentieth, is the train of those heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas.
- 17 There are yet others who are incalculable; it would be impossible to count them even in hundreds of kotis of Æons.
- 18 Many more yet there are, with endless trains; they have in their attendance kotis, and kotis and again kotis, and also half kotis
- 19 Other great Seers again, beyond computation, very wise Bodhisattvas are seen in a respectful posture.
- 20 They have a thousand, a hundred, or fifty attendants; in hundreds of kotis of Æons one would not be able to count them.
- 21 The suite of (some of these) heroes consists of twenty, of ten, five, four, three, or two: those are countless.
- 22 As to those who are walking alone and come to their rest alone, they have now flocked hither in such numbers as to be beyond computation.
- 23 Even if one with a magic wand in his hand would try for a number of Æons equal to the sands of the Ganges to count them, he would not reach the term.
- 24 Where do all those noble, energetic heroes, those mighty Bodhisattvas, come from?
- 25 Who has taught them the law (or duty)? and by whom have they been destined to enlightenment? Whose command do they accept? Whose command do they keep?
- 26 Bursting forth at all points of the horizon through the whole extent of the earth they emerge, those great Sages endowed with magical faculty and wisdom.
- 27 This world on every side is being perforated, O Seer, by the wise Bodhisattvas, who at this time are emerging.
- 28 Never before have we seen anything like this. Tell us the name of this world, O Leader.
- 29 We have repeatedly roamed in all directions of space, but never saw these Bodhisattvas.
- 30 We never saw a single infant of thine, and now, on a sudden, these appear to us. Tell us their history, O Seer.
- 31 Hundreds, thousands, ten thousands of Bodhisattvas, all equally filled with curiosity, look up to the highest of men.
- 32 Explain to us, O incomparable, great hero, who knowest no bounds, where do these heroes, these wise Bodhisattvas, come from?

Meanwhile the Tathagatas, etc., who had flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of worlds, they, the creations of the Lord Sakyamuni, who were preaching the law to the beings in other worlds; who all around the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., were seated with crossed legs on magnificent jewel thrones at the foot of jewel trees in every direction of space: as well as the satellites of those Tathagatas were struck with wonder and amazement at the sight of that great host, that great multitude of Bodhisattvas emerging from the gaps of the earth and established in the element of ether, and they (the satellites) asked each their own Tathagata: Where, O Lord, do so many Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, so innumerable, so countless, come from? Whereupon those Tathagatas, etc., answered severally to their satellites: Wait awhile, young men of good family; this Bodhisattva Mahasattva here, called Maitreya, has just received from the Lord Sakyamuni a revelation about his destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment. He has questioned the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., about the matter, and the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., is going to explain it; then you may hear.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Maitreya: Well done, Agita, well done; it is a sublime subject, Agita, about which thou questionest me. Then the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas: Be attentive all, young men of good family - be well prepared and steady on your post, you and the entire host of Bodhisattvas; the Tathagata, the Arhat, etc., is now going to exhibit the sight of the knowledge of the Tathagata, young men of good family, the leadership of the Tathagata, the work of the Tathagata, the sport [i.e. magic display of creative power, lila, synonymous with maya.] of the Tathagata, the might of the Tathagata, the energy of the Tathagata.

- And on that occasion the Lord pronounced the following stanzas:
- 33 Be attentive all, young men of good family; I am to utter an infallible word; refrain from disputing about it, O sages: the science of the Tathagata is beyond reasoning.
- 34 Be all steady and thoughtful; continue attentive all. Today you will hear a law as yet unknown, the wonder of the Tathagatas.
- 35 Never have any doubt, ye sages, for I shall strengthen you, I am the Leader who speaketh infallible truth, and my knowledge is unlimited.

36 Profound are the laws known to the Sugata, above reasoning and beyond argumentation. These laws I am going to reveal; ye, hear which and how they are.

After uttering these stanzas the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya: I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee: These Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, Agita, so innumerable, incalculable, inconceivable, incomparable, uncountable, whom you never saw before, who just now have issued from the gaps of the earth, these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, Agita, have I roused, excited, animated, fully developed to supreme, perfect enlightenment after my having arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment in this world. I have, moreover, fully matured, established, confirmed, instructed, perfected these young men of good family in their Bodhisattyaship, And these Bodhisattyas Mahasattyas, Agita, occupy in this Saha-world the domain of the ether-element below. Only thinking of the lesson they have to study, and devoted to thoroughly comprehend it, these young men of good family have no liking for social gatherings, nor for bustling crowds; they do not put off their tasks, and are strenuous. These young men of gyood family, Agita, delight in seclusion, are fond of seclusion. These young men of good family do not dwell in the immediate vicinity of gods and men, they not being fond of bustling crowds. These young men of good family find their luxury in the pleasure of the law, and apply themselves to Buddha-knowledge.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 37 These Bodhisattvas, immense, inconceivable and beyond measure, endowed with magic power, wisdom, and learning, have progressed in knowledge for many kotis of Æons.
- 38 It is I who have brought them to maturity for enlightenment, and it is in my field that they have their abode; by me alone have they been brought to maturity; these Bodhisattyas are my sons.
- 39 All have devoted themselves to a hermit life and are assiduous in shunning places of bustle; they walk detached, these sons of mine, following my precepts in their lofty course.
- 40 They dwell in the domain of ether, in the lower portion of the field, those heroes who, unwearied, are striving day and night to attain superior knowledge.
- 41 All strenuous, of good memory, unshaken in the immense strength of their intelligence, those serene sages preach the law, all radiant, as being my sons.
- 42 Since the time when I reached this superior (or foremost) enlightenment, at the town of Gaya, at the foot of the tree, and put in motion the allsurpassing wheel of the law, I have brought to maturity all of them for superior enlightenment.
- 43 These words I here speak are faultless, really true; believe me, all of you who hear me: verily, I have reached superior enlightenment, and it is by me alone that all have been brought to maturity.

The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya and those numerous hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas were struck with wonder, amazement, and surprise, (and thought): How is it possible that within so short a moment, within the lapse of so short a time so many Bodhisattvas, so countless, have been roused and made fully ripe to reach supreme, perfect enlightenment? Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya asked the Lord: How then, O Lord, has the Tathagata, after he left, when a prince royal, Kapilavastu, the town of the Sakvas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, not far from the town of Gaya, somewhat more than forty years since, O Lord? How then has the Lord, the Tathagata, within so short a lapse of time, been able to perform the endless task of a Tathagata, to exercise the leadership of a Tathagata, the energy of a Tathagata? How has the Tathagata, within so short a time, been able to rouse and bring to maturity for supreme, perfect enlightenment this host of Bodhisattvas, this multitude of Bodhisattvas, a multitude so great that it would be impossible to count the whole of it, even if one were to continue counting for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons? These Bodhisattvas, so innumerable, O Lord, so countless, having long followed a spiritual course of life and planted roots of goodness under many hundred thousands of Buddhas, have in the course of many hundred thousands of Æons become finally ripe.

It is just as if some man, young and youthful, a young man with black hair and in the prime of youth, twenty-five years of age, would represent centenarians as his sons, and say: 'Here, young men of good family, you see my sons;' and if those centenarians would declare: 'This is the father who begot us! Now, Lord, the speech of that man would be incredible, hard to be believed by the public. It is the same case with the Tathagata, who but lately has arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, and with these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, so immense in number, who for many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons, having observed a spiritual course of life, have long since come to certainty in regard to Tathagata-knowledge; who are able to plunge in and again rise from the hundred thousand sorts of meditation'; who are adepts at the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom, have accomplished the preparatories to noble transcendent wisdom,

who are clever on the Buddha-ground, able in the (ecclesiastical) Council and in Tathagata duties: who are the wonder and admiration of the world; who are possessed of great vigour, strength, and power. And the Lord says: From the very beginning have I roused, brought to maturity, fully developed them to be fit for this Bodhisattva position. It is I who have displayed this energy and vigour after arriving at supreme, perfect enlightenment. But, O Lord, how can we have faith in the words of the Tathagata, when he says: The Tathagata speaks infallible truth? The Tathagata must know that the Bodhisattvas who have newly entered the vehicle are apt to fall into doubt on this head; after the extinction of the Tathagata those who hear this Dharmaparyaya will not accept, not believe, not trust it. Hence, O Lord, they will design acts tending to the ruin of the law. Therefore, O Lord, deign to explain us this matter, that we may be free from perplexity, and that the Bodhisattvas who in future shall hear , be they young men of good family or young ladies, may not fall into doubt.

On that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

44 When thou wert born in Kapilavastu, the home of the

- 44 When thou wert born in Kapilavastu, the home of the Sakyas, thou didst leave it and reach enlightenment at the town of Gaya. That is a short time ago, O Lord of the world.
- 45 And now thou hast so great a crowd of followers, these sages who for many kotis of Æons have fulfilled their duties, stood firm in magic power, unshaken, well disciplined, accomplished in the might of wisdom:
- 46 These, who are untainted as the lotus is by water; who to-day have flocked hither after rending the earth, and are standing all with joined hands, respectful and strong in memory, the sons of the Master of the world.
- 47 How will these Bodhisattvas believe this great wonder? Expel (all) doubt, tell the cause, and show how the matter really is.
- 48 It is as if there were some man, a young man with black hair, twenty years old or somewhat more, who presented as his sons some centenarians,
- 49 And the latter, covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, declared the (young) man to be their father. But such (a young man) never having sons of such appearance, it would be difficult to believe, O Lord of the world, that they were sons to so young a man.
- 50 In the same manner, O Lord, we are unable to conceive how these numerous Bodhisattvas of good memory and excelling in wisdom, who have been well instructed during thousands of kotis of Æons:
- 51 Who are firm, of keen intelligence, lovely and agreeable to sight, free from hesitation in the decisions on law, praised by the Leaders of the world;
- 52 Who in freedom live in the wood; who unattached in the element of ether constantly display their energy, who are the sons of Sugata striving after this Buddha-ground;
- 53 How will this be believed when the Leader of the world shall be completely extinct? After hearing it from the Lord's own mouth we shall never more feel any doubt.
- 54 May Bodhisattvas never come to grief by having doubt on this head. Grant us, O Lord, a truthful account how these Bodhisattvas have been brought to maturity by thee.

## LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 15

Duration Of Life Of The Tathagata.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire host of Bodhisattvas: Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathagata speaking a veracious word. A second time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas: Trust me, young gentlemen of good family, believe in the Tathagata speaking a veracious word. A third and last time the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas: Trust me, young men of good family, believe in the Tathagata speaking a veracious word. Then the entire host of Bodhisattvas with Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva at their head, stretched out the joined hands and said to the Lord: Expound this matter, O Lord; expound it, O Sugata; we will believe in the word of the Tathagata. A second time the entire host, etc. etc. A third time the entire host, etc. etc.

The Lord, considering that the Bodhisattvas repeated their prayer up to three times, addressed them thus: Listen then, young men of good family. The force of a strong resolve which I assumed is such, young men of good family, that this world, including gods, men, and demons, acknowledges: Now has the Lord Sakyamuni, after going out from the home of the Sakyas, arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment, on the summit of the terrace of enlightenment at the town of Gaya. But, young men of good family, the truth is that many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons ago I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. By way of example, young men of good family, let there be the atoms of earth of fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds: let there exist some man who takes one of those atoms of dust and then goes in an eastern direction fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds further on, there to deposit that atom of dust; let in this manner the man carry away from all those worlds the whole mass of earth, and in the same manner, and by the same

act as supposed, deposit all those atoms in an eastern direction. Now, would you think, young men of good family, that any one should be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine (the number of) those worlds? The Lord having thus spoken, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya and the entire host of Bodhisattvas replied: They are incalculable, O Lord, those worlds, countless, beyond the range of thought. Not even all the disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, O Lord, with their Aryaknowledge, will be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine them. For us also, O Lord, who are Bodhisattvas standing on the place from whence there is no turning back, this point lies beyond the sphere of our comprehension; so innumerable, O Lord, are those worlds.

innumerable, O Lord, are those worlds. This said, the Lord spoke to those Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas as follows: I announce to you, young men of good family, I declare to you: However numerous be those worlds where that man deposits those atoms of dust and where he does not, there are not, young men of good family, in all those hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of worlds so many dust atoms as there are hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons since I have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. From the moment, young men of good family, when I began preaching the law to creatures in this Sahaworld and in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of other worlds, and (when) the other Tathagatas, Arhats, etc., such as the Tathagata Dipankara and the rest whom I have mentioned in the lapse of time (preached), (from that moment) have I, young men of good family, for the complete Nirvana of those Tathagatas, etc., created all that with the express view to skilfully preach the law. Again, young men of good family, the Tathagata, considering the different degrees of faculty and strength of succeeding generations, reveals at each (generation) his own name, reveals a state in which Nirvana has not yet been reached, and in different ways he satisfies the wants of (different) creatures through various Dharmaparyayas . This being the case, young men of good family, the Tathagata declares to the creatures, whose dispositions are so various and who possess so few roots of goodness, so many evil propensities: I am young of age, monks; having left my father's home, monks, I have lately arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. When, however, the Tathagata, who so long ago arrived at perfect enlightenment, declares himself to have but lately arrived at perfect enlightenment, he does so in order to lead creatures to full ripeness and make them go in. Therefore have these Dharmaparyayas been revealed; and it is for the education of creatures, young men of good family, that the Tathagata has revealed all Dharmaparyayas. And, young men of good family, the word that the Tathagata delivers on behalf of the education of creatures, either under his own appearance or under another's, either on his own authority or under the mask of another, all that the Tathagata declares, all those Dharmaparyayas spoken by the Tathagata are true. There can be no question of untruth from the part of the Tathagata in this respect. For the Tathagata sees the triple world as it really is: it is not born, it dies not; it is not conceived, it springs not into existence; it moves not in a whirl, it becomes not extinct; it is not real, nor unreal; it is not existing, nor non-existing; it is not such, nor otherwise, nor false. The Tathagata sees the triple world, not as the ignorant, common people, he seeing things always present to him; indeed, to the Tathagata, in his position, no laws are concealed. In that respect any word that the Tathagata speaks is true, not false. But in order to produce the roots of goodness in the creatures, who follow different pursuits and behave according to different notions, he reveals various Dharmaparyayas with various fundamental principles. The Tathagata then, young men of good family, does what he has to do. The Tathagata who so long ago was perfectly enlightened is unlimited in the duration of his life, he is everlasting. Without being extinct, the Tathagata makes a show of extinction, on behalf of those who have to be educated. And even now, young gentlemen of good family, I have not accomplished my ancient Bodhisattyacourse, and the measure of my lifetime is not full. Nay, young men of good family, I shall yet have twice as many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons before the measure of my lifetime be full. I announce final extinction, young men of good family, though myself I do not become finally extinct. For in this way, young men of good family, I bring (all) creatures to maturity, lest creatures in whom goodness is not firmly rooted, who are unholy, miserable, eager of sensual pleasures, blind and obscured by the film of wrong views, should, by too often seeing me, take to thinking: The Tathagata is staying' and fancy that all is a child's play; (lest they) by thinking 'we are near that Tathagata' should fail to exert themselves in order to escape the triple world and not conceive how precious the Tathagata is. Hence, young men of good family, the Tathdgata skilfully utters. these words: The apparition of the Tathagatas, monks, is precious (and rare). For in the course of many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons creatures may happen to see a Tathagata or not to see him,. Therefore and upon that ground, young men of good family, I say: The apparition of the Tathagatas, monks, is precious (and rare). By being more and more convinced of the

apparition of the Tathagatas being precious (or rare) they will feel surprised and sorry, and whilst not seeing the Tathagata they will get a longing to see him. The good roots developing from their earnest thought relating to the Tathagata will lastingly tend to their weal, benefit, and happiness; in consideration of which the Tathagata announces final extinction, though he himself does not become finally extinct, on behalf of the creatures who have to be educated. Such, young men of good family, is the Tathagata's manner of teaching; when the Tathagata speaks in this way, there is from his part no falsehood.

Let us suppose an analogous case, young men of good family. There is some physician, learned, intelligent, prudent, clever in allaying all sorts of diseases. That man has many sons ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or a hundred. The physician once being abroad, all his children incur a disease from poison or venom. Overcome with the grievous pains caused by that poison or venom which burns them they lie rolling on the ground. Their father, the physician, comes home from his journey at the time when his sons are suffering from that poison or venom. Some of them have perverted notions, others have right notions, but all suffer the same pain. On seeing their father they cheerfully greet him and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare! Now deliver us from our evil, be it poison or venom; let us live, dear father. And the physician, seeing his sons befallen with disease, overcome with pain and rolling on the ground, prepares a great remedy, having the required colour, smell, and taste, pounds it on a stone and gives it as a potion to his sons, with these words: Take this great remedy, my sons, which has the required colour, smell, and taste. For by taking this great remedy, my sons, you shall soon be rid of this poison or venom; you shall recover and be healthy. Those amongst the children of the physician that have right notions, after seeing the colour of the remedy, after smelling the smell and tasting the flavour, quickly take it, and in consequence of it are soon totally delivered from their disease. But the sons who have perverted notions cheerfully greet their father and say: Hail, dear father, that thou art come back in safety and welfare; do heal us. So they speak, but they do not take the remedy offered, and that because, owing to the perverseness of their notions, that remedy does not please them, in colour, smell, nor taste. Then the physician reflects thus: These sons of mine must have become perverted in their notions owing to this poison or venom, as they do not take the remedy nor hail me. Therefore will I by some able device induce these sons to take this remedy. Prompted by this desire he speaks to those sons as follows: I am old, young men of good family, decrepit, advanced in years, and my term of life is near at hand; but be not sorry, young men of good family, do not feel dejected; here have I prepared a great remedy for you; if you want it, you may take it. Having thus admonished them, he skilfully betakes himself to another part of the country and lets his sick sons know that he has departed life. They are extremely sorry and bewail him extremely: So then he is dead, our father and protector; he who begat us; he, so full of bounty! now are we left without a protector. Fully aware of their being orphans and of having no refuge, they are continually plunged in sorrow, by which their perverted notions make room for right notions. They acknowledge that remedy possessed of the required colour, smell, and taste to have the required colour, smell, and taste, so that they instantly take it, and by taking it are delivered from their evil. Then, on knowing that these sons are delivered from evil, the physician shows himself again. Now, young men of good family, what is your opinion? Would any one charge that physician with falsehood on account of his using that device? No, certainly not, Lord; certainly not, Sugata. He proceeded: In the same manner, young men of good family, I have arrived at supreme. perfect enlightenment since an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons, but from time to time I display such able devices to the creatures, with the view of educating them, without there being in that respect any falsehood on my part.

In order to set forth this subject more extensively the Lord on that occasion uttered the following stanzas:

- 1 An inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of Æons, never to be measured, is it since I reached superior (or first) enlightenment and never ceased to teach the law.
- 2 I roused many Bodhisattvas and established them in Buddha-knowledge. I brought myriads of kotis of beings, endless, to full ripeness in many kotis of Æons.
- 3 I show the place of extinction, I reveal to (all) beings a device to educate them, albeit I do not become extinct at the time, and in this very place continue preaching the law.
- 4 There I rule myself as well as all beings, I. But men of perverted minds, in their delusion, do not see me standing there.
- 5 In the opinion that my body is completely extinct, they pay worship, in many ways, to the relics, but me they see not. They feel (however) a certain aspiration by which their mind becomes right.

- 6 When such upright (or pious), mild, and gentle creatures leave off their bodies, then I assemble the crowd of disciples and show myself here on the Gridhrakuta.
- 7 And then I speak thus to them, in this very place: I was not completely extinct at that time; it was but a device of mine, monks; repeatedly am I born in the world of the living.
- 8 Honoured by other beings, I show them my superior enlightenment, but you would not obey my word, unless the Lord of the world enter Nirvana.
- 9 I see how the creatures are afflicted, but I do not show them my proper being. Let them first have an aspiration to see me; then I will reveal to them the true law.
- 10 Such has always been my firm resolve during an inconceivable number of thousands of kotis of Æons, and I have not left this Gridhrakuta for other abodes.
- 11 And when creatures behold this world and imagine that it is burning, even then my Buddhafield is teeming with gods and men
- 12 They dispose of manifold amusements, kotis of pleasure gardens, palaces, and aerial cars; (this field) is embellished by hills of gems and by trees abounding with blossoms and fruits.
- 13 And aloft gods are striking musical instruments and pouring a rain of Mandaras by which they are covering me, the disciples and other sages who are striving after enlightenment.
- 14 So is my field here, everlasti.ngly; but others fancy that it is burning; in their view this world is most terrific, wretched, replete with number of woes.
- 15 Ay, many kotis of years they may pass without ever having mentioned my name, the law, or my congregation. That is the fruit of sinful deeds.
- 16 But when mild and gentle beings are born in this world of men, they immediately see me revealing the law, owing to their good works.
- 17 I never speak to them of the infinitude of my action. Therefore, I am, properly, existing since long, and yet declare: The Ginas are rare (or precious).
- 18 Such is the glorious power of my wisdom that knows no limit, and the duration of my life is as long as an endless period; I have acquired it after previously following a due course.
- 19 Feel no doubt concerning it, O sages, and leave off all uncertainty: the word I here pronounce is really true; my word is never false.
- 20 For even as that physician skilled in devices, for the sake of his sons whose notions were perverted, said that he had died although he was still alive, and even as no sensible man, would charge that physician with falsehood:
- 21 So am I the father of the world, the Self born, the Healer, the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated, and ignorant I teach final rest, myself not being at rest
- 22 What reason should I have to continually manifest myself? When men become unbelieving, unwise, ignorant, careless, fond of sensual pleasures, and from thoughtlessness run into misfortune.
- 23 Then I, who know the course of the world, declare: I am so and so, (and consider): How can I incline them to enlightenment? how can they become partakers of the Buddha-Jaws?

## LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 16

Of Piety.

While this exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's lifetime was being given, innumerable, countless creatures profited by it. Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya: While this exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's lifetime was being given, Agita, sixty-eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattyas. comparable to the sands of the Ganges, have acquired the faculty to acquiesce in the law that has no origin. A thousand times more Bodhisattvas Mahisattvas have obtained Dharani [Dharani usually denotes a magic spell, a talisman. Here and there it interchanges with dharana, support, the bearing in mind, attention. The synonymous raksha embraces the meaning of talisman and protection, support. It is not easy to decide what is intended in the text]; and other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one third of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya obtained the faculty of unhampered view. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas again, equal to the dust atoms of two-third parts of a macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya obtained the Dharani that makes hundred thousand kotis of revolutions. Again, other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a whole macrocosm, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya moved forward the wheel that never rolls back. Some Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a mean universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya moved forward the wheel of spotless radiance. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of a small universe, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya come so far that they will reach supreme, perfect enlightenment after eight births. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of four worlds of four continents, have by hearing

this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require four births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of three four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require three births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattyas, equal to the dust atoms of two four-continental worlds, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require two births (more) before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of one fourcontinental world, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya become such as to require but one birth before reaching supreme, perfect enlightenment. Other Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the dust atoms of eight macrocosms consisting of three parts, have by hearing this Dharmaparyaya conceived the idea of supreme, perfect enlightenment.

No sooner had the Lord given this exposition determining the duration and periods of the law, than there fell from the upper sky a great rain of Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers that covered and overwhelmed all the hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas who were seated on their thrones at the foot of the jewel trees in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of worlds. It also covered and overwhelmed the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., the latter sitting fully extinct on his throne, as well as that entire host of Bodhisattyas and the four classes of the audience. A rain of celestial powder of sandal and agallochum. trickled down from the sky, whilst higher up in the firmament the great drums resounded, without being struck, with a pleasant, sweet, and deep sound. Double pieces of fine heavenly cloth fell down by hundreds and thousands from the upper sky: necklaces, halfnecklaces, pearl necklaces, gems, jewels, noble gems, and noble jewels were seen high in the firmament, hanging down from every side in all directions of space, while all around thousands of jewel censers, containing priceless, exquisite incense, were moving of their own accord. Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas were seen holding above each Tathagata, high aloft, a row of jewel umbrellas stretching as high as the Brahma-world. So acted the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in respect to all the innumerable hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddhas. Severally they celebrated these Buddhas in appropriate stanzas, sacred hymns in praise of the Buddhas.

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya uttered the followino, stanzas:

- 1 Wonderful is the law which the Sugata has expounded, the law we never heard before; how great the majesty of the Leaders is, and how infinite the duration of their life!
- 2 And on hearing such a law imparted by the Sugata from face to face, thousands of kotis of creatures, the genuine sons of the Leader of the world, have been pervaded with gladness.
- 3 Some have reached the point of supreme enlightenment from whence there is no return, others are standing on the lower stage; some have reached the standpoint of having an unhampered view, and others have obtained thousands of kotis of Dharanis.
- 4 There are others, (as) atoms, who have reached supreme Buddha-knowledge. Some, again, will after eight births become Ginas seeing the infinite.
- 5 Among those who hear this law from the Master, some will obtain enlightenment and see the truth after four births, others after three, others after two.
- 6 Some among them will become all-knowing after one birth, in the next following existence. Such will be the perfect result of learning the duration of life of the Chief.
- 7 Innumerable, countless as the atoms of the eight fields, are the kotis of beings who by hearing this law have conceived the idea of superior enlightenment.
- 8 Such is the effect produced by the great Seer, when he reveals this Buddha-state that is endless and has no limit, which is as immense as the element of ether.
- 9 Many thousand kotis of angels, Indras, and Brahmaangels, like the sands of the Ganges, have flocked hither from thousands of kotis of distant fields and have poured a rain of Mandairavas.
- 10 They move in the sky like birds, and strew fragrant powder of sandal and agallochum, to cover ceremoniously the Chief of Ginas withal.
- 11High aloft tymbals without being struck emit sweet sounds; thousands of kotis of white cloth whirl down upon the Chiefs.
- 12 Thousands of kotis of jewel censers of costly incense move of their own accord on every side to honour the mighty Lord of the world.
- 13 Innumerable wise Bodhisattvas hold myriads of kotis of umbrellas, elevated and made of noble jewels, like chaplets, up to the Brahma-world.
- 14 The sons of Sugata, in their great joy, have attached beautiful triumphal streamers at the top of the banner staffs in honour of the Leaders whom they celebrate in thousands of stanzas.

15 Such a marvellous, extraordinary, prodigious, splendid phenomenon, O Leader, is being displayed by all those beings who are gladdened by the exposition of the duration of life (of the Tathagata).

16 Grand is the matter now (occurring) in the ten points of space, and (great) the sound raised by the Leaders; thousands of kotis of living beings are refreshed and gifted with virtue for enlightenment.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya: Those beings, Agita, who during the exposition of this Dharmaparyaya in which the duration of the Tathagata's life is revealed have entertained, were it but a single thought of trust, or have put belief in it, how great a merit are they to produce, be they young men and young ladies of good family? Listen then, and mind it well, how great the merit is they shall produce. Let us suppose the case, Agita, that some young man or young lady of good family, desirous of supreme, perfect enlightenment, for eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons practises the five perfections of virtue (Paramitas), to wit, perfect charity in alms, perfect morality, perfect forbearance, perfect energy, perfect meditation-perfect wisdom being excepted: let us, on the other hand, suppose the case, Agita, that a young man or young lady of good family, on hearing this Dharmaparyaya containing the exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's life, conceives were it but a single thought of trust or puts belief in it; then that former accumulation of merit, that accumulation of good connected with the five perfections of virtue, (that accumulation) which has come to full accomplishment in eight hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons, does not equal one hundredth part of the accumulation of merit in the second case; it does not equal one thousandth part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching. One who is possessed of such an accumulation of merit, Agita, be he a young man or a young lady of good family, will not miss supreme, perfect enlightenment; no, that is not possible.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

17 Let a man who is seeking after this knowledge, superior Buddha-knowledge, undertake to practise in this world the five perfect virtues:

18 Let him, during eight thousand kotis of complete Æons, continue giving repeated alms to Buddhas and disciples;

19 Regaling Pratyekabuddhas and kotis of Bodhisattvas by giving meat, food and drink, clothing and lodging;

20 Let him build on earth refuges and monasteries of sandal-wood, and pleasant convent gardens provided with walks:

21 Let him after so bestowing gifts, various and diversified, during thousands of kotis of Æons, direct his mind to enlightenment:

22 Let him then, for the sake of Buddhaknowledge, keep unbroken the pure moral precepts which have been recommended by the perfect Buddhas and acknowledged by the wise:

23 Let him further develop the virtue of forbearance, be steady in the stage of meekness [i.e. of a monk under training.], be constant, of good memory, and patiently endure many censures:

24 Let him, moreover, for the sake of Buddha-knowledge, bear the contemptuous words of unbelievers who are rooted in pride:

25 Let him, always zealous, strenuous, studious, of good memory, without any other pre-occupation in his mind, practise meditation, during kotis of. Æons;

26 Let him, whether living in the forest or entering upon a vagrant life [i.e. a Yogin, a contemplative mystic.], go about, avoiding sloth and torpor, for kotis of Æons;

27 Let him as a philosopher, a great philosopher who finds his delight in meditation, in concentration of mind, pass eight thousand kotis of Æons:

28 Let him energetically pursue enlightenment with the thought of his reaching all-knowingness, and so arrive at the highest degree of meditation;

29 Then the merit accruing to those who practise the virtues oft described, during thousands of kotis of Æons,

30 (Is less than that of) a man or a woman who, on hearing the duration of my life, for a single moment believes in it; this merit is endless.

31 He who renouncing doubt, vacillation, and misgiving shall believe even for a short moment, shall obtain such a reward.

32 The Bodhisattvas also, who have practised those virtues during kotis of Æons, will not be startled at hearing of this inconceivably long life of mine.

33 They will bow their heads (and think): 'May I also in future become such a one and release kotis of living beings!

34 'As the Lord Sakyamuni, the Lion of the Sakya race, after he had occupied his seat on the terrace of enlightenment, raised his lion's roar:

35 'So may I in future be sitting on the terrace of enlightenment, honoured by all mortals, to teach so long a

36 Those who are possessed of firmness of intention and have learnt the principles, will understand the mystery and feel no uncertaint.

Again, Agita, he who after hearing this Dharmaparyaya, which contains an exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's life, apprehends it, penetrates and understands it, will produce a yet more immeasurable accumulation of merit conducive to Buddhaknowledge; unnecessary to add that he who hears such a Dharmaparyaya as this or makes others hear it; who keeps it in memory, reads, comprehends or makes others comprehend it; who writes or has it written, collects or has it collected into a volume, honours, respects, worships it with flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, streamers, (lighted) oil lamps, ghee lamps or lamps filled with scented oil, will produce a far greater accumulation of merit conducive to Buddhaknowledge.

And, Agita, as a test whether that young man or young lady of good family who hears this exposition of the duration of the Tathagata's life most decidedly believes in it may be deemed the following. They will behold me teaching the law I here on the Gridhrakuta, surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, attended by a host of Bodhisattvas, in the centre of the congregation of disciples. They will behold here my Buddha-field in the Saha-world, consisting of lapis lazuli and forming a level plain; forming a chequered board of eight compartments with gold threads; set off with jewel trees. They will behold the towers that the Bodhisattyas use as their abodes. By this test, Agita, one may know if a young man or young lady of good family has a most decided belief. Moreover, Agita, I declare that a young man of good family who, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, shall not reject, but joyfully accept this Dharmaparyaya when hearing it, that such a young man of good family also is earnest in his belief; far more one who keeps it in memory or reads it. He who after collecting this Dharmaparyaya into a volume carries it on his shoulder carries the Tathagata on his shoulder. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, need make no Stupas for me, nor monasteries; need not give to the congregation of monks medicaments for the sick or (other) requisites [This agrees with the teaching of the Vedanta that Brahma-knowledge is independent of good works]. For, Agita, such a young man or young lady of good family has (spiritually) built for the worship of my relics Stupas of seven precious substances reaching up to the Brahma-world in height, and with a circumference in proportion, with the umbrellas thereto belonging, with triumphal streamers, with tinkling bells and baskets; has shown manifold marks of respect to those Stupas of relics with diverse celestial and earthly flowers, incense, perfumed garlands, ointments, powder, cloth, umbrellas, banners, flags, triumphal streamers, by various sweet, pleasant, clearsounding tymbals and drums, by the tune, noise, sounds of musical instruments and castanets, by songs, nautch and dancing of different kinds of many innumerable kinds; has done those acts of worship during many, innumerable thousands of kotis of Æons. One who keeps in memory this Dharmaparyaya after my complete extinction, who reads, writes, promulgates it, Agita, shall also have built monasteries, large, spacious, extensive, made of red sandalwood, with thirty-two pinnacles, eight stories, fit for a thousand monks, adorned with gardens and flowers, having walks furnished with lodgings, completely provided with meat, food and drink and medicaments for the sick, well equipped with all comforts. And those numerous, innumerable beings, say a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand or a koti or hundred kotis or thousand kotis or hundred thousand kotis or ten thousand times hundred thousand kotis, they must be considered to form the congregation of disciples seeing me from face to face, and must be considered as those whom I have fully blessed. He who, after my complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyaya, read, promulgate, or write it, he, I repeat, Agita, need not build Stupas of relics, nor worship the congregation; not necessary to tell, Agita, that the young man or young lady of good family who, keeping this Dharmaparyaya, shall crown it by charity in alms, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, or wisdom, will produce a much greater accumulation of merit; it is, in fact, immense, incalculable, infinite. just as the element of ether, Agita, is boundless, to the east, south, west, north, beneath, above, and in the intermediate quarters, so immense and incalculable an accumulation of merit, conducive to Buddha-knowledge, will be produced by a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, read, write, or cause to be written, this Dharmaparyaya. He will be zealous in worshipping the Tathagata shrines; he will laud the disciples of the Tathagata, praise the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of virtues of the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. and expound them to others: he will be accomplished in forbearance, be moral, of good character, agreeable to live with, and tolerant, modest, not jealous of others, not wrathful, not vicious in mind, of good memory, strenuous and always busy, devoted to meditation in striving after the state of a Buddha, attaching great value to abstract meditation,

frequently engaging in abstract meditation, able in solving questions and in avoiding hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of questions. Any Bodhisattva Mahasattva, Agita, who, after the Tathagata's complete extinction, shall keep this Dharmaparyaya, will have the good qualities I have described. Such a young man or young lady of good family, Agita, must be considered to make for the terrace of enlightenment; that young man or young lady of good family steps towards the foot of the tree of enlightenment in order to reach enlightenment. And where that young man or young lady of good family, Agita, stands, sits, or walks, there one should make a shrine', dedicated to the Tathagata, and the world, including the gods, should say: This is a Stupa of relics of the Tathagata.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

37 An immense mass of merit, as I have repeatedly mentioned, shall be his who, after the complete extinction of the Leader of men, shall keep this Sutra.

38 He will have paid worship to me, and built Stupas of relics, made of precious substances, variegated, beautiful, and splendid;

39 In height coming up to the Brahma-world, with rows of umbrellas, great in circumference gorgeous, and decorated with triumphal streamers;

40 Resounding with the clear ring of bells, and decorated with silk bands, while jingles moved by the wind form another ornament at (the shrines of) Gina relics.

41 He will have shown great honour to them by flowers, perfumes, and ointments; by music, clothes, and the repeated (sound of) tymbals.

42 He will have sweet musical instruments struck at those relics, and lamps with scented oil kept burning all around.

43 He who at the period of depravation shall keep and teach this Sutra, he will have paid me such an infinitely varied worship.

44 He has built many kotis of excellent monasteries of sandal-wood, with thirty-two pinnacles, and eight terraces high;

45 Provided with couches, with food hard and soft; furnished with excellent curtains, and having cells by thousands.

46 He has given hermitages and walks embellished by flower-gardens; many elegant objects of various forms and variegated.

47 He has shown manifold worship to the host of disciples in my presence, he who, after my extinction, shall keep this

48 Let one be ever so good in disposition, much greater merit will he obtain who shall keep or write this Sutra.

49 Let a man cause this to be written and have it well put together in a volume; let him always worship the volume with flowers, garlands, ointments.

50 Let him constantly place near it a lamp filled with scented oil, along with full-blown lotuses and suitable' oblations of Michelia Champaka.

51 The man who pays such worship to the books will produce a mass of merit which is not to be measured.

52 Even as there is no measure of the element of ether, in none of the ten directions, so there is no measure of this mass of merit

53 How much more will this be the case with one who is patient, meek, devoted, moral, studious, and addicted to meditation:

54 Who is not irascible, not treacherous, reverential towards the sanctuary, always humble towards monks, not conceited, nor neglectful;

55 Sensible and wise, not angry when he is asked a question; who, full of compassion for living beings, gives such instruction as suits them.

56 If there be such a man who (at the same time) keeps this Sutra, he will possess a mass of merit that cannot be measured.

57 If one meets such a man as here described, a keeper of this Sutra, one should do homage to him.

58 One should present him with divine flowers, cover him with divine clothes, and bow the head to salute his feet, in the conviction of his being a Tathagata.

59 And at the sight of such a man one may directly make the reflection that he is going towards the foot of the tree to arrive at superior, blessed enlightenment for the weal of all the world, including the gods.

60 And wherever such a sage is walking, standing, sitting, or lying down; wherever the hero pronounces were it but a single stanza from this Sutra;

61 There one should build a Stupa for the most high of men, a splendid, beautiful (Stupa), dedicated to the Lord Buddha, the Chief, and then worship it in manifold ways.

62 That spot of the earth has been enjoyed by myself; there have I walked myself, and there have I been sitting; where that son of Buddha has stayed, there I am.

LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 17

INDICATION OF THE MERITORIOUSNESS OF JOYFUL ACCEPTANCE

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya said to the Lord: O Lord, one who, after hearing this Dharmaparyaya being preached, joyfully I accepts it, be that person a young man of good family or a young lady, how much merit, O Lord, will be produced by such a young man or young lady of good family?

And on that occasion the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya uttered this stanza:

1 How great will be the merit of him who, after the extinction of the great Hero, shall hear this exalted Sutra and joyfully accept it?

And the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreva: If any one, Agita, either a young man of good family or a young lady, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, hears the preaching of this Dharmaparyaya, let it be a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, a man of ripe understanding or a boy or girl; if the hearer joyfully accepts it, and then after the sermon rises up to go elsewhere, to a monastery, house, forest, street, village, town, or province, with the motive and express aim to expound the law such as he has understood, such as he has heard it, and according to the measure of his power, to another person, his mother, father, kinsman, friend, acquaintance, or any other person; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and, in consequence, communicates it to another; if the latter, after hearing, joyfully accepts, and communicates it to another: if this other. again, after hearing, joyfully accepts it, and so on in succession until a number of fifty is reached; then, Agita, the fiftieth person to hear and joyfully accept the law so heard, let it be a young man of good family or a young lady, will have acquired an accumulation of merit connected with the joyful acceptance, Agita, which I am going to indicate to thee. Listen, and take it well to heart; I will tell thee.

It is, Agita, as if the creatures existing in the four hundred thousand Asankhyeyas of worlds, in any of the six states of existence, born from an egg, from a womb, from warm humidity, or from metamorphosis, whether they have a shape or have not, be they conscious or unconscious, neither conscious nor unconscious, footless, two-footed, four-footed, or many-footed, as many beings as are contained in the world of creatures,-(as if) all those had flocked together to one place. Further, suppose some man appears, a lover of virtue, a lover of good, who gives to that whole body the pleasures, sports, amusements, and enjoyments they desire, like, and relish. He gives to each of them all Gambudyipa for his pleasures, sports. amusements, and enjoyments; gives bullion, gold, silver, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conches, stones (?), coral, carriages yoked with horses, with bullocks, with elephants; gives palaces and towers. In this way, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence continues spending his gifts for fully eighty years. Then, Agita, that master of munificence, that great master of munificence reflects thus: All these beings have I allowed to sport and enjoy themselves, but now they are covered with wrinkles and grey-haired, old, decrepit, eighty years of age, and near the term of their life. Let me therefore initiate them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathagata, and instruct them. Thereupon, Aota, the man exhorts all those beings, thereafter initiates them in the discipline of the law revealed by the Tathagata, and makes them adopt it. Those beings learn the law from him, and in one moment, one instant, one bit of time, all become Srotaapannas, obtain the fruit of the rank of Sakridagamin and of Anagamin, until they become Arhats, free from all imperfections, adepts in meditation, adepts in great meditation and in the meditation with eight emancipations. Now, what is thine opinion, Agita, will that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, on account of his doings, produce great merit, immense, incalculable merit? Whereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya said in reply to the Lord: Certainly, Lord; certainly, Sugata; that person, Lord, will already produce much merit on that account, because he gives to the beings all that is necessary for happiness; how much more then if he establishes them in Arhatship!

This said, the Lord spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya as follows: I announce to thee, Agita, I declare to thee; (take) on one side the master of munificence, the great master of munificence, who produces merit by supplying all beings in the four hundred thousand Asanikhvevas of worlds with all the necessaries for happiness and by establishing them in Arhatship; (take) on the other side the person who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, hears, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyaya and joyfully accepts it; if (we compare) the mass of merit connected with the joyful acceptance and the mass of merit connected with the charity of the master of munificence, the great master of munificence, then the greater merit will be his who, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the oral tradition of the law, after hearing were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyaya, joyfully accepts it. Against this accumulation of merit, Agita, this

accumulation of roots of goodness connected with that joyful acceptance, the former accumulation of merit connected with the charity of that master of munificence, that great master of munificence, and connected with the confirmation in Arhatship, does not fetch the 1/100 part, not the 1/100,000, not the 1/10,000,000 not the 1/1000,000,000 not the 1/1000 x = 10.000.000 not the  $1/100.000 \times 10.000.000$ , not the 1/100,000 x 10,000 x 10,000,000 part; it admits of no calculation, no counting, no reckoning, no comparison, no approximation, no secret teaching. So immense, incalculable, Agita, is the merit which a person, ranking the fiftieth in the series of the tradition of the law, produces by joyfully accepting, were it but a single stanza, a single word, from this Dharmaparyaya; how much more then (will) he (produce), Agita, who hears this Dharmaparyaya in my presence and then joyfully accepts it? I declare, Agita, that his accumulation of merit shall be even more immense, more

And further, Agita, if a young man of good family or a young lady, with the design to hear this discourse on the law, goes from home to a monastery, and there hears this Dharmaparyaya for a single moment, either standing or sitting, then that person, merely by the mass of merit resulting from that action, will after the termination of his (present) life, and at the time of his second existence when he receives (another) body, become a possessor of carriages yoked with bullocks, horses, or elephants, of litters, vehicles yoked with bulls, and of celestial aerial cars. If further that same person at that preaching sits down, were it but a single moment, to hear this Dharmaparyaya, or persuades another to sit down or shares with him his seat, he will by the store of merit resulting from that action gain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, thrones of a Kakravartin. And, Agita, if some one, a young man of good family or a young lady, says to another person: Come, friend, and hear the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, and if that other person owing to that exhortation is persuaded to listen, were it but a single moment, then the former will by virtue of that root of goodness, consisting in that exhortation, obtain the advantage of a connection with Bodhisattvas who have acquired Dharani. He will become the reverse of dull, will get keen faculties, and have wisdom: in the course of a hundred thousand existences he will never have a fetid mouth, nor an offensive one; he will have no diseases of the tongue, nor of the mouth; he will have no black teeth, no unequal, no yellow, no ill-ranged, no broken teeth, no teeth fallen out; his lips will not be pendulous, not turned inward, not gaping, not mutilated not loathsome: his nose will not be flat nor wry. his face will not be long, nor wry, nor unpleasant. On the contrary, Agita, his tongue, teeth, and lips will be delicate and wellshaped; his nose long; his face perfectly round; the eyebrows well-shaped; the forehead well-formed. He will receive a very complete organ of manhood. He will have the advantage that the Tathagata renders sermons intelligible to him and soon come in connection with Lords Buddhas Mark Agita, how much good is produced by one's inciting were it but a single creature; how much more then by him who reverentially hears, reverentially reads, reverentially preaches, reverentially promulgates the law!

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 2 Listen how great the merit is of one who, the fiftieth in the series (of tradition), hears a single stanza from this Sutra and with placid mind joyfully adopts it.
- 3 Suppose there is a man in the habit of giving alms to myriads of kotis of beings, whom I have herebefore indicated by way of comparison'; all of them he satisfies during eighty years.
- 4 Then seeing that old age has approached for them, that their brow is wrinkled and their head grey (he thinks): Alas, how all beings come to decay! Let me therefore admonish them by (speaking of) the law.
- 5 He teaches them the law here on earth and points to the state of Nirvana hereafter. 'All existences' (he says) 'are like a mirage; hasten to become disgusted with all existence.'
- 6 All creatures, by hearing the law from that charitable person, become at once Arhats, free from imperfections, and living their last life.
- 7 Much more merit than by that person will be acquired by him who through unbroken tradition shall hear were it but a single stanza and joyfully receive it. The mass of merit of the former is not even so much as a small particle of the latter's.
- 8 So great will be one's merit, endless, immeasurable, owing to one's hearing merely a single stanza, in regular tradition; how much more then if one hears from face to face!
- 9 And if somebody exhorts were it but a single creature and says: Go, hear the law, for this Sutra is rare in many myriads of kotis of £ons:
- 10 And if the creature so exhorted should hear the Sutra even for a moment, hark what fruit is to result from that action. He shall never have a mouth disease;
- 11 His tongue is never sore; his teeth shall never fall out, never be black, yellow, unequal; his lips never become loathsome:

- 12 His face is not wry, nor lean, nor long; his nose not flat; it is well-shaped, as well as his forehead, teeth, lips, and round face
- 13 His aspect is ever pleasant to men; his mouth is never fetid, it constantly emits a smell sweet as the lotus.
- 14 If some wise man, to hear this Sutra, goes from his home to a monastery and there listen, were it but for a single moment, with a placid mind, hear what results from it.
- 15 His body is very fair; he drives with horsecarriages, that wise man, and is mounted on elevated carriages drawn by elephants and variegated with gems.
- 16 He possesses litters covered with ornaments and carried by numerous men. Such is the blessed fruit of his going to hear preaching
- 17 Owing to the performance of that pious work he shall, when sitting in the assembly there, obtain seats of Indra, seats of Brahma, seats of kings.

#### LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 18

The Advantages Of A Religious Preacher.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Satatasamitabhiyukta (i.e. ever and constantly strenuous). Any one, young man of good family, who shall keep, read, teach, write this Dharmaparyaya or have it written, let that person be a young man of good family or a young lady, shall obtain eight hundred good qualities of the eye, twelve hundred of the ean, eight hundred of the nose, twelve hundred of the tongue, eight hundred of the body, twelve hundred of the mind. By these many hundred good qualities the whole of the six organs shall be perfect, thoroughly perfect. By means of the natural, carnal eye derived from his parents being perfect, he shall see the whole triple universe, outwardly and inwardly, with its mountains and woody thickets, down to the great hell Aviki and up to the extremity of existence. All that he shall see with his natural eye, as well as the creatures to be found in it, and he shall know the fruit of their works.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 1 Hear from me what good qualities shall belong to him who unhesitatingly and undismayed shall preach this Sutra to the congregated assembly.
- 2 First, then, his eye (or, organ of vision) shall possess eight hundred good qualities by which it shall be correct, clear, and untroubled.

With the carnal eye derived from his parents he shall see the whole world from within and without.

- 4 He shall see the Meru and Sumeru, all the horizon and other mountains as well as the seas
- 5 He, the hero, sees all, downward to the Aviki and upward to the extremity of existence. Such is his carnal eye.
- 6 But he has not yet got the divine eye, it having not yet been produced in him; such as here described is the range of his carnal eye.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta, the young man of good family or the young lady who proclaims this Dharmaparyaya and preaches it to others, is possessed of the twelve hundred good qualities of the ear. The various sounds that are uttered in the triple universe, downward to the great hell Aviki and upward to the extremity of existence, within and without, such as the sounds of horses, elephants, cows, peasants, goats. cars; the sounds of weeping and wailing; of horror, of conchtrumpets, bells, tymbals; of playing and singing; of camels, of tigers; of women, men, boys, girls; of righteousness (piety) and unrighteousness (impiety); of pleasure and pain; of ignorant men and aryas; pleasant and unpleasant sounds; sounds of gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human; of monks, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathagatas; as many sounds as are uttered in the triple world, within and without, all those he hears with his natural organ of hearing when perfect. Still he does not enjoy the divine ear, although he apprehends the sounds of those different creatures, understands, discerns the sounds of those different creatures, and when with his natural organ of hearing he hears the sounds of those creatures, his ear is not overpowered by any of those sounds. Such, Satatasamitabhiyukta, is the organ of hearing that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva acquires; yet he does not possess the

Thus spoke the Lord; thereafter he, the Sugata, the Master, added:

- 7 The organ of hearing of such a person becomes (or, is) cleared and perfect, though as yet it be natural; by it he perceives the various sounds, without any exception, in this world
- 8 He perceives the sounds of elephants, horses, cars, cows, goats, and sheep; of noisy kettle-drums, tabours, lutes, flutes, Vallaki-lutes.
- 9 He can hear singing, lovely and sweet, and, at the same time, is constant enough not to allow himself to be beguiled by it; he perceives the sounds of kotis of men, whatever and wherever they are speaking.

- 10 He, moreover, always hears the voice of gods and Nagas; he hears the tunes, sweet and affecting, of song, as well as the voices of men and women, boys and girls.
- 11 He hears the cries of the denizens of mountains and glens; the tender notes of Kalavinkas, cuckoos, pea fowls, pheasants, and other birds.
- 12 He also (hears) the heart-rending cries of those who are suffering pains in the hells, and the yells uttered by the Spirits, vexed as they are by the difficulty to get food;
- 13 Likewise the different cries produced by the demons and the inhabitants of the ocean. All these sounds the preacher is able to hear from his place on earth, without being overpowered by them.
- 14 From where he is stationed here on the earth he also hears the different and multifarious sounds through which the inhabitants of the realm of brutes are conversing with each other
- 15 He apprehends all the sounds, without any exception, whereby the numerous angels living in the Brahma-world, the Akanishthas and Abhasvaras, call one another.
- 16 He likewise always hears the sound which the monks on earth are raising when engaged in reading, and when preaching the law to congregations, after having taken orders under the command of the Sugatas.
- 17 And when the Bodhisatīvas here on earth have a reading together and raise their voices in the general synods, he hears them severally.
- 18 The Bodhisattva who preaches this Stara shall, at one time, also hear the perfect law 2 that the Lord Buddha, the tamer of men, announces to the assemblies.
- 19 The numerous sounds produced by all beings in the triple world, in this field, within and without, (downward) to the Aviki and upward to the extremity of existence, are heard by him.
- 20 (In short), he perceives the voices of all beings, his ear being open. Being in the possession of his six senses, he will discern the different sources (of sound), and that while his organ of hearing is the natural one;
- 21 The divine ear is not yet operating in him; his ear continues in its natural state. Such as here told are the good qualities belonging to the wise man who shall be a keeper of this Sutra.

Bodhisattva Further. Satatasamitabhiyukta, Mahasattva who keeps, proclaims, studies, writes this Dharmaparyaya becomes possessed of a perfect organ of smell with eight hundred good qualities. By means of that organ he smells the different smells that are found in the triple world. within and without, such as fetid smells, pleasant and unpleasant smells, the fragrance of diverse flowers, as the greatflowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Michelia Chainpaka, trumpet-flower; likewise the different scents of aquatic flowers, as the blue lotus, red lotus, white esculent water-lily and white lotus. He smells the odour of fruits and blossoms of various trees bearing fruits and blossoms, such as sandal, Xanthochymus, Tabernæmontana, agallochum. The manifold hundred-thousand mixtures of perfumes he smells and discerns without moving from his standing-place. He smells the diverse smells of creatures, as elephants, horses, cows, goats, beasts, as well as the smell issuing from the body of various living beings in the condition of brutes. He perceives the smells exhaled by the body of women and men, of boys and girls. He smells, even from a distance, the odour of grass, bushes, herbs, trees. He perceives those smells such as they really are, and is not surprised nor stunned by them. Staying on this very earth he smells the odour of gods and the fragrance of celestial flowers, such as Erythrina, Bauhinia, Mandarava and great Mandarava, Mangusha and great Mangusha. He smells the perfume of the divine powders of sandal and agallochum, as well as that of the hundred-thousands of mixtures of different divine flowers. He smells the odour exhaled by the body of the gods, such as Indra, the chief of the gods, and thereby knows whether (the god) is sporting, playing, and enjoying himself in his palace Vaigayanta or is speaking the law to the gods of paradise in the assembly-hall of the gods, Sudharma, or is resorting to the pleasure-park for sport. He smells the odour proceeding from the body of the sundry other gods, as well as that proceeding from the girls and wives of the gods, from the youths and maidens amongst the gods, without being surprised or stunned by those smells. He likewise smells the odour exhaled by the bodies of all Devanikayas, Brahmakavikas, and Mahabrahmas. In the same manner he perceives the smells coming from disciples. Pratvekabuddhas. Bodhisattvas, and Tathagatas. He smells the odour arising from the seats of the Tathagatas and so discovers where those Tathagatas, Arhats, etc. abide. And by none of all those different smells is his organ of smell hindered, impaired, or vexed; and, if required, he may give an account of those smells

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

to others without his memory being impaired by it.

22 His organ of smell is quite correct, and he perceives the manifold and various smells, good or bad, which exist in this world:

- 23 The fragrance of the great-flowered jasmine, Arabian jasmine, Xanthochymus, sandal, agallochum, of several blossoms and fruits.
- 24 He likewise perceives the smells exhaled by men, women, boys, and girls, at a considerable distance, and by the smell he knows where they are.
- 25 He recognises emperors, rulers of armies, governors of provinces, as well as royal princes and ministers, and all the ladies of the harem by their (peculiar) scent.
- 26 It is by the odour that the Bodhisattva discovers sundry jewels of things, such as are found on the earth and such as serve as jewels for women.
- 27 That Bodhisattva likewise knows by the odour the various kinds of ornament that women use for their body, robes, wreaths, and ointments.
- 28 The wise man who keeps this exalted Sutra recognises, by the power of a good-smelling organ, a woman standing,
- sitting, or lying; he discovers wanton sport and magic power.

  29 He perceives at once where he stands, the fragrance of scented oils, and the different odours of flowers and fruits,

and thereby knows from what source the odour proceeds.

- 30 The discriminating man recognises by the odour the numerous sandal-trees in full blossom in the glens of the mountains, as well as all creatures dwelling there.
- 31 All the beings living within the compass of the horizon or dwelling in the depth of the sea or in the bosom of the earth the discriminating man knows how to distinguish from the (neculiar) smell.
- 32 He discerns the gods and demons, and the daughters of demons; he discovers the sports of demons and their luxury. Such, indeed, is the power of his organ of smell.
- 33 By the smell he tracks the abodes of the quadrupeds in the woods, lions, tigers, elephants, snakes, buffaloes, cows, gayals.
- 34 He infers from the odour, whether the child that women, languid from pregnancy, bear in the womb be a boy or a girl.
- 35 He can discern if a woman is big with a dead child; he discerns if she is subject to throes, and, further, if a woman, the pains being removed, shall be delivered of a healthy boy.
- 36 He guesses the various designs of men, he smells (so to say) an air of design; he finds out the odour of passionate, wicked, hypocritical, or quiet persons.
- 37 That Bodhisattva by the scent smells treasures hidden in the ground, money, gold, bullion, silver, chests, and metal
- 38 Necklaces of two sorts, gems, pearls, nice priceless jewels he knows by the scent, as well as things priceless and brilliant in general
- 39 That great man from his very place on earth smells the flowers here above (in the sky) with the gods, such as Mandaravas, Mangushakas, and those growing on the coral tree.
- 40 By the power of his organ of smell he, without leaving his stand on earth, perceives how and whose are the aerial cars, of lofty, low, and middling size, and other brilliant forms shooting (through the firmament).
- 41 He likewise finds out the paradise, the gods (in the hall) of Sudharma and in the most glorious palace of Vaigayanta, and the angels who there are diverting themselves.
- 42 He perceives, here on earth, an air of them; by the scent he knows the angels, and where each of them is acting, standing, listening, or walking.
- 43 That Bodhisattva tracks by the scent the houris who are decorated with many flowers, decked with wreaths and ornaments and in full attire; he knows wherever they are dallying or staying at the time.
- 44 By smell he apprehends the gods, Brahmas, and Brahmakayas moving on aerial cars aloft, upwards to the extremity of existence; he knows whether they are absorbed in meditation or have risen from it.
- 45 He perceives the Abhasvara angels falling (and shooting) and appearing, even those that he never saw before. Such is the organ of smell of the Bodhisattva who keeps this Sutra.
- 46 The Bodhisattva also recognises all monks under the rule of the Sugata, who are strenuously engaged in their walks and find their delight in their lessons and reading.
- 47 Intelligent as he is, he discerns those among the sons of Gina who are disciples and those who used to live at the foot of trees, and he knows that the monk so and so is staying in such and such a place.
- 48 The Bodhisattva knows by the odour whether other Bodhisattvas are of good memory, meditative, delighting in their lessons and reading, and assiduous in preaching to congregations.
- 49 In whatever point of space the Sugata, the great Seer, so benign and bounteous, reveals the law in the midst of the crowd of attending disciples, the Bodhisattva by the odour recognises him as the Lord of the universe.
- 50 Staying on earth, the Bodhisattva also perceives those beings who hear the law and rejoice at it, and the whole assembly of the Gina.
- 51 Such is the power of his organ of smell. Yet it is not the divine organ he possesses, but (the natural one) prior to the perfect, divine faculty of smell.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta, the young man of good family or the young lady who keeps, teaches, proclaims, writes this Dharmaparyaya shall have an organ of taste possessed of twelve hundred good faculties of the tongue. All flavours he takes on his tongue will yield a divine, exquisite relish. And he tastes in such a way that he is not to relish anything unpleasant; and even the unpleasant flavours that are taken on his tongue will yield a divine relish. And whatever he shall preach in the assembly, the creatures will be satisfied by it; they will be content, thoroughly content, filled with delight. A sweet, tender, agreeable, deep voice goes out from him, an amiable voice which goes to the heart, at which those creatures will be ravished and charmed; and those to whom he preaches, after having heard his sweet voice, so tender and melodious, will, even (if they are) gods, be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, and serve him. And the angels and houris will be of opinion, etc. The Indras, Brahmas, and Brahmakayikas will be of opinion, etc. The Nagas and Naga girls will be of opinion, etc. The demons and their girls will be of opinion, etc. The Garudas and their girls will be of opinion, etc. The Kinnaras and their girls, the great serpents and their girls, the goblins and their girls, the imps and their girls will be of opinion that they ought to go and see, venerate, serve him, and hear his sermon, and all will show him honour, respect, esteem, worship, reverence, and veneration. Monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees will likewise be desirous of seeing him. Kings, royal pyinces, and grandees (or ministers) will also be desirous of seeing him. Kings ruling armies and emperors possessed of the seven treasures, along with the princes royal, ministers, ladies of the harem, and their retinue will be desirous of seeing him and paying him their homage. So sweet will be the speech delivered by that preacher, so truthful and according to the teaching of the Tathagata will be his words. Others also, Brahmans and laymen, citizens and peasants, will always and ever follow that preacher till the end of life. Even the disciples of the Tathagata will be desirous of seeing him; likewise the Pratyekabuddhas and the Lords Buddhas. And wherever that young man of good family or young lady shall stay, there he (or she) will preach, the face turned to the Tathagata, and he (or she) will be a worthy vessel of the Buddha-qualities. Such. so pleasant, so deep will be the voice of the law going out

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

from him.

- 52 His organ of taste is most excellent, and he will never relish anything of inferior flavour; the flavours are no sooner put on his tongue than they become divine and possessed of a divine taste.
- 53 He has a tender voice and delivers sweet words, pleasant to hear, agreeable, charming; in the midst of the assembly lie is used to speak with a melodious and deep voice.
- 54 And whosoever hears him when he is delivering a sermon with myriads of kotis of examples, feels a great joy and shows him an immense veneration.
- 55 The gods, Nagas, demons, and goblins always long to see him, and respectfully listen to his preaching. All those good qualities are his.
- 56 If he would, he might make his voice heard by the whole of this world; his voice is (so) fine, sweet, deep, tender, and winning.
- 57 The emperors on earth, along with their children and wives, go to him with the purpose of honouring him, and listen all the time to his sermon with joined hands.
- 58 He is constantly followed by goblins, crowds of Nagas, Gandharvas, imps, male and female, who honour, respect, and worship him.
  59 Brahma himself becomes his obedient servant: the gods
- Isvara and Mahesvara, as well as Indra and the numerous heavenly nymphs, approach him.
- 60 And the Buddhas, benign and merciful for the world, along with their disciples, hearing his voice, protect him by showing their face, and feel satisfaction in hearing him preaching.

Satatasamitabhiyukta. Further. the Bodhisattva Mahasattva who keeps, reads, promulgates, teaches, writes this Dharmaparyaya shall have the eight hundred good qualities of the body. It will be pure, and show a hue clear as the lapis lazuli; it will be pleasant to see for the creatures. On that perfect body he will see the whole triple universe; the beings who in the triple world disappear and appear, who are low or lofty, of good or of bad colour, in fortunate or in unfortunate condition, as well as the beings dwelling within the circular plane of the horizon and of the great horizon, on the chief mountains Meru and Sumeru, and the beings dwelling below in the Aviki and upwards to the extremity of existence; all of them he will see on his own body. The disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, Bodhisattvas, and Tathagatas dwelling in the triple universe, and the law taught by those Tathagatas and the beings serving the Tathagatas, he will see all of them on his own body, because he receives the proper body of all those beings, and that on account of the perfectness of his body.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 61 His body becomes thoroughly pure, clear as if consisting of lapis lazuli; he who keeps this sublime Sutra is always a pleasant sight for (all) creatures.
- 62 As on the surface of a mirror an image is seen, so on his body this world. Being self-born, he sees no other beings. Such is the perfectness of his body.
- 63 Indeed, all beings who are in this world, men, gods, demons, goblins, the inhabitants of hell, the spirits, and the brute creation are seen reflected on that body.
- 64 The aerial cars of the gods up to the extremity of existence, the rocks, the ridge of the horizon, the Himalaya, Sumeru, and great Meru, all are seen on that body.
- 65 He also sees the Buddhas on his body, along with the disciples and other sons of Buddha; likewise the Bodhisattvas who lead a solitary life, and those who preach the law to congregations.

66 Such is the perfectness of his body, though he has not yet obtained a divine body; the natural property of his body is such.

Further, Satatasamitabhiyukta. the Bodhisattya Mahasattva who after the complete extinction of the Tathagata keeps, teaches, writes, reads this Dharmaparyaya shall have a mental organ possessed of twelve hundred good qualities of intellect. By this perfect mental organ he will, even if he hears a single stanza, recognise its various meanings By fully comprehending the stanza he will find in it the text to preach upon for a month, for four months, nay, for a whole year. And the sermon he preaches will not fade from his memory. The popular maxims of common life, whether sayings or counsels, he will know how to reconcile with the rules of the law. Whatever creatures of this triple universe are subject to the mundane whirl, in any of the six conditions of existence, he will know their thoughts, doings, and movements. He will know and discern their motions, purposes, and aims. Though he has not yet attained the state of an Arya, his intellectual organ will be thoroughly perfect. And all he shall preach after having pondered on the interpretation of the law will be really true; he speaks what all Tathagatas have spoken, all that has been declared in the Sutras of former Ginas.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 67 His mental organ is perfect, lucid, right, and untroubled. By it he finds out the various laws, low, high, and mean.
- 68 On hearing the contents of a single stanza, the wise man catches the manifold significations (hidden) in it, and he is able for a month, four months, or even a year to go on expounding both its conventional and its true sense.
- 69 And the beings living in this world, within or without, gods, men, demons, goblins, Nagas, brutes,
- 70 The beings stationed in any of the six conditions of existence, all their thoughts the sage knows instantaneously. These are the advantages of keeping this Sutra.
- 71 He also hears the holy sound of the law which the Buddha, marked with a hundred blessed signs, preaches all over the world, and he catches what the Buddha speaks.
- 72 He reflects much on the supreme law, and is in the wont of constantly dilating upon it; he is never hesitating. These are the advantages of keeping this Sutra.
- 73 He knows the connections and knots; he discerns in all laws contrarieties; he knows the meaning and the interpretations, and expounds them according to his knowledge.
- 74 The Sutra which since so long a time has been expounded by the ancient Masters of the world is the law which he, never flinching, is always preaching in the assembly.
- 75 Such is the mental organ of him who keeps or reads this Sutra; he has not yet the knowledge of emancipation, but one that precedes it.
- 76 He who keeps this Sutra of the Sugata stands on the stage of a master; he may preach to all creatures and is skilful in kotis of interpretations.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 19

Sadaparibhuta.

The Lord then addressed the Bodhisattva Mahisattva Mahasthamaprapta. In a similar way, Mahasthamaprapta, one may infer from what has been said that he who rejects such a Dharmaparyaya as this, who abuses monks, nuns, lay devotees male or female, keeping this Sutra, insults them, treats them with false and harsh words, shall experience dire results, to such an extent as is impossible to express in words. But those that keep, read, comprehend, teach, amply expound it to others, shall experience happy results, such as I have already mentioned: they shall attain such a perfection of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind as just described.

In the days of yore, Mahasthamaprapta, at a past period, before incalculable Æons, nay, more than incalculable, immense, inconceivable, and even long before, there appeared in the world a Tathagata, etc., named Bhishmagargitasvararaga, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. etc., in the Æon Vinirbhoga, in the world

Mahasambhaya. Now, Mahasthamaprapta, that Lord Bhishmagargitasyararaga, the Tathagata, etc., in that world Vinirbhoga, showed the law in the presence of the world, including gods, men, and demons; the law containing the four noble truths and starting from the chain of causes and efferts, tending to overcome birth, decrepitude, sickness, death, sorrow, lamentation, woe, grief, despondency, and finally leading to Nirvana, he showed to the disciples; the law connected with the six Perfections of virtue and terminating in the knowledge of the Omniscient, after the attainment of supreme, perfect enlightenment, he showed to the Bodhisattvas. The lifetime of that Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., lasted forty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the sands of the river Ganges. After his complete extinction his true law remained hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the atoms (contained) in Gambudvipa, and the counterfeit of the true law continued hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons equal to the dust-atoms in the four continents. When the counterfeit of the true law of the Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., after his complete extinction, had disappeared in the world Mahasambhava, Mahasthamaprapta, another Tathagata Bhishmagargitasvararaga, Arhat, etc., appeared, endowed science and conduct. So in succession, Mahasthamaprapta, there arose in that world Mahasambhava twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, etc., Bhishmagargitasvararaga. At the Mahasthamaprapta, after the complete extinction of the first Tathagata amongst all those of the name Bhishmagargitasvararaga, Tathagata, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., when his true law had disappeared and the counterfeit of the true law was fading; when the reign (of the law) was being oppressed by proud monks, there was a monk, a Bodhisattya Mahasattya, called Sadaparibhuta, For what reason, Mahasthamaprapta, was that Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Sadaparibhuta? It was, Mahasthamaprapta, because that Bodhisattva Mahasattva was in the habit of exclaiming to every monk or nun, male or female lay devotee, while approaching them: I do not contemn you, worthies. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattyas and are to become Tath.agatas, etc. In this way, Mahasthamaprapta, that Bodhisattva Mahasattva, when a monk, did not teach nor study; the only thing he did was, whenever he descried from afar a monk or nun, a male or female lay devotee, to approach them and exclaim: I do not contemn you, sisters. You deserve no contempt, for you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattyas and are to become Tathagatas, etc. So. Mahasthamaprapta, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva at that time used to address every monk or nun, male or female devotee. But all were extremely irritated and angry at it, showed him their displeasure, abused and insulted him: Why does he, unasked, declare that he feels no contempt for us? just by so doing he shows a contempt for us. He renders himself contemptible by predicting our future destiny to supreme, perfect enlightenment; we do not care for what is not true. Many years, Mahasthamaprapta, went on during which that Bodhisattva Mahasattva was being abused, but he was not angry at anybody, nor felt malignity, and to those who, when he addressed them in the said manner, cast a clod or stick at him, he loudly exclaimed from afar: I do not contemn you. Those monks and nuns, male and female lay devotees, being always and ever addressed by him in that phrase gave him the

(nick)name of Sadaparibhuta. Under those circumstances, Mahasthamaprapta, Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta happened to hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law when the end of his life was impending, and the moment of dying drawing near. It was the Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., who expounded this Dharmaparyaya in twenty times twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of stanzas, which the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta heard from a voice in the sky, when the time of his death was near at hand. On hearing that voice from the sky, without there appearing a person speaking, he grasped this Dharmaparyaya and obtained the perfections already mentioned: the perfection of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind. With the attainment of these perfections he at the same time made a vow to prolong his life for twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of years, and promulgated this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. And all those proud beings, monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees to whom he had said: I do not contemn you, and who had given him the name of Sadaparibhuta, became all his followers to hear the law, after they had seen the power and strength of his sublime magic faculties, of his vow, of his readiness of wit, of his wisdom. All those and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other beings were by him roused to supreme, perfect enlightenment.

Afterwards, Mahasthamaprapta, that Bodhisattva Mahasattva disappeared from that place and propitiated twenty hundred kotis of Tathagatas, etc., all bearing the same name of Kandraprabhasvararaga, under all of whom he

promulgated this Dharmaparyaya. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, etc., all bearing the name of Dundubhisvararaga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. By virtue of his previous root of goodness he again, in course of time, propitiated twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, etc., all bearing the name of Meghasvararaga, and under all he obtained this very Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law and promulgated it to the four classes. And under all of them he was possessed of the afore-mentioned perfectness of sight, hearing, smell, taste, body, and mind.

Now, Mahasthamaprapta, that Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta, after having honoured, respected, esteemed, worshipped, venerated, revered so many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Tathagatas, and after having acted in the same way towards many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of other Buddhas, obtained under all of them this very Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, and owing to his former root of goodness having come to full development, gained supreme, perfect enlightenment. Mahasthamaprapta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving, and think that he who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta was one, and he who under the rule of that Lord Bhishmagargitasvararaga, the Tathagata, etc., was generally called Sadaparibhuta by the four classes, by whom so many Tathagatas were propitiated, was another. But thou shouldst not think so. For it is myself who at that time, at that juncture was the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta. Had I not formerly grasped and kept this Dharmaparyaya, Mahasthamaprapta, I should not so soon have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. It is because I have kept, read, preached this Dharmaparyaya (derived) from the teaching of the ancient Tathagatas, etc., Mahasthamaprapta, that I have so soon arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment. As to the hundreds of monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees, Mahasthamaprapta, to whom under that Lord the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sadaparibhuta promulgated this Dharmaparyaya by saying: I do not contemn you; you all observe the course of duty of Bodhisattvas; you are to become Tathagatas, etc., and in whom awoke a feeling of malignity towards that Bodhisattva, they in twenty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of .Æons never saw a Tathagata, nor heard the call of the law, nor the call of the assembly, and for ten thousand Æons they suffered terrible pain in the great hell Aviki. Thereafter released from the ban, they by the instrumentality of that Bodhisattva Mahasattva were all brought to full ripeness for supreme, perfect enlightenment. Perhaps, Mahasthamaprapta, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty, or misgiving as to who at that time, at that juncture were the persons hooting and laughing at the Bodhisattva Mahasattva. They are, in this very assembly, the five hundred Bodhisattvas headed by Bhadrapala, the five hundred nuns following Simhakandra, the five hundred lay devotees following Sugataketana, who all of them have been rendered inflexible in supreme, perfect enlightenment. So greatly useful it is to keep and preach this Dharmaparyaya, as it tends to result for Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas in supreme, perfect enlightenment. Hence, Mahasthamaprapta, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas should, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, constantly keep, read, and promulgate this Dharmaparyaya.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following

- 1 I remember a past period, when king Bhishmasvara, the Gina, lived, very mighty, and revered by gods and men, the leader of men, gods, goblins, and giants.
- 2 At the time succeeding the complete extinction of that Gina, when the decay of the true law was far advanced, there was a monk, a Bodhisattva, called by the name of Sadanaribbuta
- 3 Other monks and nuns who did not believe but in what they saw, he would approach (and say): I never am to contemn you, for you observe the course leading to supreme enlightenment.
- 4 It was his wont always to utter those words, which brought him but abuse and taunts from their part. At the time when his death was impending he heard this Sutra.
- 5 The sage, then, did not expire; he resolved upon a very long life, and promulgated this Sutra under the rule of that leader.
- 6 And those many (persons) who only acknowledged the evidence of sensual perception were by him brought to full ripeness for enlightenment. Then, disappearing from that place, he propitiated thousands of kotis of Buddhas.
- 7 Owing to the successive good actions performed by him, and to his constantly promulgating this Sutra, that son of Gina reached enlightenment. That Bodhisattva then is myself, Sakvamuni.
- 8 And those persons who only believed in perception by the senses, those monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees who by the sage were admonished of enlightenment,

- 9 And who have seen many kotis of Buddhas, are the monks here before me,-no less than five hundred,-nuns, and female lay devotees.
- 10 All of them have been by me brought to complete ripeness, and after my extinction they will all, full of wisdom, keep this Sutra.
- 11 Not once in many, inconceivably many kotis of Æons has such a Sutra as this been heard. There are, indeed, hundreds of kotis of Buddhas, but they do not elucidate this Sutra.
- 12 Therefore let one who has heard this law exposed by the Self-born himself, and who has repeatedly propitiated him, promulgate this Sutra after my extinction in this world.

#### LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 20

Conception Of The Transcendent Power Of The Tathagatas. Thereupon those hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas equal to the dust-atoms of a macrocosm, who had issued from the gaps of the earth, all stretched their joined hands towards the Lord, and said unto him: We, O Lord, will, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, promulgate this Dharmaparyaya everywhere (or on every occasion) in all Buddha-fields of the Lord, wherever (or whenever) the Lord shall be completely extinct [Hence follows that Nirvana is repeatedly entered into by the Lord]. We are anxious to obtain this sublime Dharmaparyaya, O Lord, in order to keep, read, publish, and write it.

Thereupon the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas, headed by Mangusri; the monks, nuns, male and female lay devotees living in this world; the gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, and the many Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas equal to the sands of the river Ganges, said unto the Lord: We also, O Lord, will promulgate this Dharmaparyaya after the complete extinction of the Tathagata. While standing with an invisible body in the sky, O Lord, we will send forth a voice, and plant the roots of goodness of such creatures as have not (yet) planted roots of goodness.

Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Visishtakaritra, followed by a troop, a great troop, the master of a troop, who was the very first of those aforementioned Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas followed by a troop, a great troop, masters of a troop: Very well, Visishtakaritra, very well; so you should do; it is for the sake of this Dharmaparyaya that the Tathagata has brought you to ripeness.

Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the wholly extinct Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., both seated on the throne in the centre of the Stupa. commenced smiling to one another, and from their opened mouths stretched out their tongues, so that with their tongues they reached the Brahma-world, and from those two tongues issued many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of rays. From each of those rays issued many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas, with gold-coloured bodies and possessed of the thirty-two characteristic signs of a great man, and seated on thrones consisting of the interior of lotuses. Those Bodhisattvas spread in all directions in hundred thousands of worlds, and while on every side stationed in the sky preached the law. Just as the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., produced a miracle of magic by his tongue, so, too, Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., and the other Tathagatas, etc., who, having flocked from hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of other worlds, were seated on thrones at the foot of jewel trees, by their tongues produced a miracle of magic.

The Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and all those Tathagatas, etc., produced that magical effect during fully a thousand years. After the lapse of that millennium those Tathagatas, etc., pulled back their tongue, and all simultaneously, at the same moment, the same instant, made a great noise as of expectoration and of snapping the fingers, by which sounds all the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Buddha-fields in every direction of space were moved, removed, stirred, wholly stirred, tossed, tossed forward, tossed along, and all beings in all those Buddha-fields, gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human beheld, by the power of the Buddha, from the place where they stood, this Saha-world. They beheld the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Tathagatas seated severally on their throne at the foot of a jewel tree, and the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc... and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., wholly extinct, sitting on the throne in the centre of the Stupa of magnificent precious substances, along with the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; they beheld, finally, those four classes of the audience. At this sight they felt struck with wonder, amazement, and rapture. And they heard a voice from the sky calling: Worthies, beyond a distance of an immense, incalculable number of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of worlds there is the world named Saha; there the Tathagata called Sakyamuni, the Arhat, etc., is just now revealing to the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, a Sutranta of

great extent, serving to instruct Bodhisattvas, and belonging in proper to all Buddhas. Ye accept it joyfully with all your heart, and do homage to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc.

On hearing such a voice from the sky all those beings exclaimed from the place where they stood, with joined hands: Homage to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata. Then they threw towards the Saha-world various flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, gold, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners, and triumphal streamers, as well as ornaments, parures, necklaces, gems and jewels of all sorts, in order to worship the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Those flowers, incense, etc., and those necklaces, etc., came down upon this Saha-world, where they formed a great canopy of flowers hanging in the sky above the Tathagatas there sitting, as well as those in the hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of other worlds.

Thereupon the Lord addressed the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas headed by Visishtakaritra: Inconceivable, young men of good family, is the power of the Tathagatas, etc. In order to transmit this Dharmaparyaya, young men of good family, I might go on for hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons explaining the manifold virtues of this Dharmaparyaya through the different principles of the law, without reaching the end of those virtues. In this Dharmaparyaya I have succinctly taught all Buddha-laws (or Buddha-qualities), all the superiority, all the mystery, all the profound conditions of the Buddhas. Therefore, young men of good family, you should, after the complete extinction of the Tathagata, with reverence keep, read, promulgate, cherish, worship it. And wherever on earth, young men of good family, this Dharmaparvaya shall be made known, read, written, meditated, expounded, studied or collected into a volume, be it in a monastery or at home, in the wilderness or in a town, at the foot of a tree or in a palace, in a building or in a cavern, on that spot one should erect a shrine in dedication to the Tathagata. For such a spot must be regarded as a terrace of enlightenment; such a spot must be regarded as one where all Tathagatas etc. have arrived at supreme, perfect enlightenment; on that spot have all Tathagatas moved forward the wheel of the law; on that spot one may hold that all Tathagatas have reached complete extinction.

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following

- I Inconceivable is the power to promote the weal of the world possessed by those who, firmly established in transcendent knowledge, by means of their unlimited sight display their magic faculty in order to gladden all living beings on earth.
- 2 They extend their tongue over the whole world, darting thousands of beams to the astonishment of those to whom this effect of magic is displayed and who are making for supreme enlightenment.
- 3 The Buddhas made a noise of expectoration and of snapping the fingers, (and by it) called the attention of the whole world, of all parts of the world in the ten directions of space.
- 4 Those and other miraculous qualities they display in their benevolence and compassion (with the view) that the creatures, gladly excited at the time, may (also) keep the Sutra after the complete extinction of the Sugata.
- 5 Even if I continued for thousands of kotis of Æons speaking the praise of those sons of Sugata who shall keep this eminent Sutra after the extinction of the Leader of the world.
- 6 I should not have terminated the enumeration of their qualities; inconceivable as the qualities of infinite space are the merits of those who constantly keep this holy Sutra.
- 7 They behold me as well as these chiefs, and the Leader of the world now extinct; (they behold) all these numerous Bodhisattvas and the four classes.
- 8 Such a one now here propitiates me and all these leaders, as well as the extinct chief of Ginas and the others in every quarter.
- 9 The future and past Buddhas stationed in the ten points of space will all be seen and worshipped by him who keeps this Sutra
- 10 He who keeps this Sutra, the veritable law, will fathom the mystery of the highest man; will soon comprehend what truth it was that was arrived at on the terrace of enlightenment.
- 11 The quickness of his apprehension will be unlimited; like the wind he will nowhere meet impediments; he knows the purport and interpretation of the law, he who keeps this exalted Sutra.
- 12 He will, after some reflection, always find out the connection of the Sutras spoken by the leaders; even after the complete extinction of the leader he will grasp the real meaning of the Sutras.
- 13 He resembles the moon and the sun; he illuminates all around him, and while roaming the earth in different directions he rouses many Bodhisattvas.

14 The wise Bodhisattvas who, after hearing the enumeration of such advantages, shall keep this Sutra after my complete extinction will doubtless reach enlightenment.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 21

Spells.

Thereupon the Bodhisattya Mahasattya Bhaishagyaraga rose from his seat, and having put his upper robe upon one shoulder and fixed the right knee upon the ground lifted his joined hands up to the Lord and said: How great, O Lord, is the pious merit which will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who keeps this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, either in memory or in a book? Whereupon the Lord said to the Bodhisattya Mahasattya Bhaishagyaraga: Suppose, Bhaishagyaraga, that some man of good family or a young lady honours, respects, reveres, worships hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Tathagatas equal to the sands of eighty Ganges rivers; dost thou think, Bhaishagyaraga, that such a young man or young lady of good family will on that account produce much pious merit? The Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga replied: Yes, Lord; ves. Sugata. The Lord said: I announce to thee. Bhaishagyaraga, I declare to thee: any young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyaraga, who shall keep, read, comprehend, and in practice follow, were it but a single stanza from this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, that young man or young lady of good family, Bhaishagyarag-a, will on that account produce far more pious merit.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga immediately said to the Lord: To those young men or young ladies of good family, O Lord, who keep this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law in their memory or in a book, we will give talismanic words for guard, defence, and protection; such as, anye manye mane mamane kitte karite same, samitayi, sante, mukte, muktatame, same avishame, samasame, gave, kshaye, akshine, sante sani, dharani alokabhashe, pratyavekshani, nidhini, abhyantaravisishte, utkule mutkule, asade, parade, sukankshi, asamasame, buddhavilokite, dharmaparikshite. sanghanirghoshani, nirghoshani bhavabhavasodhani, mantre mantrakshavate, rutakausalye, akshave, akshavanatava, vakule valoda, amanyatava, These words of charms and spells, O Lord, have been pronounced by reverend Buddhas (in number) equal to the sands of sixty-two Ganges rivers. All these Buddhas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers, such keepers of the Sutranta

The Lord expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga by saying: Very well, Bhaishagyaraga, by those talismanic words being pronounced out of compassion for creatures, the common weal of creatures is promoted; their guard, defence, and protection is secured.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Pradanasura said unto the Lord: I also, O Lord, will, for the benefit of such preachers, give them talismanic words, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise such preachers may find the occasion, be it a demon, giant, goblin, sorcerer, imp or ghost; that none of these when seeking and spying for an occasion to surprise may find the occasion. And then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Pradanasura instantly pronounced the following words of a spell: gvale mahagvale, ukke mukke, ade adavati, tritye trityavati, itini vitini kitini, tritti trityavati svaha. These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced and approved by Tathagatas, etc. (in number) equal to the sands of the river Ganges. All those Tathagatas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers.

Thereupon Vaisravana, one of the four rulers of the cardinal points, said unto the Lord: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit and weal of those preachers, out of compassion to them, for their guard, defence, and protection: atte natte vanatte anade, nadi kunadi svaha. With these spells, O Lord, I shall guard those preachers over an extent of a hundred yoganas. Thus will those young men or young ladies of good family, who keep this Sutranta, be guarded, be safe.

At that meeting was present Virudhaka, another of the four rulers of the cardinal points, sitting surrounded and attended by hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Kumbhandas. He rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, lifted his joined hands up to the Lord, and spoke to him as follows: I also, O Lord, will pronounce talismanic words for the benefit of people at large, and to guard, defend, protect such preachers as are qualified, who keep the Sutrantas mentioned; viz. agane gane gauri gandhari kandali matangi pukkasi sankule vrusali svaha. These talismanic words, O Lord, have been pronounced by forty-two hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas. All those Buddhas would be offended by any one who would attack such preachers as are qualified.

Thereupon the giantesses called Lamba, Vilamba, Kutadanti, Pushpadanti, Makutadanti, Kesini, Akala, Maladhari, Kunti, Sarvasattvogahari, and Hariti, all with their children and suite went up to the place where the Lord was, and with one voice said unto him: We also, O Lord, will afford guard,

defence, and protection to such preachers as keep this Sutranta; we will afford them safety, that no one seeking for an occasion to surprise those preachers may find the occasion. And the giantesses all simultaneously and in a chorus gave to the Lord the following words of spells: iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me nime nime nime nime; ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe ruhe; stuhe stuhe stuhe stuhe, svaha. No one shall overpower and hurt such preachers; no goblin, giant, ghost, devil, imp, sorcerer, spectre, gnome; no spirit causing epilepsy, no sorcerer of goblin race, no sorcerer of not-human race, no sorcerer of human race; no sorcerer producing tertian ague, quartian ague, quotidian ague. Even if in his dreams he has visions of women, men, boys or girls, it shall be impossible that they hurt him.

And the giantesses simultaneously and in a chorus addressed the Lord with the following stanzas:

- 1 His head shall be split into seven pieces, like a sprout of Symplocos Racemosa, who after hearing this spell would attack a preacher.
- 2 He shall go the way of parricides and matricides, who would attack a preacher.
- 3 He shall go the way of oil-millers and sesamum-pounders, who would attack a preacher.
- 4 He shall go the way of those who use false weights and measures, who would attack a preacher.

Thereafter the giantesses headed by Kunti said unto the Lord: We also, O Lord, will afford protection to such preachers; we will procure them safety; we will protect them against assault and poison. Whereupon the Lord said to those giantesses: Very well, sisters, very well; you do well in affording guard, defence, and protection to those preachers, even to such who shall keep no more than the name of this Dharmaparvava: how much more then to those who shall keep this Dharmaparyaya wholly and entirely, or who, possessing the text of it in a volume, honour it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, cloth, flags, banners, lamps with sesamum oil, lamps with scented oil, lamps with Kampaka-scented oil, with Varshikascented oil, with lotus-scented oil, with jasminescented oil; who by suchlike manifold hundred thousand manners of worshipping shall honour, respect, revere, venerate (this Sutra), deserve to be guarded by thee and thy suite, Kunti!

And while this chapter on spells was being expounded, sixty-eight thousand living beings received the faculty of acquiescence in the law that has no origin.

#### LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 22

Ancient Devotion Of Bhaishagyaraga.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna spoke to the Lord as follows: Wherefore, O Lord, does the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga pursue his course in this Saha-world, while he is fully aware of the many hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of difficulties he has to meet? Let the Lord, the Tathagata, etc., deign to tell us any part of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga, that by hearing it the gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, as well as the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas from other worlds here present, and these great disciples here may be content, delighted, overjoyed.

And the Lord, out of regard to that request of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, told him the following: Of yore, young man of good family, at a past epoch, at a time (as many) Æons ago as there are grains of sand in the river Ganges, there appeared in the world a Tathagata, etc., by the name of Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc. etc. Now that Tathagata, etc., Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri had a great assembly of eighty kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas and an assembly of disciples equal to the sands of seventytwo Ganges rivers. His spiritual rule was exempt from the female sex, and his Buddha-field had no hell, no brute creation, no ghosts, no demons; it was level, neat, smooth as the palm of the hand. Its floor consisted of heavenly lapis lazuli, and it was adorned with trees of jewel and sandal-wood; inlaid with a multitude of jewels, and hung with long bands of silk, and scented by censors made of jewels. Under each jewel tree, at a distance not farther than a bowshot, was made a small jewel-house, and on the top of those small jewel-houses stood a hundred kotis of angels performing a concert of musical instruments and castanets, in order to honour the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., while that Lord was extensively expounding this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to the great disciples and Bodhisattvas, directing himself to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana. Now, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the lifetime of that Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., lasted forty-two thousand Æons, and likewise that of the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas and great disciples. It was under the spiritual rule of that Lord that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana applied himself to his difficult course. He wandered twelve thousand years

strenuously engaged in contemplation. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years he acquired the Samadhi termed Sarvarupasandarsana (i. e. the sight or display of all forms). No sooner had he acquired that Samadhi than satisfied, glad, joyful, rejoicing, and delighted he made the following reflection: It is owing to this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law that I have acquired the Samadhi of Sarvarupasandarsana. Then he made another reflection: Let me do homage to the Lord Kandravimalasurvaprabhasasri and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. No sooner had he entered upon such a meditation than a great rain of Mandarava and great Mandarava flowers fell from the upper sky. A cloud of Kalanusarin sandal was formed, and a rain of Uragasara sandal poured down. And the nature of those essences was so noble that one karsha of it was worth the whole Saha-world.

After a while, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana rose from that meditation with memory and full consciousness, and reflected thus: This display of magic power is not likely to honour the Lord and Tathagata so much as the sacrifice of my own body will do. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana instantly began to eat Agallochum, Olibanum, and the resin of Boswellia Thurifera, and to drink oil of Kampaka. So, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana passed twelve years in always and constantly eating those fragrant substances and drinking oil of Kampaka. After the expiration of those twelve years the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana wrapped his body in divine garments, bathed it in oil, made his (last) vow, and thereafter burnt his own body with the object to pay worship to the Tathagata and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, eighty worlds equal to the sands of the river Ganges were brightened by the glare of the flames from the blazing body of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, and the eight Lords Buddhas equal to the sands of the Ganges in those worlds all shouted their applause, (and exclaimed): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that is the real heroism which the Boddhisattvas Mahasattvas should develop; that is the real worship of the Tathagata, the real worship of the law. No worshipping with flowers, incense, fragrant wreaths, ointment, powder, cloth, umbrellas, flags, banners; no worshipping with material gifts or with Uragasara sandal equals it. This, young man of good family, is the sublimest gift, higher than the abandoning of royalty, the abandoning of beloved children and wife. Sacrificing one's own body, young man of good family, is the most distinguished, the chiefest, the best, the very best, the most sublime worship of the law. After pronouncing this speech, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, those Lords Buddhas were silent.

The body of Sarva sattvapri yadarsana continued blazing for twelve thousand years without ceasing to burn. After the expiration of those twelve thousand years the fire was extinguished. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, having paid such worship to the Tathagata, disappeared from that place, and (re)appeared under the (spiritual) reign of that very Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., in the house of king Vimaladatta, by apparitional birth, and sitting crosslegged. Immediately after his appearance the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana addressed his father and mother in the following stanza:

1 This, O exalted king, is the walk in which I have acquired meditation; I have achieved a heroical feat, fulfilled a great vote by sacrificing my own dear body.

After uttering this stanza, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana said to his father and mother: Even now, father and mother, the Lord Kandravimalasurvaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., is still living, existing, staying in the world, the Lord by worshipping whom I have obtained the spell of knowing all sounds and this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, consisting of eighty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of stanzas, of a hundred Nivutas [a thousand billions]. of Vivaras [a hundred thousand billions], of a hundred Vivaras, which I have heard from that Lord. Therefore, father and mother, I should like to go to that Lord and worship him again. Instantaneously, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattya Mahasattya Sarya sattyapri vadarsana rose seven talas [the height of a palm-tree.or a span.] high into the sky and sat cross-legged on the top of a tower of seven precious substances. So he went up to the presence of that Lord, and having approached him humbly saluted him, circumambulated him seven times from left to right, stretched the joined hands towards the Lord, and after thus paying his homage addressed him with the following stanza:

2 O thou whose face is so spotless and bright; thou, king and sage! How thy lustre sparkles in all quarters! After having anciently paid thee homage, O Sugata, I now come again to behold thee, O Lord.

Having pronounced this stanza, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana said to the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc.: Thou art still alive, Lord? Whereon the Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., replied: The time of my final extinction, young man of good family, has arrived; the time of my death has arrived. Therefore, young man of good family, prepare my couch; I am going to enter complete extinction. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana: I entrust to thee, young man of good family, my commandment (or mastership, rule); I entrust to thee these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, these great disciples, this Buddha-enlightenment, this world, these iewel cars, these iewel trees. and these angels, my servitors. I entrust to thee also, young man of good family, my relics after my complete extinction. Thou shouldst pay a great worship to my relics, young man of good family, and also distribute them and build many thousands of Stupas. And, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna after the Lord Kandravimalasurvanrabhasasri the Tathagata, etc., had given these instructions to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana he in the last watch of the night entered absolute final extinction.

Thereupon, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, perceiving that the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, the Tathagata, etc., had expired, made a pyre of Uragasara sandal-wood and burnt the body of the Tathagata. When he saw that the body was burnt to ashes and the fire extinct, be took the bones and wept, cried and lamented. After having wept, cried and lamented, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana caused to be made eighty-four thousand urns of seven precious substances, deposed in them the bones of the Tathagata, founded eighty-four thousand Stupas, reaching in height to the Brahma-world, adorned with a row of umbrellas, and equipped with silk bands and bells. After founding those Stupas he made the following reflection: I have paid honour to the Tathagata-relics of the Lord Kandravimalasuryaprabhasasri, but I will pay to those relics a vet loftier and most distinguished honour. Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana addressed that entire assembly of Bodhisattvas, those great disciples, those gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human: Ye all, young men of good family, unanimously vow to pay worship to the relics of the Lord. Immediately after, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, in presence of those eighty-four thousand Stupas, burnt his own arm which was marked by the one hundred auspicious signs, and so paid worship to those Stupas containing the relics of the Tathagata, during seventy-two thousand years. And while paying worship, he educated countless hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of disciples from that assembly, in consequence whereof all those Bodhisattvas acquired the Samadhi Sarvarupasandarsana.

Then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the entire assembly of Bodhisattvas and all great disciples, seeing the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana deprived of a limb, said, with tears in their eyes, weeping, crying, lamenting: The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, our master and instructor, is now deprived of a limb, deprived of one arm. But the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri vadarsana addressed those Bodhisattvas, great disciples, and angels in the following terms: Do not, young men of good family, weep, cry, lament at the sight of my being deprived of one arm. All the Lords Buddhas who be, exist, live in the endless, limitless worlds in every direction of space, have I taken to witness. Before their face have I pronounced a vow of truth, and by that truth, by that word of truth shall I, after the sacrifice of my own arm in honour of the Tathagata, have a body of gold colour. By this truth, by this word of truth let this arm of mine become such as it was before, and let the great earth shake in six different ways, and let the angels in the sky pour down a rain of flowers. No sooner, Naksha sankusu mitabhigna, had the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana made that vow of truth, than the whole triple macrocosm was shaken in six different ways, and from the sky aloft fell a great rain of flowers. The arm of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana became again as it was before, and that by the power of knowledge and by the power of pious merit belonging to that Bodhisattva Mahasattva. Perhaps, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, thou wilt have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and think) that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattyanri yadarsana at that time, and that enoch, was another But do not think so; for the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Bhaishagyaraga here was at that time, and that epoch, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana. So many hundred thousand myriads of kolis of difficult things, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, and sacrifices' of his body does

this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana accomplish. Now. Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the young man or young lady of good family striving in the Bodhisattva vehicle towards the goal and longing for supreme, perfect enlightenment, who at the Tathagata-shrines shall burn a great toe, a finger, a toe, or a whole limb, such a young man or young lady of good family, I assure thee, shall produce far more pious merit, far more than results from giving up a kingdom, sons, daughters, and wives, the whole triple world with its woods, oceans, mountains, springs, streams, tanks, wells, and gardens. And, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the young man or young lady of good family, striving in the Bodhisattva-vehicle for the goal, who after filling with the seven precious substances this whole triple world should give it in alms to all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, that young man or young lady of good family, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, does not produce so much pious merit as a young man or young lady of good family who shall keep, were it but a single verse from this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, I positively declare that the accumulation of merit of the latter is greater than if a person, after filling the whole triple world with the seven precious substances, bestows it in alms on all Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, disciples, or

Pratyekabuddhas. Just as the great ocean, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, surpasses all springs, streams, and tanks, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses all Sutras spoken by the Tathagata. just as the Sumeru, the king of mountains, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, all elevations at the cardinal points, horizon circles and great horizons, So, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law surpasses as a king all the Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata. As the moon, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, as a luminary, takes the first rank amongst the whole of the asterisms, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law ranks first amongst all Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata, though it surpasses hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of moons. As the orb of the sun. Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, dispels gloomy darkness, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law dispels all the gloomy darkness of unholy works. As Indra, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, is the chief of the gods of paradise, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is the chief of Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata, As Brahma Sahampati, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, is the king of all Brahmakayika gods and exercises the function of a father in the Brahma world, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law exercises the function of a father to all beings, whether under training or past it, to all disciples, Pratvekabuddhas, and those who in the Bodhisattva-vehicle are striving for the goal. As the Srotaapanna, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, as well as the Sakridagamin, Anagamin, Arhat, and Pratyekabuddha, excels the ignorant people and the profanum vulgus, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law must be held to excel and surpass all Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata; and such as shall keep this king of Sutras, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, must be held to surpass others (who do not). As a Bodhisattva is accounted superior to all disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is accounted superior to all Sutrantas spoken by the Tathagata. Even as the Tathagata is the crowned king of the law of all disciples, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas, so, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya is a Tathagata in respect to those who in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas are striving to reach the goal. This Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, saves all beings from all fear, delivers them from all pains. It is like a tank for the thirsty, like a fire for those who suffer from cold, like a garment for the naked, like the caravan leader for the merchants, like a mother for her children, like a boat for those who ferry over, like a leech for the sick, like a lamp for those who are wrapt in darkness, like a jewel for those who want wealth, like the ocean for the rivers, like a torch for the dispelling of darkness. So, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law delivers from all evils, extirpates all diseases, releases from the narrow bonds of the mundane whirl. And he who shall hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, who shall write it and cause it to be written, will produce an accumulation of pious merit the term of which is not to be arrived at even by Buddha-knowledge; so great is the accumulation of pious merit that will be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady who after teaching or learning it, writing it or having it collected into a volume, shall honour, respect, venerate, worship it with flowers, incense, fragrant garlands, ointment, powder, umbrellas, flags, banners, triumphal

streamers, with music, with joining of hands, with lamps burning with ghee, scented oil, Kampaka oil, jasmine oil, trumpet-flower oil, Varshika oil or double jasmine oil.

Great will be the pious merit, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, to be produced by a young man of good family or a young lady striving to reach the goal in the Bodhisattvavehicle, who shall keep this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyaraga, who shall read and learn it. And, Nakshatraraga, should a female, after hearing this Dharmaparyaya, grasp and keep it, then this existence will be her last existence as a woman. Any female, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, who in the last five hundred years of the millennium shall hear and penetrate this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyaraga, will after disappearing from earth be (re)born in the world Sukhavati, where the Lord Amitayus, the Tathagata, etc., dwells, exists, lives surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas. There will he (who formerly was a female) appear seated on a throne consisting of the interior of a lotus; no affection, no hatred, no infatuation, no pride, no envy, no wrath, no malignity will vex him. With his birth he will also receive the five transcendent faculties as well as the acquiescence in the eternal law, and, once in possession thereof, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, he as a Bodhisattva Mahasattva will see Tathagatas equal to the sands of seventy-two rivers Ganges. So perfect will be his organ of sight that by means thereof he shall see those Lords Buddhas, which Lords Buddhas will applaud him (and say): Well done, well done, young man of good family, that after hearing this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law which has been promulgated by the spiritual proclamation of the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., thou hast studied, meditated, examined, minded it, and expounded it to other beings, other persons. This accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family, cannot be burnt by fire, nor swept away by water. Even a thousand Buddhas would not be able to determine this accumulation of thy pious merit, young man of good family. Thou hast subdued the opposition of the Evil One, young man of good family. Thou, young man of good family, hast victoriously emerged from the battle of mundane existence, hast crushed the enemies annoying thee. Thou, young man of good family, hast been superintended by thousands of Buddhas; thine equal, young man of good family. is not to be found in the world, including the gods, with the only exception of the Tathagata; there is no other, be he disciple, Pratyekabuddba, or Bodhisattva, able to surpass thee in pious merit, knowledge, wisdom or meditation. Such a power of knowledge, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, will be acquired by that Bodhisattya

Any one, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, who on hearing this chapter of the ancient devotion of Bhaishagyaraga approves it, will emit from his mouth a breath sweet as of the lotus, and from his limbs a fragrance as of sandal-wood. Such temporal advantages as I have just now indicated will belong to him who approves this Dharmaparyaya. On that account then, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, I transmit to thee this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Sarva sattvapri yadarsana, that at the end of time, the last period, in the latter half of the millennium it may have course here in Gambudvipa and not be lost: that neither Mara the Fiend. nor the celestial beings called Marakayikas, Nagas, goblins, imps may find the opportunity of hurting it. Therefore, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, I bequeath this Dharmaparyaya; it is to be like a medicament for sick and suffering creatures in Gambudvipa. No sickness shall overpower him who has heard this Dharmaparyaya, no decrepitude, no untimely death. Whenever a person striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattvas happens to see such a monk as keeps this Sutranta, then he should strew him with sandalpowder and blue lotuses, and reflect thus: This young man of good family is going to reach the terrace of enlightenment; he will spread the bundle of grass on the terrace of enlightenment; he will put to flight the party of Mara, blow the conch trumpet of the law, beat the drum of the law, cross the ocean of existence. Thus, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna, should a young man of good family, striving to reach the goal in the vehicle of Bodhisattva, reflect when seeing a monk who keeps this Sutra, and he will acquire such advantages as have been indicated by the Tathagata.

While this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaishagyaraga was being expounded, eighty-four thousand Bodhisattvas attained the spell connected with skill in all sounds. And the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., intimated his approval (by saying): Well done, well done, Naksha trararaga sankusu mitabhigna; thou hast done well in thus questioning the Tathagata, who is endowed with such inconceivable qualities and properties.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 23

Gadgadasvara.

At that moment the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., darted a flash of light from the circle of hair between his eyebrows, one of the characteristic signs of a great man, by which flash of light hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of

Buddha-fields, equal to the sands of eighteen rivers Ganges. became illuminated. Beyond those Buddha-fields, equal, etc., is the world called Vairokanarasmipratimandita (i.e. embellished by the rays of the sun). There dwells, lives, exists the Tathagata named Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, who, surrounded and attended by a large and immense assembly of Bodhisattvas, preached the law. Immediately the ray of light flashing from the circle of hair between the evebrows of the Lord Sakvamuni, the Tathagata. etc., filled the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita with a great lustre. In that world Vairokanarasmipratimandita there was a Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Gadgadasvara, who had planted roots of goodness, who had before seen similar luminous flashes emitted by many Tathagatas, etc., and who had acquired many Samadhis, such as the Samadhi Dhvagagrakeyura (i. e. bracelet at the upper end of the banner staff), Saddharma-pundarika (i. e. the Lotus of the True Law), Vimaladatta (i.e. given by Vimala), Nakshatraragavikridita (i.e. sport of the king of asterisms, the moon god), Anilambha [Of uncertain meaning], Gnanamudra (i.e. the seal of science), Kandrapradipa (i.e. moon-light). Sarvarutakausalva (i.e. skill in all sounds). Sarvapunyasamukkaya (i.e. compendium or collection of all piety), Prasadavati (i.e. the favourably-disposed lady), Riddhivikridita (i.e. sport of magic), Gnanolka (i.e. torch of knowledge), Vyuharaga (i.e. king of expansions or speculations), Vimalaprabha (i.e. spotless lustre), Vimalagarbha (i.e. of spotless interior part), Apkritsna [I.e. belonging to the mystic rite, called Apokasina in Palil. Suryavarta (i.e. sun-turn); in short, he had acquired many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Samadhis equal to the sands of the river Ganges. Now, the flash of light came down upon that Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee on the ground, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord Buddha, and said to the Tathagata Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna: O Lord, I would resort to the Saha-world to see, salute, wait upon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; to see and salute Mangusri, the prince royal; to see the Bodhisattvas Bhaishagyaraga, Pradanasura, Naksha traragasan kusumi tabhigna, Visishtakaritra, Vyuharaga, Bhaisha gyaraga samudgata.

Then the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara: On coming to the Saha-world, young man of good family, thou must not conceive a low opinion of it. That world, young man of good family, has ups and downs, consists of earth, is replete with mountains of Kala, filled with gutters. The Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., is short of stature, and so are the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, whereas thou, young man of good family, hast got a body forty-two hundred thousand yoganas high, and myself have got a body sixty-eight hundred thousand yoganas high. And, young man of good family, thou art lovely, handsome, of pleasant appearance, endowed with a full bloom of extremely fine colour, and abundantly blest with hundred thousands of holy signs. Therefore then, young man of good family, when you have come to the Saha-world, do not conceive a low opinion of the Tathagata, nor of the Bodhisattvas, nor of that Buddha-field.

Thus addressed, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara said to the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: I shall do, Lord, as the Lord commands; I shall go to that Saha-world by virtue of the Lord's resolution, of the Lord's power, of the Lord's might, of the Lord's disposal, of the Lord's foresight. Whereon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, without leaving that Buddha-field and without leaving his seat, plunged into so deep a meditation that immediately after, on a sudden, there appeared before the Tathagata on the Gridhrakuta-mountains in the Saha-world eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and Butea Frondosa.

On seeing the appearance of this mass of lotuses the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Mangusri, the prince royal, asked the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.: By what cause and by whom, O Lord, have been produced these eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of lotuses on gold stalks with silver leaves and with cups of the hue of rosy lotuses and Butea Frondosa: Whereon the Lord replied to Mangusri, the prince royal: It is, Mangusri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, who accompanied and attended by eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas arrives from the east, from the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita, the Buddha-field of the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., at this Sahaworld to see, salute, wait upon me, and to hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Then Mangusri, the prince royal, said to the Lord: What mass of roots of goodness, O Lord, has that young man of good family collected, that he has deserved to obtain such a distinction? And what meditation is it, O Lord, that the Bodhisattva

practises; Let us also learn that meditation, O Lord, and practise that meditation. And let us see that Bodhisattva, Lord; see how the colour, outward shape, character, figure, and behaviour of that Bodhisattva is. May the Lord deign to produce such a token that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world.

Then the Lord Sakvamuni, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who was completely extinct: Produce such a token, Lord, that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara be admonished by it to come to this Saha-world. And the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who was completely extinct, instantly produced a token in order to admonish the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara (and said): Come, young man of good family, to this Saha-world: Mangusri, the prince royal, will hail thy coming. And the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, after humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., and after three times circumambulating him from left to right, vanished from the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita, along with eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas who surrounded and followed him, and arrived at this Saha-world, among a stir of Buddhafields, a rain of lotuses, a noise of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of musical instruments. His face showed eyes resembling blue lotuses, his body was gold-coloured, his person marked by a hundred thousand of holy signs; he sparkled with lustre, glowed with radiance, had limbs marked by the characteristic signs, and a body compact as Narayana's. Mounted on a tower made of seven precious substances, he moved through the sky to a height of seven Talas [Or spans]. There are seven regions of winds. Vayu, the god of wind or air, is nearly akin to Indra and Vishnu], surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, in the direction of this Saha-world, and approached the Gridhrakuta, the king of mountains. At his arrival, he alighted from the tower, and went, with a necklace of pearls worth a hundred thousands, to the place where the Lord was sitting. After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord, and circumambulating him seven times from left to right, he offered him the necklace of pearls in token of homage, whereafter he said to the Lord: The Lord Kamalada layimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata. etc., inquires after the Lord's health, welfare, and sprightliness; whether he feels free from affliction and at ease. That Lord has also charged me to ask: Is there something thou hast to suffer or allow? the humours of the body are not in an unfavourable state; thy creatures are decent in manners, tractable and easy to be healed: their bodies are clean: They are not too passionate. I hope, not too irascible, not too unwise in their doings? They are not jealous, Lord, not envious, not ungrateful to their father and mother, not impious, not heterodox, not unsubdued in mind, not unrestrained in sexual desires; Are the creatures able to resist the Evil One: Has the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata. etc., who is completely extinct, come to the Saha-world in order to hear the law, sitting in the centre of a Stupa made of seven precious substances; And as to that, Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, inquires: Is there something that the Lord Prabhutaratna, etc., has to suffer or allow; Is the Lord Prabhutaratna, etc., to stay long; We also, O Lord, are desirous of seeing the rudimentary frame [Dhatuvigraha, the frame of the elementary parts, or the bone relics.] of that Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc. May the Lord therefore please to show us the rudimentary frame of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc.

Then the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who was completely extinct: Lord, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara here wishes to see the Lord Prabutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who is completely extinct. Whereon the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., spoke to the Bodhisattva Maliasattva Gadgadasvara in this strain: Well done, well done, young gentleman, that thou hast come hither in the desire to see the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; to hear this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, and see Mangusri, the prince royal.

Subsequently the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri said to the Lord: What root of goodness has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara formerly planted; And in presence of which Tathagata; And the Lord Sakvamuni, the Tathagata, etc., said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri: In the days of yore, young man of good family, at a past period there appeared in the world Tathagata called a Meghadundubhisvararaga (i.e. the king of the drum-sound of the clouds), perfectly enlightened, endowed with science and conduct, a Sugata, etc., in the world Sarvabuddhasandarsana (i. e. sight or display of all Buddhas), in the Æon Privadarsana. To that Lord Meghadundubhisyararaga the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara paid homage by making resound hundred thousands of musical instruments during twelve thousand years. He presented to him also eighty-four thousand vessels of seven precious substances. Under the preaching of the Tathagata

Meghadundubhisvararaga, young man of good family, has the Bodhisattya Mahasattya Gadgadasyara obtained such a beauty as he now displays. Perhaps, young man of good family, thou hast some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving, (and thinkest) that at that time, that epoch, there was another Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Gadgadasvara, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararaga, the Tathagata, and presented him the eighty-four thousand vessels. But, young man of good family, do not think so. For it was the very same Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, young man of good family, who paid that homage to the Lord Meghadundubhisvararaga, the Tathagata, and presented to him the eighty-four thousand vessels. So, young man of good family, the Bodhisattya Mahasattya Gadgadasyara has waited upon many Buddhas, has planted good roots under many Buddhas, and prepared the soil under each of them. And this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara had previously seen Lords Buddhas similar to the sands of the river Ganges. Dost thou see, Padmasri, how the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara now looks; Padmasri replied: I do, Lord; I do, Sugata. The Lord said: Now, Padmasri, this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparvaya of the Lotus of the True Law under many shapes he assumes; sometimes [or somewhere] under the shape of Brahma, sometimes under that of Indra, sometimes under that of Shiva, sometimes under that of Kubera, sometimes under that of a sovereign, sometimes under that of a duke, sometimes under that of a chief merchant, sometimes under that of a citizen. sometimes under that of a villager, sometimes under that of a Brahman. Sometimes again the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law under a monk's shape, sometimes under a nun's, sometimes under a male lay devotee's, sometimes under a female lay devotee's, sometimes under that of a chief merchant's wife, sometimes under that of a citizen's wife. sometimes under a boy's, sometimes under a girl's shape. With so many variations in the manner to show himself, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara preaches this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. He has even assumed the shape of a goblin to preach this Dharmaparyaya to such as were to be converted by a goblin. To some he has preached this Dharmaparvaya of the Lotus of the True Law under the shape of a demon, to some under a Garuda's, to some under a Kinnara's, to some under a great serpent's shape. Even to the beings in any of the wretched states, in the hells, the brute creation, Yama's realm, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara is a supporter. Even to the creatures in the gynæceums of this Saha-world has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasyara. metamorphosing himself into a woman, preached this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. Verily, Padmasri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara is the supporter of the creatures living in this Saha-world. Under so many shapes, assumed at will, has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasyara preached this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to creatures. Yet, there is no diminution of wisdom, nor diminution of magic power in that good man. So many, young man of good family, are the manifestations of knowledge by which this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara has made himself known in this Saha-world. In other worlds also, similar to the sands of the river Ganges, he preaches the law, under the shape of a Bodhisattya to such as must be converted by a Bodhisattva; under the shape of a disciple to such as must be converted by a disciple; under the shape of a Pratyekabuddha to such as must be converted by a Pratyekabuddha; under the shape of a Tathagata to such as must be converted by a Tathagata. Nay, he will show to those who must be converted by a relic of the Tathagata himself such a relic, and to those who must be converted by complete extinction he will show himself completely extinct. Such is the powerful knowledge, Padmasri, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva is possessed of.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri said to the Lord: The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara then has planted good roots, Lord. What meditation is it, Lord, whereby the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, with unshaken firmness, has converted (or educated) so many creatures; Whereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata. etc.. replied to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri: It is, young man of good family, the meditation termed Sarvarupasandarsana. By steadiness in it has the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara so immensely promoted the weal of creatures.

While this chapter of Gadgadasvara was being expounded, all the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who, along with the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, had come to the Saha-world, obtained the meditation Sarvarupasandarsana, and as to the number of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas of this Saha-world obtaining the meditation Sarvarupasandarsana, it was beyond calculation

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara, after having paid great and ample worship to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., and at the Stupa of relics of the Lord

Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., again mounted the tower made of seven precious substances, among the stir of the fields. the rain of lotuses, the noise of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of musical instruments [After a last effort the storm subsides], and with the eighty-four hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas surrounding and following him, returned to his own Buddha-field. At his arrival there he said to the Lord Kamalada lavimalanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: O Lord, I have in the Saha-world promoted the weal of creatures; I have seen and saluted the Stilpa of relics of the Lord Prabhataratna, the Tathagata, etc.; I have seen and saluted the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc.; I have seen Mangusri, the prince royal, as well as the Bodhisattva Bhaishagyaraga, who is possessed of mighty knowledge and impetuosity, and the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Pradanasura; and these eightyfour hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas have all obtained the meditation termed Sarvarupasandarsana.

And while this relation of the going and coming of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Gadgadasvara was being delivered, forty-two thousand Bodhisattvas acquired the facultyof acquiescence in future things, and the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri acquired the meditation called the Lotus of the True Law.

#### LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 24

The All-Sided One, Containing A Description Of The Transformations Of Avalokitesvara.

Thereafter the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshavamati rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord, and said: For what reason, O Lord, is the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara called Avalokitesvara? So he asked, and the Lord answered to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati: All the hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of creatures, young man of good family, who in this world are suffering troubles will, if they hear the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, be released from that mass of troubles. Those who shall keep the name of this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, will, if they fall into a great mass of fire, be delivered therefrom by virtue of the lustre of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva. In case, young man of good family, creatures, carried off by the current of rivers, should implore the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, all rivers will afford them a ford. In case, young man of good family, many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of creatures, sailing in a ship on the ocean, should see their bullion, gold, gems, pearls, lapis lazuli, conch shells, stones (?), corals, emeralds, Musaragalyas, read pearls (?), and other goods lost, and the ship by a vehement, untimely gale cast on the island of Giantesses, and if in that ship a single being implores Avalokitesvara, all will be saved from that island of Giantesses. For that reason, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara is Avalokitesvara

If a man given up to capital punishment implores Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, the swords of the executioners shall snap asunder. Further, young man of good family, if the whole triple chiliocosm were teeming with goblins and giants, they would by virtue of the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara being pronounced lose the faculty of sight in their wicked designs. If some creature, young man of good family, shall be bound in wooden or iron manacles, chains or fetters, be he guilty or innocent, then those manacles, chains or fetters shall give way as soon as the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara is pronounced. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara. If this whole triple chiliocosm, young man of good family, were teeming with knaves, enemies, and robbers armed with swords, and if a merchant leader of a caravan marched with a caravan rich in jewels; if then they perceived those robbers, knaves, and enemies armed with swords, and in their anxiety and fright thought themselves helpless; if, further, that leading merchant spoke to the caravan in this strain: Be not afraid, young gentlemen, be not frightened; invoke, all of you, with one voice the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, the giver of safety; then you shall be delivered from this danger by which you are threatened at the hands of robbers and enemies; if then the whole caravan with one voice invoked Avalokitesvara with the words: Adoration, adoration be tothe giver of safety, to Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva Mahasattva! then, by the mere act of pronouncing that name, the caravan would be released from all danger. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara. In case creatures act under the impulse of impure passion, young man of good family, they will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara be freed from passion. Those who act under the impulse of hatred will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from hatred. Those who act under the impulse of infatuation will, after adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, be freed from infatuation. So mighty, young man of good family, is the

Bodhisattya Mahasattya Ayalokitesyara. If a woman, desirous of male offspring, young man of good family, adores the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, she shall get a son, nice, handsome, and beautiful; one possessed of the characteristics of a male child, generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots. If a woman is desirous of getting a daughter, a nice, handsome, beautiful girl shall be born to her; one possessed of the (good) characteristics of a girl, generally beloved and winning, who has planted good roots. Such, young man of good family, is the power of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara.

Those who adore the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara will derive from it an unfailing profit. Suppose, young man of good family, (on one hand) some one adoring the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and cherishing his name; (on the other hand) another adoring a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges, cherishing their names and worshipping so many Lords Buddhas during their stay, existence, and life by giving robes, alms-bowls, couches, medicaments for the sick; how great is then in thine opinion, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it? So asked, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati said to the Lord: Great, O Lord, great, O Sugata, is the pious merit which that young gentleman or young lady will produce in consequence of it. The Lord proceeded: Now, young man of good family, the accumulation of pious merit produced by that young gentleman paying homage to so many Lords Buddhas, and the accumulation of pious merit produced by him who performs were it but a single act of adoration to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, are equal. He who adores a number of Lords Buddhas equal to sixty-two times the sands of the river Ganges and cherishes their names, and he who adores the Bodhisattya Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and cherishes his name, have an equal accumulation of pious merit; both masses of pious merit are not easy to be destroyed even in hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of Æons. So immense, young man of good family, is the pious merit resulting from cherishing the name of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara.

Again the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshavamati said to the Lord: How, O Lord, is it that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara frequents this Saha-world? And how does he preach the law? Andwhich is the range of the skilfulness of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara? So asked, the Lord replied to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati: In some worlds, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara preaches the law to creatures in the shape of a Buddha; in others he does so in the shape of a Bodhisattva. To some beings he shows the law in the shape of a Pratyekabuddha; to others he does so in the shape of a disciple; to others again under that of Brahma, Indra, or a Gandharva. To those who are to be converted by a goblin, he preaches the law assuming the shape of a goblin; to those who are to be converted by Isvara, he preaches the law in the shape of isvara; to those who are to be converted by Mahesvara, he preaches assuming the shape of Mahesvara. To those who are to be converted by a Kakravartin [This term is ambiguous; it means both 'the mover of the wheel', i.e. Vishnu, and 'an emperor'], he shows the law after assuming the shape of a Kakrayartin: to those who are to be converted by an imp, he shows the law under the shape of an imp; to those who are to be converted by Kubera, he shows the law by appearing in the shape of Kubera; to those who are to be converted by Senapati [Ambiguous; the word denotes both 'the commander-in-chief of the army of the gods, Skanda,' and 'a commander-in-chief in general'], he preaches in the shape of Senapati; to those who are to be converted by assuming a Brahman [the Brahman may be Brihaspati], he preaches in the shape of a Brahman; to those who are to be converted by Vagrapani [Vagrapani is the name of one of the Dhyanibuddhas, and of certain geniuses, and an ephitet of Indra], he preaches in the shape of Vagrapani [The function of Avalokitesvara, as it appears from these passages, agree with those of Gadgadasvara mentioned in the foregoing chapter]. With such inconceivable qualities, young man of good family, is the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara endowed. Therefore then, young man of good family, honour the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara. The Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara, young man of good family, affords safety to those who are in anxiety. On that account one calls him in this Saha-world Abhayandada (i. e. Giver of Safety).

Further, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati said to the Lord: Shall we give a gift of piety, a decoration of piety, O Lord, to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara? The Lord replied: Do so, if thou thinkest it opportune. Then the Bodhisattya Mahasattya Akshayamati took from his neck a pearl necklace worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces) and presented it to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara as a decoration of piety, with the words: Receive from me this decoration of piety, good man. But he would not accept it. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara: Out of compassion

to us, young man of good family, accept this pearl necklace. Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara accepted the pearl necklace from the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati, out of compassion to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Akshayamati and the four classes, and out of compassion to the gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men: and beings not human. Thereafter he divided (the necklace) into two parts. and offered one part to the Lord Sakvamuni, and the other to the jewel Stupa of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., who had become completely extinct.

With such a faculty of transformation, young man of good family, the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara is moving in this Saha-world

And on that occasion the Lord uttered the following stanzas:

- 1 Kitradhvaga asked Akshayamati the following question: For what reason, son of Gina, is Avalokitesvara (so) called?
- 2 And Akshayamati, that ocean of profound insight, after considering how the matter stood, spoke to Kitradhvaga: Listen to the conduct of Avalokitesvara
- 3 Hear from my indication how for numerous, inconceivable Æons he has accomplished his vote under many thousand kotis of Buddhas.
- 4 Hearing, seeing, regularly and constantly thinking will infallibly destroy all suffering, (mundane) existence, and grief of living beings here on earth.
- 5 If one be thrown into a pit of fire, by a wicked enemy with the object of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the fire shall be quenched as if sprinkled
- 6 If one happens to fall into the dreadful ocean, the abode of Nagas, marine monsters, and demons, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and he shall never sink down in the king of
- 7 If a man happens to be hurled down from the brink of the Meru, by some wicked person with the object of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and he shall, sunlike, stand firm in the sky.
- 8 If rocks of thunderstone and thunderbolts are thrown at a man's head to kill him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of the body.
- 9 If a man be surrounded by a host of enemies armed with swords, who have the intention of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall instantaneously become kind-hearted.
- 10 If a man, delivered to the power of the executioners, is already standing at the place of execution, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and their swords shall go to pieces.
- 11 If a person happens to be fettered in shackles of wood or iron, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the bonds shall be speedily loosened.
- 12 Mighty spells, witchcraft, herbs, ghosts, and spectres, pernicious to life, revert thither whence they come, when one thinks of Avalokitesvara
- 13 If a man is surrounded by goblins, Nagas, demons, ghosts, or giants, who are in the habit of taking away bodily vigour, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall not be able to hurt one hair of his body.
- 14 If a man is surrounded by fearful beasts with .sharp teeth and claws, he has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly fly in all directions.
- 15 If a man is surrounded by snakes malicious and frightful on account of the flames and fires (they emit), be has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and they shall quickly lose their
- 16 If a heavy thunderbolt shoots from a cloud pregnant with lightning and thunder, one has but to think of Avalokitesvara, and the fire of heaven shall quickly, instantaneously be quenched.
- 17 He (Avalokitesvara) with his powerful knowledge beholds all creatures who are beset with many hundreds of troubles and afflicted by many sorrows, and thereby is a saviour in the world, including the gods.
- 18 As he is thoroughly practised in the power of magic, and possessed of vast knowledge and skilfulness, he shows himself in all directions and in all regions of the world.
- 19 Birth, decrepitude, and disease will come to an end for those who are in the wretched states of existence, in hell, in brute creation, in the kingdom of Yama, for all beings (in general).
- [Then Akshayamati in the joy of his heart uttered the following stanzas:]
- 20 O thou whose eyes are clear, whose eyes are kind, distinguished by wisdom and knowledge, whose eyes are full of pity and benevolence; thou so lovely by thy beautiful face and beautiful eyes!
- 21 Pure one, whose shine is spotless bright, whose knowledge is free from darkness, thou shining as the sun, not to be beaten away, radiant as the blaze of fire, thou spreadest in thy flying course thy lustre in the world.
- 22 O thou who rejoicest in kindness having its source in compassion, thou great cloud of good qualities and of

benevolent mind, thou quenchest the fire that vexes living beings, thou pourest out nectar, the rain of the law.

- 23 In quarrel, dispute, war, battle, in any great danger one has to think of Avalokitesvara, who shall quell the wicked troop of foes.
- 24 One should think of Avalokitesvara, whose sound is as the cloud's and the drum's, who thunders like a rain-cloud, possesses a good voice like Brahma, (a voice) going through the whole gamut of tones.
- 25 Think, O think with tranquil mood of Avalokitesvara, that pure being; he is a protector, a refuge, a recourse in death, disaster, and calamity.
- 26 He who possesses the perfection of all virtues, and beholds all beings with compassion and benevolence, he, an ocean of virtues. Virtue itself, he, Avalokitesyara, is worthy of adoration.
- 27 He, so compassionate for the world, shall once become a Buddha, destroying all dangers and sorrows; I humbly bow to Avalokitesvara.
- 28 This universal Lord, chief of kings, who is a (rich) mine of monastic virtues, he, universally worshipped, has reached pure, supreme enlightenment, after plying his course (of duty) during many hundreds of Æons.
- 29 At one time standing to the right, at another to the left of the Chief Amitabha, whom he is fanning, he, by dint of meditation, like a phantom, in all regions honours the Gina.
- 30 In the west, where the pure world Sukhakara is situated, there the Chief Amitabha, the tamer of men, has his fixed abode.
- 31 There no women are to be found; there sexual intercourse is absolutely unknown; there the sons of Gina, on springing into existence by apparitional birth, are sitting in the undefiled cups of lotuses
- 32 And the Chief Amitabha himself is seated on a throne in the pure and nice cup of a lotus, and shines as the Sala-king.
- 33 The Leader of the world, whose store of merit has been praised, has no equal in the triple world. O supreme of men, let us soon become like thee!

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Dharanindhara rose from his seat, put his upper robe upon one shoulder, fixed his right knee against the earth, stretched his joined hands towards the Lord and said: They must be possessed of not a few good roots, O Lord, who are to hear this chapter from the Dharmaparyaya about the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara and this miraculous power of transformation of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Avalokitesvara.

And while this chapter of the All-sided One was being expounded by the Lord, eighty-four thousand living beings from that assembly felt their minds drawn to that supreme and perfect enlightenment, with which nothing else can be

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 25

Ancient Devotion

Thereupon the Lord addressed the entire assemblage of Bodhisattvas: Of yore, young men of good family, at a past epoch, incalculable, more than incalculable Æons ago, at that time there appeared in the world a Tathagata named Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, an Arhat, etc., endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., in the Æon Priyadarsana, in the world Vairokanarasmipratimandita, Now, there was, young men of good family, under the spiritual rule of the Tatbagata Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna a king called Subhavyaha. That king Subhavyuha, young men of good family, had a wife called Vimaladatta, and two sons, one called Vimalagarbha, the other Vimalanetra. These two boys, who possessed magical power and wisdom, applied themselves to the course of duty of Bodhisattvas, viz. to the perfect virtues (Paramitas) of almsgiving, morality, forbearance, energy, meditation, wisdom, and skilfulness; they were accomplished in benevolence, compassion, joyful sympathy and indifference, and in all the thirty-seven constituents of true knowledge. They had perfectly mastered the meditation Vimala (i.e. spotless), the Nakshatraragaditya. meditation meditation the Vimalanirbhasa, the meditation Vimalabhasa, the meditation Alankarasura, the meditation Mahategogarbha. Now at that time, that period the said Lord preached the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law out of compassion for the beings then living and for the king Subhavyfiha. Then, young men of good family, the two young princes Vimala, crarbha and Vimalanetra went to their mother, to whom they said, after stretching their joined hands: We should like to go, mother, to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., and that, mother, because the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., expounds, in great extension, before the world, including the gods, the Dharmaparvaya of the Lotus of the True Law. We should like to hear it. Whereupon the queen Vinialadatta said to the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra: Your father, young gentlemen, the king Subhavyuha, favours the Brahmans. Therefore you will not obtain the permission

to go and see the Tathagata. Then the two young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra, stretching their joined hands, said to their mother: Though born in a family that adheres, to a false doctrine, we feel as sons to the king of the law. Then, young men of good family, the queen Vimaladatta said to the young princes: Well, young gentlemen, out of compassion for your father, the king Subhavyuha, display some miracle, that he may become favourably inclined to you, and on that account grant you the permission of going to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.

Immediately the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra rose into the atmosphere to a height of seven Tal trees and performed miracles such as are allowed by the Buddha, out of compassion for their father, the king, Subhayyuha. They prepared in the sky a couch and raised dust; there they also emitted from the lower part of their body a shower of rain, and from the upper part a mass of fire; then again they emitted from the upper part of their body a shower of rain, and from the lower part a mass of fire. While in the firmament they became now big, then small; and now small, then big. Then they vanished from the sky to come up again from the earth and reappear in the air. Such, young men of good family, were the miracles produced by the magical power of the two young princes, whereby their father, the king Subhavyuha, was converted. At the sight of the miracle produced by the magical power of the two young princes, the king Subhavyuha was content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and happy, and, the joined hands raised, he said to the boys: Who is your master, young gentlemen? whose pupils are you? And the two young princes answered the king Subhavyuha: There is, noble king, there exists and lives a Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, a Tathagata, etc.; seated on the stool of law at the foot of the tree of enlightenment: he extensively reveals the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to the world, including the gods. That Lord is our Master, O noble king; we are his pupils. Then, young gentlemen of good family, the king Subhavyuha said to the young princes: I will see your Master, young gentlemen; I am to go myself to the presence of that Lord.

After the two young princes had descended from the sky, young gentlemen, they went to their mother and with joined hands stretched forward said to her: Mother, we have converted our father to supreme and perfect knowledge; we have performed the office of masters towards him; therefore let us go now; we wish to enter upon the ecclesiastical life in the face of the Lord. And on that occasion, young men of good family, the young princes Vimalagarbha and Vimalanetra addressed their mother in the following two stanzas:

I Allow us, O mother, to go forth from home and to embrace the houseless life; ay, we will become ascetics, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathagata.

2 As the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, nay, more rare is the Gina. Let us depart; we will renounce the world; the favourable moment is precious (or not often to be met with).

Vimaladatta said:

Now I grant you leave; go, my children, I give my consent. I myself will likewise renounce the world, for rare to be met with (or precious) is a Tathagata.

Having uttered these stanzas, young men of good family the two young princes said to their parents: Pray, father and mother, you also go together with us to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., in order to see, humbly salute and wait upon him, and to hear the law. For, father and mother, the appearance of a Buddha is rare to be met with as the blossom of the glomerated fig-tree, as the entering of the tortoise's neck into the hole of the yoke formed by the great ocean. The appearance of Lords Buddhas, father and mother, is rare. Hence, father and mother, it is a happy lot we have been blessed with, to have been born at the time of such a prophet. Therefore, father and mother, give us leave; we would go and become ascetics in presence of the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., for the seeing of a Tathagata is something rare. Such a king of the law is rarely met with; such a favourable occasion is rarely met with.

Now at that juncture, young men of good family, the eighty-four thousand women of the harem of the king Subhayyuha became worthy of being receptacles of this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. The young prince Vimalanetra exercised himself in this Dharmaparyaya, whereas the young prince Vimalagarbha for many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Æons practised the meditation Sarvasattvapapagahana, with the object that all beings should abandon all evils. And the mother of the two young princes, the queen Vimaladatata, acknowledged the harmony between all Buddhas and all topics treated by them. Then, young men of good family, the king Subhayyuha, having been converted to the law of the Tathagata by the instrumentality of the two young princes, having been initiated and brought to full maturity in it, along with all his relations and retinue; the

queen Vimaladatta with the whole crowd of women in her suite, and the two young princes, the sons of the king Subhavyuha, accompanied by forty-two thousand living beings, along with the women of the harem and the ministers, went all together and unanimously to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagatha, etc. On arriving at the place where the Lord was, they humbly saluted his feet, circumarnbulated him three times from left to right and took their stand at some distance.

Then, young men of good family, the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., perceiving the king Subhavyu'ha, who had arrived with his retinue, instructed, roused, excited, and comforted him with a sermon. And the king Subhavyuha, young men of good family, after he had been well and duly instructed, roused, excited, and comforted by the sermon of the Lord, was so content, glad, ravished, joyful, rejoiced, and delighted, that he put his diadem on the head of his younger brother and established him in the government, whereafter he himself with his sons, kinsmen. and retinue, as well as the queen Vimaladatta and her numerous train of women, the two young princes accompanied by forty-two thousand living beings went all together and unanimously forth from home to embrace the houseless life, prompted as they were by their faith in the preaching of the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc. Having become an ascetic, the king Subhavyuha, with his retinue, remained for eighty-four thousand years applying himself to studying, meditating, and thoroughly penetrating this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. At the end of those eighty four thousand years, young men of good family, the king Subhavyuha acquired the meditation termed Sarvagunalankarayyuha. No sooner had he acquired that meditation, than he rose seven Tals up to the sky, and while staying in the air, young men of good family, the king Subhavyuha said to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: My two sons, O Lord, are my masters, since it is owing to the miracle produced by their magical power that I have been diverted from that great heap of false doctrines, been established in the command of the Lord, brought to full ripeness in it, introduced to it, and exhorted to see the Lord. They have acted as true friends to me, O Lord, those two young princes who as sons were born in my house, certainly to remind me of my former roots of goodness.

At these words the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., spoke to the king Subhavyuha: It is as thou sayest, noble king. Indeed, noble king, such young men or young ladies of good family as possess roots of goodness, will in any existence, state, descent, rebirth or place I easily find true friends, who with them shall perform the task of a master, who shall admonish, introduce, fully prepare them to obtain supreme and perfect enlightenment. It is an exalted position, noble king, the office of a true friend who rouses (another) to see the Tathagata. Dost thou see these two young princes, noble king? I do, Lord; I do, Sugata, said the king. The Lord proceeded: Now, these two young gentlemen, noble king, will pay worship to sixtyfive (times the number of) Tathagatas, etc., equal to the sands of the Ganges; they will keep this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, out of compassion for beings who hold false doctrines, and with the aim to produce in those beings an earnest striving after the right doctrine.

Thereupon, young men of good family, the king Subhavyuha came down from the sky, and, having raised his joined hands, said to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.:
Please, Lord, deign to tell me, what knowledge the Tathagata is possessed of, so that the protuberance on his head is shining; that the Lord's eyes are so clear; that between his brows the Urna (circle of hair) is shining, resembling in whiteness the moon; that in his mouth a row of equal and close-standing teeth is glittering; that the Lord has lips red as the Bimba and such beautiful eves.

As the king Śubhavyuha, young men of good family, had celebrated the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., by enumerating so manygood qualities and hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of other good qualities besides, he said to the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc.: It is wonderful, O Lord, how valuable the Tathagata's teaching is, and with how many inconceivable virtues the religious discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata are. From henceforward, O Lord, we will no more be slaves to our own mind; no more be slaves to false doctrine; no more slaves to rashness; no more slaves to the sinful thoughts arising in us. Being possessed of so many good qualities, O Lord, I do not wish to go away from the presence of the Lord.

After humbly saluting the feet of the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku

sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., the king rose up to the sky and there stood. Thereupon the king Subhavyuha and the queen Vimaladatta from the sky, threw a pearl necklace worth a hundred thousand (gold pieces) upon the Lord; and that pearl necklace no sooner came down upon the head of the Lord than it assumed the shape of a tower with four columns, regular, well-constructed, and beautiful. On the summit of the tower appeared a couch covered with many hundred thousand pieces of fine cloth, and on the couch was seen the image of a Tathagata sitting cross-legged. Then the following thought presented itself to the kingsubbavyuha: The Buddhaknowledge must be very powerful, and the Tathagata endowed with inconceivable good qualities that this Tath agataimage shows itself on the summit of the tower, (an image) so nice, beautiful, possessed of an extreme abundance of good colours. Then the Lord Galadharagargita ghoshasus varanaksha traragasanku sumitabhigna, the Tathagata, etc., addressed the four classes (and asked): Do you see, monks, the king Subliavyuha who, standing in the sky, is emitting a lion's roar? They answered: We do, Lord. The Lord proceeded: This king Subhavyuha, monks, after having become a monk under my rule shall become a Tathagata in the world, by the name of Salendraraga, endowed with science and conduct, etc. etc., in the world Vistiritavati; his epoch shall be called AbhyudgatarAga. That Tathagata Salendraraga, monks, the Arhat, etc., shall have an immense congregation of Bodhisattvas, an immense congregation of disciples. The said world Vistirnavati shall be level as the palm of the hand, and consist of lapis lazuli. So he shall be an inconceivably great Tathagata, etc. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the king Subhavyuha at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so:for it is the very same Bodhisattva Mahasattva Padmasri here present, who at that time, that juncture was the king Subhavyuha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the queen Vimaladatta at that time, that juncture was another. But you must not think so; for it is very same Bodhisattva Mahasattva called Vairokanarasmipratimanditaraga, who at that time, that juncture was the queen Vimaladatta, and who out of compassion for the king Subhavyuha and the creatures had assumed the state of being the wife of king Subhavyuha. Perhaps, young men of good family, you will have some doubt, uncertainty or misgiving (and think) that the two young princes were others. But you must not think so; for it was Bhaishagyaraga and Bhaisha gyaraga samudgata, who at that time, that juncture were sons to the king Subhavvuha, With such inconceivable qualities, young men of good family, were the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas Bhaishagyaraga and Bhaisha gyaraga samudgata endowed, they, the two good men, having planted good roots under many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of Buddhas. Those that shall cherish the name of these two good men shall all become worthy of receiving homage from the world, including the gods.

While this chapter on Ancient Devotion was being expounded, the spiritual insight of eighty-four thousand living beings in respect to the law was purified so as to become unclouded and spotless.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 26

Encouragement Of Samantabhadra.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra, in the east, surrounded and followed by Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas surpassing all calculation, amid the stirring of fields, a rain of lotuses, the playing of hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of musical instruments, proceeded with the great pomp of a Bodhisattva, the great display of transformations proper to a Bodhisattva, the great magnificence of a Bodhisattva, the great power of a Bodhisattva, the great lustre of a glorious Bodhisattva, the great stately march of a Bodhisattva, the great miraculous display of a Bodhisattva, a great phantasmagorical sight of gods, Nagas, goblins, Gandharvas, demons, Garudas, Kinnaras, great serpents, men, and beings not human, who, produced by his magic, surrounded and followed him; Samantabhadra, then, the Bodhisattva, amid inconceivable miracles worked by magic, arrived at this Sahaworld. He went up to the place of the Lord on the Gridhrakuta, the king of mountains, and on approaching he humbly saluted the Lord's feet, made seven circumambulations from left to right, and said to the Lord: I have come hither, O Lord, from the field of the Lord Ratnategobhyudgata, the Tathagata, etc., as I am aware, Lord, that here in the Saha-world is taught the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, to hear which from the mouth of the Lord Sakyamuni I have come accompanied by these hundred thousands of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. May the Lord deign to expound, in extension, this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law to these Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas. So addressed, the Lord said to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra: These Bodhisattvas, young man of good family, are, indeed, quick of understanding, but this is the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of

the True Law, that is to say, an unmixed truth. The Bodhisattvas exclaimed: Indeed Lord; indeed, Sugata. Then in order to confirm, in the Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, the females among the monks, nuns, and lay devotees assembled at the gathering, the Lord again spoke to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra: This Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, young man of good family, shall be entrusted to a female if she be possessed of four requisites, to wit: she shall stand under the superintendence of the Lords Buddhas; she shall have planted good roots; she shall keep steadily to the mass of disciplinary regulations; she shall, in order to save creatures, have the thoughts fixed on supreme and perfect enlightenment. These are the four requisites, young man of good family, a female must be possessed of, to whom this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law is to be entrusted.

Then the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra said to the Lord: At the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, I will protect the monks who keep this Satranta; I will take care of their safety, avert blows [or punishment], and destroy poison, so that no one laying snares for those preachers may surprise them, neither Mara the Evil One, nor the sons of Mara, the angels called Marakayikas, the daughters of Mara, the followers of Mara, and all other servitors to Mara; that no gods, goblins, ghosts, imps, wizards, spectres laying snares for those preachers may surprise them. Incessantly and constantly, O Lord, will I protect such a preacher. And when a preacher who applies himself to this Dharmaparyaya shall take a walk, then, O Lord, will I mount a white elephant with six tusks, and with a train of Bodhisattvas betake myself to the place where that preacher is walking, in order to protect this Dharmaparyaya. And when that preacher, applying himself to this Dharmaparyaya, forgets, be it but a single word or syllable, then will I mount the white elephant with six tusks, show my face to that preacher, and repeat this entire Dharmaparvaya. And when the preacher has seen my proper body and heard from me this entire Dharmaparyaya, he, content, in high spirits, ravished, rejoiced, joyful, and delighted, will the more do his utmost to study this Dharmaparyaya, and immediately after beholding me he will acquire meditation and obtain spells, termed the talisman of preservation, the talisman of hundred thousand kotis, and the talisman of skill in all sounds.

Again, Lord, the monks, nuns, male or female lay devotees, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, shall study this Dharmaparyaya, when walking for three weeks, (or) twenty-one days, to them will I show my body, at the sight of which all beings rejoice. Mounted on that same white elephant with six tusks, and surrounded by a troop of Bodhisattvas, I shall on the twentyfirst day betake myself to the place where the preachers are walking; there I shall rouse, excite, and stimulate them, and give them spells whereby those preachers shall become inviolable, so that no being, either human or not human, shall be able to surprise them, and no women able to beguile them. I will protect them, take care of their safety, avert blows, and destroy poison. I will, besides, O Lord, give those preachers words of talismanic spells, such as, Adande dandapati, dandavartani dandakusale dandasudhari dhari sudharapati, buddhapasyani dharani. avartani samvartani dharmaparikshite sanghaparikshite sanghanirghatani simhavikridite. sarvasattvarutakausalvanugate Bodhisattva Mahasattva, whose organ of hearing is struck by these talismanic words, Lord, shall be aware that the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra is their ruling power

Further, Lord, the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas to whom this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law shall be entrusted, as long as it continues having course in Gambudvipa, those preachers, Lord, should take this view: It is owing to the power and grandeur of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra that this Dharmaparyaya has been entrusted to us. Those creatures who shall write and keep this Sutra, O Lord, are to partake of the course of duty of the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra; they will belong to those who have planted good roots under many Buddhas, O Lord, and whose heads are caressed by the hands of the Tathagata. Those who shall write and keep this Sutra, O Lord, will afford me pleasure. Those who shall write this Sutra, O Lord, and comprehend it, shall, when they disappear from this world, after having written it, be reborn in the company of the gods of paradise, and at that birth shall eighty-four thousand heavenly nymphs immediately come near them. Adorned with a high crown, they shall as angels dwell amongst those nymphs. Such is the mass of merit resulting from writing this Dharmaparyaya; how much greater will be the mass of merit reaped by those who recite, study, meditate, remember it! Therefore, young men of good family, one ought to honour this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. and write it with the utmost attention. He who writes it with undistracted attention shall be supported by the hands of a thousand Buddhas, and at the moment of his death he shall see another thousand of Buddhas from face to face. He shall not sink down into a state of wretchedness, and after disappearing from this world he shall enter the company of the Tushitagods, where the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Maitreya is residing, and where, marked by the thirty-two sublime characteristics, surrounded by a host of Bodhisattvas, and waited upon by hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of heavenly nymphs he is preaching the law. Therefore, then, young men of good family, a wise young man or young lady of good family should respectfully write this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, respectfully recite it, respectfully study it, respectfully treasure it up in his (or her) mind. By writing, reciting, studying this Dharmaparyaya, and by treasuring it up in one's mind, young men of good family, one is to acquire innumerable good qualities. Hence a wise young man or young lady of good family ought to keep this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law. I myself, O Lord, will superintend this Dharmaparyaya, that through my superintendence it may here spread in Gambudvipa.

Then the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., expressed his approval to the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Samantabhadra: Very well, very well, Samantabhadra. It is happy that thou art so well disposed to promote the weal and happiness of the people at large, out of compassion for the people, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the great body of men; that thou art endowed with such inconceivable qualities, with a mind so full of compassion, with intentions so inconceivably kind, so that of thine own accord thou wilt take those preachers under thy protection. The young men of good family who shall cherish the name of the Bodhisattya Mahasattva Samantabhadra may be convinced that they have seen Sakvamuni, the Tathagata, etc.: that they have heard this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law from the Lord Sakyamuni; that they have paid homage to the Tathagata Sakyamuni; that they have applauded the preaching of the Tathagata Sakyamuni. They will have joyfully accepted this Dharmaparyaya; the Tathagata Sakyamuni will have laid his hand upon their head, and they will have decked the Lord Sakyamuni with their robes. Those young men or young ladies of good family, Samantabhadra, must be held to have accepted the command of the Tathagata. They will have no pleasure in worldly philosophy; no persons fondly addicted to poetry will please them; no dancers, athletes, vendors of meat, mutton butchers, poulterers, pork butchers, or profligates will please them. After having heard, written, kept, or read such Stitrantas as this, they will find no delight in those persons. They must be held to be possessed of natural righteousness; they will be right-minded from themselves, possess a power to do good of their own accord, and make an agreeable impression on others. Such will be the monks who keep this Sutranta. No passionate attachment will hinder them, no hatred, no infatuation, no jealousy, no envy, no hypocrisy, no pride, no conceitedness, no mendaciousness. Those preachers, Samantabhadra, will be content with what they receive. He, Samantabhadra, who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, sees a monk keeping this Dharmaparyaya of the Lotus of the True Law, must think thus: This young man of good family will reach the terrace of enlightenment; this young man will conquer the troop of the wicked Mara, move forward the wheel of the law, strike the drum of the law, blow the conch trumpet of the law, spread the rain of the law, and ascend the royal throne of the law. The monks who at the end of time, at the end of the period, in the second half of the millennium, keep this Dharmaparyaya, will not be covetous, nor greedy of robes or vehicles. Those preachers will be honest, and possessed of three emancipations; they will refrain from worldly business. Such persons as lead into error monks who know this Satranta, shall be born blind; and such as openly defame them, shall have a spotted body in this very world. Those who scoff and hoot at the monks who copy this Sutranta, shall have the teeth broken and separated far from each other; disgusting lips, a flat nose, contorted hands and feet, squinting eyes; a putrid body, a body covered with stinking boils, eruptions, scabs, and itch. If one speaks an unkind word, true or not true, to such writers, readers, and keepers of this Sutranta, it must be considered a very heinous sin. Therefore then, Samantabhadra, people should, even from afar, rise from their seats before the monks who keep this Dharmaparyaya and show them the same reverence as to the Tathagata.

While this chapter of the Encouragement of Samantabhadra was being expounded, hundred thousands of kotis of Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas, equal to the sands of the river Ganges, acquired the talismanic spell Avarta.

# LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 27

The Era Of The Law, Dharmaparyaya.

Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., rose from his pulpit, collected the Bodhisattvas, took their right hands with his own right hand, which had become strong by the exercise of magic, and spoke on that occasion as follows: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of incalculable Æons. Ye, young men of good family, do your best that it may grow and spread.

A second time, a third time the Lord spoke to the host of Bodhisattvas after taking them by the right hands: Into your hands, young men of good family, I transfer and transmit, entrust and deposit this supreme and perfect enlightenment arrived at by me after hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of incalculable Æons. Receive it, young men of good family, keep, read, fathom, teach, promulgate, and preach it to all beings. I am not avaricious, young men of good family, nor narrow-minded; I am confident and willing to impart Buddha-knowledge, to impart the knowledge of the Tathagata, the knowledge of the Self-born. I am a bountiful giver, young men of good family, and ye, young men of good family, follow my example; imitate me in liberally showing this knowledge of the Tathagata, and in skilfulness, and preach this Dharmaparvava to the young men and young ladies of good family who successively shall gather round you. And as to unbelieving persons, rouse them to accept this law. By so doing, young men of good family, you will acquit your debt to the Tathagatas.

So addressed by the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., the Bodhisattvas filled with delight and joy, and with a feeling of great respect they lowered, bent, and bowed their body towards the Lord, and, the head inclined and the joined hands stretched out, they spoke in one voice to the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., the following words: We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathagata commands; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathagatas. Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. A second time, a third time the entire host of Bodhisattvas spoke in, one voice the same words: Let the Lord be at ease as to this, and perfectly quiet. We shall do, O Lord, what the Tathagata commands us; we shall fulfil the command of all Tathagatas.

Thereupon the Lord Sakyamuni, the Tathagata, etc., dismissed all those Tathagatas, etc., who had come to the gathering from other worlds, and wished them a happy existence, with the words: May the Tathagatas, etc., live happy. Then he restored the Stupa of precious substances of the Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., to its place, and wished him also a happy existence.

Thus spoke the Lord. The incalculable, innumerable Tathagatas, etc., who had come from other worlds and were sitting on their thrones at the foot of jewel trees, as well as Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, etc., and the whole host of Bodhisattvas headed by Visishtakaritra, the innumerable, incalculable Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas who had issued from the gaps of the earth, the great disciples, the four classes, the world, including gods, men, demons, and Gandharvas, in ecstasy applauded the words of the Lord.



# THE SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

The first significant literature of China was created during the Zhou dynasty (c.1046–256 BC) and the Spring and Autumn period (771-476 BC). Both periods together roughly correspond with the Vedic period in India, the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and the Biblical era from King David to the Greek kingdom of Bactria at the outer sphere of influence of China and India.

The Zhou was a Chinese dynasty that followed the Shang dynasty and preceded the Qin dynasty of Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi. It was the Qin whose name "Chin" we find in almost all western languages as "China." It was the time when Aramaic speaking Hebrews turned up in India and on the caravan roads to China. They and their allies, the Persians under the leadership of King Kurush (Cyrus), gave northwestern India their Aramaic script "Karoshti" which Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta adopted and spread in form of the Brahmi script over all of India. With these Persians and Hebrews came new ideas to the East. One of these ideas was the Golden Rule as expressed in the second half of the Ten Commandments which is known as The Five Precepts in India and China, and which itself origins from the much older Instructions of Shuruppak (c. 2600 BC).

The Zhou dynasty lasted longer than any other dynasty in Chinese history (790 years). The Spring and Autumn period was a period in Chinese history from approximately (or according to some authorities until 403 BC which corresponds roughly to the first half of the Eastern Zhou period. The period's name derives from the Spring and Autumn Annals, a chronicle of the state of Lu between 722 and 479 BC, which tradition associates with Confucius (551–479 BC).

During this period, the Zhou royal authority over the various feudal states eroded as more and more dukes and marquesses obtained de facto regional autonomy, defying the king's court in Luoyi and waging wars amongst themselves. The gradual Partition of Jin, one of the most powerful states, marked the end of the Spring and Autumn period and the beginning of the Warring States period. Most of the here presented Books of China were composed in the time between 700 BC and 400 BC. Their ideas, together with ideas from India, travelled back to the West and have influenced the Western World ever since. We find them in all sorts of Platonic, Stoic, Hebrew, and Christian texts either inside the Bible or out.

# Four Books and Five Classics

"The Five Classics (Chinese: Si Shu Wu Jing)" and "Four Books" and are the authoritative books of Confucianism in China written before 300 BC. The Four Books and Five Classics are the collective name of the Four Books and the Five Classics, and they are the most important classics of Chinese Confucianism.

# FIVE CLASSICS

The Five Classics (Wujing) are five pre-Qin Chinese books that form part of the traditional Confucian canon. Several of the texts were already prominent by the Warring States period. Mencius, the leading Confucian scholar of the time, regarded the Spring and Autumn Annals as being equally important as the semi-legendary chronicles of earlier periods. During the Western Han dynasty, which adopted Confucianism as its official ideology, these texts became part of the state-sponsored curriculum. It was during this period that the texts first began to be considered together as a set collection, and to be called collectively the "Five Classics". The Five Classics are:

# 1. The Shi Jing

is a collection of 305 poems divided into 160 folk songs, 105 festal songs sung at court ceremonies, and 40 hymns and eulogies sung at sacrifices to heroes and ancestral spirits of the royal house.

# 2. The Shu Jing

The Book of Documents which is a collection of documents and speeches alleged to have been written by rulers and officials of the early Zhou period and before. It is possibly the oldest Chinese narrative, and may date from the 6th century BC. It includes examples of early Chinese prose.

# 3. The Liji

The Book of Rites which describes ancient rites, social forms and court ceremonies. The version studied today is a reworked version compiled by scholars in the third century BC rather than the original text, which is said to have been edited by Confining himself

# 4. Yi Jing

The Book of Changes. The Yi Jing (Wade-Giles: I Ching), usually translated as Book of Changes or Classic of Changes, is an ancient Chinese divination text and among the oldest of the Chinese classics (1000–750 BC). It provides guidance for

moral decision making as informed by Confucianism, Taoism and Ruddhism

#### 5. The Chungiu

with The Zuo Zhuan, or The Spring and Autumn Annals, is an ancient Chinese chronicle that has been one of the core Chinese classics since ancient times. Its full title is "The Chunqiu; with The Zuo Zhuan" (Wade-Giles: The Ch'un Ts'èw with The Tso Chuen), in English that is "The Spring and Autumn Annals with The Commentary of Zuo (or: The Zuo Tradition)." This commentary is added to each single chapter. It is generally larger than the text of the Annals itself because it is very informative. A historical record of the State of Lu, Confucius's native state. 722–481 BC.

The Classic of Music is sometimes considered the sixth classic but was lost in the Burning of the Books.

Up to the Western Han, authors would typically list the Classics in the order Poems-Documents-Rituals-Changes-Spring and Autumn. However, from the Eastern Han the default order instead became Changes-Documents-Poems-Rituals-Spring and Autumn.

Authors and editors of later eras have also appropriated the terms "Book" and "Classic" and applied them ironically to compendia focused on patently low-brow subject matter. Examples include the Classic of Whoring (Piaojing) and Zhang Yingyu's A New Book for Foiling Swindles (Dupian Xinshu, ca. 1617), which is known colloquially as The Book of Swindles or The Classic of Swindles.

#### Authorship of the Classics

Traditionally, it was thought that Confucius himself had compiled or edited the texts of the Five Classics. The scholar Yao Hsin-chung allows that there are good reasons to believe that Confucian classics took shape in the hands of Confucius, but that "nothing can be taken for granted in the matter of the early versions of the classics." From the time of the Western Han dynasty, Yao continues, most Confucian scholars believed that Confucius re-collected and edited the prior works, thereby "fixing" the versions of the ancient writings which became the Classics. In the twentieth century, many Chinese scholars still held to this tradition. The New Confucian scholar, Xiong Shili (1885-1968), for instance, held that the Six Classics were the final versions "fixed up" by Confucius in his old age. Other scholars had and have different views. The Old Text School, for instance, relied on versions found in the Han dynasty which supposedly survived the Qin dynasty burning of the books but many of them held that these works had not been edited by Confucius but survived directly from the Zhou dynasty.

For quite different reasons, mainly having to do with modern textual scholarship, a greater number of twentieth century scholars both in China and in other countries hold that Confucius had nothing to do with editing the classics, much less writing them. Yao Hsin-chung reports that still other scholars hold the "pragmatic" view that the history of the Classics is a long one and that Confucius and his followers, although they did not intend to create a system of classics, "contributed to their formation." In any case, it is undisputed that for most of the last 2,000 years, Confucius was believed to have either written or edited these classics.

The most important events in the textual career of these classics were the adoption of Confucianism as state orthodoxy in the Han dynasty, which led to their preservation, and the "renaissance" of Confucianism in the Song dynasty, which led to their being made the basis of Confucian orthodoxy in the imperial examination system in the following dynasties. The Neo-Confucian sage Zhu Xi (1130–1200) fixed the texts of the Four Books and wrote commentaries whose new interpretations became accepted as being those of Confucius himself.

# THE FOUR BOOKS

The Four Books (Si Shu) are a little younger than the Five Classics. The Four Books are Chinese classic texts illustrating the core value and belief systems in Confucianism. They were selected by Zhu Xi in the Song dynasty to serve as general introduction to Confucian thought, and they were, in the Ming and Qing dynasties, made the core of the official curriculum for the civil service examinations. They are:

# 1. Analects

A compilation of speeches by Confucius and his disciples, as well as the discussions they held. Since Confucius's time, the Analects has heavily influenced the philosophy and moral values of China and later other East Asian countries as well. The Imperial examinations, started in the Sui dynasty and eventually abolished with the founding of the Republic of China, emphasized Confucian studies and expected candidates to quote and apply the words of Confucius in their essays.

# 2. Great Learning

Originally one chapter in the Book of Rites. It consists of a short main text attributed to Confucius and nine commentary chapters by Zengzi, one of the disciples of Confucius. Its importance is illustrated by Zengzi's foreword that this is the gateway of learning.

It is significant because it expresses many themes of Chinese philosophy and political thinking, and has therefore been extremely influential both in classical and modern Chinese thought. Government, self-cultivation and investigation of things are linked.

#### 3. Mencius

A collection of conversations of the scholar Mencius with kings of his time. In contrast to the sayings of Confucius, which are short and self-contained, the Mencius consists of long dialogues with extensive prose.

# 4. Doctrine of the Mean

Another chapter in Book of Rites, attributed to Confucius' grandson Zisi. The purpose of this small, 33-chapter book is to demonstrate the usefulness of a golden way to gain perfect virtue. It focuses on the Way (Dao) that is prescribed by a heavenly mandate not only to the ruler but to everyone. To follow these heavenly instructions by learning and teaching will automatically result in a Confucian virtue. Because Heaven has laid down what is the way to perfect virtue, it is not that difficult to follow the steps of the holy rulers of old if one only knows what is the right way.

#### Daoist and other Works

Important Daoist classics include the Dao De Jing, the Liezi, and the Zhuangzi. Later authors combined Daoism with Confucianism and Legalism, such as Liu An (2nd century BC), whose Huainanzi (The Philosophers of Huai-nan) also added to the fields of geography and topography.

Among the classics of military science, The Art of War by Sunzi (Sun Tzu; fl. 6th century BC) was perhaps the first to outline guidelines for effective international diplomacy. It was also the first in a tradition of Chinese military treatises, such as the Jingling Zongyao (Collection of the Most Important Military Techniques, 1044 AD) and the Huolongjing (Fire Dragon Manual, 14th century AD).

Other philosophical works include The Hanfeizi, one of the central Legalist texts and the Mohist Mozi, which taught "inclusive love" as both an ethical and social principle.

All Chinese works presented in this section could be considered as "The Bible of the Chinese" when taken together. There is one thing that the Chinese have in common with the Hebrews: the love for education. Every student in China. up to this very day, has to study these texts quite intensively in school. Particular the ethical and strategical passages have to be memorised by heart. Anyone who wants to understand the typical Chinese mind set has to bear this in mind. Confucian strictness, obedience and discipline rules in the Chinese education system are still intact while they have crumbled in western countries already decades ago. Western education reduced to a dumb laissez-faire ideology, based on individual rights to freedom only, will not just harm those western countries but send them straight into a cycle of poverty. That freedom has to be earned by one's duties toward family and society is an understanding whose lack will cost them dearly.

# Translational difficulties

Most of the above mentioned books are written in Hanyu characters, a kind of hieroglyphs or logograms known as Classical Chinese, which poses a number of challenges to comprehension. As Lord Henfield's Book of Practical English notes, the Mandarin Chinese language has no singular or plural, no verb tense, no participles, no active voice or passive voice, no case, no person, no mood, no articles, no relative pronouns, no relative clause, no upper case letters nor lower case letters. In other words: Chinese and western languages (such as English, Latin, Russian, Persian, Aramaic, Arabic, Turkish, etc.) could not be further apart if they were from different planets. To make matters worse, there are no gaps between words either. So it begins already with the difficulty to determine which character belongs to which words or "meaning unit." Since there are no punctuation marks in Classical Chinese, it can be difficult to conclusively determine where one sentence ends and the next begins. Moving a fullstop a few words forward or back or inserting a comma can profoundly alter the meaning of many passages, and such divisions and meanings must be determined by the translator.

In addition, historical documents, like the Dao De Jing, exist is several different versions. Here the main rule seems to be: the older the text, the more precise it is. Younger text copies lack many grammatical particles which are preserved in the older Mawangdui and Beida texts, which permit the text to be more precise. Lastly, many passages of the Dao De Jing are deliberately vague and ambiguous. Some editors and translators argue that the received text is so corrupted (from originally being written on one-line bamboo strips linked with silk threads) that it is impossible to understand some chapters without moving sequences of characters from one place to another.

# WADE-GILES TO PINYIN CONVERSION TABLE

The here presented Chinese texts are written in two distinct romanisation systems, either in Wade-Giles or in Pinyin. Chinese languages, such as Mandarin, are written with about 50,000 Chinese characters (c. 15,000 are known by most university graduates). These characters are felt needed to represent the meaning of words. The smallest sound unit in Mandarin is not a phoneme but a syllable. Mandarin consists of maximal 413 syllables of which are only 366 in daily use (with tones about 1,000).

Over time, people have developed several different romanisation systems in order to build a link between Chinese and non-Chinese languages. Wade-Giles and Pinyin are the most popular systems: Wade-Giles is a romanisation system for Mandarin Chinese, invented in the 19th century but has been outdated when the Chinese government replaced it by Pinyin as the official Romanisation for Mandarin in 1958. However, some Chinese (abroad) and non-Chinese, still transcribe names in the Wade-Giles or other systems.

The Pinyin Romanisation (example: Dao De Jing) reflects the pronunciation of the only 413 Mandarin Chinese syllables much more truthful than the obsolete Wade-Giles system (example: Tao Te Ching or even the ridiculous Tao Te King transcription). The 'd' in dao is spoken like a "d," never like a "t," and the 'j' in jing is spoken like the voiced "j' as in "jungle" or in "Beijing," never like a voiceless "ch" as in "chore" or even a "k" that also has been in use.

Basic knowledge of sounds: Most sounds, in particular vowels, have a sound similar to English before its "great vowel shift" or German: 'a' as 'lather', 'e' as in 'then', 'i' as in 'in', 'o' as in 'on', and 'u' as in 'boot'. There are no long or short vowels in Mandarin, they are all of medium length. There are no "silent letters" either, except 'w' and 'y'. Some sound details: The Pinyin letter 'r' sounds like 'r' in "run", the 'z' sounds like 'ts', and 'zhong' sounds like 'djong' or 'djung'. Pinyin is very regular. As for the Vowels however, the

Pinyin is very regular. As for the Vowels however, the creators made the mistake to take the irregular English spelling as role model: the 'u' in 'que' or 'yuan' sounds like a German 'ü', 'wang' sounds like 'wong', 'meng' sounds like 'pang' ('a' as in father!). A regular phonetic spelling like in Dutch or Italian would have made Pinyin the most logical and best writing system in the world.

A feature of the Wade-Giles system is the representation of the unaspirated-aspirated stop consonant pairs using left apostrophes; p, p', t', k, k', ch, ch'. People unfamiliar with Wade-Giles often ignore the apostrophes, sometimes omitting them when copying texts, unaware that they represent vital sound information. Pinyin addresses this issue more logically by employing a wider range of Roman letters representing voiced stops as well as unaspirated stops: b, p, d, t, g, k, j, q, zh, ch. Apostrophes are also used to represent a stop at some other place within the word to show that two vowels here are not a diphtong. Example Xi'an, speak: Si An!

Down below, we shall show you a Wade-Giles to Pinyin conversion table that covers all 366 common Mandarin syllables. It might make online search easier for you as most entries are now in Pinyin. Pinyin without tone marks is used to spell Chinese names and words in languages written with the Roman alphabet, and also in certain computer input methods to enter Chinese characters (mind that 'ü' is a typed 'v', so type 'Lv' when you need to search for Lü). (Search online for more details under "pinyin sound".)

Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin
а	а	ai	ai
an	an	ang	ang
ao	ao	cha	zha
ch'a	cha	chai	zhai
ch'ai	chai	chan	zhan
ch'an	chan	chang	zhang
ch'ang	chang	chao	zhao
ch'ao	chao	che	zhe
ch'e	che	chen	zhen
ch'en	chen	cheng	zheng
ch'eng	cheng	chi	ji
ch'i	qi	chia	jia
ch'ia	qia	chiang	jiang
ch'iang	qiang	chiao	jiao
ch'iao	qiao	chieh	jie
ch'ieh	qie	chien	jian
ch'ien	qian	chih	zhi
ch'ih	chi	chin	jin
ch'in	qin	ching	jing
ch'ing	qing	chiu	jiu
ch'iu	qiu	chiung	jiong
ch'iung	qiong	cho	zhuo
ch'o	chuo	chou	zhou
ch'ou	chou	chu	zhu
ch'u	chu	chü	ju
ch'ü	qu	chua	zhua

chuai	zhuai	ch'uai	chuai
chuan	zhuan	ch'uan	chuan
chüan	juan	ch'üan	quan
chuang	zhuang	ch'uang	chuang
chüeh	jue	ch'üeh	que
chui	zhui	ch'ui	chui
chun	zhun	ch'un	chun
		_	
chün	jun	ch'ün	qun
chung	zhong	ch'ung	chong
en	en	erh	er
fa	fa	fan	fan
fang	fang	fei	fei
fen	fen	feng	feng
fo	fo	fou	fou
fu	fu	ha	ha
hai	hai	han	han
hang	hang	hao	hao
hei	hei	hen	hen
heng	heng	ho	he
hou	hou	hsi	хi
hsia	xia	hsiang	xiang
hsiao	xiao	hsieh	xie
hsien	xian	hsin	xin
hsing	xing	hsiu	xiu
hsiung	xiong	hsü	хu
hsüan	xuan	hsüeh	xue
hsün	xun	hu	hu
hua	hua	huai	huai
	_		
huan	huan	huang	huang
hui	hui	hun	hun
hung	hong	huo	huo
i	yi	jan	ran
jang	rang	jao	rao
je je	re	jen	ren
-		jih	ri
jeng ·	reng	-	
jo	ruo	jou	rou
ju	ru	juan	ruan
jui	rui	jun	run
jung	rong	ka	ga
k'a	ka	kai	gai
k'ai	kai	kan	gan
k'an	kan	kang	
			gang
k'ang	kang	kao	gao
k'ao	kao	ken	gen
k'en	ken	keng	geng
k'eng	keng	ko	ge
k'o	ke	kou	gou
k'ou	kou	ku	gu
k'u	ku	kua	gua
k'ua	kua	kuai	guai
11 .	1	1	
k uai	Kuai	kuan	guan
k'uan	kuan	kuang	guang
k'uang	kuang	kuei	gui
k'uei	kui	kun	gun
k'un	kun	kung	gong
k'ung	kong	kuo	guo
k'uo	kuo		
		la	la la=
lai	lai	lan	lan
lang	lang	lao	lao
le	le	lei	lei
leng	leng	li	1i
liang	liang	liao	liao
lieh	lie	lien	lian
lin	lin	ling	ling
liu	liu	lo	luo
lou	lou	lu	lu
lü		luan	luan
	1ü		
lüan	luan	lüeh	lue
		lüeh lung	
lüan	luan	lüeh	lue
lüan lun	luan lun	lüeh lung	lue long mai
lüan lun ma man	luan lun ma man	lüeh lung mai mang	lue long mai mang
lüan lun ma man mao	luan lun ma man mao	lüeh lung mai mang mei	lue long mai mang mei
lüan lun ma man mao men	luan lun ma man mao men	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng	lue long mai mang mei meng
lüan lun ma man mao men mi	luan lun ma man mao men mi	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao	lue long mai mang mei meng miao
lüan lun ma man mao men mi mieh	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian
lüan lun ma man mao men mi	luan lun ma man mao men mi	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao	lue long mai mang mei meng miao
lüan lun ma man mao men mi mieh	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian
lüan lun ma man mao men mi mieh min miu	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie min miu	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian ming mo
lüan lun ma man mao men mi mieh min miu mou	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie min miu mou	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian ming mo mu
lüan lun ma man mao men mi mieh min miu mou na	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie min miu mou na	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu nai	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian ming mo mu nai
lüan lun ma man mao men mi mieh min mou na nan	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie min miu mou na	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu nai nang	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian ming mo mu nai nang
lüan lun ma man man men mi mieh min miu mau naa nan	luan lun ma man man mao men mi mie min miu mou na nan nao	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu nai nang nei	lue long mai mang mai mei meng miao mian ming mo mu nai nang nei
lüan lun ma man man mi mieh min miu mou nan nan nao nen	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie min miu mou na nan nao nen	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu nai nang nei neng	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian ming mo mu nai nang nei neng
lüan lun ma man man men mi mieh min miu mau naa nan	luan lun ma man man mao men mi mie min miu mou na nan nao	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu nai nang nei	lue long mai mang mai mei meng miao mian ming mo mu nai nang nei
lüan lun ma man man mi mieh min miu mou nan nan nao nen	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie min miu mou na nan nao nen	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu nai nang nei neng	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian ming mo mu nai nang nei neng
lüan lun ma man man men mii mieh min miu mou na nan nao nen ni	luan lun ma man mao men mi mie min miu mou na nan nao nen	lüeh lung mai mang mei meng miao mien ming mo mu nai nang nei neng niang	lue long mai mang mei meng miao mian ming mo mu nai nang nei neng niang

no	nuo	nou	nou
nu	nu	nü	nü
nuan	nuan	nüeh	nue
nung	nong	0	е
ou	ou	pa	ba
p'a	pa	pai	bai
p'ai	pai	pan	ban
p'an	pan	pang	bang
p'ang	pang	pao	bao
p'ao	pao	pei	bei
p'ei	pei	pen	ben
p cr			
p'en	pen	peng	beng
p'eng	peng	pi	bi
p'i	pi	piao	biao
p'iao	piao	pieh	bie
p 140			
p'ieh	pie	pien	bian
p'ien	pian	pin	bin
p'in	pin	ping	bing
p'ing			bo
	ping	po	
p'o	ро	p'ou	pou
pu	bu	p'u	pu
sa	sa	sai	sai
			1
san	san	sang	sang
sao	sao	se	se
sen	sen	seng	seng
sha	sha	shai	shai
shan	shan	shang	shang
shao	shao	she	she
shen	shen	sheng	sheng
shih	shi	shou	shou
shu	shu	shua	shua
shuai	shuai	shuan	shuan
shuang	shuang	shui	shui
	ahaang		
shun	shun	shuo	shuo
SO	suo	sou	sou
ssu	si	su	su
suan	suan	sui	sui
sun	sun	sung	song
ta	da	t'a	ta
tai	dai	t'ai	tai
	dan	t'an	tan
tan			
tang	dang	t'ang	tang
tao	dao	t'ao	tao
te	de	t'e	te
teng	deng	t'eng	teng
teng ti	deng di	t'eng t'i	teng ti
teng	deng di	t'eng t'i	teng ti
teng ti tiao	deng di diao	t'eng t'i t'iao	teng ti tiao
teng ti tiao tieh	deng di diao die	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh	teng ti tiao tie
teng ti tiao tieh tien	deng di diao die dian	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien	teng ti tiao tie tian
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting	deng di diao die dian ding	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing	teng ti tiao tie tian ting
teng ti tiao tieh tien	deng di diao die dian	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien	teng ti tiao tie tian
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu	deng di diao die dian ding diu	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'o t'u t'uan t'ui t'un	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tu tuan tui tun tung	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'eh t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tun tung	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung t'ung	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong ca	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tuin tung tsa tsai	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'eh t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tun tung	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong ca	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tuin tung tsa tsai	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'un t'un t'un t'un t'un t'un	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong ca cai can	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsai tsan tsang	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting ti tio t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai ts'an ts'ang	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun cong ca cai can cang	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting ti tio t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai ts'an ts'ang ts'ao	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun cong ca cai can cang cao	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zan zang zao ze
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'un ts'a ts'a ts'ai ts'an ts'an ts'an ts'an ts'an ts'an ts'an	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong ca cai can cang cao ce	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'oeh t'ing to tou tu tu tuan tui tuin tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse tsei	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao ze zei
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting ti tio t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai ts'an ts'ang ts'ao	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun cong ca cai can cang cao	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zan zang zao ze
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai ts'an ts'ang ts'ao ts'e tsen	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun ca cai can cang cao ce zen	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ien to tou tu tuan tui tun tun tsa tsai tsan tsan tsan tsas tsae tsee tsee ts'en	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao ze zei cen
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'un ts'ai ts'ai ts'ai ts'an ts'ang ts'ao ts'e tsen tseng	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun can can can can can can can can can ca	t'eng t'i t'iao t'ien t'ien t'ien t'oen t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tuin tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse tse ts'en ts'eng	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dong za zai zan zang zao ze zei cen ceng
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai ts'an	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun ca cai can cang cae ce zen zeng zuo	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsan tsang tsao tse tse ts'en ts'eng ts'o	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao ze cen ceng cuo
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'uin t'an ts'a ts'ai ts'an	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun ca cai can cang cao ce zen zeng zuo zou	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse tse ts'en ts'eng ts'o ts'ou	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun za zai zan zang zao ce cen ceng cuo cou
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai ts'an	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun ca cai can cang cae ce zen zeng zuo	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsan tsang tsao tse tse ts'en ts'eng ts'o	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao ze cen ceng cuo
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'uin t'an ts'a ts'ai ts'an	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong ca cai can cang cao ce zen zeng zuo zou zu	t'eng t'i t'iao t'oeh t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tun tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse tse ts'en ts'eng ts'o ts'ou	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao ze cen ceng cuo cou
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'ung ts'a ts'a ts'a ts'ai ts'an ts'	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tuii tun tong ca cai can cang cao ce zen zeng zuo zou zu zuan	t'eng t'i t'iao t'ien t'ien t'oeh t'oeh t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tuin tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse tsei ts'en ts'eng ts'ou ts'u ts'uan	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dong za zai zan zang zao ze cen ceng cuo cou cu cuan
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'un t'un t'ai ts'a ts'a ts'a ts'a ts'a ts'a ts'a ts'a	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tuii tun tong ca cai can cang cao ce zen zeng zuo zou zu zuan zui	t'eng t'i t'iao t'ien t'ien t'ien t'ien t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tuin tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse tsei ts'en ts'en ts'o ts'o ts'u ts'uan ts'ui	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao ce cen ceng cuo cou cu cuan cui
teng ti tiao tieh tien ting tiu t'o t'ou t'u t'uan t'ui t'un t'ung ts'a ts'ai ts'ai ts'an ts'ang ts'ao ts'e tsen tseng tso tsou tsu tsu tsu tsu	deng di diao die dian ding diu tuo tou tu tuan tui tun tong ca cai can cang cao ce zen zeng zuo zou zu zuan zui zun	t'eng t'i t'iao t'ieh t'ieh t'ieh t'oeh t'ing to tou tu tuan tui tung tsa tsai tsan tsang tsao tse tse ts'en ts'eng ts'o ts'ou ts'u ts'uan ts'ui ts'un	teng ti tiao tie tian ting duo dou du duan dui dun dong za zai zan zang zao ce cen ceng cuo cou cu cuan cui cun
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#### THE SHI JING

The Shijing / The Book of Odes / The Book of Songs The Classic of Poetry Translation: James Legge, 1936 Estimated Range of Dating: 11th - 7th centuries B.C.

(The Shi Jing [or Shijing or Wade-Giles: Shih-ching], translated variously as the Classic of Poetry, the Book of Songs, Book of Odes or simply as the Odes or Poetry [Chinese: Shil, is the oldest existing collection of Chinese poetry, comprising 305 works dating from the 11th to 7th centuries BC. It is one of the "Five Classics" traditionally said to have been compiled by Confucius, and has been studied and memorised by scholars in China and neighbouring countries over two millennia. It is also a rich source of chengvu (fourcharacter classical idioms) that are still a part of learned discourse and even everyday language in modern Chinese. Since the Qing dynasty, its rhyme patterns have also been analysed in the study of Old Chinese phonology.

#### The Name

Early references refer to the anthology as the 300 Poems (shi). The Odes first became known as a jing, or a "classic book", in the canonical sense, as part of the Han Dynasty official adoption of Confucianism as the guiding principles of Chinese society. The same word shi later became a generic term for poetry. In English, lacking an exact equivalent for the Chinese, the translation of the word shi in this regard is generally as "poem", "song", or "ode". Before its elevation as a canonical classic, the Classic of Poetry (Shi jing) was known as the Three Hundred Songs or the Songs. There were taken into this canon not for their religious or ethical contents but merely because they constitute the last (more or less complete) survivors of the oldest Chinese texts in existence. Most other books were destroyed during the endless wars the Chinese states fought against one another.

The Classic of Poetry contains the oldest chronologically authenticated Chinese poems. The majority of the Odes date to the Western Zhou period (1046–771 BC), and were drawn from around provinces and cities in the Zhongyuan area. A final section of 5 "Eulogies of Shang" purports to be ritual songs of the Shang dynasty as handed down by their descendants in the state of Song, but is generally considered quite late in date. According to the Eastern Han scholar Zheng Xuan, the latest material in the Shi Jing was the song "Tree-stump Grove" in the "Odes of Chen", dated to the middle of the Spring and Autumn period (c. 600 BC). The content of the Poetry collection can be divided into two main sections: the "Airs of the States", and the Eulogies and Hymns. List of Contents (Part name, meaning, number of items, estimated dating)

1. Guo feng, "Airs of the States" 160 items, 8th to 7th

- century BC
- 2. Xiao ya, "Lesser Court Hymns" 74 items, 9th to 8th century BC
- 3. Da ya, "Major Court Hymns" 31 items 10th to 9th century BC
- 4. Zhou song, "Eulogies of Zhou" 31 items, 11th to 10th century BC
- 5. Lu song, "Eulogies of Lu" 4 items, 7th century BC

6. Shang song, "Eulogies of Shang" 5 items, 7th century BC
The "Airs of the States" are shorter lyrics in simple

language that are generally ancient folk songs which record the voice of the common people. They often speak of love and courtship, longing for an absent lover, soldiers on campaign, farming and housework, and political satire and protest. On the other hand, songs in the two "Hymns" sections and the "Eulogies" section tend to be longer ritual or sacrificial songs, usually in the forms of courtly panegyrics and dynastic hymns which praise the founders of the Zhou dynasty. They also include hymns used in sacrificial rites and songs used by the aristocracy in their sacrificial ceremonies or at banquets. The "Court Hymns", contains "Lesser Court Hymns" and "Major Court Hymns". Most of the poems were used by the aristocracies to pray for good harvests each year, worship gods, and venerate their ancestors. The author of "Major Court Hymns" are nobilities who were dissatisfied with the political reality. Therefore, they wrote poems not only related to the feast, worship, and epic but also to reflect the public feelings.

Whether the various Shi Jing poems were folk songs or not, they "all seem to have passed through the hands of men of letters at the royal Zhou court". In other words, they show an overall literary polish together with some general stylistic consistency. About 95% of lines in the Poetry are written in a four-syllable meter, with a slight caesura between the second and third syllables. Lines tend to occur in syntactically related couplets, with occasional parallelism, and longer poems are generally divided into similarly structured stanzas. All but six of the "Eulogies" consist of a single stanza, and the "Court

Hymns" exhibit wide variation in the number of stanzas and their lengths. Almost all of the "Airs", however, consist of three stanzas, with four-line stanzas being most common. Although a few rhyming couplets occur, the standard pattern in such four-line stanzas required a rhyme between the second and fourth lines. Often the first or third lines would rhyme with these, or with each other. This style later became known as the "shi" style for much of Chinese history. In spite of the many interpretations and commentaries written generations later, The Shi Jing's influence on Chinese literature is overwhelming and undeniable. The Shi Jing not only lays the foundation for the formation of style and rules for Chinese classical poems, it is also frequently quoted in other canonical Chinese texts and has always been referred to as moral truth and lessons. It is no coincidence that the number of poems selected by Sun Zhu in 1763 for his popular 300 Tang Poems was an exact match with that of the Shi Jing.

Perhaps during the harvest, after the officials returned from their missions, the king was said to have observed them himself in an effort to understand the current condition of the common people. The well-being of the people was of special concern to the Zhou because of their ideological position that the right to rule was based on the benignity of the rulers to the people in accordance with the will of Heaven, and that this Heavenly Mandate would be withdrawn upon the failure of the ruling dynasty to ensure the prosperity of their subjects. The people's folksongs were deemed to be the best gauge of their feelings and conditions, and thus indicative of whether the nobility was ruling according to the mandate of Heaven or not, accordingly the songs were collected from the various regions, converted from their diverse regional dialects into standard literary language, and presented accompanied with music at the royal courts.

#### Authorship

Although the Shi Jing does not specify the names of authors in association with the contained works, both traditional commentaries and modern scholarship have put forth hypotheses on authorship. The "Golden Coffer" chapter of the Book of Documents says that the poem "Owl" in the "Odes of Bin" was written by the Duke of Zhou. Many of the songs appear to be folk songs and other compositions used in the court ceremonies of the aristocracy. Furthermore, many of the songs, based on internal evidence, appear to be written either by women, or from the perspective of a female persona. The repeated emphasis on female authorship of poetry in the Shi Jing was made much of in the process of attempting to give the poems of the women poets of the Ming-Qing period canonical status. Despite the impersonality of the poetic voice characteristic of the Songs, many of the poems are written from the perspective of various generic personalities. Various traditions concern the gathering of the compiled songs and the editorial selection from these make up the classic text of the Odes: "Royal Officials' Collecting Songs" is recorded in the Book of Han, and "Master Confucius Deletes Songs" refers to Confucius and his mention in the Records of the Grand Historian, where it says from originally some 3,000 songs and poems in a previously extant "Odes" that Confucius personally selected the "300" which he felt best conformed to traditional ritual propriety, thus producing the Classic of Poetry.

According to tradition, the method of collection of the various Shi Jing poems involved the appointment of officials, whose duties included documenting verses current from the various states which constituting the empire. Out of these many collected pieces, also according to tradition, Confucius made a final editorial round of decisions for elimination or inclusion in the received version of the Poetry. As with all great literary works of ancient China, the Poetry has been annotated and commented on numerous times throughout history, as well as in this case providing a model to inspire future poetic works.

# Compilation

The Confucian school eventually came to consider the verses of the "Airs of the States" to have been collected in the course of activities of officers dispatched by the Zhou Dynasty court, whose duties included the field collection of the songs local to the territorial states of Zhou. This territory was roughly the Yellow River Plain, Shandong, southwestern Hebei, eastern Gansu, and the Han River region. The text of the Shi Jing does not say much about history but it mentions some geographical names. A large part of China's history takes place in what is now the eastern half of China. In the centre of that area were 7 little realms called: Wei, Cao, Song, Chen, Cai, Zheng, Zhou (in a clockwise arrangement beginning with Wei in the north. Around them were another 7 larger kingdoms (clockwise again): Jin, Yan, Qi, Lu, Wu, Chu, and Qin (the origin of the name "China") in the west. Beyond these 14 realms, one or the other dynasty could stretch its arm

of power far outside, down south to the borders of Thailand or Vietnam, or to the far west to Kashgar (in Xiniiang).

The Classic of Poetry historically has a major place in the Four Books and Five Classics, the canonical works associated with Confucianism. Some pre-Oin dynasty texts, such as the Analects and a recently excavated manuscript from 300 BC entitled "Confucius' Discussion of the Odes", mention Confucius' involvement with the Classic of Poetry but Han dynasty historian Sima Qian's Records of the Grand Historian was the first work to directly attribute the work to Confucius. Subsequent Confucian tradition held that the Shi Jing collection was edited by Confucius from a larger 3,000-piece collection to its traditional 305-piece form. This claim is believed to reflect an early Chinese tendency to relate all of the Five Classics in some way or another to Confucius, who by the 1st century BC had become the model of sages and was believed to have maintained a cultural connection to the early Zhou dynasty. This view is now generally discredited, as the Zuo zhuan records that the Classic of Poetry already existed in a definitive form when Confucius was just a young child.

The Poems of the Shi Jing anthology touch and reflect on all aspects of Chinese life at the time. Some describe feelings and situations of people from different classes of society, some report events and matters of state, some depict the harmonious rule of nature. There is record of about one hundred kinds of plants and trees and ninety kinds of animals and insects in the Shi Jing. Different kinds of musical instruments, metals, arms and munitions of war, buildings, clothing, food, etc. are frequently mentioned. Given the genuine and diverse nature of the poems collected in this anthology, in addition to its literary significance, the Shi Jing is a very valuable document for those who wish to get an insight into the Chinese mind. The Five Classics, the Four Books, and some of the other books of the Grand Bible's Chinese section, are still rigorously taught at all Chinese schools from earliest childhood on.

#### James Legge's Translation

The here presented translation by James Legge is an excellent one as he gives the meaning as precisely as he could. Due to this achievement, however, he could not stick to the rigid Chinese rhyme patterns. The Chinese language is far more based on textual context than English. Legge's verse forms are not advantageous, therefore, the single lines of verses have been united here to coherent blocks of prose; their initial capital tetters have been retained.)

# SHI JING 1. LESSONS FROM THE STATES

The country, the region sealed by the princes, and the wind, the poetry of folk songs. Those who call the wind have words because they are transformed by the wind, and their words are enough to move people. For example, things have sound because of the wind, and their sound is enough for animals. It is based on the tribute collected by various emperors to the son of heaven and the son of heaven's reception. It is based on the examination of the beauty and evil of its customs and the gains and losses of its politics. The old saying that the two south is the positive wind, so the boudoir is used to transform the country and the country into the world. In order to change the wind in the thirteen countries, they also led the music officials, saved the students at that time, prepared to observe the province, and supervised the soldiers' ears, which combined the clouds of the fifteen countries.

#### THE ODES OF ZHOU AND THE SOUTH 1. GUAN SUI

Guan-guan go the ospreys, On the islet in the river. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: — For our prince a good mate she. Here long, there short, is the duckweed, To the left, to the right, borne about by the current. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: — Waking and sleeping, he sought her. He sought her and found her not, And waking and sleeping he thought about her. Long he thought; oh! long and anxiously; On his side, on his back, he turned, and back again. Here long, there short, is the duckweed; On the left, on the right, we gather it. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: — With lutes, small and large, let us give her friendly welcome. Here long, there short, is the duckweed; On the left, on the right, we cook and present it. The modest, retiring, virtuous, young lady: - With bells and drums let us show our delight in her.

# 2 GETAN

How the dolichos spread itself out. Extending to the middle of the valley! Its leaves were luxuriant; The yellow birds flew about, And collected on the thickly growing trees, Their pleasant notes resounding far. How the dolichos spread itself out, Extending to the middle of the valley! Its leaves were luxuriant and dense. I cut it and I boiled it. And made both

fine cloth and coarse, Which I will wear without getting tired of it. I have told the matron. Who will announce that I am going to see my parents. I will wash my private clothes clean, And I will rinse my robes. Which need to be rinsed, which do not? I am going back to visit my parents.

#### 3 IIIAN ER

I was gathering and gathering the mouse-ear, But could not fill my shallow basket. With a sigh for the man of my heart, I placed it there on the highway. I was ascending that rockcovered height, But my horses were too tired to breast it. I will now pour a cup from that gilded vase, Hoping I may not have to think of him long. I was ascending that lofty ridge, But my horses turned of a dark yellow. I will now take a cup from that rhinoceros' horn. Hoping I may not have long to sorrow. I was ascending that flat-topped height, But my horses became quite disabled, And my servants were also disabled. Oh! how great is my sorrow!

In the south are trees with curved drooping branches, With the doliches creepers clinging to them. To be rejoiced in is our princely lady: May she repose in her happiness and dignity! In the south are the trees with curved drooping branches, Covered by the dolichos creepers. To be rejoiced in is our princely lady: - May she be great in her happiness and dignity! In the south are the trees with curved drooping branches, Round which the dolichos creepers twine. To be rejoiced in is our princely lady: - May she be complete in her happiness and dignity!

#### 5. ZHONG SI

Ye locusts, winged tribes, How harmoniously you collect together! Right is it that your descendants Should be multitudinous! Ye locusts, winged tribes, How sound your wings in flight! Right is it that your descendents Should be as in unbroken trings! Ye locusts, winged tribes, How you cluster together! Right is it that your descendents Should be in swarms!

#### 6. TAO YAO

The peach tree is young and elegant; Brilliant are its flowers. This young lady is going to her future home, And will order well her chamber and house. The peach tree is young and elegant; Abundant will be its fruits. This young lady is going to her future home, And will order well her chamber and house. The peach tree is young and elegant; Luxuriant are its leaves. This young lady is going to her future home, And will order well her family.

Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets; Clang clang go the blows on the pegs. That stalwart, martial man Might be shield and wall to his prince. Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets, And placed where many ways meet. That stalwart, martial man Would be a good companion for his prince. Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets, And placed in the midst of the forest. That stalwart, martial man Might be head and heart to his prince.

# 8 FOU YI

We gather and gather the plantains; Now we may gather them. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we have got them. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we pluck the ears. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we rub out the seeds. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we place the seeds in our skirts. We gather and gather the plantains; Now we tuck out skirts under our girdles.

# 9. HAN GUANG

In the south rise the trees without branches, Affording no shelter. By the Han are girls rambling about, But it is vain to solicit them. The breath of the Han Cannot be dived across; The length of the Jiang Cannot be navigated with a raft. Many are the bundles of firewood; I would cut down the thorns to form more. Those girls that are going to their future home, - I would feed their horses. The breadth of the Han Cannot be dived across; The length of the Jiang, Cannot be navigated with a raft. Many are the bundles of firewood; I would cut down the southern wood to form more. Those girls that are going to their future home, — I would feed their colts. The breadth of the Han Cannot be dived across; The length of the Jiang Cannot be navigated with a raft.

# 10. RU FEN

Along those raised banks of the River Ru [River Hong, provinces of Henan and Anhui, China], I cut down the branches and slender stems. While I could not see my lord, I felt as it were pangs of great hunger. Along those raised banks of the Ru, I cut down the branches and fresh twigs. I have seen my lord; He has not cast me away. The bream is showing its tail all red; The royal House is like a blazing fire. Though it be like a blazing fire, Your parents are very near.

#### 11. LIN ZHI ZHI

The feet of the Lin: — The noble sons of our prince, Ah! they are the Lin! The forehead of the Lin: -- The noble grandsons of our prince, Ah! they are the Lin! The horn of the Lin: — The noble kindred of our prince, Ah! they are the Lin!

# THE ODES OF SHAO AND THE SOUTH

#### 12. OUE CHAO

The nest is the magpie's; The dove dwells in it. This young lady is going to her future home; A hundred carriages are meeting her. The nest is the magpie's; The dove possesses it. This young lady is going to her future home; A hundred carriages are escorting her. The nest is the magpie's; The dove fills it. This young lady is going to her future home; These hundreds of carriages complete her array.

She gathers the white southernwood, By the ponds, on the islets. She employs it, In the business of our prince. She gathers the white southernwood, Along the streams in the valleys. She employs it, In the temple of our prince. With head-dress reverently rising aloft, Early, while yet it is night, she is in the prince's temple; In her dead-dress, slowly retiring, She returns to her own apartments.

#### 14. CAO CHONG

Yao-yao went the grass-insects, And the hoppers sprang about. While I do not see my lord, My sorrowful heart is agitated. Let me have seen him. Let me have met him. And my heart will then be stilled. I ascended that hill in the south, And gathered the turtle-foot ferns. While I do not see my lord, My sorrowful heart is very sad. Let me have seen him, Let me have met him, And my heart will then be pleased. I ascended that hill in the south, And gathered the thorn-ferns. While I do not see my lord, My sorrowful heart is wounded with grief. Let me have seen him, Let me have met him, And my heart will then be at peace.

#### 15. CAI PING

She gathers the large duckweed, By the banks of the stream in the southern valley. She gathers the pondweed, In those pools left by the floods. She deposits what she gathers, In her square baskets and round ones She boils it, In her tripods and pans. She sets forth her preparations, Under the window in the ancestral chamber. Who superintends the business? It is this reverent young lady.

#### 16 GAN TANG

This umbrageous sweet pear-tree; — Clip it not, hew it not down. Under it the chief of Zhou lodged. This umbrageous sweet pear-tree; — Clip it not, break not a twig of it. Under it the chief of Zhou rested. This umbrageous sweet pear-tree; Clip it not, bend not a twig of it. Under it the chief of Zhou halted

# 17. XING LU

Wet lay the dew on the path: - Might I not have walked there in the early dawn? But I said there was too much dew on the path. Who can say the sparrow has no horn? How else can it bore through my house? Who can say that you did not get me betrothed? How else could you have urged on this trial? But though you have forced me to trial. Your ceremonies for betrothal were not sufficient. Who can say that the rat has no molar teeth? How else could it bore through my wall? Who can say that you did not get me betrothed? How else could you have urged on this trial? But though you have forced me to trial. I will still not follow you.

# 18. GAO YANG

Those lamb-skins and sheep-skins, With their five braidings of white silk! They have retired from the court to take their their meal; Easy are they and self-possesed. Those lamb-skins and sheep-skins, With their five seams wrought with white silk! Easy are they and self-possessed; They have retired from the court to take their their meal. The seams of those lambskins and sheep-skins, The five joinings wrought with white silk! Easy are they and self-possessed; They have retired to take their their meal from the court.

# 19. YIN OLLEI

Grandly rolls the thunder, On the south of the southern hill! How was it he went away from this, Not daring to take a little rest? My noble lord! May he return! May he return! Grandly rolls the thunder, About the sides of the southern hill! How was it he went away from this, Not daring to take a little rest? My noble lord! May he return! May he return! Grandly rolls the thunder, At the foot of the southern hill! How was it he went away from this, Not remaining a little at rest? My noble lord! May he return! May he return!

# 20. BIAO YOU MEI

Dropping are the fruits from the plum-tree; There are but seven tenths of them left! For the gentlemen who seek me, This is the fortunate time! Dropping are the fruits from the plumtree; There are but three tenths of them left! For the gentlemen who seek me, Now is the time. Dropt are the fruits from the plum-tree; In my shallow basket I have collected them. Would the gentlemen who seek me Only speak about it!

#### 21. XIAO XING

Small are those starlets, Three or five of them in the east, Swiftly by night we go; In the early dawn we are with the prince. Our lot is not like hers. Small are those starlets, And there are Orion and the Pleiades. Swiftly by night we go, Carrying our coverlets and sheets. Our lot is not like hers.

#### 22. JIANG YOU SI

The Jiang has its branches, led from it and returning to it. Our lady, when she was married, Would not employ us. She would not employ us; But afterwards she repented. The Jiang has its islets. Our lady, when she was married, Would not let us be with her. She would not let us be with her; But afterwards she repressed such feelings. The Jiang has the Tuo. Our lady, when she was married, Would not come near us She would not come near us; But she blew that feeling away, and

#### 23. YE YOU SI JUN

In the wild there is a dead antelope, And it is wrapped up with the white grass. There is a young lady with thoughts natural to the spring, And a fine gentleman would lead her astray. In the forest there are the scrubby oaks; In the wild there is a dead deer, And it is bound round with the white grass. There is a young lady like a gem. She says, Slowly; gently, gently; Do not move my handkerchief; Do not make my dog bark.

#### 24. HE BI NONG YI

How great is that luxuriance, Those flowers of the sparrowplum! Are they not expressive of reverence and harmony. The carriages of the king's daughter? How great is that luxuriance, The flowers like those of the peach-tree or the plum! See the grand-daughter of the tranquillising king, And the son of the reverent marquis! What are used in angling? Silk threads formed into lines. The son of the reverent marquis, And the grand-daughter of the tranquillizing king!

Strong and abundant grow the rushes; He discharges but one arrow at five wild boars. Ah! he is the Zou-yu! Strong and abundant grow the artemisia; He discharges but one arrow at five wild boars. Ah! he is the Zou-vu!

# THE ODES OF BEI 26. BO ZHOU

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood; Yea, it floats about on the current. Disturbed am I and sleepless, As if suffering from a painful wound. It is not because I have no wine, And that I might not wander and saunder about. My mind is not a mirror; — It cannot equally receive all impressions. I, indeed, have brothers, But I cannot depend on them, I meet with their anger. My mind is not a stone; - It cannot be rolled about. My mind is not a mat; - It cannot be rolled up. My deportment has been dignified and good, With nothing wrong which can be pointed out. My anxious heart is full of trouble: I am hated by the herd of mean creatures; I meet with many distresses; I receive insults not a few. Silently I think of my case, And, starting as from sleep, I beat my breast. There are the sun and moon, - How is it that the former has become small, and not the latter? The sorrow cleaves to my heart. Like an unwashed dress, Silently I think of my case, But I cannot spread my wings and fly away.

Green is the upper robe, Green with a yellow lining! The sorrow of my heart, — How can it cease? Green is the upper robe, Green the upper, and yellow the lower garment! The sorrow of my heart, - How can it be forgotten? Dyed green has been the silk; — It was you who did it. But I think of the ancients, That I may be kept from doing wrong. Linen, fine or coarse, Is cold when orn in the wind. I think of the ancients, And find what is in my heart.

# 28. YAN YAN

The swallows go flying about, With their wings unevenly displayed. The lady was returning to her native state, And I escorted her far into the country. I looked till I could no longer see her, And my tears fell down like rain. The swallows go flying about, Now up, now down. The lady was returning to her native state, And far did I accompany her. I looked till I could no longer see her, And long I stood and wept. The swallows go flying about; From below, from above, comes their twittering. The lady was returning to her native state, And far did I escort her to the south. I looked till I could no longer see her, And great was the grief of my heart. Lovingly confiding was lady Zhong; Truly deep was her feeling. Both gentle was she and docile, Virtuously careful of her person. In thinking of our deceased lord, She stimulated worthless me.

#### 29. RI YUE

O sun; O moon, Which enlightens this lower earth! Here is the man, Who treats me not according to the ancient rule. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not regard me? O sun; O moon, Which overshadow this lower earth! Here is this man, Who will not be friendly with me. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not respond to me? O sun; O moon, Which come forth from the east! Here is the man, With virtuous words, but really not good. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then allow me to be forgotten? O sun; o moon, From the east which come forth! O father, O mother, There is no sequel to your nourishing of me. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then respond to me, contrary to all reason?

# 30. ZHONG FENG

The wind blows and is fierce, He looks at me and smiles, With scornful words and dissolute, — the smile of pride. To the center of my heart I am grieved. The wind blows, with clouds of dust. Kindly he seems to be willing to come to me; But he neither goes nor comes. Long, long, do I think of him.

The wind blew, and the sky was cloudy; Before a day elapses, it is cloudy again. I awake, and cannot sleep; I think of him, and gasp. All cloudy is the darkness, And the thunder keeps muttering. I awake and cannot sleep; I think of him, and my breast is full of pain.

#### 31 II.GI

Hear the roll of our drums! See how we leap about, using our weapons! Those do the fieldwork in the State, or fortify Cao, While we alone march to the south. We followed Sun Zizhong, Peace having been made with Chen and Song; But he did not lead us back, And our sorrowful hearts are very sad. Here we stay, here we stop; Here we lose our horses; And we seek for them, Among the trees of the forest. For life or for death, however separated, To our wives we pledged our word. We held their hands; — We were to grow old together with them. Alas for our separation! We have no prospect of life. Alas for our stipulation! We cannot make it good.

#### 32. KAI FENG

The genial wind from the south Blows on the heart of that jujube tree, Till that heart looks tender and beautiful. What toil and pain did our mother endure! The genial wind from the south Blows on the branches of that jujube tree, Our mother is wise and good; But among us there is none good. There is the cool spring Below the city of Jun. We are seven sons, And our mother is full of pain and suffering. The beautiful yellow birds Give forth their pleasant notes. We are seven sons, And cannot compose our mother's heart.

# 33. XIONG ZHI

The male pheasant flies away, Lazily moving his wings. The man of my heart! — He has brought on us this separation. The pheasant has flown away, But from below, from above, comes his voice. Ah! the princely man! — He afflicts my heart. Look at that sun and moon! Long, long do I think. The way is distant; How can he come to me? All ye princely men, Know ye not his virtuous conduct? He hates none; he covets nothing; — What does he which is not good?

# 34. PAO YOU KU YE

The gourd has still its bitter leaves, And the crossing at the ford is deep. If deep, I will go through with my clothes on; If shallow, I will do so, holding them up. The ford is full to overflowing; There is the note of the female pheasant. The full ford will not wet the axle of my carriage; It is the pheasant calling for her mate. The wild goose, with its harmonious notes, At sunrise, with the earliest dawn, By the gentleman, who wishes to bring home his bride, Is presented before the ice is melted. The boatman keeps beckoning; And others cross with him, but I do not, there cross with him, but I do not.

# 35. GU FENG

Gently blows the east wind, With cloudy skies and with rain. Husband and wife should strive to be of the same mind, And not let angry feelings arise. When we gather the mustard plant and earth melons, We do not reject them because of their roots. While I do nothing contrary to my good name, I should live with you till our death. I go along the road slowly, slowly, In my inmost heart reluctant. Not far, only a little way, Did he accompany me to the threshold. Who says that the sowthistle is bitter? It is as sweet as the shepherd's purse. You feast with your new wife, Loving as brothers. The muddiness of the King appears from the Wei, But its bottom may be seen about the islets. You feast with your new wife, And think me not worth being with Do not approach my dam, Do not move my basket. My person is rejected; — What avails it to care for what may come after? Where the water was deep, I crossed it by a raft or a boat. Where it was shallow, I dived or swam across it. Whether we had plenty or not, I exerted myself to be getting. When among others there was a death, I crawled on my knees to help them. You cannot cherish me, And you even

count me as an enemy. You disdain my virtues, — A pedlar's wares which do not sell. Formerly, I was afraid our means might be exhausted, And I might come with you to destitution. Now, when your means are abundant, You compare me to poison. My fine collection of vegetables, Is but a provision against the winter. Feasting with your new wife, You think of me as a provision only against your poverty. Cavalierly and angrily you treat me; You give me only pain. You do not think of the former days. And are only angry with me.

#### 36. SHI WE

Reduced! Reduced! Why not return? If it were not for your sake, O prince, How should we be thus exposed to the dew? Reduced! Reduced! Why not return? If it were not for your person, O prince, How should we be here in the mire?

#### 37. MAO OIU

The dolichos on that high and sloping mound; — How wide apart are now its joints! O ye uncles, Why have ye delayed these many days? Why do they rest without stirring? It must be they expect allies. Why do they prolong the time? There must be a reason for their conduct. Our fox-furs are frayed and worn. Came our carriages not eastwards? O ye uncles, You do not sympathise with us. Fragments, and a remnant, Children of dispersion are we! O ye uncles, Notwithstanding your full robes, your ears are stopped.

#### 38 HAN XI

Easy and indifferent! easy and indifferent! I am ready to perform in all dances, Then when the sun is in the meridian, There in that conspicious place. With my large figure, I dance in the ducal courtyard. I am strong also as a tiger; The reins are in my grasp like ribbons. In my left hand I grasp a flute; In my right I hold a pheasant's feather. I am red as if I were rouged; The duke gives me a cup of spirits. The hazel grows on the hills, And the liquorice in the marshes. Of whom are my thoughts? Of the fine men of the west. O those fine men! Those men of the west!

#### 39. OUAN SHUI

How the water bubbles up from that spring, And flows away to the Qi! My heart is in Wei; There is not a day I do not think of it. Admirable are those, my cousins; I will take counsel with them. When I came forth, I lodged in Ji, And we drank the cup of convoy at Ni. When a young lady goes to be married, She leaves her parents and brothers; But I would ask for my aunts, And then for my elder sister. I will go forth and lodge in Gan, And we drink the cup of convoy at Yan. I will grease the axle and fix the pin, And the returning chariot will proceed. Quickly shall we arrive in Wei; — But would not this be wrong? I think of the Feiquan, I am ever sighing about it. I think of Xu and Cao, Long, long, my heart dwells with them. Let me drive forth and travel there, To dissipate my sorrow.

# 40. BEI MEN

I go out at the north gate, With my heart full of sorrow. Straitened am I and poor, And no one takes knowledge of my distress. So it is! Heaven has done it; — What then shall I say? The king's business comes on me, And the affairs of our government in increasing measure. When I come home from abroad, The members of my family all emulously reproach me. So it is! Heaven has done it; — What then shall I say? The king's business is thrown on me, And the affairs of our government are left to me more and more. When I come home from abroad, The members of my family all emulously thrust at me. So it is! Heaven has done it; — What then shall I say?

# 41. BEI FENC

Cold blows the north wind; Thick falls the snow. Ye who love and regard me, Let us join hands and go together. Is it a time for delay? The urgency is extreme! The north wind whistles; The snow falls and drifts about. Ye who love and regard me, Let us join hands, and go away for ever. Is it a time for delay? The urgency is extreme! Nothing red is seen but foxes, Nothing black but crows. Ye who love and regard me, Let us join hands, and go together in our carriages. Is it a time for delay? The urgency is extreme!

# 42. JING NU

How lovely is the retiring girl! She was to await me at a corner of the wall. Loving and not seeing her, I scratch my head, and am in perplexity. How handsome is the retiring girl! She presented to me a red tube. Bright is the red tube; — I delight in the beauty of the girl. From the pasture lands she gave a shoet of the white grass, Truly elegant and rare. It is not you, O grass, that are elegant; — You are the gift of an elegant girl.

# 43. XIN TA

Fresh and bright is the New Tower, On the waters of the He, wide and deep. A pleasant, genial mate she sought, And has got this vicious bloated mass! Lofty is the New Tower, On the waters of the He, flowing still. A pleasant, genial mate she

sought, And has got this vicious bloated mass! It was a fish net that was set, And a goose has fallen into it. A pleasant, genial mate she sought, And she has got this hunchback.

# 44. ER ZI CHENG ZHOU

The two youths got into their boats, Whose shadows floated about on the water. I think longingly of them, And my heart is tossed about in uncertainty. The two youths got into their boats, Which floated away on the stream. I think longingly of them, Did they not come to harm?

#### THE ODES OF YONG

#### 45 BO ZHOU

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There in the middle of the He. With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead, He was my mate; And I swear that till death I will have no other. O mother, O Heaven, Why will you not understand me? It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There by the side of the He. With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead, He was my only one; And I swear that till death I will not do the evil thing. O mother, O Heaven, Why will you not understand me?

#### 46. QIANG YOU CI

The tribulus grows on the wall, And cannot be brushed away. The story of the inner chamber, Cannot be told. What would have to be told, Would be the vilest of recitals. The tribulus grow on the wall, And cannot be removed. The story of the inner chamber, Cannot be particularly related. What might be particularly related Would be a long story. The tribulus grow on the wall, And cannot be bound together, and taken away. The story of the inner chamber Cannot be recited, What might be recited, Would be the most disgraceful of things.

#### 47. JUN ZI XIE LAO

The husband's to their old age, In her headdress, and the cross-pins, with their six jewels; Easy and elegant in her movements; Stately as a mountain, majestic as a river, Well beseeming her pictured robes: — But with your want of virtue, O lady, What have you to do with these things? How rich and splendid Is her pleasant-figured robe! Her black hair in masses like clouds, No false locks does she descend to. There are her ear-plugs of jade, Her comb-pin of ivory, And her high forehead, so white. She appears like a visitant from heaven! She appears like a goddess! How rich and splendid Is her robe of state! It is worn over the finest muslin of dolichos, The more cumbrous and warm garment being removed. Clear are her eyes; fine is her forehead; Full are her temples. Ah! such a woman as this! The beauty of the country!

# 48. SANG ZHONG

I am going to gather the dodder, In the fields of Mei. But of whom are my thoughts? Of that beauty, the eldest of the Jiang. She made an appontment with me in Sangzhong; She will meet me in Shanggong; She will accompany me to Qishang. I am going to gather the wheat, In the north of Mei. But of whom are my thoughts? Of that beauty, the eldest of the Yi. She made an appontment with me in Sangzhong; She will meet me in Shanggong; She will accompany me to Qishang. I am going to gather the mustard plant, In the east of Mei. But of whom are my thoughts? Of that beauty, the eldest of the Yong. She made an appontment with me in Sangzhong; She will meet me in Shanggong; She will accompany me to Qishang.

# 49. CHUN ZI BEN BEN

Boldly faithful in their pairings are quails; Vigorously so are magpies. This man is all vicious, And I consider him my brother! Vigorously faithful in their pairings are magpies; Boldly so are quails. This woman is all vicious, And I regard her as marchioness.

# 50. DING ZHI FANG ZHONG

When Ding culminated at night fall, He began to build the palace at Chu. Determining its aspects by means of the sun, He built the mansion at Chu. He planted about it hazel and chesnut trees, The yi, the tong, the zi, and the varnish-tree, Which, when cut down, might afford materials for lutes. He ascended those old walls, And thense surveyed the site of Chu. He surveyed Chu and Tang, With the high hills and lofty elevations about: He descended and examined the mulberry trees; He then divined, and got a fortunate response; And thus the issue has been truly good. When the good rain had fallen, He would order his groom, By starlight, in the morning, to yoke his carriage, And would then stop among the mulberry trees and fields. But not only thus did he show what he was; — Maintaining in his heart a profound devotion to his duties, His tall horses and mares amounted to three thousand.

# 51. DI DONG

There is a rainbow in the east, And no one dares to point to it. When a girl goes away from her home, She separates from

her parents and brothers. In the morning a rainbow rises in the west, And only during the morning is there rain. When a girl goes away from her home, She separates from her brothers and parents. This person Has her heart only on being married. Greatly is she untrue to herself, And does not recognise the law of her lot.

#### 52. XIANG SHU

Look at a rat, — it has its skin; But a man should be without dignity of demeanour. If a man have no dignity of demeanour, What should he but die? Look at a rat, — it has its teeth; But a man shall be without any right deportment. If a man have not right deportment, What should he wait for but death? Look at a rat, — it has its limbs; But a man shall be without any rules of propriety. If a man observe no rules of propriety, Why does he not quickly die?

#### 53. GAN MAO

Conspiciously rise the staffs with their ox-tails, In the distant suburbs of Jun, Ornamented with the white silk bands; There are four carriages with their good horses, That admirable gentleman, — What will he give them for this? Conspiciously rise the staffs with their falcon-banners, In the nearer suburbs of Jun, Ornamented with the white silk ribbons; There are four carriages with their good horses, That admirable gentleman, — What will he give them for this? Conspiciously rise the staffs with their feathered streamers, At the walls of Jun, Bound with the white silk cords; There are six carriages with their good horses, That admirable gentleman, — What will he give them for this?

#### 54. ZAI CHI

I would have galloped my horses and whipt them, Returning to condole with the marquis of Wei. I would have urged them all the long way, Till I arrived at Cao. A great officer has gone, over the hills and through the rivers; But my heart is full of sorrow. You disapproved of my proposal, And I cannot return to Wei; But I regard you as in the wrong, And cannot forget my purpose. You disapproved of my purpose, But I cannot return across the streams; But I regard you as in the wrong, And cannot shut out my thoughts. I will ascend that mound with the steep side. And gather the mother-ofpearl lilies. I might, as a woman, have many thoughts, But every one of them was practicable. The people of Xu blame me, But they are all childish and hasty in their conclusions. I would have gone through the country, Amidst the wheat so luxuriant. I would have carried the case before the great State. On whom should I have relied? Who would come to the help of Wei? Ye great officers and gentlemen. The hundred plans you think of Are not equal to the course I was going to take.

# THE ODES OF WEI

55. QI AO

Look at those recesses in the banks of the Oi With their green bamboos, so fresh and luxuriant! There is our elegant and accomplished prince, — As from the knife and the file, As from the chisel and the polisher! How grave is he and dignified! How commanding and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince, - Never can he be forgotten! Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi, With their green bamboos, so strong and luxuriant! There is our elegant and accomplished prince, - With his ear-stoppers of beautiful pebbles, And his cap, glittering as with stars between the seams! How grave is he and dignified! How commanding and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince, Never can he be forgotten! Look at those recesses in the banks of the Qi, With their green bamboos, so dense together! There is our elegant and accomplished prince, - Pure as gold and as tin, Soft and rich as a sceptre of jade! How magnanimous is he and gentle! There he is in his chariot with its two high sides! Skilful is he at quips and jokes, But how does he keep from

# 56. KAO PAN

He has reared his hut by the stream in the valley, — That large man, so much at his ease. Alone he sleeps, and wakes, and talks. He swears he will never forgets his true joy. He has reared his hut in the bend of the mound, — That large man, with such an air of indifference. Alone he sleeps, and wakes, and sings. He swears he will never pass from the spot. He has reared his hut on the level height, — That large man, so self-collected. Alone, he sleeps and wakes, and sleeps again. He swears he will never tell of his delight.

# 57. SHUO REN

Large was she and tall, In her embroidered robe, with a plain single garment over it: — The daughter of the marquis of Qi. The wife of the marquis of Wei, The sister of the heirson of Tong The sister-in-law of the marquis of Xing, The viscount of Tan also her brother-in-law. Her fingers were like the blades of the young white-grass; Her skin was like congealed ointment; Her neck was like the tree-grub; Her teeth were like melon seeds; Her forehead cicada-like; her eyebrows like the antenne of the silkworm moth; What

dimples, as she artfully smiled! How lovely her eyes, with the black and white so well defined! Large was she and tall, When she halted in the cultivated suburbs. Strong looked her four horses, With the red ornaments so rich about their bits. Thus in her carriage, with its screens of pheasant feathers, she proceeded to our court. Early retire, ye great officers, And do not make the marquis fatiqued! The waters of the He, wide and deep.

Flow northwards in majestic course. The nets are dropt into them with a plashing sound, Among shoals of sturgeon, large and small, While the rushes and sedges are rank about. Splendidly adorned were her sister ladies; Martial looked the attendant officers.

#### 58. MANG

A simple-looking lad you were, Carrying cloth to exchange it for silk. But you came not so to purchase silk; - You came to make proposals to me. I convoyed you through the Qi, As far as Dunqiu. 'It is not I, 'I said, 'who would protract the time; But you have had no good go-between. I pray you be not angry, And let autumn be the time.' I ascended that ruinous wall, To look towards Fuguan; And when I saw you not coming from it; My tears flowed in streams. When I did see you coming from Fuquan, I laughed and I spoke. You had consulted, you said, the tortoise-shell and the reeds, And there was nothing unfavourable in their response. 'Then come, ' I said, ' with your carriage, And I will remove with my goods. Before the mulberry tree has shed its leaves, How rich and glossy are they! Ah! thou dove. Eat not its fruit to excess. Ah! thou young lady, Seek no licentious pleasure with a gentleman. When a gentleman indulges in such pleasure, omething may still be said for him; When a lady does so, Nothing can be said for her. When the mulberry tree sheds its leaves, They fall yellow on the ground. Since I went with you, Three years have I eaten of your poverty; And now the full waters of the Qi, Wet the curtains of my carriage. There has been no difference in me, But you have been double in your ways. It is you, Sir, who transgress the right, Thus changeable in your conduct. For three years I was your wife, And thought nothing of my toil in your house. I rose early and went to sleep late, Not intermitting my labours for a morning. Thus on my part our contract was fulfilled, But you have behaved thus cruelly. My brothers will not know all this, And will only laugh at me. Silently I think of it, And bemoan myself. I was to grow old with you; - Old, you give me cause for sad repining. The Qi has its banks, And the marsh has its shores. In the pleasant time of my girlhood, with my hair simply gathered in a knot. Harmoniously we talked and laughed Clearly were we sworn to good faith, And I did not think the engagement would be broken. That it would be broken I did not think, And now it must be all over!

# 59. ZHU GAN

With your long and tapering bamboo rods, You angle in the Qi. Do I not think of you? But I am far away, and cannot get you. The Quanyuan is on the left, And the waters of the Qi are on the right. But when a young lady goes away, and is married, She leaves her brothers and parents. The waters of the Qi are on the right And the Quanyuan is on the left. How shine the white teeth through the artful smiles! How the girdle gems move to the measured steps! The waters of the Qi flow smoothly; There are the oars of cedar and boats of pine. Might I but go there in my carriage and ramble, To dissipate my sorrow!

# 60. WAN LAN

There are the branches of the sparrow-gourd; — There is that lad, with the spike at his girdle. Though he carries a spike at his girdle, He does not know us. How easy and conceited is his manner, With the ends of his girdle hanging down as they do! There are the leaves of the sparrow-gourd; — There is that lad with the archer's thimble at his girdle. Though he carries an archer's thimble at his girdle, He is not superior to us. How easy and conceited is his manner, With the ends of his girdle hanging down as they do!

# 61. HE GUANG

Who says that the He is wide? With a bundle of reeds I can cross it. Who says that Song is distant? On tiptoe I can see it. Who says that the He is wide? It will not admit a little boat. Who says that Song is distant? It would not take a whole morning to reach it.

# 62. BO X

My noble husband is now martial-like! The hero of the country! My husband, grasping his halberd, Is in the leading chariot of the king's host. Since my husband went to the east, My head has been like the flying pappus of the artemisia. It is not that I could not anoint and wash it; But for whom should I adorn myself? O for rain! O for rain! But brightly the sun comes forth. Longingly I think of my husband, Till my heart is weary, and my head aches. How shall I get the plant of forgetfulness? I would plant it on the north of my house.

Longingly I think of my husband, And my heart is made to

#### 63 YOU HU

There is a fox, solitary and suspicious, At that dam over the Qi. My heart is sad; — That man has no lower garment. There is a fox, solitary and suspicious, At that deep ford of the Qi. My heart is sad; — That man has no girdle. There is a fox, solitary and suspicious, By the side there of the Qi. My heart is sad; — That man has no clothes.

#### 64. MU GUA

There was presented to me a papaya, And I returned for it a beautiful Ju-gem; Not as a return for it, But that our friendship might be lasting. There was presented to me a peach, And I returned for it a beautiful Yao-gem; Not as a return for it, But that our friendship might be lasting. There was presented to me a plum, And I returned for it a beautiful Jiu-gem; Not as a return for it, But that our friendship might be lasting

#### THE ODES OF WANG

# 65. SHU LI

There was the millet with its drooping heads; There was the sacrificial millet into blade. Slowly I moved about, In my heart all-agitated. Those who knew me, Said I was sad at heart. Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking for something. O distant and azure Heaven! By what man was this brought about? There was the millet with its drooping heads; There was the sacrificial millet in the ear. Slowly I moved about, My heart intoxicated, as it were, with grief. Those who knew me, Said I was sad at heart. Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking for something. O thou distant and azure Heaven! By what man was this brought about? There was the millet with its drooping heads; There was the sacrificial millet in grain. Slowly I moved about, As if there were a stoppage at my heart. Those who knew me, Said I was sad at heart. Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking for something. O thou distant and azure Heaven! By what man was this brought about?

# 66. JUN ZI YU YI

My husband is away on service, And I know not when he will return. Where is he now? The fowls roost in their holes in the walls; And in the evening of the day, The goats and cows come down from the hill; But my husband is away on service. How can I but keep thinking of him? My husband is away on service, Not for days merely or for months. When will he come back to me? The fowls roost on their perches; And in the evening of the day, The goats and cows come down down and home; But my husband is away on service. Oh if he be but kept from hunger and thirst!

# 67 JUN ZI YANG YANG

My husband looks full of satisfaction. In his left hand he holds his reed-organ, And with his right he calls me to the room. Oh the joy! My husband looks delighted. In his left hand he holds his screen of feathers, And with his right he calls me to the stage. Oh the joy!

# 68 YANG ZHI SHUI

The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of firewood! Those, the members of our families, Are not with us here guarding Shen. How we think of them! How we think of them! What month shall we return home? The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of thorns! Those, the members of our families, Are not with us here guarding Pu. How we think of them! How we think of them! What month shall we return? The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of osiers! Those, the members of our families, Are not with us here guarding Xu. How we think of them! How we think of them! How we think of them! What month shall we return?

# 69. ZHONG GU

In the valleys grows the mother-wort, But scorched is it in the drier places. There is a woman forced to leave her husband; Sadly she sighs! She suffers from his hard lot. In the valleys grows the mother-wort, But scorched is it where it had become long. There is a woman forced to leave her husband; Long-drawn are her groanings! Long-drawn are her groanings! She suffers from his misfortune. In the valleys grows the mother-wort, But scorched is it even in the moist places. There is a woman forced to leave her husband; Ever flow her tears! Ever flow her tears! But of what avail is her lament?

# 70. TU YUAN

The hare is slow and cautious; The pheasant plumps into the net. In the early part of my life, Time still passed without commotion. In the subsequent part of it, We are meeting with all these evils. I wish I might sleep and never move more. The hare is slow and cautious; The pheasant plumps into the snare. In the early part of my life, Time still passed without anything stirring. In the subsequent part of it, We are meeting with all

these sorrows. I wish I might sleep and never move more. The hare is slow and cautious; The pheasant plumps into the trap. In the early part of my life, Time still passed without any call for our services. In the subsequent part of it, We are meeting with all these miseries. I would that I might sleep, and hear of nothing more.

#### 71. GE LEI

Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers, On the borders of the He. For ever separated from my brothers, I call a stranger father, I call a stranger father, But he will not look at me. Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers, On the banks of the He. For ever separated from my brothers, I call a stranger mother, I call a stranger mother, But she will not recognize me. Thickly they spread about, the dolichos creepers, On the lips of the He. For ever separated from my brothers, I call a stranger elder-brother. I call a stranger elder-brother, But he will not listen to me.

#### 72. CALGE

There he is gathering the dolichos! A day without seeing him, Is like three months! There he is gathering the oxtail-southern-wood! A day without seeing him, Is like three seasons! There he is gathering the mugwort! A day without seeing him, Is like three years!

#### 73. DA CHE

His great carriage rumbles along, And his robes of rank glitter like the young sedge. Do I not think of you? But I am afraid of this officer, and dare not. His great carriage moves heavily and slowly, And his robes of rank glitter like a carnation-gem. Do I not think of you? But I am afraid of this officer, and do not rush to you. While living, we may have to occupy different apartments; But when dead, we shall share the same grave. If you say that I am not sincere, By the bright sun I swear that I am.

# 74. QIU ZHONG YOU MA

On the mound where is the hemp, Some one is detaining Zijie. Some one is there detaining Zijie; — Would that he would come jauntily to me! On the mound where is the wheat, Some one is detaining Ziguo. Some one is there detaining Ziguo; — Would that he would come and eat with me! On the mound where are the plum trees, Some one is detaining those youths. Some one is there detaining those youths. They will give me Jiu-stones for my girdle.

# THE ODES OF ZHENG

# 75. ZI YI

How well do the black robes befit you! When worn out, we will make others for you. We will go to your court, And when we return from it, we will send you a feast! How good on you are the black robes! When worn out, we will make others for you. We will go to your court, And when we return from it, we will send you a feast! How easy sit the black robes on you! When worn out, we will make others for you. We will go to your court, And when we return from it, we will send you a

# 76. JIANG ZHONG ZI

I pray you, Mr. Zhong, Do not come leaping into my hamlet; Do not break my willow trees. Do I care for them? But I fear my parents. You, O Zhong, are to be loved, But the words of my parents, Are also to be feared. I pray you, Mr. Zhong, Do not come leaping over my wall; Do not break my mulberry trees. Do I care for them? But I fear the words of my brothers. You, O Zhong, are to be loved, But the words of my brothers, Are also to be feared. I pray you, Mr. Zhong, Do not come leaping into my garden; Do not break my sandal trees. Do I care for them? But I dread the talk of people. You, O Zhong, are to be loved, But the talk of people, is also to be feared.

# 77. SHU YU TIAN

Shu has gone hunting; And in the streets there are no inhabitants. Are there indeed no inhabitants? But they are not like Shu, Who is truly admirable and kind. Shu has gone to the grand chase; And in the streets there are none feasting. Are there indeed none feasting? But they are not like Shu, Who is truly admirable and good. Shu has gone into the country; And in the streets there are none driving about. Are there indeed none driving about? But they are not like Shu, Who is truly admirable and martial.

# 78. DA SHU YU TIAN

Shu has gone hunting, Mounted in his chariot and four. The reins are in his grasp like ribbons, While the two outside horses move with regular steps, as dancers do. Shu is at the marshy ground; — The fire flames out all at once, And with bared arms he seizes a tiger, And presents it before the duke. O Shu, try not such sport again; Beware of getting hurt. Shu has gone hunting, Mounted in his chariot with four bay horses. The two insides are two finest possible animals, And the two outsides follow them regularly as in a flying flock of wild

geese. Shu is at the marshy ground; — The fire blazes up all at once, A skillful archer is Shu! A good charioteer also! Now he gives his horse the reins; now he brings them up; Now he discharges his arrows; now he follows it. Shu has gone hunting, Mounted in his chariot with four grey horses. His two insides have their heads in a line, And the two outsides come after like arms. Shu is at the marsh; — The fire spreads grandly all together. His horses move slowly; He shoots but seldom; Now he lays aside his quiver; Now he returns his bows to his case.

#### 79. OING REN

The men of Qing are in Peng; The chariot with its team in mail ever moves about; The two spears in it, with their ornaments, rising, one above the other. So do they roam about the He. The men of Qing are in Xiao; The chariot with its team in mail looks martial; And the two spears in it, with their hooks, rise one above the other. So do they saunter about by the He. The men of Qing are in Zhou; The mailed team of the chariot prance proudly. The driver on the left wheels it about, and the spearman on the right brandishes his weapon, While the general in the middle looks pleased.

#### 80. GAO OIU

His lambs's fur is glossy, Truly smooth and beautiful. That officer, Rests in his lot and will not change. His lambs's fur, with its cuffs of leopard-skin. Looks grandly martial and strong. That officer, In the country will ever hold to the right. How splendid is his lamb's fur! How bright are its three ornaments! That officer, Is the ornament of the country.

#### 81. ZUN DA LU

Along the highway, I hold you by the cuff. Do not hate me; — Old intercourse should not be suddenly broken off. Along the highway, I hold you by the hand. Do not think me vile; — Old friendship should not hastily be broken off.

#### 82. NU YUE JI MING

Says the wife, 'It is cock-crow;' Says the husband, 'It is grey dawn.' 'Rise, Sir, and look at the night, —' If the morning star be not shining. Bestir yourself, and move about, To shoot the wild ducks and geese. When your arrows and line have found them, I will dress them fitly for you. When they are dressed, we will drink together over them, And I will hope to grow old with you. Your lute in your hands, Will emits its quiet pleasant tones. When I know those whose acquaintance you wish, I will give them off the ornaments of my girdle. When I know those with whom you are cordial, I will send to them of the ornaments of my girdle. When I know those whom you love, I will repay their friendship from the ornaments of my girdle.

# 83. YOU NU TONG CHE

There is the lady in the carriage with him, With the countenance like the flower of the ephermeral hedge-tree. As they move about, The beautiful Ju-gems of her girdle-pendant appear. That beautiful eldest Jiang, Is truly admirable and elegant. There is the young lady walking with him, With a countenance like the ephermeral blossoms of the hedge-tree. As they move about, The gems of her girdle-pendant tinkle. Of that beautiful eldest Jiang, The virtuous fame is not to be forgotten.

# 84. SHAN YOU FU SU

On the mountain is the mulberry tree; In the marshes is the lotus flower. I do not see Zidu, But I see this mad fellow. On the mountain is the lofty pine; In the marshes is the psreading water-polygonum. I do not see Zichong, But I see this artful how

# 85. TUO XI

Ye withered leaves! Ye withered leaves! How the wind is blowing you away! O ye uncles, Give us the first note, and we will join in with you. Ye withered leaves! Ye withered leaves! How the wind is carrying you away! O ye uncles, Give us the first note, and we will complete the song.

# 86. JIAO TONG

That artful boy! He will not speak with me! But for the sake of you, Sir, Shall I make myself unable to eat? That artful boy! He will not eat with me! But for the sake of you, Sir, Shall I make myself unable to rest?

# 87. QIAN CHANG

If you, Sir, think kindly of me, I will hold up my lower garments, and cross the Zhen. If you do not think of me, Is there no other person to do so?You, foolish, foolish fellow! If you, Sir, think kindly of me, I will hold up my lower garments, and cross the Wei. If you do not think of me, Is there no other gentleman to do so? You, foolish, foolish fellow!

# 88. FENG

Full and good looking was the gentleman, Who waited for me in the lane! I repent that I did not go with him. A splendid gentleman was he, Who waited for me in the hall! I regret that I did not accompany him. Over my embroidered upper robe, I have put on a plain single garment; Over my embroidered lower robe, I have done the same. O Sir, O Sir, Have your carriage ready to take me home with you. Over my embroidered lower robe, I have put on a plain single garment; Over my embroidered upper robe, I have done the same. O Sir, O Sir, Have your carriage ready to take me home with you.

#### 89. DONG MEN ZHI SHAN

Near the level ground at the east gate, Is the madder plant on the bank. The house is near there, But the man is very far away. By the chestnut trees at the east gate, Is a row of houses. Do I not think of you? But you do not come to me.

#### 90 FENG YII

Cold are the wind and the rain, And shrilly crows the cock. But I have seen my husband, And should I but feel at rest? The wind whistles and the rain patters, While loudly crows the cock. But I have seen my husband, And could my ailment but be cured? Through the wind and rain all looks dark, And the cock crows without ceasing. But I have seen my husband, And how should I not rejoice?

#### 91. ZI JIN

O you, with the blue collar, Prolonged is the anxiety of my heart. Although I do not go to you, Why do you not continue your messages to me? O you with the blue strings to your girdle-gems, Long, long do I think of you. Although I do not go to you, Why do you not come to me? How volatile are you and dissipated, By the look-out tower on the wall! One day without the sight of you, Is like three months.

#### 92. YANG ZHI SHUI

The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of thorns. Few are our brethren; There are only I and you. Do not believe what people say; They are deceiving you. The fretted waters, Do not carry on their current a bundle of firewood. Few are our brethren; There are only we two. Do not believe what people say; They are not to be trusted.

# 93. CHU QI DONG MEN

I went out at the east gate, Where the girls were in clouds. Although they are like clouds, It is not on them that my thoughts rest. She in the thin white silk, and the grey coiffure, — She is my joy! I went out by the tower on the covering wall, Where the girls were like flowering rushes. Although they are like flowering rushes, It is not of them that I think. She in the thin white silk, and the madder-dyed coiffure, —It is she that makes me happy!

# 94. YE YOU MAN CAO

On the moor is the creeping grass, And how heavily is it loaded with dew! There was a beautiful man, Lovely, with clear eyes and fine forehead! We met together accidentally, And so my desire was satisfied. On the moor is the creeping grass, Heavily covered with dew! There was a beautiful man, Lovely, with clear eyes and fine forehead! We met together accidentally, And he and I were happy together.

# 95. QIN WEI

The Qin and Wei, Now present their broad sheets of water. Ladies and gentlemen, Are carrying flowers of valerian. A lady says, 'Have you been to see?' A gentleman replies, 'I have been.' 'But let us go again to see. Beyond the Wei, The ground is large and fit for pleasure.' So the gentlemen and ladies. Make sport together, Presenting one another with small peonies. The Qin and Wei, Show their deep, clear streams. Gentlemen and ladies, Appear in crowds. A lady says, ' Have you been to see?' A gentleman replies, 'I have been.' 'But let us go again to see. Beyond the Wei, The ground is large and fit for pleasure.' So the gentlemen and ladies. Make sport together, Presenting one another with small peonies.

# THE ODES OF QI

96. JI MING

'The cock has crowed; The court is full.' But it was not the cock that was crowing; — It was the sound of the blue flies. 'The east is bright; The court is crowded.' But it was not the east that was bright; — It was the light of the moon coming forth. 'The insects are flying in buzzing crowds; It would be sweet to lie by you and dream.' But the assembled officers will be going home; — Let them not hate both me and you.'

# 97. XUAN

How agile you are! You met me in the neighbourhood of Nao, And we pursued together tow boars of three years. You bowed to me, and said that I was active. How admirable your skill! You met me in the way to Nao, And we drove together after two males. You bowed to me, and said that I was skilful. How complete your art! You met me on the south of Nao, And we pursued together two wolves. You bowed to me, and said that I was dexterous.

98. ZHU

He was waiting for me between the door and the screen. The strings of his ear-stoppers were of white silk, And there were appended to them beautiful Hua-stones. He was waiting for me in the open court. The strings of his ear-stoppers were of green silk, And there were appended to them beautiful Yingstones. He was waiting for me in the hall. The strings of his ear-stoppers were of yellow silk, And there were appended to them beautiful Ying-stones.

#### 99. DONG FANG ZHI RI

The sun is in the east, And that lovely girl, Is in my chamber. She is in my chamber; She treads in my footsteps, and comes to me. The moon is in the east, And that lovely girl, Is inside my door. She is inside my door; She treads in my footsteps, and hastens away.

#### 100. DONG FANG WEI MING

Before the east was bright, I was putting on my clothes upside down; I was putting them on upside down, And there was one from the court calling me. Before there was a streak of dawn in the east, I was putting on my clothes upside down; I was putting them on upside down, And there was one from the court with orders for me. You fence your garden with branches of willow, And the reckless fellows stand in awe. He, however, cannot fix the time of night; If he be not too early, he is sure to be late.

#### 101. NAN SHAN

High and large is the south hill, And a male fox is on it, solitary and suspicious. The way to Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi went by it to her husband's. Since she went to her husband's, Why do you further think of her? The five kinds of dolichos shoes are made in pairs, And the string-ends of a cap are made to match; The way to Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi travelled it. Since she travelled it, Why do you still follow her? How do we proceed in planting hemp? The acres must be dressed lengthwise and crosswise. How do we proceed in taking a wife? An announcement must first be made to our parents. Since such announcement was made, Why do you still indulge her desires? How do we proceed in splitting firewood? Without an axe it cannot be done. How do we proceed in taking a wife? Without a gobetween it cannot be done. Since this was done, Why do you still allow her to go to this extreme?

#### 102. FU TIAN

Do not try to cultivate fields too large; — The weeds will only grow luxuriantly. Do not think of winning people far away; — Your toiling heart will be grieved. Do not try to cultivate fields too large; — The weeds will only grow proudly. Do not think of winning people far away; — Your toiling heart will be distressed. How young and tender, Is the child with his two tufts of hair! When you see him after not a long time, Lo! he is wearing the cap!

# 103. LU LING

Ling-ling go the hounds; — Their master is admirable and kind. There go the hounds with their double rings; — Their master is admirable and good. There go the hounds with their triple rings; — Their master is admirable and able.

# 104. BI GOU

Worn out is the basket at the dam, And the fishes are the bream and the Guan, The daughter of Qi has returned, With a cloud of attendants. Worn out is the basket at the dam, And the fishes are the bream and the tench, The daughter of Qi has returned, With a shower of attendants. Worn out is the basket at the dam, And the fishes go in and out freely, The daughter of Qi has returned, With a stream of attendants.

# 105. ZAI QU

She urges on her chariot rapidly, With its screen of bamboos woven in squares, and its vermilion coloured leather. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's started on it in the evening. Her four black horses are beautiful, And soft look their reins as they hang. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's is delighted and complacent. The waters of the Wen flow broadly on; The travellers are numerous. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's moves on with unconcern. The waters of the Wen sweep on; The travellers are in crowds. The way from Lu is easy and plain, And the daughter of Qi's proceeds at her ease.

# 106. YI JIE

Alas for him, so handsome and accomplished! How grandly tall! With what elegance in his high forehead! With what motion of his beautiful eyes! With what skill in the swift movements of his feet! With what mastery of archery! Alas for him, so famous! His beautiful eyes how clear! His manners how complete! Shooting all day at the target, And never lodging outside the bird-square! Indeed our ruler's nephew! Alas for him, so beautiful! His bright eyes and high forehead

how lovely! His dancing so choice! Sure to send his arrows right through! The four all going to the same place! One able to withstand rebellion!

# THE ODES OF WEI

107. GE JU

Shoes thinly woven of the dolichos fibre, May be used to walk on the hoarfrost. The delicate fingers of a bride, May be used in making clothes. His bride puts the waistband to his lower garment and the collar to his upper, And he, a wealthy man, wears them. Wealthy, he moves about quite at ease, And politely he stands aside to the left. From his girdle hangs his ivory comb-pin. It is the narrowness of his disposition, Which makes him a subject for satire.

#### 108, FEN JU RU

There in the oozy grounds of the Fen, They gather the sorrel. That officer, Is elegant beyond measure. He is elegant beyond measure. But, perhaps, he is not what the superintendent of the ruler's carriages ought to be. There along the side of the Fen, They gather the mulberry leaves. That officer, Is elegant as a flower. He is elegant as a flower; But, perhaps, he is not what the marshaller of the carriages ought to be. There along the bend of the Fen, They gather the ox-lips. That officer, Is elegant as a gem. He is elegant as a gem; But, perhaps, he is not what the superintendent of the ruler's relations should be.

#### 109. YUAN YOU TAO

Of the peach trees in the garden, The fruit may be used as food. My heart is grieved, And I play and sing. Those who do not know me, Say I am a scholar venting his pride. 'Those men are right; What do you mean by your words?' My heart is grieved; Who knows the cause of it? Who knows the cause of it? They know it not, because they will not think. Of the jujube trees in the garden, The fruit may be used as food. My heart is grieved, And I think I must travel about through the State. Those who do not know me, Say I am an officer going to the verge of license. 'Those men are right; What do you mean by your words?' My heart is grieved; Who knows the cause of it? Who knows the cause of it? They do not know it, because they will not think.

#### 110 ZHI HI

I ascend that tree-clad hill, And look towards the residence of my father. My father is saying, 'Alas! my son, abroad on the public service, Morning and night never rests. May he be careful, That he may come back, and not remain there!' I ascend that bare hill, And look towards the residence of my mother. My mother is saying, 'Alas! my child, abroad on the public service, Morning and night has no sleep. May he be careful, That he may come back, and not leave his body there!' I ascend that ridge, And look towards the residence of my elder brother. My brother is saying, 'Alas! my younger brother, abroad on the public service, Morning and night must consort with his comrades. May he be careful, That he may come back, and not die!'

# 111. SHI MU ZHI JIAN

Among their ten acres, The mulberry-planters stand idly about. 'Come, 'says one to another, 'I will go away with you.' Beyond those ten acres, The mulberry-planters move idly about. 'Come, 'says one to another, 'I will go away with you.'

# 112. FA TAN

Kan-kan go his blows on the sandal trees, And he places what he hews on the river's bank, Whose waters flow clear and rippling. You sow not nor reap; - How do you get the produce of those three hundred farms? You do not follow the chase; — How do we see the badgers hanging up in your court yards? O that superior man! He would not eat the bread of idleness! Kan-kan go his blows on the wood for his spokes, And he places it by the side of the river, Whose waters flow clear and even. You sow not nor reap; - How do you get your three millions of sheaves? You do not follow the chase; - How do we see the three-year-olds hanging up in your court yards? O that superior man! He would not eat the bread of idleness! Kan-kan go his blows on the wood for his wheels, And he places it by the lip of the river, Whose waters flow clear in rippling circles. You sow not nor reap; — How do you get the paddy for your three hundred round binns? You do not follow the chase; — How do we see the quails hanging in your court yards? O that superior man! He would not eat the bread of idleness!

# 113. SHUO SHU

Large rats! Large rats! Do not eat our millet. Three years have we had to do with you, And you have not been willing to show any regard for us. We will leave you, And go to that happy land. Happy land! Happy land! There shall we find our place. Large rats! Large rats! Do not eat our wheat. Three years have we had to do with you, And you have not been willing to show any kindness to us. We will leave you, And go to that happy State. Happy State! There shall

we find ourselves right. Large rats! Large rats! Do not eat our springing grain! Three years have we had to do with you, And you have not been willing to think of our toil. We will leave you, And go to those happy borders. Happy borders! Happy borders! Who will there make us always to groan?

# THE ODES OF TANG

114. XI SHUAI

The cricket is in the hall, And the year is drawing to a close. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will be leaving us. But let us not go to great excess; Let us first think of the duties of our position; Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment. The good man is anxiously thoughtful. The cricket is in the hall, And the year is passing away. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will have gone. But let us not go to great excess; Let us first send our thoughts beyond the present; Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment. The good man is ever diligent. The cricket is in the hall, And our carts stand unemployed. If we do not enjoy ourselves now, The days and months will have gone by. But let us not go to an excess; Let us first think of the griefs that may arise; Let us not be wild in our love of enjoyment. The good man is quiet and serene.

#### 115. SHAN YOU SHU

On the mountains are the thorny elms, In the low, wet grounds are the white elms. You have suits of robes, But you will not wear them; You have carriages and horses, But you will not drive them. You will drop off in death, And another person will enjoy them. On the mountains is the Kao, In the low wet grounds is the Niu. You have courtyards and inner rooms, But you will not have them sprinkled or swept; You have drums and bells, But you will not have them beat or struck, You will drop off in death, And another person will possess them. On the mountains are the varnish trees, In the low wet grounds are the chestnuts. You have spirits and viands; — Why not daily play your lute? Both to give a zest to your joy, And to prolong the day? You will drop off in death, And another person will enter your chamber.

#### 116. YANG ZHI SHUI

Amidst the fretted waters, The white rocks stand up grandly. Bringing a robe of white silk, with a vermillion collar, We will follow you to Wo. When we have seen the princely lord, Shall we not rejoice? Amidst the fretted waters, The white rocks stand glistening. Bringing a robe of white silk, with a vermillion collar, and embroidered, We will follow you to Hu. When we have seen the princely lord, What sorrow will remain to us? Amidst the fretted waters, The white rocks clearly show. We have heard your orders,

And will not dare to inform any one of them.

# 117. JIAO LIAO

The clusters of the pepper plant, Large and luxuriant, would fill a pint. That hero there Is large and peerless. O the pepper plant! How its shoots extend! The clusters of the pepper plant, Large and luxuriant, would fill both your hands. That hero there Is large and generous. O the pepper plant! How its shoots extend!

# 118 CHOU MOU

Round and round the firewood is bound; And the Three Stars appear in the sky. This evening is what evening, That I see this good man? O me! O me! That I should get a good man like this! Round and round the grass is bound; And the Three Stars are seen from the corner. This evening is what evening, That we have this unexpected meeting? Happy pair! Happy pair! That we should have this unexpected meeting! Round and round the thorns are bound; And the Three Stars are seen from the door. This evening is what evening, That I see this beauty? O me! O me! That I should see a beauty like this!

# 119. DI DU

There is a solitary russet pear tree, But its leaves are luxuriant. Alone I walk unbefriended; — Is it because there are no other people? But none are like the sons of one's father. O ye travellers, Why do ye not sympathise with me? Without brothers as I am, Why do ye not help me? There is a solitary russet pear tree, But its leaves are abundant. Alone I walk uncared for; — Is it that there are not other people? But none are like those of one's own surname. O ye travellers, Why do ye not sympathise with me? Without brothers as I am, Why do ye not help me?

# 120. GAO QIU

Lamb's fur and leopard's cuffs, You use us with unkindness. Might we not find another chief? But we stay because of your forefathers. Lamb's fur and leopard's cuffs, You use us with cruel unkindness. Might we not find another chief? But we stay from our regard to you.

# 121. BAO YU

Su-su go the feathers of the wild geese, As they settle on the bushy oaks. The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged,

And so we cannot plant our sacrificial millet and millet; — What will our parents have to rely on?O thou distant and azure Heaven! When shall we be in our places again? Su-su go the wings of the wild geese, As they settle on the bushy jujube trees. The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged, And so we cannot plant our millet and sacrificial millet; — How shall our parents be supplied with food? O thou distant and azure Heaven! When shall our service have an end? Su-su go the rows of the wild geese, As they rest on the bushy mulberry trees. The king's business must not be slackly discharged, And so we cannot plant our rice and maize; — How shalll our parents get food? O thou distant and azure Heaven! When shall we get back to our ordinary lot?

#### 122 WU Y

How can it be said that he is without robes? He has those of the seven orders; But it is better that he get those robes from you. That will secure tranquillity and good fortune. How can it be said that he is without robes? He has those of the six orders; But it is better that he get those robes from you. That will secure tranquillity and permanence.

#### 123. YOU DI ZHI DU

There is a solitary russet pear tree, Growing on the left of the way. That princely man there! He might be willing to come to me. In the centre of my heart I love him, But how shall I supply him with drink and food? There is a solitary russet pear tree, Growing where the way makes a compass. That princely man there! He might be willing to come and ramble with me. In the centre of my heart I love him, But how shall I supply him with drink and food?

#### 124. GE SHENG

The dolichos grows, covering the thorn trees; The convolvulus spreads all over the waste. The man of my admiration is no more here; With whom can I dwell? — I abide alone. The dolichos grows, covering the jujube trees; The convolvulus spreads all over the tombs. The man of my admiration is no more here; With whom can I dwell? — I rest alone. How beautiful was the pillow of horn! How splendid was the embroidered coverlet! The man of my admiration is no more here; — With whom can I dwell? — Alone I wait for the morning. Through the long days of summer, Through the long nights of winter shall I be alone, Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his abode. Through the long nights of winter, Through the long days of summer shall I be alone, Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his chamber.

# 125. CAI LING

Would you gather the liquorice, would you gather the liquorice, On the top of Shouyang? When men tell their stories, Do not readily believe them; Put them aside, put them saide. Do not readily assent to them; And, when men tell their stories, How will they find course? Would you gather the sowthistle, would you gather the sowthistle, would you gather the sowthistle, At the foot of Shouyang? When men tell their stories, Do not readily approve them; Put them aside, put them aside. Do not readily assent to them; And, when men tell their stories, How will they find course? Would you gather the mustard plant, would you gather the mustard plant, On the east of Shouyang? When men tell their stories, Do not readily listen to them; — Put them aside, put them aside. Do not readily assent to them; And, when men tell their stories, How will they find course?

#### THE ODES OF QIN 126. CHE LIN

He has many carriages, giving forth their Lin-Lin; He has horses with their white foreheads. Before we can see our prince, We must get the services of eunuch. On the hill-sides are varnish trees; In the low wet grounds are chestnuts. When we have seen our prince, We sit together with him, and they play on their lutes. If now we do not take our joy, The time will pass till we are octogenarians. On the hill-sides are mulberry trees; In the low wet grounds are willows. When we have seen our prince, We sit together with him, and they play on their organs. If now we do not take our joy, The time will pass till we are no more.

# 127. SI TIE

His four iron-black horses are in very fine condition; The six reins are in the hand of the charioteer. The ruler's favourites, Follow him to the chase. The male animals of the season are made to present themselves, The males in season, of very large size. The ruler says, 'To the left of them; 'Then he lets go his arrows and hits. He rambles in the northern park; His four horses display their training. Light carriages, with bells at the horses' bits, Convey the long and short-mouthed dogs.

# 128. XIAO RONG

There is his short war carriage; — With the ridge-like end of its pole, elegantly bound in five places; With its slip rings and side straps, And the traces attached by gilt rings to the

masked transverse; With its beautiful mat of tiger's skin, and its long naves; With its piebalds, and horses with white left feet. When I think of my husband thus, Looking bland and soft as a piece of jade; Living there in his blank house; It sends confusion into all the corners of my heart. His four horses are in very fine condition, And the six reins are in the hand of the charioteer. Piebald, and bay with black mane, are the insides; Yellow with black mouth, and black, are the outsides: Side by side are placed the dragon-figured shields; Gilt are the buckles for the inner reins. I think of my husband thus, Looking so mild in the cities there. What time can be fixed for his return? Oh! how I think of him! His mail-covered team moves in great harmony; There are the trident spears with their gilt ends; And the beautiful feather-figured shield; With the tiger-skin bow-case, and the carved metal ornaments on its front. The two bows are placed in the case, Bound with string to their bamboo frames. I think of my husband, When I lie down and rise up. Tranquil and serene is the good man, With his virtuous fame spread far and near.

#### 129 HAN HA

The reeds and rushes are deeply green, And the white dew is turned into hoarfrost. The man of whom I think, Is somewhere about the water. I go up the stream in quest of him, But the way is difficult and long. I go down the stream in quest of him, And lo! he is right in the midst of the water. The reeds and rushes are luxuriant, And the white dew is not yet dry. The man of whom I think, Is on the margin of the water. I go up the stream in quest of him, But the way is difficult and steep. I go down the stream in quest of him, And lo! he is on the islet in the midst of the water. The reeds and rushes are abundant, And the white dew is not yet ceased. The man of whom I think, Is on the bank of the river. I go up the stream in quest of him, But the way is difficult and turns to the right. I go down the stream in quest of him, And lo! he is on the island in the midst of the water.

# 130. ZHONG NAN

What are there on Zhongnan? There are white firs and plum trees. Our prince has arrived at it, Wearing an embroidered robe over his fox-fur, And with his countenance rouged as with vermilion. May he prove a ruler indeed! What are there on Zhongnan? There are nooks and open glades. Our prince has arrived at it, With the symbol of distinction embroidered on his lower garment, And the gems at his girdle emitting their thinking. May long life and an endless name be his?

#### 131. HUANG NIAO

They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the jujube trees. Who followed duke Mu to the grave? Ziche Yansi. And this Yansi, Was a man above a hundred. When he came to the grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Thou art destroying our good men. Could he have been redeemed, We should have given a hundred lives for him. They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the mulberry trees. Who followed duke Mu to the grave? Ziche Zhongheng. And this Zhongheng, Was a match for a hundred. When he came to the grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Thou art destroying our good men. Could he have been redeemed, We should have given a hundred lives for him. They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the thorn trees. Who followed duke Mu to the grave? Ziche Qianhu. And this Ziche Qianhu, Could withstand a hundred men. When he came to the grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Thou art destroying our good men. Could he have been redeemed, We should have given a hundred lives for him.

# 132. CHEN FENG

Swift flies the falcon, To the thick-wooded forest in the north. While I do not see my husband, My heart cannot forget its grief. How is it, how is it, That he forgets me so very much? On the mountain are the bushy oaks; In the low wet grounds are six elms. While I do not see my husband, My sad heart has no joy. How is it, how is it, That he forgets me so very much? On the mountain are the bushy sparrow-plums; In the low wet grounds are the high, wild pear trees. While I do not see my husband, My heart is as if intoxicated with grief. How is it, how is it, That he forgets me so very much?

# 133. WU YI

How shall it be said that you have no clothes? I will share my long robes with you. The king is raising his forces; I will prepare my lance and spear, And will be your comrade. How shall it be said that you have no clothes? I will share my under clothes with you. The king is raising his forces; I will prepare my spear and lance, And will take the field with you. How shall it be said that you have no clothes? I will share my lower garments with you. The king is raising his forces; I will prepare my buffcoat and sharp weapons, And will march along with you.

#### 134. WELYANG

I escorted my mother's nephew, To the north of the Wei, What did I present to him? Four bay horses for his carriage of state. I escorted my mother's nephew, Long, long did I think of him. What did I present to him? A precious jasper, and gems for his girdle-pendant.

#### 135. OUAN YU

He assigned us a house large and spacious; But now at every meal there is nothing left. Alas that he could not continue as he began! He assigned us at every meal four dishes of grain; But now at every meal we do not get our fill. Alas that he could not continue as he began!

#### THE ODES OF CHEN 136. WAN QIU

How gay and dissipated you are, There on the top of Wanqiu! You are full of kindly affection indeed, But you have nothing to make you looked up to! How your blows on the drum resound, At the foot of Wanqiu! Be it winter, be it summer, You are holding your egret's feather! How you beat your earthen vessel, On the way to Wanqiu! Be it winter, be it summer, You are holding your egret-fan!

#### 137. DONG MEN ZHI FEN

There are the white elms at the east gate. And the oaks on Wanqiu; The daughter of Zizhong, Dances about under them. A good morning having been chosen, For the plain in the South, She leaves twisting her hemp, And dances to it through the market-place. The morning being good for excursion, They all proceed together. 'I look on you as the flower of the thorny mallow; You give me a stalk of the pepper plant.'

#### 138. HENG MEN

Beneath my door made of cross pieces of wood, I can rest at my leisure; By the wimpling stream from my fountain, I can joy amid my hunger. Why, in eating fish; Must we have bream from the He? Why, in taking a wife, Must we have a Jiang of Qi? Why, in eating fish; Must we have carp from the He? Why, in taking a wife. Must we have a Zi of Song?

#### 139. DONG MEN ZHI CHI

The moat at the east gate, Is fit to steep hemp in. That beautiful, virtuous, lady, Can respond to you in songs. The moat at the east gate, Is fit to steep the boehmeria in. That beautiful, virtuous, lady, Can respond to you in discourse. The moat at the east gate, Is fit to steep the rope-rush in. That beautiful, virtuous lady, Can respond to you in conversation.

# 140. DONG MEN ZHI YANG

On the willows at the east gate, The leaves are very luxuria. . . . The evening was the time agreed on, And the morning star is shining bright. On the willows at the east gate, The leaves are dense. The evening was the time agreed on, And the morning star is shining bright.

# 141. MU MEN

At the gate to the tombs there are jujube trees; — They should be cut away with an axe. That man is not good, And the people of the State know it. They know it, but he does not give over; — Long time has it been thus with him. At the gate to the tombs there are plum trees; And there are owls collecting on them. That man is not good, And I sing this song to admonish him. I admonish him, but he will not regard me; — When he is overthrown, he will think of me.

# 142. FANG YOU QUE CHAO

On the embankment are magpies' nests; On the height grows the beautiful pea. Who has been imposing on the object of my admiration? — My heart is full of sorrow. The middle path of the temple is covered with its tiles; On the height is the beautiful medallion plant. Who has been imposing on the object of my admiration? — My heart is full of trouble.

# 143. YUE CHU

The moon comes forth in her brightness; How lovely is that beautiful lady! O to have my deep longings for her relieved! How anxious is my toiled heart! The moon comes forth in her splendour; How attractive is that beautiful lady! O to have my anxieties about her relieved! How agitated is my toiled heart! The moon comes forth and shines; How brilliant is that beautiful lady! O to have the chains of my mind relaxed! How miserable is my toiled heart!

# 144. ZHU LIN

What does he in Zhulin? He is going after Xianan. He is not going to Zhulin; He is going after Xianan. 'Yoke for me my team of horses; I will rest in the country about Zhu. I will drive my team of colts, And breakfast at Zhu.'

# 145. ZE PO

By the shores of that marsh, There are rushes and lotus plants. There is the beautiful lady; — I am tortured for her,

but what avails it? Waking or sleeping, I do nothing; From my eyes and nose the water streams. By the shores of that marsh, There are rushes and the valerian. There is the beautiful lady; Tall and large, and elegant. Waking or sleeping, I do nothing; My inmost heart is full of grief. By the shores of that marsh, There are rushes and lotus flowers. There is the beautiful lady; Tall and large, and majestic. Waking or sleeping, I do nothing; On my side, on my back, with my face on the pillow, I lie.

#### THE ODES OF KUAI 146. GAO QIU

In your lamb's fur you saunter about; In your fox's fur you hold your court. How should I not think anxiously about you? My toiled heart is full of grief. In your lamb's fur you wander aimlessly about; In your fox's fur you appear in your hall. How should I not think anxiously about you? My heart is wounded with sorrow. Your lamb's fur, as if covered with ointment; Glistens when the sun comes forth. How should I not think anxiously about you? To the core of my heart I am grieved.

# 147. SU GUAN

If I could but see the white cap, And the earnest mourner worn to leanness! - My toiled heart is worn with grief! If I could but see the white lower dress! — My heart is wounded with sadness! I should be inclined to go and live with the wearer! If I could but see the white knee-covers! - Sorrow is knotted in my heart! I should almost feel as of one soul with

#### 148. XI YOU CHANG CHU

In the low wet grouds is the carambola tree; Soft and pliant are its branches, With the glossiness of tender beauty. I should rejoice to be like you, O tree, without consciousness. In the low, damp grounds is the carambola tree; Soft and delicate are its flowers, With the glossiness of its tender beauty. I should rejoice to be like you, O tree, without a family. In the low, damp grounds is the carambola tree; Soft and delicate is its fruit, With the glossiness of its tender beauty. I should rejoice to be like you, O tree, without a household.

Not for the violence of the wind; Not for a rushing motion of a chariot; - But when I look to the road to Zhou, Am I pained to the core of my heart. Not for the whirlwind; Not for the irregular motion of a chariot; - But when I look to the road to Zhou. Am I sad to the core of my heart. Who can cook fish? I will wash his boilers for him. Who will lovally go to the west? I will cheer him with good words.

#### THE ODES OF CAO 150. FU YOU

The wings of the ephemera, Are robes, bright and splendid. My heart is grieved; — Would they but come and abide with me! The wings of the ephemera, Are robes, variously adorned. My heart is grieved; — Would they but come and rest with me! The ephemera bursts from its hole, With a robe of hemp like snow. My heart is grieved; - Would they but come and lodge with me!

Those officers of escort, Have their carriers of lances and halberds. But these creatures, With their three hundred red covers for the knees! - The pelican is on the dam, And will not wet his wings! These creatures, Are not equal to their dress! The pelican is on the dam, And will not wet his beak! These creatures, Do not respond to the favour they enjoy. Extensive and luxuriant is the vegetation, And up the south hill in the morning rise the vapours. Tender is she and lovely, But the young lady is suffering from hunger.

The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are seven. The virtuous man, the princely one, Is uniformly correct in his deportment. He is uniformly correct in his deportment, His heart is as if it were tied to what is correct. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are in the plum tree. The virtuous man, the princely one, Has his girdle of silk. His girdle is of silk, And his cap is of spotted deer-skin. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are in the jujube tree. The virtuous man, the princely one, Has nothing wrong in his deportment. He has nothing wrong in his deportment, And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the State. The turtle dove is in the mulberry tree, And her young ones are in the hazel tree. The virtuous man, the princely one, Rectifies the people of the State. He rectifies the people of his State:— May he continue for ten thousand years!

# 153. XIA OUAN

Cold come the waters down from that spring, And overflow the bushy wolf's-tail grass, Ah me! I awake and sigh, Thinking of that capital of Zhou. Cold come the waters down from that spring, And overflow the bushy southernwood, Ah me! I awake and sigh, Thinking of that capital of Zhou. Cold come the waters down from that spring, And overflow the bushy divining plants, Ah me! I awake and sigh, Thinking of that capital-city. Beautifully grew the fields of young millet, Enriched by fertilizing rains. The States had their sovereign, And there was the chief of Xun to reward their princes.

# THE ODES OF BIN

154. QI YUE

In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian; In the 9th month, clothes are given out. In the days of our first month, the wind blows cold; In the days of our second, the air is cold; - Without the clothes and garments of hair, How could we get to the end of the year? In the days of our third month, they take their ploughs in hand; In the days of our fourth, they take their way to the fields. Along with my wife and children, I carry food to them in those south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields comes, and is glad. In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian; In the ninth month, clothes are given out. With the spring days the warmth begins, And the oriole utters its song. The young women take their deep baskets, And go along the small paths, Looking for the tender leaves of the mulberry trees. As the spring days lengthen out, They gather in crowds the white southernwood. That young lady's heart is wounded with sadness, For she will soon be going with one of our princess as his wife. In the seventh month, the Fire Star passes the meridian; In the eighth month are the sedges and reeds. In the silkworm month they strip the mulberry branches of their leaves, And take their axes and hatchets, To lop off those that are distant and high; Only stripping the young trees of their leaves. In the seventh month, the shrike is heard; In the eighth month, they begin their spinning; - They make dark fabrics and yellow. Our red manufacture is very brilliant, It is for the lower robes of our young princes. In the fourth month, the Small grass is in seed. In the fifth, the cicada gives out its note. In the eighth, they reap. In the tenth, the leaves fall. n the days of our first month, they go after badgers, And take foxes and wild cats, To make furs for our young princes. In the days of our second month, they have a general hunt, And proceed to keep up the exercises of war. The boars of one year are for themselves: Those of three years are for our prince. In the fifth month, the locust moves its legs; In the sixth month, the spinner sounds its wings. In the seventh month, in the fields; In the eighth month, under the eaves; In the ninth month, about the doors; In the tenth month, the cricket Enters under our beds. Chinks are filled up, and rats are smoked out: The windows that face the north are stopped up; And the doors are plastered. 'Ah! our wives and children, 'Changing the year requires this: Enter here and dwell.' In the sixth month they eat the sparrow-plums and grapes; In the seventh, they cook the Kui and pulse, In the eighth, they knock down the dates; In the tenth, they reap the rice; And make the spirits for the spring, For the benefit of the bushy eyebrows. In the seventh month, they eat the melons; In the eighth, they cut down the bottlegourds; In the ninth, they gather the hemp-seed; They gather the sowthistle and make firewood of the Fetid tree; To feed our husbandmen. In the ninth month, they prepare the vegetable gardens for their stacks, And in the tenth they convey the sheaves to them; The millets, both the early sown and the late, With other grain, the hemp, the pulse, and the wheat. 'O my husbandmen, Our harvest is all collected. Let us go to the town, and be at work on our houses. In the day time collect the grass, And at night twist it into ropes; Then get up quickly on our roofs; - We shall have to recommence our sowing.' In the days of our second month, they hew out the ice with harmonious blows; And in those of our third month. they convey it to the ice-houses, Which they open in those of the fourth, early in the morning, Having offered in sacrifice a lamb with scallions. In the ninth month, it is cold, with frost; In the tenth month, they sweep clean their stack-sites. The two bottles of spirits are enjoyed, And they say, 'Let us kill our lambs and sheep, And go to the hall of our prince, There raise the cup of rhinoceros horn, And wish him long life, — that he may live for ever.'

O owl, O owl, You have taken my young ones; - Do not also destroy my nest. With love and with toil, I nourished them. - I am to be pitied. Before the sky was dark with rain, I gathered the roots of the mulberry tree. And bound round and round my window and door. Now ye people below, Dare any of you despise my house? With my claws I tore and held. Through the rushes which I gathered, And all the materials I collected, My mouth was all sore; - I said to myself, 'I have not yet got my house complete.' My wings are all-injured; My tail is all-broken; My house is in a perilous condition; It is tossed about in the wind and rain: - I can but cry out with this note of alarm.

# 156. DONG SHAN

We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning, When we came from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. When we were in the east, and it was said we should return, Our hearts were in the west and sad; But there were they preparing our clothes for us, As to serve no more in the ranks with the gags. Creeping about were the caterpillars, All over the mulberry grounds; And quietly and solitarily did we pass the night, Under our carriages. We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning. When we came from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. The fruit of the heavenly gourd, Would be hanging about our eaves; The sowbug would be in our chambers; The spiders webs would be in our doors; Our paddocks would be deer-fields; The fitful light of the glowworms would be all about. These thoughts made us apprehensive, And they occupied our breasts. We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning, On our way back from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. The cranes were crying on the ant-hills; Our wives were sighing in their rooms; They had sprinkled and swept, and stuffed up all the crevices. Suddenly we arrived from the expedition, And there were the bitter gourds hanging, From the branches of the chestnut trees. Since we had seen such a sight, Three years were now elapsed. We went to the hills of the east, And long were we there without returning, On our way back from the east, Down came the rain drizzlingly. The oriole is flying about, Now here, now there, are its wings. Those young ladies are going to be married, With their bay and red horses, flecked with white. Their mothers have tied their sashes; Complete are their equipments. The new matches How can the reunions of the old be are admirable: -

We broke our axes, And we splintered our hatchets; But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east, Was to put the four States to rights. His compassion for us people, Is very great. We broke our axes, And we splintered our chisels; But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east, Was to reform the four States. His compassion for us people, Is very admirable. We broke our axes, And splintered our clubs. But the object of the duke of Zhou, in marching to the east. Was to save the alliance of the four States. His compassion for us people, Is very excellent.

In hewing the wood for an axe-handle, how do you proceed? Without another axe it cannot be done. In taking a wife, how do you proceed? Without a go-between it cannot be done. In hewing an axe-handle, in hewing an axe-handle. The pattern is not far off. I see the lady, And forthwith the vessels are arranged in rows.

# 159 JIU YU

In the net with its nine bags, Are rud and bream. We see this prince, With his grand-ducal robe and embroidered skirt. The wild geese fly only about the islets. The duke is returning; is it not to his proper place? He was stopping with you and me but for a couple of nights. The wild geese fly about the land. The duke is returning, and will not come back here? He was lodging with you and me but for a couple of nights.

# 160 LANG BA

The wolf springs forward on his dewlap, Or trips back on his tail. The duke was humble, and greatly admirable, Selfcomposed in his red slippers. The wolf springs forward on his dewlap, Or trips back on his tail. The duke was humble, and greatly admirable, There is no flaw in his virtuous fame.

# SHI JING 2. MINOR ODES OF THE KINGDOM

Elegance, righteousness and the song of righteousness. There are differences in the size of their articles, and the pre Confucian theories have positive changes. Take today's examination, zhengxiaoya, Yan's enjoyment, zhengdaya, the joy of meeting the dynasty, and the words of being disciplined. Therefore, it is either joyful and said, with all the feelings of the group, or respectful to Qizhuang, with the virtue of the first king, different CI Qi, different syllables, and determined by the Duke of Zhou. And its changes, then things may not be the same, but each with its voice. The order of time, there are those who cannot be tested.

# DECADE OF LU MING

161. LU MING

With pleased sounds the deer call to one another, Eating the celery of the fields. I have here admirable guests; The lutes are struck, and the organ is blown for them; blown till its tongues are all moving. The baskets of offerings also are presented to them. The men love me, And will show me the perfect path. With pleased sounds the deer call to one another, Eating the southernwood of the fields. I have here admirable guests; Whose virtuous fame is grandly brilliant. They show the people not to be mean; The officers have in them a pattern and model. I have good wine, Which my admirable guests drink, enjoying themselves. With pleased

sounds the deer call to one another, Eating the salsola of the fields. I have here admirable guests; For whom are struck the lutes, large and small. The lutes, large and small, are struck, And our harmonious joy is long-continued. I have good wine, To feast and make glad the hearts of my admirable guests.

#### 162 SLMU

My four steeds advanced without stopping; The way from Zhou was winding and tedious. Did I not have the wish to return? But the king's business was not to be slackly performed; And my heart was wounded with sadness. My four steeds advanced without stopping; They panted and snorted, the white steeds black-maned. Did I not have the wish to return? But the king's business was not to be slackly performed: And I had not leisure to kneel or to sit. The Filial doves keep flying about, Now soaring aloft, and now descending, Collecting on the bushy oaks; But the king's business was not to be slackly performed; And I had not leisure to nourish my father. The Filial doves keep flying about, Now flying, now stopping, Collecting on the bushy medlars: But the king's business was not to be slackly performed; And I had not leisure to nourish my mother. I yoked my four white steeds, black-maned; They hurried away with speed. But did I not wish to return? Therefore I make this song, Announcing my wish to nourish my mother.

#### 163 HUANG HUANG ZHE HUA

Brilliant are the flowers, On those level heights and the low grounds. Complete and alert is the messenger, with his suite. Ever anxious lest he should not succeed. My horses are young; The six reins look as if they were moistened. I gallop them, and urge them on, Everywhere pushing my inquiries. My horses are piebald; The six reins are like silk. I gallop them and urge them on, Everywhere seeking information and counsel. My horses are white and black-maned; The six reins look glossy. I gallop them, and urge them on, Everywhere seeking information and advice. My horses are grey; The six reins are well in hand. I gallop them, and urge them on, Everywhere seeking information and suggestions.

#### 164. CHANG DI

The flowers of the cherry tree — Are they not gorgeously displayed? Of all the men in the world, There are none equal to brothers. On the dreaded occasions of death and burial, It is brothers who greatly sympathise. When fugitives are collected on the heights and low grounds, They are brothers who will seek one another out. There is the wagtail on the level height: — When brothers are in urgent difficulties. Friends, though they may be good, Will only heave long sighs. Brothers may quarrel inside the walls, But they will oppose insult from without, When friends, however good they may be, Will not afford help. When death and disorder are past, And there are tranquillity and rest; Although they have brothers, Some reckon them not equal to friends. Your dishes may be set in array, And you may drink to satiety; But it is when your brothers are all present, That you are harmonious and happy, with child-like joy. Loving union with wife and children, Is like the music of lutes; But it is the accord of brothers, Which makes the harmony and happiness lasting. For the ordering of your family, For your joy in yor wife and children, Examine this and study it; — Will you not find that it is truly so?

On the trees go the blows ding-ding; And the birds cry out ying-ying. One issues from the dark valley, And removes to the lofty tree, While ying goes its cry, Seeking with its voice its companion. Look at the bird, Bird as it is, seeking with its voice its companion; And shall a man, Not seek to have his friends? Spiritual beings will then hearken to him; He shall have harmony and peace. Xu-xu they go, as they fell the trees. I have strained off my spirits, till they are fine, And the fatted lambs are provided, To which to invite my paternal uncles. It is better that something should keep them from coming, Than that I should not have regarded them. Oh! brightly I have sprinkled and swept my courtyard, And arranged my viands, with eight dishes of grain, along with my fatted meat, To which to invite my maternal uncles. It is better that something should keep them from coming, Than that there should be blame attaching to me. They fell down the trees along the hillside. I have strained off my spirits in abundance; The dishes stand in rows, And none of my brethren are absent. The loss of kindly feeling among people, May arise from faults in the matter of dry provisions. If I have spirits I strain them, do I; If I have no spirits, I buy them, do I; I make the drums beat, do I; I lead on the dance, do I. Whenever we have leisure, Let us drink the sparkling spirits.

# 166 TIAN BAO

Heaven protects and establishes thee, With the greatest security; Makes thee entirely virtuous, That thou mayest enjoy every happiness; Grants thee much increase, So that thou hast all in abundance. Heaven protects and establishes thee, It grants thee all excellence, So that thine every matter is right, And thou receivest every heavenly favour. It sends down to thee long-during happiness, Which the days are not sufficient to enjoy. Heaven protects and establishes thee, So that in every thing thou dost prosper, Like the high hills, and the mountain masses, Like the topmost ridges, and the greatest bulks; That, as the stream ever coming on, Such is thine increase. With happy auspices and purifications, thou bringest the offerings, And dost filially present them; In spring, summer, autumn, and winter, To the dukes and former kings, Who says, 'We give to thee, Myriad of years of duration unlimited.' The spirits come, And confer on thee many blessings. The people are simple and honest, Daily enjoying their meat and drink. All the black-haired race, in all their surnames, Universally practise your virtue. Like the moon advancing to the full, Like the sun ascending the heavens, Like the age of the southern hills, Never waning, never falling, Like the luxuriance of the fir and the cypress; May such be thy succeeding line!

#### 167, CALWEI

Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns; The thorn-ferns are now springing up. When shall we return? When shall we return? It will be late in the next year. Wife and husband will be separated, Because of the Xian-yun. We shall have no leisure to rest, Because of the Xian-yun. Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns; The thorn-ferns are now tender. When shall we return? When shall we return? Our hearts are sorrowful: Our hearts are sad and sorrowful; We shall hunger, we shall thirst. While our service on guard is not finished. We can send no one home to enquire about our families. Let us gather the thorn-ferns, let us gather the thorn-ferns; The thorn-ferns are now hard. When shall we return? When shall we return? The year will be in the tenth month. But the king's business must not be slackly performed; We shall have no leisure to rest. Our sorrowing hearts are in great distress; But we shall not return from our expedition. What is that so gorgeous? It is the flowers of the cherry tree. What carriage is that? It is the carriage of our general. His war carriage is yoked; The four steeds are strong. Dare we remain inactive? In one month we shall have three victories. The four steeds are yoked, The four steeds, eager and strong; The confidence of the general, The protection of the men. The four steeds move regularly, like wings; — There are the bow with its ivory ends, and the seal-skin quiver. Shall we not daily warn one another? The business of the Xian-yun is very urgent. At first, when we set out, The willows were fresh and green; Now, when we shall be returning, The snow will be falling in clouds. Long and tedious will be our marching; We shall hunger; we shall thirst. Our hearts are wounded with grief, And no one knows our sadness.

# 168 CHILCHE

We proceeded with our carriage, To those pasture grounds. 'From the place of the son of Heaven, Came an order to me to march,' said the general. So he called his carriage-officers, And told them to get the carriages all ready. 'The king's business,' said he, 'is surrounded with difficulties; We must use despatch.' We proceeded with our carriage, To that suburban region. The banner with tortoises and serpents was raised, And the ox-tails set up at the top of its staff; Did not it and the falcon banner, Fly about grandly? The general's heart was anxious and sad, And the carriage-officers appeared full of care. The king charged Nan Zhong, To go and build a wall in the disturbed region. How numerous were his chariots! How splendid his dragon, his tortoise and serpent flags! The son of Heaven had charged us, To build a wall in that northern region. Awe-inspiring was Nan Zhong; The Xian-yun were sure to be swept away! When we were marching at first, The millets were in flower. Now that we are returning, The snow falls, and the roads are all mire. The king's business was not to be slackly performed, And we had not leisure to rest. Did we not long to return? But we were in awe of the orders in the 'Yao-yao go the grass-insects, And the hoppers leap about. While we do not see our husbands, Our hearts must be full of grief. Let us but see our husbands, And our hearts will be at rest.' The awe-inspiring Nan Zhong, Is smiting the Rong of the west. The spring-days are lengthening out: The plants and trees grow full of verdure; The oriole's cry comes jie-jie; Our wives go in crowds to gather the white southernwood. With our prisoners for the question and our captive crowd, We return. Awe-inspiring is Nan zhong; The Xian-yun are pacified.

Solitary stands the russet pear tree, With its fruit so bright. The king's business must not be slackly performed, And the days are prolonged with us one after another. The sun and moon are in the tenth month. My woman's heart is wounded; My soldier might have leisure to return! Solitary stands the russet pear tree With its leaves so luxuriant. The king's business must not be slackly performed, And my heart is wounded and sad. The plants and trees are luxuriant, But my heart is sad. O that my soldier might return! I ascended that hill in the north, To gather the medlars. The king's business must not be slackly performed, And our parents are made

sorrowful. His chariot of sandal wood must be damaged; His four horses must be worn out: My soldier cannot be far off. They have not packed up, they do not come; My sorrowing heart is greatly distressed. The time is past, and he is not here, To the multiplication of my sorrows. Both by the tortoise shell and the reeds have I divined, And they unite in saying he is near. My soldier is at hand!

NAN GAI DECADE OF BAIHUA BAI HUA

HUA SHU 170 YIIII

The fish pass into the basket, Yellow-jaws and sand-blowers. Our host has spirits, Good and abundance of them. The fish pass into the basket, Bream and tench. Our host has spirits, Abundance of them and good. The fish pass into the basket, Mud-fish and carp. Our host has spirits, Good and in quantities. The viands are abundant, And they are admirable. The yiands are excellent. Both from the land and the sea. The viands are in quantities. And all in season.

#### YOU GENG 171. NAN YOU JIA YU

In the south is the barbel, And, in multitudes, they are taken under baskets. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him joyfully. In the south is the barbel. And, in multitudes, they are taken with wicker nets. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him, delighted. In the south are trees with curved drooping branches, And the sweet gourds cling to them. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him cheerfully. The Filial doves keep flying about, Coming in multitudes. The host has spirits, On which his admirable quests feast with him again and again.

#### CHONG QIU 172. NAN SHAN YOU TAI

On the hills of the south is the Tai plant, On those of the north is the Lai. To be rejoiced in are ve, noble men, The foundations of the State. To be rejoiced in are ve. noble men: May your years be myriads and without end! On the hills of the south are the mulberry trees, On those of the north are willows. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men, The light of the State. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; - May your years be myriads, unlimited! On the hills of the south are medlars; On those of the north are plum trees. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men. Parents of the people. To be rejoiced in are ve. noble men; - May your virtuous fame have no end! On the hills of the south is the Kao; On those of the north is the Niu. To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men, Have ye not the eyebrows of longevity? To be rejoiced in are ye, noble men; your virtuous fame be abundant! On the hills of the south is the Ju; On those of the north is the Yu. To be rejoiced in are ve, gentlemen; — Will ye not have the grey hair and wrinkled face? To be rejoiced in are ye, gentlemen; — May ye preserve and maintain your posterity!

# YOU YI

173 LIAO XIAO

How long grows the southernwood, With the dew lying on it so bright! Now that I see my noble men, My heart is entirely satisfied. As we feast, we laugh and talk; - It is right they should have fame and prosperity! How long grows the southernwood, With the dew lying on it so abundantly! Now that I see my noble men, I appreciate their favour and their brightness. Their virtue is without taint of error; they live long, and not be forgotten! How high is the southernwood, All wet with the fallen dew! Now that I see my noble men, Grandly we feast, delighted and complacent. May their relations with their brothers be right! May they be happy in their excellent virtue to old age! How high is the southernwood, With the dew lying on it so richly! I have seen my noble men, With the ends of their reins hanging down, With the bells tinkling on their cross-boards and bits. May all happiness gather upon them.

# 174. ZHAN LU

Heavy lies the dew; Nothing but the sun can dry it. Happily and long into the night we drink; - Till all are drunk, there is no retiring. Heavy lies the dew; On that luxuriant grass. Happily and long into the night we drin. In the honoured apartment we complete our carousal. Heavy lies the dew; On those willows and jujube trees. Distinguished and true are my noble quests, - Every one of excellent virtue. From the Tong and the Yi, Their fruit hangs down. Happy and self-possessed are my noble quests, — Every one of them of excellent deportment

DECADE OF TONG GONG 175. TONG GONG

The red bows unbent, Were received and deposited. I have here an admirable quest, And with all my heart I bestow one on him. The bells and drums have been arranged in order, And all morning will I feast him. The red bows unbent, Were received and fitted on their frames. I have here an admirable quest, And with all my heart I rejoice in him. The bells and drums have been arranged in order, And all morning will I honour him. The red bows unbent, Were received and placed in their cases. I have here an admirable quest, And with all my heart I love him. The bells and drums have been arranged in order, And all morning will I pledge him.

#### 176. JING JING ZHE E

Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood, In the midst of that large mound. Since we see our noble lord, We rejoice, and he shows us all courtesy. Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood, In the midst of that islet. Since we see our noble lord, Our hearts are full of joy. Luxuriantly grows the aster-southernwood, In the midst of that great height. We see our noble lord, And he gives us a hundred sets of cowries. It floats about, — the willow boat, Now sinking, now rising again. Since we see our noble lord, Our hearts are at rest.

#### 177. LIU YUE

In the sixth month all was bustle and excitement. The war carriages had been made ready, With the four steeds of each, strong and eager: And the regular accountrements had been placed in the carriages. The Xian-yun were in blazing force, And thence was the urgency. The king had ordered ther expedition, To deliver the royal kingdom. Matched in strength were the four black steeds, Well trained to observe every rule. On this sixth month, We completed our accountrements. Our accountrements were completed, And we marched thirty Li every day. The king had ordered ther expedition, To help the son of Heaven. The four steeds were long, and stout, And large-headed. We smote the Xian-yun, And achieved great merit. Severely strict and careful was our leader, Discharging his military service, — Discharging his military service, And settling thereby the royal kingdom. Badly reckoned the Xian-yun, When they confidently occupied Jiao and Huo, And overran Hao and Fang, As far as to the north of the Jing. On our flags was their blazonry of birds, While their white streamers fluttered brightly. Ten large war chariots, Led the way in front. The war carriages were well made. Nicely balanced, before and behind. Their four steeds were strong, Both strong and well trained. We smote the Xian-vun. As far as Tai-vuan. For peace or for war fit is Ji-fu, A pattern to all the States. Ji-fu feasts and is glad; Great happiness is his. In returning from Hao, Distant and long had been our march. He entertains and feasts his friends, With roast turtle and minced carp. And who are there? There is Zhang Zhong, the filial and brotherly.

# 178. CAI QI

They were gathering the white millet, In those new fields, And in these acres brought only one year under cultivation, When Fang Shu came to take the command. His chariots were three thousand, With a host of well-disciplined warriors. Fang Shu led them on, In his carriage drawn by four piebalds, Four piebalds orderly moving. Red shone his grand carriage, With its chequered bamboo screen, and seal-skin quivers, With the hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, and the rein-ends. They were gathering the white millet, In those new fields, And all about these villages, When Fang Shu came to take the command. His chariots were three thousand: His banners, with their blazonry of dragons, and of serpents and tortoises, fluttered gaily. Fang Shu led them on, The naves of his wheels bound with leather, and his yoke ornamented. Tinkle-tinkle went the eight bells at the horses' bits. He wore the robes conferred by the king; His red knee-covers were resplendent, And the gems of his girdle-pendant sounding. Rapid is the flight of the hawk, Soaring to the heavens, And again descending and settling in its place. Fang Shu came to take the command. His chariots were three thousand. With a host of well disciplined warriors. Fang Shu led them on. With his jinglers and drummers, He marshalled his hosts and addressed them. Intelligent and true is Fang Shu, Deep rolled the sound of his drums; With a lighter sound he led the troops back. Foolish were the savage tribes of King, Presuming to oppose our great region. Fang Shu is of great age. But full of vigour were his plans. He led his army on, Seized the chiefs for the question, and made captives of a crowd besides. Numerous were his war chariots, Numerous and in grand array, Like the clap or the roll of thunder their onset. Intelligent and true is Fang Shu. He had gone and smitten the Xian-yun, And the tribes of King came, awed by his majesty.

# 179. CHE GONG

Our chariots were strong, Our horses were well matched, And with four steeds for each, sleek and large, We yoked and proceeded to the east. Our hunting carriages were good, And their four steeds in fine condition. Eastwards were the grassy plains of Fu; — We voked and went there to hunt. Of the officers in charge of the hunt. The voices resounded as they told off the men. They set up the banners, with ox-tails displayed, And we proceeded to pursue the chase in Ao. With their four-horsed chariots they came, Forming a long train, In their red knee-covers and gold-adorned slippers, Like the crowd of an occasional or a general audience. The bowstring thimbles and armlets were fitted on: The bows and arrows were adjusted to one another: The archers acted in unison. Helping us to rear a pile of game. Of the four yellow horses of each chariot, The two outsiders inclined not to either side. No error in driving was committed, And the arrows went forth like downright blows. As if at their ease, the horses neighed, Long and slow moved the line of pennons and banners; The footmen and charioteers created no alarms: The great kitchen did not claim its full complement. So did the officers conduct this expedition, Without any clamour in the noise of it. Truly a princely man is the king; Great indeed are his achievements!

#### 180. JI RI

A lucky day was wu, And we sacrificed on it to the Ruler of horses, and prayed. Our hunting carriages were good; The team for each was in fine condition. We would ascend the greatest heights, And pursue the herds of the game. A lucky day was geng-wu. We had selected our horses; The haunts of the animals, Where the does and stags lay numerous, The grounds by the Qi and the Ju, — That was the place for the son of Heaven to hunt. We looked to the midst of the plain, where the animals were large and abundant, Now rushing about, now waiting together, Here in threes, there in twos. We led on all our attendants, To give pleasure to the son of Heaven. We have bent our bows; We have our arrows on the string. Here is a small boar transifixed; There is a large rhinoceros killed. The spoil will be presented to the visitors and guests, Along with the cup of sweet wine.

#### 181. HONG YAN

The wild geese are flying about; Su-su goes the rustle of their wings. There were those officers engaged on the commission. Pained were we and toiled in the open fields; All were objects of pity, But alas for those wifeless and widows! The wild geese are flying about; And they settle in the midst of the marsh. There were those officers directing the rearing of the walls; — Five thousand cubits of them arose at once. Though there was pain and toil, In the end we had rest in our dwellings. The wild geese are flying about, And melancholy is their cry of ao-ao. There were they, wise men, Who recognised our pain and toil; If they had been stupid men, They would have said we were proclaiming our insolence.

# 182. TING LIAO

How goes the night? It is not yet midnight. The torch is blazing in the court-yard. My princely men are arriving; — There is the tinkling of their bells. How goes the night? The night is not yet through. The torch is growing pale in the court-yard. My princely men are arriving; — There is the sound of their bells, regular and near. How goes the night? It is getting towards morning. The torch is smoking in the court-yard. My princely men are arriving; — I see their hanners

# 183. MIAN SHU

In large volume, those flowing waters, Go to the court of the sea. Rapid is that flying falcon, Now soaring, now resting. Alas! among my brethren, My countrymen, my friends, No one is willing to think of the prevailing disorder; But who has not parents to suffer from it? In large volume, those flowing waters, Roll on their swollen flood. Rapid is that flying falcon, Now soaring, now rising higher. When I think of those lawless men, Now I rise up, now I walk about. The sorrow of my heart, Cannot be repressed nor forgotten. Rapid is that flying falcon, Yet he keeps along the middle of the height. The talk of the people, — Is there no means of stopping it? If my friends would reverently watch over themselves, Would slanderous speeches be made?

# 184. HE MINO

The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh, And her voice is heard in the distant wilds. The fish lies in the deep, And now is by the islet. Pleasant is that garden, In which are the sandal trees; But beneath them are only withered leaves. The stones of those hills, May be made into grind-stones. The crane cries in the ninth pool of the marsh, And her voice is heard in the sky. The fish is by the islet, And now it lies hid in the deep. Pleasant is that garden, In which are the sandal trees; But beneath them is the paper-mulberry tree, The stones of those hills, May be used to polish gems.

# DECADE OF QI FU

185. QI FU

Minister of war, We are the claws and teeth of the king. Why have you rolled us into this sorrow, So that we have no abiding place? Minister of war, We are the taloned soldiers of the king. Why have you rolled us into this sorrow, So that

there is no end of our toils? Minister of war, You have indeed acted without discrimination. Why have you rolled us into this sorrow, So that our mothers have to do all the labour of cooking?

#### 186. BALJU

Let the brilliant white colt, Feed on the young growth of my vegetable garden. Tether it by the foot, tie it by the collar, To prolong this morning. So may its owner of whom I think, Spend his time here at his ease! Let the brilliant white colt, Feed on the bean sprouts of my vegetable garden. Tether it by the foot, tie it by the collar, To prolong this evening. So may its owner of whom I think, Be here, an admired quest! If you with the brilliant white colt, Would brightly come to me, You should be a duke, you should be a marquis, Enjoying yourself without end. Be on your guard against idly wandering; Deal vigorously with your thoughts of retirement. The brilliant white colt, Is there in that empty valley, With a bundle of fresh grass. Its owner is like a gem. Do not make the news of you rare as gold and gems, — Indulging your purpose to abandon me

# 187. HUANG NIAO

Yellow bird, yellow bird, Do not settle on the broussonetias, Do not eat my paddy. The people of this country, Are not willing to treat me well. I will return, I will go back, Back to my country and kin. Yellow bird, yellow bird, Do not settle on the mulberry trees, Do not eat my maize. The people of this country, Will not let me come to an understanding with them. I will return, I will go back, Back to my brethren. Yellow bird, yellow bird, Do not settle on the oaks, Do not eat my grand millet. The people of this country, I cannot dwell with. I will return, I will go back, Back to my uncles.

#### 188. WO XING QI YE

I travelled through the country, Where the Fetid tree grew luxuriant. Because of our affinity by marriage, I went to reside with you. But you do not entertain me; And I go back to my country and clan. I travelled through the country, Gathering the sheep's-foot. Because of our affinity by marriage, I came to lodge with you. But you do not entertain me; And I will return, I will go back. I travelled through the country, Gathering the pokeweed. You do not think of our old affinity, And seek to please your new relative. If indeed you are not influenced by her riches, You still are so by the difference between the new and the old.

# 189. SI GAN

By the graceful sweep of these banks, With the southern hill, so calm in the distance, Has the palace arisen, firm as the roots of a clump of bamboos, With its roof like the luxuriant head of a pine tree. May the brothers here, Be loving among themselves, And have no schemings against one another! Having entered into the inheritance of his ancestors, He has built his chambers, five thousand cubits of walls. With their doors to the west and to the south. Here will he reside; here will he sit; Here will he laugh; here will he talk. They bound the frames for the earth, exactly over one another; Tuo-tuo went on the pounding; - Impervious the walls to wind and rain, Offering no cranny to bird or rat. A grand dwelling is it for our noble lord. Like a man on tip-toe, in reverent expectation; Like an arrow, flying rapidly; Like a bird which has changed its feathers; Like a pheasant on flying wings; Is the hall which our noble lord will ascend. Level and smooth is the court-yard, And lofty are the pillars around it. Pleasant is the exposure of the chamber to the light, And deep and wide are its recesses: — Here will our noble lord repose. On the rush-mat below, and that of fine bamboos above it, Here may he repose in slumber!' May he sleep and awake, Saying 'Divine for me my dreams. What dreams are lucky?' They have been of bears and grisly bears; They have been of cobras and other serpents. 'The chief diviner will divine them. The bears and grisly bears, Are the auspicious intimations of sons.' The cobras and other serpents, Are the auspicious intimations of daughters. Sons shall be born to him: - They will be put to sleep on couches; They will be clothed in robes; They will have sceptres to play with; Their cry will be loud. They will be hereafter resplendent with red knee-covers, The future king, the princes of the land. Daughters shall be born to him: They will be put to sleep on the ground; They will be clothed with wrappers; They will have tiles to play with. It will be theirs neither to do wrong nor to do good. Only about the spirits and the food will they have to think, And to cause no sorrow to their parents.

# 190. WU YANG

Who can say that you have no sheep? There are three hundred in each herd. Who says that you have no cattle? There are ninety, which are black-lipped. Your sheep come, Horned, but all agreeing. Your cattle come, Flapping their ears. Some are descending among the mounds; Some are drinking at the pools; Some are lying down, some are moving about. Your herdsmen come, Bearing their rain-coats and bamboo-hats, Or carrying on their backs their provisions. In

thirties are the creatures arranged according to their colours; For your victims there is abundant provision. Your herdsmen come, With their large faggots, and smaller branches, And with their prey of birds and beasts. Your sheep come, Vigorous and strong, None injured, no infection in the herd. At the wave of the herdsman's arm, All come, all go up into the fold. Your herdsmen shall dream, — Of multitudes and then of fishes; Of the tortoise-and serpent; and then of the falcon banners. The chief diviner will divine the dreams, How the multitudes dissolving into fishes, Betoken plentiful years; How the tortoise-and-serpent dissolving into falcon banners, Betoken the increasing population of the kingdom.

#### 191 HE NANSHAN

Lofty is that southern hill. With its masses of rocks! Aweinspiring are you, O Grand master Yin, And the people all look to you! A fire burns in their grieving hearts; They do not dare to speak of you even in jest. The kingdom is verging to extinction; - How is it that you do not consider the state of things? Lofty is that southern hill, And vigorously grows the vegetation on it! Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand master Yin, But how is it that you are so unjust? Heaven is continually redoubling its afflictions; Deaths and disorder increase and multiply; No words of satisfaction come from the people; And yet you do not correct nor bemoan yourself! The Grandmaster Yin, Is the foundation of our Zhou, And the balance of the State is in his hands. He should be keeping together the four quarters of the kingdom; He should be aiding the Son of Heaven, So as to preserve the people from going astray. O unpitying great Heaven, It is not right he should reduce us all to such misery! Doing nothing himself personally, The people have no confidence in him, By making no inquiry, and no trial of their services. He should not deal deceitfully with superior men. By dismissing them on the requirement of justice, Mean men would not be endangering the common weal; And his mean relatives, Would not be in offices of importance. Great Heaven, unjust, Is sending down these exhausting disorders. Great Heaven, unkind, Is sending down these great miseries. Let superior men come into office, And that would bring rest to the people's hearts. Let superior men do justly, And the animosities and angers would disappear. O unpitying, great Heaven, There is no end to the disorder! With every month it continues to grow, So that the people have no repose. I am as if intoxicated with the grief of my heart. Who holds the ordering of the kingdom? Not attending himself to the government, The issue is toil and pain to the people. I yoke my four steeds, My four steeds, long-necked. I look to the four quarters of the kingdom: Distress is everywhere: there is nowhere I can drive to. Now your evil is rampant. And I see your spears. Again you are pacified and friendly, As if you were pledging one another. From great Heaven is the injustice, And our king has no repose. Yet he will not correct his heart, And goes on to resent endeavours to rectify him. I, Jia-fu, have made this song, To lay bare the king's disorders. If you would but change your heart, And nourish the myriad States!

# 192. ZHENG YUE

In the first month of summer the hoar-frost abounds, And my heart is wounded with sorrow. The false calumnies of the people, Also wax greater and greater. I think how I stand alone, And the sorrow of my heart grows intense. Alas! through my anxious cares, My hidden sorrow goes on to make me ill. Ye parents who gave me birth! Was it to make me suffer this pain? Why was this time not before me? Or why was it not after me? Their good words are only from the mouth; Their bad words are only from the mouth. The sorrow of my heart becomes greater, And because of this I incur contempt. My sorrow heart is very sad; I think of my unfortunate position. The innocent people, Will all be reduced to servitude with me. Alas for me! From whom shall I henceforth get support? I see a crow which will rest, - But on whose Look into the middle of the forest; There are only large faggots and small branches in it. The people now amidst their perils, Look to Heaven, all dark. But let its determination be fixed, And there is none whom it will not overcome. There is the great God. — Does He hate any one? If one say of a hill that it is low, There are its ridges, and its large masses. The false calumnies of the people, - How is it that you do not repress them? You call those experienced ancients; You consult the diviner of dreams: They all say, 'We are wise; But who can distinguish the male and female crow? We say of the heavens that they are high, But I dare not but stoop under them. We say of the earth that it is thick, But I dare not but walk daintily on it. For my freely expressing myself thus, I have reason, I have good ground. Alas for the men of this time! Why are they such cobras and efts? Look at that rugged and stony field; - Luxuriantly rises in it the springing grain! But Heaven moves and shakes me, As if it could not overcome me. They sought me at first to be a pattern to them, Eagerly as if they could not get me. Now they regard me with great animosity, And will not use my strength. My heart with its sorrow, Feels as if it were tied and bound by something. This government of the present time, — How oppressive it is! The flames, when they are blazing, May

still perhaps be extinguished; But the majestic honoured capital of Zhou, Is being destroyed by Si of Bao. This issue is ever my anxious thought. Moreover, you have the embarrassment of soaking rain. Your carriage is loaded, And if you throw away your wheel-aids, Your load will be overturned, And you will be crying, 'O sir, help me!' If you do throw away your wheel-aids, Which give asistance to the spokes; And if you constantly look after the driver, You will not overturn your load. And in the end will get over the most difficult places; But you have not thought of this. The fish are in the pond, But they cannot enjoy themselves. Although they dive to the bottom, They are very clearly seen. My sorrow heart is deeply pained, When I think of the oppression in the kingdom. They have their good spirits, And their fine viands along with them. They assemble their neighbours. And their relatives are full of their praise. When I think of my solitariness, My sorrowing heart is full of distress. Mean-like, those have their houses; Abjects, they will have their moluments. But the people now have no maintenance. For Heaven is pounding them with its calamities, The rich may get through, But alas for the helpless and solitary!

#### 193. SHI YUE ZLJIAO

At the conjunction of the sun and moon in the tenth month, On the first day of the moon, which was Xin-mao, The sun was eclipsed, A thing of very evil omen. Then the moon became small. And now the sun became small. Henceforth the lower people, Will be in a very deplorable case. The sun and moon announce evil, Not keeping to their proper paths. All through the kingdom there is no proper government, Because the good are not employed. For the moon to be eclipsed, Is but an ordinary matter. Now that the sun has been eclipsed, How bad it is! Grandly flashes the lightning of the thunder; There is a want of rest, a want of good. The streams all bubble up and overflow. The crags on the hill-tops fall down. High banks become valleys; Deep valleys become hills. Alas for the men of this time! How does the king not stop these things? Huang-fu is the president; Fan is the minister of instruction; Jia-bo is the chief administrator; Zhong-yun is the chief cook; Zou is the recorder of the interior; Jue is master of the house; Yu is captain of the guards; And the beautiful wife blazes, now in possession of her place. This Huang-fu, Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season. But why does he call us to action, Without coming and consulting with us? He has removed our walls and roofs, And our fields are all either a marsh or a moor. He says, 'I am not injuring you; The laws require that thus it should be?" Huang-fu is very wise; He has built a great city for himself in Xiang. He chose three men as his ministers. All of them indeed of great wealth. He could not bring himself to leave a single minister, Who might guard our king. He also selected those who had chariots and horses, To go and reside in Xiang.' I have exerted myself to discharge my service, And do not dare to make a report of my toils. Without crime or offense of any kind, Slanderous mouths are loud against me. But the calamities of the lower people, Do not come down from Heaven. A multitide of fair words, and hatred behind the back, The earnest, strong pursuit of this is from men. Distant far is my village, And my dissatisfaction is great. In other quarters there is ease, And I dwell here alone and sorrowful. Every body is going into retirement, And I alone dare not seek rest. The ordinances of Heaven are inexplicable. But I will not dare to follow my friends and leave my post.

# 194. YU WU ZHENG

Great and wide Heaven, How is it you have contracted your kindness, Sending down death and famine, Destroying all through the kingdom?Compassionate Heaven, arrayed in terrors, How is it you exercise no forethought, no care? Let alone the criminals:- They have suffered for their offences; But those who have no crime, Are indiscriminately involved in ruin. The honoured House of Zhou is nearly extinguished, And there is no means of stopping or settling the troubles. The Heads of the officers have left their places, And no one knows my toil. The three high ministers, and other great officers. Are unwilling to attend to their duties early and late. The lords of the various States, Are unwilling to appear at court morning and evening. If indeed he would turn to good, But on the contrary he proceeds to greater evil. How is it, O great Heaven, That he will not hearken to the justest words? He is like a man going astray, Who knows not where he will proceed to. All ve officers. Let each of you reverently attend to his duties. How do ye not stand in awe of one another? Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven. War has done its work, but he withdraws not from evil; Famine has done its work, but he goes not on to good; So that I, a mere groom of the chambers, Am full of grief and in pain daily. All ye officers, Ye are unwilling to declare the truth to him. When you hear a question, you simply answer it. And when slander touches you you withdraw. Alas that right words cannot be spoken, Which come not from the tongue only! The speakers of them are sure to suffer. Well is it for the words that can be spoken! The artful speech flows like a stream, And the speakers dwell at ease in prosperity. It may be said about taking office, That

it is full of hazard and peril. By advice that he says cannot be followed, You offend against the Son of Heaven. By advice that he says will be followed, You excite the resentment of your friends. I say to you, 'Remove to the royal capital,' And ye say that you have not got houses there. Painful are my inmost thoughts, and I weep blood; — Every word I speak makes me hated; But when you formerly left to reside elsewhere, Who was it that made houses for you?

# DECADE OF XIAO MIN

195. XIAO MIN

The angry terrors of Compassionate Heaven, Extend through this lower world; The king's counsels and plans are crooked and bad; — When will he stop in the course? Counsels which are good he will not follow. And those which are not good he employs, When I look at his counsels and plans, I am greatly pained. Now they agree, and now they defame one another; — The case is greatly to be deplored. If a counsel be good, They all are found opposing it. If a counsel be bad, They all are found according with it. When I look at such counsels and plans, What will they come to? Our tortoises are wearied out. And will not tell us anything about the plans. The counsellors are very many, But on that account nothing is accomplished. The speakers fill the court, But who dares to take any responsibility on himself? We are as if we consulted about a journey without taking a step in advance, And therefore did not get on on the road. Alas! our formers of plans, Do not take the ancients for their pattern, And do not regulate them by great principles. They only hearken to shallow words, And quarrel about shallow words, They are like one taking counsel with wayfarers about building a house. Which will consequently never come to completion. Although the kingdom be unsettled. There are some who are wise, and others who are not. Although the people may not be numerous, Some have perspicacity, some have counsel, Some have gravity, and some have orderliness. But we are going on like the stream flowing from a spring, And will sink together in a common ruin. They dare not without weapons attack a tiger; They dare not without a boat cross the He. They know one thing, But they only know that one. We should be apprehensive and careful. As if we were on the brink of a deep gulf, As if we were treading on thin ice.

#### 196. XIAO WAN

Small is the cooing dove, But it flies aloft up to heaven. My heart is wounded with sorrow, And I think of our forefathers. When the dawn is breaking, and I cannot sleep, The thoughts in my breast are of our parents. Men who are grave and wise. Though they drink, are mild and masters of themselves: But those who are benighted and ignorant, Are devoted to drink, and more so daily. Be careful, each of you, of your deportment; - What Heaven confers, when once lost, is not regained. In the midst of the plain there is pulse, And the common people gather it. The mulberry insect has young ones, And the sphex carries them away. Teach and train your sons, And they will become good as you are. Look at the wagtail, Flying, and at the same time twittering. My days are advancing; Your months are going on. Rising early and going to sleep late, Do not disgrace those who gave you birth. The greenbeaks come and go, Pecking up grain about the stack-yard. Alas for the distressed and solitary, Deemed fit inmates for the prisons! With a handful of grain I go out and divine, How I may be able to become good. We must be mild, and humble, As if we were perched on trees. We must be anxious and careful, As if we were on the brink of a valley. We must be apprehensive and cautious, As if we were treading upon thin ice.

# 197. XIAO BIAN

With flapping wings the crows, Come back, flying all in a flock. Other people all are happy, And I only am full of misery. What is my offence against Heaven? What is my crime? My heart is sad; — What is to be done? The way to Zhou should be level and easy, But it is all overgrown with rank grass. My heart is wounded with sorrow. And I think till I feel as if pounded all over. I lie down undressed, and sigh continually; Through my grief I am growing old. My heart is sad; — It puts me in pain like a headache. Even the mulberry trees and the Zi, Must be regarded with reverence: But no one is to be looked up to like a father; No one is to be depended on like a mother. Have I not a connection with the hairs of my father? Did I not dwell in the womb of my mother? O Heaven who gave me birth! How was it at such an inauspicious time? Luxuriant grow those willows, And the cicadas on them go hui-hui. Deep looks the pool, And abundantly grow the rushes and reeds about it, But I am like a boat adrift, Where it will go you know not. My heart is sad; - I have not leisure to lie down even undressed. The stag is running away, But his legs move slowly. The pheasant crows in the morning. Seeking his mate. Lam like a ruined tree. Stript by disease of all its branches. My heart is sad; - How is it that no one knows me? Look at the hare seeking protection; - Some one will step in before and save it. One the road there is a dead man; Some one will bury him. But such is the heart of our sovereign, That there is nothing he cannot bear to do. My

heart is sad, So that my tears are falling down. Our sovereign believes slanders, As readily as he joins in the pledge cup. Our sovereign is unkind, And does not leisurely examine into things. The tree-fellers follow the lean of the tree; The faggot-leavers follow the direction of the grain; But he lets alone the guilty, And imputes guilt to me. There is nothing higher than a mountain; There is nothing deeper than a great spring. Our sovereign should not lightly utter his words, Lest an ear be laid close to the wall. Do not approach my dam; Do not remove my basket. My person is rejected; — Of what use is it to care for what may come after?

#### 198. OIAO YAN

O vast and distant Heaven, Who art called our parent, That without crime or offence. I should suffer from disorders thus great! The terrors of great Heaven are excessive, But indeed I have committed no crime. The terrors of great Heaven are very excessive, But indeed I have committed no offence. Disorder then comes to the birth, When the first untruth is received. Its further increase, Is from our sovereign's believing the slanderers. If he were to be angry with them, The disorder would probably quickly be abated: If he were to show his joy in the good, The disorder would probably quickly cease. Our sovereign makes frequent covenants, And the disorders are thereby increased. He believes the scoundrels, And the disorders thereby grow into oppression. Their words are very sweet, And the disorders thereby advance. They do not discharge their duties, But only create distress to the king. Very grand is the ancestral temple: — A true sovereign made it. Wisely arranged are the great plans; — Sages determined them. What other men have in their minds, I can measure by reflection. Swiftly runs the crafty hare, But it is caught by the hound. Trees of soft wood, easily wrought, Are planted by wise men. The words of way-farers that come and go, Can be discriminated by the mind. Their easy and grand words, Only issue from their mouths. Their artful words, like organtongues, Show how unblushing are their faces. Who are they? They are like men who dwell on the banks of the river; And they have neither strenghth nor courage, While yet they rear the steps of disorder! With legs ulcerated and swollen, What courage can you have? You form plans great and many, But your followers about you are few.

#### 199. HE REN SI

What man was that? His mind is full of dangerous devices. Why did he approach my dam, Without entering my gate? Of whom is he a follower? I venture to say, —of Bao. Those two follow each other in their goings; — Which of them wrought me this calamity? Why came he to my dam, Without entering to condole with me? Our former relations were different from the present, When he will have nothing to do with me. What man was it? Why came he to the path inside my gate? I heard his voice, But did not see his person. He is not ashamed before men; He does not stand in awe of Heaven. What man was it? He is like a violent wind. Why came he not from the north? Or why not from the south? Why did he approach my dam, Doing nothing but perturb my mind? You go along slowly, And yet you have not leisure to stop! You go along rapidly, And yet you have leisure to grease your wheels! If you would come to me but once! — Why am I kept in a state of expectation? If on your return you entered my house, My heart would be relieved. When on your return you do not enter it, It is hard to understand your denial. If you would come to me but once, It would set me at rest. The elder of us blew the porcelain whistle, And the younger blew the bamboo flute; I was as if strung on the same string with you. If indeed you do not understand me, Here are the three creatures for sacrifice, And I will take an oath to you. If you were an imp or a water-bow, You could not be got at. But when one with face and eyes stands opposite to another, The man can be seen through and through. I have made this good song, To probe to the utmost your veerings and turnings.

# 200. XIANG BO

A few elegant lines, May be made out to be shell-embroidery. Those slanderers, Have gone to great excess. A few diverging points, May be made out to be the southern Sieve. Those slanderers! Who devised their schemes for them? With babbling mouths you go about, Scheming and wishing to slander others, Butbe careful of your words; — People will yet say that you are untruthful. Clever you are, and ever changing. In your schemes and wishes to slander. They receive it now indeed, But by and by it will turn to your own hurt. The proud are delighted, And the troubled are in sorrow. O azure Heaven! O azure Heaven! Look on those proud men, Pity those troubled. Those slanderers! Who devised their schemes for them? I would take those slanderers, And throw them to wolves and tigers. If these refused to devour them, I would cast them into the north. If the north refused to receive them, I would throw them into the hands of great Heaven. The way through the willow garden, Lies near the acred height. I, the eunuch Meng-zi, Have made this poem. All ye officers, Reverently hearken to it.

#### 201 GU FENO

Gently blows the east wind; — The wind followed by the rain. In the time of fear and dread, It was all I and you. In your time of rest and pleasure, You have turned and cast me off. Gently blows the east wind; — And the wind is followed by the tornado. In the time of fear and dread, You placed me in your breast. In your time of rest and pleasure, You have cast me off like an abandoned thing. Gently blows the east wind; — And on the rock-covered tops of the hills. There is no grass which is not dying, No tree which is not withering. You forget my great virtues, And think of my small faults.

#### 202. LIAO E

Long and large grows the e; — It is not the e but the hao. Alas! alas! my parents, With what toil ye gave me birth! Long and large grows the e; — It is not the e but the wei. Alas! alas! my parents, With what toil and suffering ye gave me birth! When the pitcher is exhausted, It is the shame of the jar. Than to live an orphan, It would be better to have been long dead. Fatherless, who is there to rely on? Motherless, who is there to depend on? When I go abroad, I carry my grief with me; When I come home. I have no one to go to. O my father, who begat me! O my mother, who nourished me! Ye indulged me, ye fed me, Ye held me up, ye supported me, Ye looked after me, ye never left me, Out and in ye bore me in your arms. If I would return your kindness, It is like great Heaven, illimitable, Cold and bleak is the Southern hill; The rushing wind is very fierce. People all are happy; — Why am I alone thus miserable? The Southern hill is very steep; The rushing wind is blustering. People all are happy; — I alone have been unable to finish my duty.

#### 203. DA DONG

Well loaded with millet were the dishes, And long and curved were spoons of thorn-wood. The way to Zhou was like a whetstone, And straight as an arrow. So the officers trod it, And the common people looked on it. When I look back and think of it, My tears run down in streams. In the States of the east, large and small, The looms are empty. Thin shoes of dolichos fibre, Are made to serve to walk on the hoar-frost. Slight and elegant gentlemen, Walk along that road to Zhou. Their going and coming, Makes my heart ache. Ye cold waters. issuing variously from the spring, Do not soak the firewood I have cut. Sorrowful I awake and sigh; — Alas for us toiled people! The firewood has been cut; — Would that it were conveyed home! Alas for us the toiled people! Would that we could have rest! The sons of the east, Are only summoned to service without encouragement. While the sons of the west Shine in splendid dresses, he sons of boatmen. Have furs of the bear and grisly bear. The sons of the poorest families, Form the officers in public employment. If we present them with spirits, They do not look on them as liquor. If we give them long girdle-pendants with their stones, They do not think them long enough. There is the milky way in heaven, Which looks down on us in light: And the three stars together are the Weaving Sisters, Passing in a day through seven stages of the sky. Although they go through their seven stages, They complete no bright work for us. Brilliant shine the Draught Oxen, But they do not serve to draw our carts. In the east there is Lucifer; In the west there is Hesperus; Long and curved is the Rabbit Net of the sky; — But they only occupy their places. In the south is the Sieve, But it is of no use to sift. In the north is the Ladle, But it lades out no liquor. In the south is the Sieve, Idly showing its mouth. In the north is the Ladle, Raising its handle in the west.

# 204. SI YUE

In the fourth month comes summer, And in the sixth month the heat begins to decrease. Were not my forefathers men? How can they endure that I should be thus? The autumn days become cold, And the plants all decay. Amid such distress of disorder and dispersion, Whither can I betake myself? The winter days are very fierce, And the storm blows in rapid gusts. People all are happy; Why do I alone suffer this misery? On the mountain are fine trees, — Chestnut trees and plum trees. Of their degenerating into ravening thieves, I know not the evil cause. Look at the water of that spring, Sometimes clear, sometimes muddy. I am every day coming into contact with misfortune; How can I be happy? Grandly flow the Jiang and the Han, Regulators of the southern States. Worn out as I am with service. He vet takes no notice of me. I am not an eagle nor a hawk. Which flies aloft to heaven. I am not a sturgeon, large or small, Which can dive and hide in the deep. On the hills are the turtle-foot and thorn ferns; In the marshes are the medlar and the vi. I, an officer, have made this song, To make known my plaint.

#### DECADE OF BEI SHAN 205. BEI SHAN

I ascend that northern hill, And gather the medlars. An officer, strong and vigorous, Morning and evening I am engaged in service. The king's business is not to be slackly performed; And my parents are left in sorrow. Under the wide heaven, All is the king's land. Within the sea-boundaries of

the land, All are the king's servants. His great officers are unfair, — Making me serve thus as if I alone were worthy. My four horses never halt; The king's business allows no rest. They praise me as not yet old; They think few like me in vigour. While the backbone retains its strength, I must plan and labour in all parts of the kingdom. Some enjoy their ease and rest, And some are worn out in the service of the State; Some rest and loll upon their couches, And some never cease marching about. Some never hear a sound, And some are cruelly toiled; Some lazily roost, on their backs looking up, And some are all-bustled in the service of the king. Some indulge long in pleasure and drinking, And some are miserable, in apprehension of blame; Some, at home and abroad, pass critical remarks, And some have everything to do.

# 206. WU JIANG DA CHE

Do not push forward a waggon; — You will only raise the dust about yourself. Do not think of all your anxieties; — You will only make yourself ill. Do not push forward a waggon; — The dust will only blind you. Do not think of all your anxieties; — You will not emerge from imperfect views. Do not push forward a waggon; — The dust will only becloud you. Do not think of all your anxieties; — You will only weigh yourself down.

#### 207, XIAO MING

O bright and high Heaven, Who enlightenest and rulest this lower world! I marched on this expedition to the west, As far as this wilderness of Oiu. From the first day of the second month, I have passed through the cold and the heat. My heart is sad; The poison of my lot is too bitter. I think of those at court in their offices, And my tears flow down like rain. Do I not wish to return? But I fear the net for crime. Formerly, when I set out, The sun and moon had renewed the year. When shall I return? The year is now late. I think how I am alone. While the affairs devolving on me are very many. My heart is sad; And I am toiled without any leisure. I think of those at court in their offices, Looking back to them with fond regard. Do I not wish to return? But I am afraid of reproof and anger. Formerly, when I set out, The sun and moon were giving a mild warmth. When shall I return? The affairs of government are become more urgent. It is late in the year, And we are gathering the southernwood, and reaping the beans. My heart is sad; I give myself nothing but distress. When I think of those at court in their offices, I rise and pass the night outside. Do I not wish to return? But I am afraid of the vicissitudes of things. Ah! ye gentlemen! Do not reckon on your rest being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices. Associating with the correct and upright. So shall the Spirits hearken to you, And give you good. Ah! ye gentlemen! Do not reckon on your repose being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices, Loving the correct and upright. So shall the Spirits hearken to you, And give you large measures of bright happiness.

# 208. GU ZHONG

His bells ring out jiang-jiang, While the waters of the Huai go sweeping on; Sad is my heart and wouded. The virtuous sovereigns of old, — In my heart, indeed, I cannot forget them. His drums ring out jie-jie, While the waters of the Huai rush along; My heart is sad and grieved. Of the virtuous sovereigns of old, The virtue was without flaw. His bells ring out, his large drums resound, There are the three islands in the Huai; Sad is my heart and moved. Of the virtuous sovereigns of old, The virtue was different from this. His bells ring out qin-qin; His lutes, large and small, give their notes; The tones of his organs and sounding stones are in unison. They sing the Ya and the Nan, Dancing to their flutes without

# 209. CHU CI

Thick grew the tribulus on the ground, But they cleared away its thorny bushes. Why did they this of old? That we might plant our millet and sacrificial millet; That our millet might be abundant, And our sacrificial millet luxuriant. When our barns are full, And our stacks can be counted by tens of myriads, We proceed to make spirits and prepare viands, For offerings and sacrifice; We seat the representatives of the dead, and urge them to eat: - Thus seeking to increase our bright happiness. With correct and reverent deportment, The oxen and sheep all pure, We proceed to the winter and autumnal sacrifices. Some flav the victims: some boil their flesh; Some arrange the meat; some adjust the pieces of it. The priest sacrifices inside the temple gate, And all the service is complete and brilliant. Grandly come our progenitors; Their Spirits happily enjoy the offerings; Their filial descendent receives blessing:— They will reward him with great happiness, With myriads of years, life without end. They attend to the furnaces with reverence; They prepare the trays, which are very large; — Some for the roast meat; some for the broiled. Wives presiding are still and reverent, Preparing the numerous smaller dishes. The guests and visitors, Present the cup, and drink all round. Every form is according to rule; Every smile and word are as they should be. The Spirits

quietly come, And respond with great blessings; - Myriads of years as the fitting reward. We are very much exhausted, And have performed every ceremony without error. The able priest announces the will of the Spirits, And goes to the filial descendent to convey it. 'Fragrant has been your filial sacrifice, And the Spirits have enjoyed your spirits and viands. They confer upon you a hundred blessings; Each as it is desired, each as sure as law. You have been exact and expeditions: You have been correct and careful: They will ever confer on you the choicest favours, In myriads and tens of myriads.' The ceremonies having thus been completed, And the bells and drums having given their warning, The filial descendent goes to his place, And the able priest makes his announcement, 'The Spirits have drunk to the full.' The great representative of the dead then rises. And the bells and drums escort his withdrawal, On which the Spirits tranquilly return to their place. All the servants, and the presiding wives, Remove the trays and dishes without delay. The descendant's uncles and cousins, All repair to the private feast.

#### 210 XIN NAN SHAN

Yes, all about that southern hill, Was made manageable by Yu. Its plains and marshes being opened up, It was made into fields by the distant descendant. We define their boundaries, we form their smaller divisions, And make the acres lie, here to the south, there to the east. The heavens over head are one arch of clouds, Snowing in multitudinous flakes. There is superadded the drizzling rain. When the land has received the moistening, Soaking influence abundantly, It produces all our kinds of grain. The boundaries and smaller divisions are nicely adjusted, And the millets yield abundant crops, The harvest of the distant descendant. We proceed to make therewith spirits and food, To supply our representatives of the dead, and our guests; - To obtain long life, extending over myriads of years. In the midst of the fields are the huts, And along the bounding divisions are gourds. The fruits is sliced and pickled, To be presented to our great ancestors, That their distant descendant may have long life, And receive the blessing of Heaven. We sacrifice first with pure spirits, And then follow with a red bull; Offering them to our ancestors. Our lord holds the knife with tinkling bells, To lay open the hair of the victim. And takes its flesh and fat. Then we present, then we offer; All round the fragrance is diffused. Complete and brilliant is the sacrificial service; Grandly come our ancestors. They will reward their descendant with great blessing, - Long life, years without end.

# 211. FU TIAN

Bright are those extensive fields, A tenth of whose produce is annually levied. I take the old stores, And with them feed the husbandmen, From of old we have had good years, And now I go to the south-lying acres, Where some are weeding, and some gather the earth about the roots. The millets look luxuriant; And in a spacious resting place, I collect and encourage the men of greater promise. With my vessels full of bright millet, And my pure victim-rams, We sacrificed to the Spirits of the land, and to those of the four quarters. That my fields are in such good condition, Is matter of joy to my husbandmen. With lutes, and with drums beating, We will invoke the Father of husbandry, And pray for sweet rain, To increase the produce of our millets, And to bless my men and their wives. The distant descendant comes. When their wives and children, Are bringing food to those at work in the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields also comes, and is glad. He takes of the food on the left and the right, And tastes whether it be good or not. The grain is well cultivated, all the acres over; Good will it be and abundant. The distant descendant has no displacency; The husbandmen are encouraged to diligence. The crops of the distant descendant, Look thick as thatch, and swelling like a carriage cover. The stacks of the distant descendant, Will stand like islands and mounds. He will seek for thousands of granaries; He will seek for myriads of carts. The millets, the paddy, and the maize, Will awake the joy of the husbandmen; And they will say, May he be rewarded with great happiness. With myriads of years, life without end!

# 212. DA TIAN

Large are the fields, and various is the work to be done. Having selected the seed, and looked after the implements, So that all preparations have been made for our labour, We take our sharp plough-shares, And commence on the south-lying acres. We sow all the kinds of grain, Which grow up straight and large, So that the wish of the distant descendant is satisfied. It ears, and the fruit lies soft in its sheath; It hardens and is of good quality; There is no wolf's-tail grass, nor darnel. We remove the insects that eat the heart and the leaf, And those that eat the roots and the joints. So that they shall not hurt the young plants of our fields. May the Spirit, the Father of husbandry, Lay hold of them, and put them in the blazing fire! The clouds form in dense masses, And the rain comes down slowly. May it rain first on our public fields, And then come to our private! There shall be young grain unreaped, And here some sheaves ungathered; There shall be

handfuls left on the ground, And here ears untouched: — The distant descendant will come, When their wives and children, Are bringing food to those at work on the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields also will come and be glad. They will come and offer pure sacrifices to the Spirits of the four quarters, With their preparations of millet: Thus offering, thus sacrificing, Thus increasing our bright happiness.

#### 213. ZHAN BI LUO YI

Look at the Luo, With its waters broad and deep. Thither has come our lord, In whom all happiness and dignity are concentrated. Red are his madder-dyed knee covers, In which he might raise his six armies. Look at the Luo, With its waters broad and deep. Thither has our lord come, The gems at his scabbard 's mouth all-gleaming. May our lord live myriads of years, Preserving his House! Look at the Luo, With its waters broad and deep. Thither has our lord come, In whom all happiness and dignities are united. May our lord live myriads of years, Preserving his clans and States!

#### 214 CHANG CHANG ZHE HUA

Splendid are the flowers, And the leaves are luxuriant. I see these princes, And my heart is entirely satisfied. My heart is entirely satisfied. Right is it they should have praise and prosperity! Splendid are the flowers, And deep is their yellow. I see these princes, Full of all elegance. They are full of all elegance; — Right is it they should have every blessing! Splendid are the flowers, Some yellow, some white. I see these princes, Drawn by their four white steeds, black-maned. They are drawn by their four white steeds, black-maned. And the six reins are glossy! To the left they move, to the left, And they execute the movement properly. To the right they move, to the right, And they execute the movement properly. They are possessed of the ability, And right is it their movements should indicate it.

# DECADE OF SANG HU

215. SANG HU

They flit about, the green-beaks, With their variegated wings. To be rejoiced in are these princes! May they receive the blessing of Heaven! They flit about, the green-beaks, With their glancing necks. To be rejoiced in are these princes! They are screens to all the States. These screens, these buttresses, — All the chiefs will take them as a pattern. Are they not self-restrained? Are they not careful? Will they not receive much happiness? How long is that cup of rhinoceros' horn! Good are the spirits in it and soft. While it passes round, they show no pride: All blessing must come to seek them.

# 216. YUAN YANG

The Yellow ducks fly about, And are taken with hand-nets and spread-nets. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, Enjoying the happiness and wealth which are his due! The Yellow ducks are on the dam, With their left wings gathered up. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, Enjoying the happiness and wealth which are his due! The teams of steeds are in the stable, Fed with forage and grain. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, Sustained in his happiness and wealth! The teams of steeds are in the stable, Fed with grain and forage. May our sovereign live for ten thousand years, In the comfort of his happiness and wealth!

# 217. KUI BIAN

Those in the leather caps, - Who are they? Since your spirits are so good, And your viands are so fine, How can they be strangers? They are your brethren, and no others. They are like the mistletoe and the dodder. Growing over the pine and the cypress. While they do not see you, O king, Their sorrowful hearts are all-unsettled. When they do see you, They begin to be happy and glad. Those in the leather caps, Who are they? Since your spirits are so good, And your viands are all of the season. How can they be strangers? They are your brethren, all assembled. They are like the mistletoe and the dodder. Growing over the pine. While they do not see you, O king, Their hearts are full of sorrow. When they do see you, They begin to feel that things are right. There are those in the leather caps, Which they wear on their heads. Since your spirits are so good, And your viands are solabundant, How can they be strangers? They are your brethren, and your relatives by affinity. When there is going to be a fall of snow, There is first the descent of sleet. Death and ruin may come any day, It is not long that you will see one another. Rejoice over your spirits for the present evening; O king, enjoy the

# 218. CHE XIA

Jian-guan went the axle ends of my carriage, As I thought of the young beauty, and went to fetch her. It was not that I was hungry or thirsty, But I longed for one of such virtuous fame to come and be with me. Although no good friends be with us, We will feast and be glad. Dense is that forest in the plain, And there sit the long-tailed pheasants. In her proper season that well-grown lady, With her admirable virtue, is come to instruct me. We will feast, and I will praise her. 'I love you,

and will never be weary of you.' Although I have no good spirits, We will drink what I have, and perhaps be satisfied. Although I have no good viands, We will eat what I have, and perhaps be satisfied. Although I have no virtue to impart to you, We will sing and dance. I ascend that lofty ridge, And split the branches of the oaks for firewood. I split the branches of the oaks for firewood is seldom to be seen, And my whole heart is satisfied. The high hill is looked up to; The great road is easy to be travelled on. My four steeds advanced without stopping; The six reins made music in my hands like lutestrings. I see you my bride, To the comfort of my heart.

#### 219 OING YING

They buzz about, the blue flies, Lighting on the fences. O happy and courteous sovereign, Do not believe slanderous speeches. They buzz about, the blue flies, Lighting on the jujube trees. The slanderous observe no limits, And throw the whole kingdom into confusion. They buzz about, the blue flies, Lighting on the hazel trees. The slanderous observe no limits, And set us two at variance

#### 220. BIN ZHI CHU YAN

When the guests first approach the mats, They take their places on the left and the right in an orderly manner. The dishes of bamboo and wood are arranged in rows, With the sauces and kernels displayed in them. The spirits are mild and good, And they drink, all equally reverent. The bells and drums are properly arranged: And they raise their pledgecups with order and ease. Then the great target is set up; The bows and arrows are made ready for the shooting; The archers are matched in classes. 'Show your skill in shooting,' it is said. 'I shall hit that mark,' it is responded, 'And pray you to drink the cup.' The dancers move with their flutes to the notes of the organ and drum, While all the instruments perform in harmony. All this is done to please the meritorious ancestors, Along with the observance of all ceremonies. When all the ceremonies have been performed, Grandly and fully, 'We confer on you great blessings, 'says the representative of the dead, 'And may your descendants also be happy!' They are happy and delighted. And each of them exerts his ability. A guest draws the spirits, An attendant enters again, with a cup, And fills it, - the cup of rest. Thus are performed your seasonal ceremonies. When the guests first approach the mats, All harmonies are they and reverent. Before they have drunk too much, Their deportment is carefully observant of propriety; But when they have drunk too much, Their deportment becomes light and frivolous:— They leave their seats, and go elsewhere, They keep dancing and capering. Before they have drunk too much, Their deportment is cautious and grave: - But when they have drunk too much, Their deportment becomes indecent and rude: Thus when they have too much, They lose all sense of orderliness. When the guests have drunk too much, They shout out and brawl. They disorder the dishes; They keep dancing in a fantastic manner. Thus when they have drunk too much, They become insensible of their errors. With their caps on one side, and like to fall off, They keep dancing the will not stop. If, when they have drunk too much, they went out, Both they and their host would be happy; But remaining after they are drunk, Is what is called doing injury to virtue. Drinking is a good institution, Only when there is good deportment in it. On every occasion of drinking, Some get drunk, and some do not. An inspector is appointed, With a recorder to assist him. But those drunkards, in their vileness, Are shamed of those who do not get drunk. These have no opportunity to speak, And prevent the others from proceeding to such great abandonment. They might say, ' Do not speak what you ought not to speak; Do not say what you have no occasion to say, If you speak, drunk as you are, We will make you produce a ram without horns. With three cups you lose your memories; - How dare you go

# 221. YU ZAO

The fishes are there, there among the pondweed, Showing their large heads. The king is here, here in Hao, At ease and happy, while he drinks. The fishes are there, there among the pondweed, Showing their long tails. The king is here, here in Hao, Drinking, happy and at ease. The fishes are there, there among the pondweed, Sheltered by the rushes. The king is here, here in Hao, Dwelling in tranquillity.

# 222. CAI SHU

They gather the beans, they gather the beans, In their baskets, square and round. The princes are coming to court, And what gifts have I to give them? Although I have none to give them, There are the state carriages and their teams. What more have I to give them? The dark-coloured upper robes with the dragon, And the lower garments with the hatchet. Right up bubbles the water from the spring, And they gather the cress about it. The princes are coming to court, And I see their dragon flags; — Their dragon flags moving in the wind, While the sound of their bells comes hui-hui. There are the two outside horses, there are the whole teams. — Proofs that

the princes are come. Their red covers on their knees, And their buskins below, There is no remissness in their demeanour; — Of such should the son of Heaven approve. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And the son of Heaven gives them the badges of his favour. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And their happiness and dignities are renewed and extended. On the branches of the oaks, How abundant are the leaves! To be rejoiced in are the princes, Guardians of the regions of the son of Heaven. To be rejoiced in are the princes, Around whom all the blessings collect. Discriminating and able are their attendants, Who also have followed them hither. It floats about, the boat of willow wood, Fastened by the band of the rope. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And theson of Heaven scans their merits. To be rejoiced in are the princes, And their happiness and dignities are enlarged. How joyous, how happy, Is their coming here!

#### 223. JIAO GONG

Well fashioned is the bow adorned with horn, And swift is its recoil. Brothers and relatives by affinity, Should not be treated distantly. When you keep yours at a distance, The people all do the same with theirs. What you teach, The people all imitate. Those brothers who are good, Continue to display much generous feeling; But between brothers who are not good, Their intercourse is marked by troubles. People who have no conscience, Repine against each other, each one holding his own point of view; One gets a place, and shows no humility — Till they all come to ruin. An old horse, notwithstanding, thinks himself a colt, And has no regard to the future. It is like craving a superabundance of food, And an excess of drink. Do not teach a monkey to climb trees; — You act like adding mud to one in the mud. If the sovereign have good ways, The small people will accord with them. The snow may have fallen abundantly, But when it feels the sun's heat, it dissolves. You are not willing to discountenance those parties, And so they become more troublesome and arrogant. The snow may have fallen largely, But when it feels the sun's heat, it flows away. They become like the Man or the Mao; - This is what make me sad.

#### 224. WAN LIU

There is a luxuriant willow tree; — Who would not wish to rest under it? But this god is very changeable; — Do not approach him. If I were to try and order his affairs, His demands afterwards would be extreme. There is a luxuriant willow tree; — Who would not wish to take shelter under it? But this god is very changeable, Do not get yourself into trouble with him. If I were to try and order his affairs, His demands on me afterwards would be beyond measure. There is a bird flying high, Even up to heaven. The heart of that man, — To what will it proceed? Why should I try to order his affairs? I should only find myself in pitiable misery.

# DECADE OF DU REN SHI

225. DU REN SHI

Those officers of the old capital, With their fox-furs so yellow, Their deportment unvaryingly correct, And their speech full of elegance! -If we could go back to the old Zhou, They would be admiringly looked up by all the people. Those officers of the old capital, With their hats of Tai leaves and small black caps! — Those ladies of noble Houses. With their hair so thick and straight! — I do not see them now, And my heart is dissatisfied. Those officers of the old capital, With their ear-plugs of xiu-stones! — Those ladies of noble Houses, Each fit to be called a Yin or a Ji! — I do not see them now, And my heart grieves with indissoluble sorrow. Those officers of the old capital, With their girdles hanging elegantly down! Those ladies of great Houses, With their side hair curving up like a scorpion's tail! — I do not see them now, If I could, I would walk along after them. Not that they purposely let their girdles hang down; — The girdles were naturally long. Not that they gave their hair that curve; - The hair had a natural curl. I do not see them now, And how do I long for them!

# 226. CAI LU

All the morning I gather the king-grass, And do not collect enough to fill my hands. My hair is in a wisp; — I will go home and wash it. All the morning I gather the indigo plant, And do not collect enough to fill my apron. Five days was the time agreed on; — It is the sixth, and I do not see him. When he went a hunting, I put the bow in its case for him. When he went to fish, I arranged his line for him. What did he take in angling? Bream and tench; — Bream and tench, While people looked on to see.

# 227. SHU MIAO

Tall and strong grows the young millet, Fattened by the genial rains. Very long was our journey to the south, But the earl of Zhou encouraged and cheered us. We carried our burdens; we pushed along our barrows; We drove our waggons; we led our oxen. When our expedition was ccomplished, We knew we should return. We went along on foot; we rode in our chariots; — Our whole host, and our

battalions. When our expedition was accomplished, We knew we should return home. Severe was the work at Su, But the earl of Zhou built the city. Majestic was the march of our host; — The earl of Zhou directed it. The plains and low lands were regulated; — The springs and streams were cleared. The earl of Zhou completed his work, And the heart of the king was at rest.

#### 228. XI SANG

In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful, And their leaves are luxuriant. When I see the princely men, How great is the pleasure! In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful, And their leaves are glossy. When I see the princely men, How can I be other than glad? In the low, wet grounds, the mulberry trees are beautiful, And their leaves are dark. When I see the princely men, Their virtuous fame draws them close to my heart. In my heart I love them, And why should I not say so? In the core of my heart I keep them, And never will forget them.

#### 229 BAIHUA

The fibres from the white flowered rush, Are bound with the white grass. This man's sending me away, Makes me dwell solitary. The light and brilliant clouds, Bedew the rush and the grass. The way of Heaven is hard and difficult; - This man does nto confirm to good principle. How the water from the pools flows away to north, Flooding the rice fields! I whistle and sing with wounded heart, Thinking of that great man. They gather firewood of branches of the mulberry trees. And I burn them only in a small furnace. That great man, Does indeed toil and trouble my heart. Their drums and bells are beaten in the palace, And their sound is heard without. All-sorrowful I think of him; - He thinks of me without any regard. The marabou is on the dam; The common crane is in the forest. That great man, Does indeed toil and trouble my heart. The Yellow ducks are on the dams, With their left wings gathered up. That man is bad, Ever varying in his conduct. How thin is that slab of stone! He that stands on it is low. That man's sending me away, Makes me full of affliction.

#### 230. MIAN MAN

There is that little oriole, Resting on a bend of the mound. The way is distant, And I am very much wearied. Give me drink, give me food; Inform me, teach me; Order one of the attending carriages, And tell them to carry me. There is that little oriole, Resting on a corner of the mound. It is not that I dare to shrink from the journey, But I am afraid of not being able to go on. Give me drink, give me food; Inform me, teach me; Order one of the attending carriages, And tell them to carry me. There is that little oriole, Resting on the side of the mound. It is not that I dare to shrink from the journey, But I am afraid of not getting to the end of it. Give me drink, give me food; Inform me, teach me; Order one of the attending carriages, And tell them to carry me.

# 231. HU YE

Of the gourd leaves, waving about, Some are taken and boiled; Then the superior man, from his spirits, Pours out a cup, and tastes it. There is but a single rabbit, Baked, or roasted. But the superior man, from his spirits, Fills the cup and presents it to his guests. There is but a single rabbit, Roasted, or broiled. But from the spirits of the superior man, His guests fill the cup, and present it to him. There is but a single rabbit, Roasted, or baked. But from the spirits of the superior man, His guests and he fill the cup and pledge one another.

# 232. JIAN JIAN ZHI SHI

Those frowning rocks, — How high they rise! Over such a distance of hills and streams, How toilsome is the march! The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east, Has not a morning's leisure. Those frowning rocks, — How they crown the heights! Over such a distance of hills and streams, When shall we have completed our march? The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east, Has no leisure to think how he will withdraw. There are swine, with their legs white, All wading through streams. The moon also is in the Hyades, Which will bring still greater rain. The warrior, in charge of the expedition to the east, Has no leisure to think of anything but this

# 233. TIAO ZHI HUA

The flowers of the bignonia, Are of a deep yellow. My heart is sad; I feel its wound. The flowers of the bignonia are gone, There are only its leaves all-green. If I had known it would be thus with me, I had better not have been born. The ewes have large heads; The Three stars are seen in the fish-trap. If some men can get enough to eat, Few can get their fill.

# 234. HE CAO BU HUANG

Every plant is yellow; Every day we march. Every man is moving about, Doing service in some quarter of the kingdom. Every plant is purple; Every man is torn from his wife. Alas for us employed on these expeditions! How are we alone dealt with as if we were not men? We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers, To be kept in these desolate wilds. Alas for us employed on these expeditions! Morning and night we have no leisure. The long-tailed foxes, May keep among the dark grass. And our box-carts, Keep moving along the great roads.

# SHI JING 3. GREATER ODES OF THE KINGDOM DECADE OF WEN WANG

235. WEN WANG

King Wen is on high; Oh! bright is he in heaven. Although Zhou was an old country, The favouring appointment lighted on it recently. Illustrious was the House of Zhou, And the appointment of God came at the proper season. King Wen ascends and descends. On the left and the right of God. Full of earnest activity was king Wen, And his fame is without end. The gifts of God to Zhou, Extend to the descendants of king Wen; - To the descendants of king Wen, In the direct line and the collateral branches for a hundred generations. All the officers of Zhou, Shall also be illustrious from age to age. They shall be illustrious from age to age, Zealously and reverently pursuing their plans. Admirable are the many officers, Born in this royal kingdom. The royal kingdom is able to produce them, - The suppporters of the House of Zhou. Numerous is the array of officers, And by them king Wen enjoys his repose. Profound was king Wen; Oh! continuous and bright was his feeling of reverence. Great is the appointment of Heaven! There were the descendants of the sovereigns of Shang; — The descendants of the sovereigns of Shang, Were in number more than hundreds of thousands; But when God gave the command, They became subject to Zhou. They became subject to Zhou. The appointment of Heaven is not constant. The officers of Yin, admirable and alert, Assist at the libations in our capital; - They assist at those libations, Always wearing the hatchets on their lower garment and their peculiar cap. O ye loyal ministers of the king, Ever think of your ancestor! Ever think of your ancestor, Cultivating your virtue, Always striving to accord with the will of Heaven. So shall you be seeking for much happiness. Before Yin lost the multitudes, Its kings were the assessors fo God. Look to Yin as a beacon; The great appointment is not easily preserved. The appointment is not easily preserved. Do not cause your own extinction. Display and make bright your righteousness and name, And look at the fate of Yin in the light of Heaven. The doings of High Heaven, Have neither sound nor smell. Take your pattern from king Wen, And the myriad regions will repose confidence in you.

# 236. DA MING

The illustration of illustrious virtue is required below, And the dread majesty is on high. Heaven is not readily to be relied on; It is not easy to be king. Yin's rightful heir to the heavenly seat, Was not permitted to possess the kingdom. Jin, the second of the princesses of Zhi, From the domain of Yin-shang, Came to be married to the prince of Zhou, And because his wife in his capital, Both she and king Ji, Were entirely virtuous. Then Da-ren became pregnant, And gave birth to our king Wen. This king Wen, Watchfully and reverently, With entire intelligence served God, And so secured the great blessing. His virtue was without deflection; And in consequence he received the allegiance of the States from all quarters. Heaven surveyed this lower world: And its appointment lighted on king Wen. In his early years, It made for him a mate; — On the north of the Qia; On the banks of the Wei. When king Wen would wive, There was the lady in a large State. In a large State was the lady, Like a fair denizen of Heaven. The ceremonies determined the auspiciousness of the union. And in person he met her on the Wei. Over it he made a bridge of boats; — The glory of the occasion was illustrious. The favouring appointment was from Heaven, Giving the throne to our king Wen, In the capital of Zhou. The lady-successor was from Xin, Its eldest daughter, who came to marry him. She was blessed to give birth to king Wu, Who was preserved, and helped, and received also the appointment, And in accordance with it smote the great Shang. The troops of Yin-shang, Were collected like a forest, And marshalled in the wilderness of Mu. We rose to the crisis; — 'God is with you,' said Shang-fu to the king, 'Have no doubts in your heart.' The wilderness of Mu spread out extensive; Bright shone the chariots of sandal; The teams of bays, black-maned and white-bellied, galloped along; The grand-master Shang-fu, Was like an eagle on the wing, Assisting king Wu, Who at one onset smote the great Shang. That morning's encounter was followed by a clear bright day.

# 237. MIAN

In long trains ever increasing grow the gourds. When our people first sprang, From the country about the Ju and the Qi, The ancient duke Tan-fu, Made for them kiln-like huts and caves, Ere they had yet any houses. The ancient duke Tan-fu, Came in the morning, galloping his horses, Along the banks of the western rivers, To the foot of mount Qi; And there, he and the lady Jiang, Came, and together looked out for a site on which to settle. The plain of Zhou looked beautiful and

rich, With its violets and sowthistles sweet as dumplings. There he began with consulting his followers; There he singed the tortoise-shell, and divined.

The responses were - there to stay, and then; And they proceeded there to build their houses. He encouraged the people and settled them; Here on the left, there on the right. He divided the ground into larger tracts and smaller portions; He dug the ditches; he defined the acres; From the west to the east. There was nothing which he did not take in hand. He called his superintendent of works; He called his minister of instruction; And charged them with the building of the houses. With the line they made everything straight; They bound the frame-boards tight, so that they should rise regularly. Uprose the ancestral temple in its solemn grandeur. Crowds brought the earth in baskets They threw it with shouts into the frames: They beat it with responsive blows; They pared the walls repeatedly, and they sounded strong. Five thousand cubits of them arose together, So that the roll of the great drum did not overpower the noise of the builders. They set up the gate of the enceinte; And the gate of the enceinte stood high. They set up the court gate; And the court gate stood grand. They reared the great altar to the Spirits of the land, From which all great movements should proceed. Thus though he could nto prevent the rage of his foes, He did not let fall his own fame. The oaks and the Yu were gradually thinned, And roads for travelling were opened. The hordes of the Hun disappeared, Startled and panting. The chiefs of Yu and Rui were brought to an agreement, By king Wen's stimulating their natural virtue. Then, I may say, some came to him, previously not knowing him; And some, drawn the last by the first; And some, drawn by his rapid success; Ans some, by his defence of the weak from insult.

#### 238 VII PI

Abundant is the growth of the yu and the pu, Supplying firewood; yea, stores of it. Elegant and dignified was our prince and king; On the right and the left they hastened to him. Elegant and dignified was our prince and king; On his left and his right they bore their half-mace libation-cups; — They bore their instruments with solemn gravity, As beseemed such eminent officers. They rush along, —those boats on the King. All the rowers labouring at their oars. The king of Zhou marched on, Followed by his six hosts. Vast is that Milky Way, Making a brilliant figure in the sky. Long years did the king of Zhou enjoy; — Did he not exert an influence upon men? Engraved and chiselled are the ornaments; Of metal and of jade is their substance. Ever active was our king, Giving law and rules to the four quarters of the kingdom.

# 239. ZAO LU

Look at the foot of the Han, How abundantly grow the hazel and the arrow-thorn! Easy and self-possessed was our prince, In his pursuit of dignity still easy and self-possessed! Massive is that libation-cup of jade, With the yellow liquid sparkling in it. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, The fit recipient of blessing and dignity. The hawk flies up to heaven; The fishes leap in the deep. Easy and self-possessed was our-prince; — Did he not exert an influence upon men? His clear spirits are in vessel; His red bull is ready; — To offer, to sacrifice, To increase his bright happiness. Thick grow the oaks and the yu, Which the people use for fuel. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Cheered and encouraged by the Spirits. Luxuriant are the dolichos and other creepers, Clinging to the branches and stems, Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Seeking for happiness by no crooked ways.

# 240. SI Q

Pure and reverent was Da-ren, The mother of king Wen; Loving was she to Zhou Jiang; — A wife becoming the House of Zhou. Da-si inherited her excellent fame, And from her came a hundred sons. He conformed to the example of his ancestors, And their Spirits had no occasion for complaint. Their Spirits had no occasion for dissatisfaction, And his example acted on his wife, Extended to his brethren, And was felt by all the clans and States. Full of harmony was he in his palace: Full of reverence in the ancestral temple. Out of sight he still felt as under inspection; Unweariedly he maintained his virtue. Though he could not prevent some great calamities, His brightness and magnanimity were without stain. Without previous instruction he did what was right; Without admonition, he went on in the path of goodness. So, grown up men became virtuous through him. And young men made constant attainments. Our ancient prince never felt weariness, And from him were the fame and eminence of his officers.

# 241. HUANG YI

Great is God, Beholding this lower world in majesty. He surveyed the four quarters of the kingdom, Seeking for some one to give settlement to the people. Those two earlier dynasties, Had failed to satisfy Him with their government; So throughout the various States, He sought and considered, For one on which he might confer the rule. Hating all the great States, He turned His kind regards on the west, And there gave a settlement to king Da. King Da raised up and

removed, The dead trunks, and the fallen trees. He dressed and regulated, The bushy clumps, and the tangled rows. He opened up and cleared, The tamarix trees, and the stave-trees. He hewed and thinned, The mountain-mulberry trees. God having brought about the removal thither of this intelligent ruler, The Guan hordes fled away. Heaven raised up a helpmeet for him. And the appointment he had received was made sure. God surveyed the hills, Where the oaks and yu were thinned. And paths made through the firs and cypresses. God, who had raised the State, raised up a proper ruler for it; From the time of Da-bo and king Ju this was done. Now this king Ju, In his heart was full of brotherly duty. Full of duty to his elder brother, He gave himself the more to promote the prosperity of the country, And secured to him the glory of his act. He accepted his dignity, and did not lose it, And ere long his family possessed the whole kingdom. The king Ju, Was gifted by God with the power of judgement, So that the fame of his virtue silently grew. His virtue was highly intelligent; - Highly intelligent and of rare discrimination; Able to lead, able to rule, — To rule over this great country; Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union. When the sway came to king Wen, His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with. He received the blessing of God, And it was extended to his descendants. God said to king Wen, 'Be not like those who reject this and cling to that; Be not like those who are ruled by their likings and desires;' So he grandly ascended before others to the height of virtue. The people of Mi were disobedient, Daring to oppose our great country, And invaded Yuan, marching to Gung. The king rose majestic in his wrath; He marshalled his troops, To stop the invading foes; To consolidate the prosperity of Zhou; To meet the expectations of all under heaven. He remained quietly in the capital; But his troops went on from the borders of Yuan. They ascended our lofty ridges, And the enemy arrayed no forces on our hills, On our hills, small or large, Nor drank at our springs, Our springs or our pools. He then determined the finest of the plains, And settled on the south of Ju, On the side of the Wei; The centre of all the States, The resort of the lower people. God said to king Wen, 'I am pleased with your intelligent virtue, Not loudly proclaimed nor pourtrayed, Without extravagance or changeableness, Without consciousness of effort on your part. In accordance with the pattern of God.' God said to king Wen, 'Take measures against the country of your foes. Along with your brethren, Get ready your scaling ladders, And yoru engines of onfall and assault, To attack the walls of Chong.' The engines of onfall and assault were gently plied, Against the walls of Chong high and great; Captives for the question were brought in one after another; 'The left ears of the slain were taken leisurely. He sacrificed to God, and to the Father of War, Thus seeking to induce submission; And throughout the kingdom none dared to insult him. The engines of onfall and assault were vigorously plied, Against the walls of Chong very strong; He attacked it, and let loose all his forces; He extinguished its sacrifices and made an end of its existence. And throughout the kingdom none dared to oppose him.

# 242. LING TAI

When he planned the commencement of the marvellous tower, He planned it, and defined it; And the people in crowds undertook the work, And in no time completed it. When he planned the commencement, he said, 'Be not in a hurry;' But the people came as if they were his children. The king was in the marvellous park, Where the does were lying down, — The does, so sleek and fat; With the white birds glistening. The king was by the marvellous pond; — How full was it of fishes leaping about! On his posts was the toothed face-board, high and strong, With the large drums and bells. In what unison were their sounds! What joy was there in the hall with its circlet of water! In what unison sounded the drums and bells! What joy was there in the hall with its circlet of water! The lizard-skin drums rolled harmonious, As the blind musicians performed their parts.

# 243. XIA WU

Successors tread in the steps of their predecessors in our Zhou. For generations there had been wise kings; The three sovereigns were in heaven; And king Wu was their worthy successor in his capital. King Wu was their worthy successor in his capital, Rousing himself to seek for the hereditary virtue, Always striving to accord with the will of Heaven; And thus he secured the confidence due to a king. He secured the confidence due to a king, And became a pattern of all below him. Ever thinking how to be filial, His filial mind was the model which he supplied. Men loved him, the One man, And responded to his example with a docile virtue. Ever thinking how to be filial, He brilliantly continued the doings of his fathers. Brilliantly! and his posterity, Continuing to walk in the steps of their forefathers, For myriads of years, Will receive the blessing of Heaven. They will receive the blessing of Heaven. And from the four quarters of the kingdom will felicitations come to them. For myriads of years, Will there not be their helpers?

#### 244. WEN WANG YOU SHENG

King Wen is famous; Yea, he is very famous. What he sought was the repose of the people; What he saw was the completion of his work. A sovereign true was king Wen! King Wen received the appointment of Heaven, And achieved his martial success. Having overthrown Chong, He fixed his capital city in Feng. A sovereign true was king Wen! He repaired the walls along the old moat: His establishing himself in Feng was according to the pattern of his forefathers. It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes; - It was to show the filial duty which had come down to him. A sovereign true was our royal prince! His royal merit was brightly displayed, By those walls of Feng. There were collected the sympathies of the people of the four quarters, Who regarded the royal prince as their protector. A sovereign true was our royal prince! The Feng-water flowed on to the east of the city, Through the meritorious labour of Yu. There were collected the sympathies of the people of the four quarters, Who would have the great king as their ruler. A sovereign true was the great king! In the capital of Hao he built his hall with its circlet of water; From the west to the east. From the south to the north. There was not a thought but did him homage. A sovereign true was the great king! He examined and divined, did the king, About settling in the capital of Hao. The tortoise-shell decided the site, And king Wu completed the city. A sovereign true was king Wu! By the Feng-water grows the white millet; — Did not king Wu show wisdom in his employment of officers? He would leave his plans to his descendants, And secure comfort and support to his son. A sovereign true was king Wu!

#### DECADE OF SHENG MIN 245. SHENG MIN

The first birth of our people, Was from Jiang Yuan. How did she give birth to our people? She had presented a pure offering and sacrificed, That her childlessness might be taken away. She then trod on a toe-print made by God, and was moved, In the large place where she rested. She became pregnant; she dwelt retired; She gave birth to, and nourished a son, Who was Hou-ji. When she had fulfilled her months, Her first-born son came forth like a lamb. There was no bursting, nor rending, No injury, no hurt; - Showing how wonderful he would be. Did not God give her the comfort? Had He not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice, So that thus easily she brought forth her son? He was placed in a narrow lane, But the sheep and oxen protected him with loving care. He was placed in a wide forest, Where he was met with by the wood-cutters. He was placed on the cold ice, And a bird screened and supported him with its wings. When the bird went away, Hou-ji began to wail. His cry was long and loud, So that his voice filled the whole way. When he was able to crawl, He looked majestic and intelligent. When he was able to feed himself, He fell to planting large beans. The beans grew luxuriantly; His rows of paddy shot up beautifully; His hemp and wheat grew strong and close; His gourds yielded abundantly. The husbandry of Hou-ji, Proceeded on the plan of helping the growth. Having cleared away the thick grass, He sowed the ground with the yellow cereals. He managed the living grain, till it was ready to burst; Then he used it as seed, and it sprang up; It grew and came into ear; It became strong and good; It hung down, every grain complete; — And thus he was appointed lord of Tai. He gave his people the beautiful The black millet, and the double-kernelled; The tall red, and the white. They planted extensively the black and the double-kernelled, Which were reaped and stacked on the ground. They planted extensively the tall red and the white, Which were carried on their shoulders and backs. Home for the sacrifices which he founded. And how as to our sacrifices to him? Some hull the grain; some take it from the mortar; Some sift it; some tread it. It is rattling in the dishes; It is distilled, and the steam floats about. We consult; we observe the rites of purification; We take southernwood and offer it with the fat; We sacrifice a ram to the Spirit of the path; We offer roast flesh and broiled:- And thus introduce the coming year. We load the stands with the offerings, The stands both of wood and of earthenware. As soon as the fragrance ascends, God, well pleased, smells the sweet savour. Fragrant is it, and in its due season! Hou-ji founded the sacrifice, And no one, we presume, has given occasion for blame or regret in regret to it, Down to the present day.

# 246. XING WEI

In thick patches are those rushes, springing by the way (side); Let not the cattle and sheep trample them. Anon they will burst up; anon they will be completely formed, With their leaves soft and glossy. Closely related are brethren; — Let none be absent, let all be near. For some there are spread mats; For some there are given stools besides. The mats are spread, and a second one above; The stools are given, and there are plenty of servants. The guests are pledged, and they pledge the host in return; He rinses the cup, and the guests put theirs down. Sauces and pickles are brought in, With roast meat and broiled. Excellent provisions there are also of tripe and cheek; With singing to lutes, and with drums. The

ornamented bows are strong, And the four arrows are all balanced. They discharge the arrows, and all hit, And the guests are arranged according to their skill. The ornamented bows are drawn full, And the four arrows are grasped in the hand. They go straight to the mark as if planted in it, And the quests are arranged by the humble propriety of their demeanour. The distant descendant presides over the feast; His sweet spirits are strong. He fills their cups from a measure. And prays for the hoary old among his quests: — That with hoary age and wrinkled back, They may lead on one another to virtue, and support one another in it; That so their old age may be blessed, And their bright happiness ever increased.

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits: You have satiated us with your kindness, May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years! May your bright happiness ever be increased! You have made us drink to the full of your spirits; Your viands were all set out before us. May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years! May your bright intelligence ever be increased! May your bright intelligence become perfect, High and brilliant, leading to a good end! That good end has now its beginning:— The personator of your ancestors announced it in his blessing. What was his announcement?' The offerings in your dishes of bamboo and wood are clean and fine. Your friends asisting at the service, Have done their part with reverent demeanour. 'Your reverent demeanour was altogether what the occasion required. And not yours only. but that also of your filial son. For such filial piety, without ceasing, There will ever be conferred blessing on you. 'What will the blessings be? That along the passages of your palace, You shall move for ten thousand years; And there will be granted to you for ever dignity and posterity.' How as to your posterity? Heaven invests you with your dignity, Yea for ten thousand years. The bright appointment is attached to your person. 'How will it be attached? There is given you a heroic wife. There is given you a heroic wife, And from her shall come the line of descendants.

#### 248 FII VI

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the King; The personators of your ancestors feast and are happy. Your spirits are clear, Your viands are fragrant; The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; — Their happiness and dignity are made complete. The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the sand; The personators of the dead enjoy the feast, their appropriate tribute. Your spirits are abundant, Your viands are good; The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; Happiness and dignity lend them their aids. The wild ducks and widgeons are on the islets; The personators of your ancestors feast and enjoy themselves. Your spirits are strained, Your viands are in slices; The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; - Happiness and dignity descend on them. The wild ducks and widgeons are where the waters meet; The personators of your ancestors feast, and are honoured. The feast is spread in the ancestral temple. The place where happiness and dignity descend. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink; - Their happiness and dignity are at the highest point. The wild ducks and widgeons are in the gorge; The personators of your ancestors rest, full of complacency. Your fine spirits are delicious. Your flesh, roast and broiled, is fragrant; The personators of your ancestors - No troubles shall be theirs after this. feast and drink: -

Of our admirable, amiable, sovereign, Most illustrious is the excellent virtue. He orders rightly the people, orders rightly the officers, And receives his dignity from heaven, Which protects and helps him, and confirms his appointment, By repeated acts of renewal from heaven. So does he seek for the emoluments of dignity, and obtain all blessings, Thousands and hundreds of thousands of descendants, Of reverent virtue and admirable character, Fit to be rulers of States, fit to be king, Erring in nothing, forgetful of nothing, Observing and following the old statutes. May they manifest all self-restraint in deportment. And their virtuous fame be without fail! Without resentments, without dislikes, May they give free course to the good among the officers, Receiving blessing without limit, And regulating all within the four quarters of the kingdom! Regulating all, and determining each point, Giving repose to his friends, All the princes and ministers, Will love the son of Heaven. Not idly occupying his office, The people will find rest in him.

# 250 GONG LIU

Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, Unable to rest or take his ease where he was, He divided and subdivided the country into fields; He stored up the produce in the fields and in barns; He tied up dried meat and grain, In bottomless bags and in sacks; — That he might hold the people together, and glorify his tribe. Then with bows and arrows all ready, With shields and spears, and axes, large and small, He commenced his march. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, He had surveyed the plain where he was settled; The

people were numerous and crowded; In sympathy with them, he made proclamation of his contemplated measure. And there were no perpetual sighings about it He ascended to the hill-tops; He ascended again to the plains. What was it that he carried at his girdle? Pieces of jade, and yao gems, And his ornamented scabbard with its sword. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, He went there to the place of the hundred springs, And saw around him the wide plain. He ascended the ridge on the south. And looked at a large level height, A height affording space for multitudes. Here was room to dwell in; Here might booths be built for strangers; Here he told out his mind; Here he entered on deliberations. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, When he had found rest on the height, With his officers all in dignified order. He caused mats to be spread, with stools upon them: And they took their places on the mats and leaned on the stools. He had sent to the herds, And taken a pig from the pen. He poured out his spirits into calabashes; And so he gave them to eat and to drink, Acknowledged by them as ruler, and honoured. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, His territory being now broad and long, He determined the points of the heavens by means of the shadows; and then, ascending the ridges, He surveyed the light and the shade, Viewing also the course of the streams and springs. His armies were three troops; He measured the marshes and plains; He fixed the revenue on the system of common cultivation of the fields. He measured also the fields west of the hills. And the settlement of Bin became truly great. Of generous devotion to the people was duke Liu, Having settled in temporary lodging houses in Bin, He crossed the Wei by means of boats, And gathered whetstones and iron. When his settlement was fixed, and all boudaries defined, The people became numerous and prosperous, Occupying both sides of the Huang valley, And pushing on up that of Guo; And as the population became dense. They went on to the country beyond the Ju.

#### 251, JIONG ZHUO

Take the pool-water from a distance; Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another, And it may be used to stream rice or millet. How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign, Be the parent of the people! Take the pool-water from a distance: Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another, And it may be used to wash a spirit vase. How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign, Be the centre of attraction to the people! Take the pool-water from a distance; Draw it into one vessel and let it flow to another, And it may be used for all purpose of cleansing. How much more should the happy and courteous sovereign, Be the centre of rest to the people!

Into the recesses of the large mound, Came the wind whirling from the south. There was our happy, courteous sovereign, Rambling and singing; And I took occasion to give forth my notes, 'Full of spirits you ramble: Full of satisfaction you rest. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfill your years, And end them like your ancestors! 'Your territory is great and glorious, And perfectly secure. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfill your years, As the host of all the Spirits! 'You have received the appointment longackowledged, With peace around your happiness and dignity. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfill your years, With pure happiness your constant possession! helpers and supporters, Men of filial piety and of virtue, To lead you on, and act as wings to you, So that, O happy and courteous sovereign, You are a pattern to the four quarters of the kingdom. 'Full of dignity and majesty are they, Like a jade-mace in its purity, The subject of praise, the contemplation of hope. O happy and courteous sovereign, Through them the four quarters of the kingdom are guided by you. 'The male and female phoenix fly about, Their wings rustling, While they settle in their proper resting place. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Ready to be employed by you, Loving you, the son of Heaven. 'The male and female phoenix fly about, Their wings rustling, As they soar up to heaven. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Waiting for your commands, And loving the multitudes of the people. The male and female phoenix give out their notes, On that lofty ridge. The dryandras grow, They grow luxuriantly; And harmoniously the notes resound. 'Your carriages, O sovereign, Are many, many. Your horses, O sovereign, Are well trained and fleet. I have made my few verses. In prolongation of your

# 253 MIN LU

The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little ease may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, To secure the repose of the four quarters of it. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the unconscientious careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors, Who have no fear of the clear will of Heaven. Then let us show kindness to those who are distant, And help those who are near; — Thus establishing the throne of our king. The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a

little rest may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, And make it a gathering-place for the people. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the noisy braggarts careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors; — So the people shall not have such sorrow. Do not cast away your former service, But secure the quiet of the king. The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little relief may be got for them. Let us cherish this capital. To secure the repose of the States in the four quarters. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, To make careful those who set no limit to themselves, And to repress robbers and oppressors; - Not allowing them to act out their evil. Then let us be reverently careful of our demeanour, To cultivate association with the virtuous. The people indeed are heavily burdened. But perhaps a little repose may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, That the sorrow of the people may be dispelled. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the multitudes of the evil careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors, So that the right shall not be over thrown. Though you may be but as little children. Your work is vast and great. The people indeed are heavily burdened, But perhaps a little tranquillity may be got for them. Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, That it may not everywhere suffer such wounds. Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order to make the parasites careful, And to repress robbers and oppressors, So that the right shall not be reversed. The king wishes to hold you as sceptres of jade. And therefore I thus strongly admonish you.

God has reversed His usual course of procedure, And the lower people are full of distress. The words which you utter are not right; The plans which you form are not far-reaching. As there are not sages, you think you have no guidance; You have no reality in your sincerity. Thus your plans do not reach far, And I therefore strongly admonish you. Heaven is now sending down calamities; — Do not be so complacent. Heaven is now producing such movements; — Do not be so indifferent. If your words were harmonious, The people would become untied. If your words were gentle and kind, The people would be settled. Though my duties are different from yours, I am your fellow-servant. I come to advise with you, And you hear me with contemptuous indifference. My words are about the present urgent affairs; — Do not think them matter for laughter. The ancients had a saying:-'Consult the grass and firewood-gatherers.' Heaven is now exercising oppression: — Do not in such a way make a mock of things. An old man, I speak with entire sincerity; But you, my juniors, are full of pride. It is not that my words are those of age, But you make a joke of what is sad. But the troubles will multiply like flames, Till they are beyond help or remedy. Heaven is now displaying its anger; -Do not be either boastful or flattering. Utterly departing from all propriety of demeanour, Till good men are reduced to personators of the dead. The people now sigh and groan, And we dare not examine into the causes of their trouble. The ruin and disorder are exhausting all their means of living, And we show no kindness to our multitudes. Heaven enlightens the people, As the bamboo flute responds to the porcelain whistle; As two half maces form a whole one; As you take a thing, and bring it away in your hand, Bringing it away without any more ado. The enlightenment of the people is very easy. They have now many perversities; - Do not you set up your perversity before them. Good men are a fence; The multitudes of the people are a wall; Great States are screens; Great Families are buttresses; The cherishing of virtue secures repose; The circle of the king's Relatives is a fortified wall. We must not let the fortified wall get destroyed; We must not let him solitary be consumed with terrors. Revere the anger of Heaven, And presume not to make sport or be idle. Revere the changing moods of Heaven, And presume not to drive about at your pleasure. Great Heaven is intelligent, And is with you in all your goings. Great Heaven is clear-seeing, And is with you in your wandering and indulgences.

# DECADE OF DANG

How vast is God, The ruler of men below! How arrayed in terrors is God, With many things irregular in His ordinations! Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people, But the nature it confers is not to be depended on. All are good at first, But few prove themselves to be so at the last. King Wen said, 'Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, That you should have such violently oppressive ministers, That you should have such extortionate exactors, That you should have them in offices, That you should have them in the conduct of affairs! Heaven made them with their insolent dispositions, But it is you who employ them, and gave them strength.' King Wen said, Alas! You sovereign of Yin-shang, You ought to employ such as are good, But you employ instead violent oppressors, who cause many dissatisfactions. They respond to you with baseless stories, And thus robbers and thieves are in your court. Thence come oaths and curses, Without limit, without end.'

King Wen said, 'Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, You show a strong fierce will in the centre of the kingdom. And consider the contracting of enmities a proof of virtue. All unintelligent are you of your proper virtue, And so you have no good men behind you, nor by your side. Without any intelligence of your proper virtue, You have no good intimate adviser nor minister.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, It is not Heaven that flushes your face with spirits. So that you follow what is evil and imitate it. You go wrong in all your conduct; You make no distinction between the light and the darkness; But amid clamour and shouting, You turn the day into night.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, All around you is like the noise of cicadas, Or like the bubbling of boiling soup. Affairs, great and small, are approaching to ruin; And still you and your creatures go on in this course. Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle kingdom, And extends to the demon regions.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yinshang, It is not God that has caused this evil time, But it arises from Yin's not using the old ways. Although you have not old experienced men. There are still the ancient statutes and laws. But you will not listen to them. And so your great appointment is being overthrown.' King Wen said, Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Yin-shang, People have a saying, 'When a tree falls utterly, While its branches and leaves are yet uninjured, It must first have been uprooted.' The beacon of Yin is not far-distant; — It is in the age of the last sovereign of Xia.'

#### 256. YI

An outward demeanour, cautious and grave, Is an indication of the inward virtue. People have the saying, 'There is no wise man who is not also stupid.'The stupidity of the ordinary man, Is determined by his natural defects. The stupidity of the wise man, What is most powerful is the being the man; — In all quarters of the State men are influenced by it. To an upright virtuous conduct, All in the four quarters of the State render obedient homage. With great counsels and determinate orders, With far-reaching plans and timely announcements, And with reverent care of his outward demeanour, One will become the pattern of the people. Is from his doing violence to his natural character. As for the circumstances of the present time, You are bent on error and confusion in your government. Your virtue is subverted; You are besotted by drink. Although you thus pursue nothing but pleasure, How is it you do not think of your relation to the past, And do not widely study the former kings, That you might hold fast their wise laws? Shall not those whom great Heaven does not approve of. Surely as the waters flow from a spring, Sink down together to ruin? Rise early and go to bed late, Sprinkle and sweep your court-yard; - So as to be a pattern to the people. Have in good order your chariots and horses, Your bows and arrows, and other weapons of war; To be prepared for warlike action, To keep at a distance the hordes of the South. Perfect what concerns your officers and people; Be careful of your duties as a prince of the kingdom; To be prepared for unforeseen dangers. Be cautious of what you say; Be reverently careful of your outward demeanour; In all things be mild and correct. A flaw in a mace of white jade, May be ground away, But for a flaw in speech, Nothing can be done. Do not speak lightly; - your words are your own:— Do not say, 'This is of little importance.' No one can hold my tongue for me; Words are not to be cast away. Every word finds its answer; Every good deed has its recompense. If you are gracious among your friends, And to the people, as if they were your children, Your descendants will continue in unbroken line, And all the people will surely be obedient to you. Looked at in friendly intercourse with superior men, You make your countenance harmonious and mild; — Anxious not to do anything wrong. Looked at in your chamber, You ought to be equally free from shame before the light which shines in. Do not say, 'This place is not public; No one can see me here.' The approaches of spiritual Beings. Cannot be calculated beforehand: But the more should they not be slighted. O prince, let your practice of virtue, Be entirely good and admirable. Watch well over your behaviour, And allow nothing wrong in your demeanour. Committing no excess, doing nothing injurious; — There are few who will not in such a case take you for their pattern. When one throws to me a peach, I return to him a plum. To look for horns on a young ram, Will only weary you, my son. The soft and elastic wood. Can be fitted with the silken string. The mild and the respectful man, Possesses the foundation of virtue. There is a wise man; - I tell him good words, And he yields to them the practice of docile virtue. There is a stupid - He says on the contrary that my words are not So different are people's minds. Oh! my son, When you did not know what was good, and what was not good, Not only did I lead you on by the hand, But I showed the difference by appealing to affairs. Not only did I charge you face to face, But I held you by the ears. And still perhaps you do not know, Although you have held a son in your arms. If people are not self-sufficient, Who comes only to a late maturity after early instruction? Great Heaven is very

intelligent, And I pass my life without pleasure. When I see you so dark and stupid, My heart is full of pain. I taught you with assiduous repetition, And you listened to me with contempt. You would nto consider me your teacher, But regarded me as troublesome. Still perhaps you do not know; But you are very old. Oh! my son, I have told you the old ways. Hear and follow my counsels; - Then shall you have no cause for great regret. Heaven is now inflicting calamities, And is destroying the State. My illustrations are not taken from things remote; — Great Heaven makes no mistakes. If you go on to deteriorate in your virtue, You will bring the people to great distress.

#### 257 SANGROU

Luxuriantly is that young mulberry tree, And beneath it wide is the shade; But they will pluck its leaves till it is quite destroyed. The distress inflicted on these multitudes of the people, Is an unceasing sorrow to my heart; commiseration fills my breast. O thou bright and great Heaven, Shouldest thou not have compassion on us? The four steeds gallop about, eager and strong; The tortoise-and-serpent and the falcon banners fly about. Disorder grows, and no peace can be secured. Every State is being ruined; There are no black heads among the people; All are reduced to ashes, as it were, by calamity. Oh! alas! The doom of the kingdom hurries on. There is nothing to arrest the doom of the kingdom: Heaven does not nourish us. There is no place in which to stop securely; There is no place to which to go. Superior men are the bonds of the social state, Allowing no love of strife in their hearts. Who reared the steps of the dissatisfaction, Which has reached the present distress? The grief of my heart is extreme, And I dwell on the condition of our territory. I was born at an unhappy time, To meet with the severe anger of Heaven. From the west to the east, There is no quiet place of abiding. Many are the distresses I meet with; Very urgent is the trouble on our borders. You have your counsels; you employ caution; But the disorder grows and dismemberments ensue. I tell you the subjects for anxiety; I instruct you how to distinguish the orders of men. Who can hold anything hot? Must he not dip it first in water? How can you by your method bring a good state of things about? You and your advisers will sink together in ruin. The state of things is like going in the teeth of the wind, Which makes one quite breathless. Some have a mind to go forward, But they are made to think it is of no use to do so. They attach themselves to husbandry, And labour like the people instead of eating the bread of office. Their sowing and reaping are precious to them: They love this substitute for official emolument. Heaven is sending down death and disorder. And has put an end to our king. It is sending down those devourers of the grain, So that the husbandry is all in evil case. All is in peril and going to ruin; I have no strength to do anything, And think of the Power in the azure vault. Here is a good and righteous ruler, Who is looked up to by the people and by all; He keeps his heart, and his plans are formed on mature deliberation, Searching carefully for helpers. There is one who has no such character, But reckons only to his own views to be good; - He holds only to his own thoughts, And causes the people to be distracted. Look into the middle of that forest, At the herds of deer roaming together. But here friends are insincere, And do not help one another in what is good. People have the saving, 'To go forwards or backwards is alike impracticable.' Here is a wise man; — His views and words reach to a hundred Li, There is a stupid man; - He on the contrary rejoices in his madness. It is not that I could not speak all this; - How is it I was withheld by my fear? Here is a good man, But he is not sought out nor employed. There is a hard-hearted man, And he is thought of and promoted once and again. The people in consequence desire disorder. And find emjoyment in bitter, poisonous ways. Great winds have a They come from the large empty valleys. Here is a good man, Whose doings will be good. There is a man unobservant of the right, Whose goings will be according to his inward filthiness. Great winds have a path; covetous men try to subvert their peers. I would speak, if he would hear my words. But I can only croon them over as if I were drunk. He will not employ the good, And on the contrary causes me such distress. Ah! my friends, Is it in ignorance that I make this ode? But it may happen as in the case of a bird on the wing, Which sometimes is hit and caught. I go to do you good, But you become the more incensed against me. The unlimited disorder of the people, Is owing to those hypocrites, skilful to prevaricate. They work out the injury of the people, As if their efforts were not equal to it. The depravity of the people, Is brought about by their strenuous endeavours. That the people are unsettled, Is owing to the robbers that prey on them. Hypocritical, they say These men will not do: But when their backs are turned, they show their skill in reviling the good. Although you say,' We did not do this,' I have made this song about you.

Bright was that milky way, Shining and revolving in the sky. The king said, 'Oh! What crime is chargeable on us now, That Heaven thus sends down death and disorder? Famine comes again and again. There is no victim I have grudged; Our maces and other tokens are exhausted: — How is it that I am not heard? 'The drought is excessive; Its fervours become more and more tormenting. I have not ceased offering pure sacrifices; From the border altars I have gone to the ancestral temple. To the Powers above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them: There is no Spirit whom I have not honoured. Hou-ji is not equal to the occasion; God does not come to us. This wasting and ruin of our country, Would that it fell only on me! 'The drought is excessive; And I may not try to excuse myself. I am full of terror and feel the peril, Like the clap of thunder or the roll. Of the remnant of Zhou, among the black-haired people, There will not be half a man left; Nor will God from His great heaven, Exempt even me. Shall we not mingle our fears together? The sacrifices to my ancestors will be extinguished. 'The drought is excessive; And it cannot be stopped. More fierce and fiery, It is leaving me no place. My end is near; - I have none to look up to, none to look around to. The many dukes and their ministers of the past, Give me no help. O ye parents and nearer ancestors, How can ye bear to see us thus? 'The drought is excessive; - Parched are the hills, and the streams are dried. The demon of drought exercises his oppression. As if scattering flames and fire. My heart is terrified with the heat; My sorrowing heart is as if on fire. The many dukes and their ministers of the past, Do not hear me, O God, from Thy great heaven, Grant me the liberty to withdraw into retirement! The drought is excessive; — I struggle, and fear to go away. How is it I am afflicted with this drought? I cannot ascertain the cause of it. In praying for a good year I was abundantly early; I was not late in sacrificing to the Spirits of the four quarters and of the land. God in the great heaven, Does not consider me. Reverent to the intelligent Spirits. I ought not to be thus the object of their anger. 'The drought is excessive; — All is dispersion, and the bonds of government are relaxed. Reduced to extremities are the Heads of departments; Full of distress are my chief minister, The master of the horse, the commander of the guards, The chief cook, and my attendants. There is no one who has not tried to help the people; They have not refrained on the ground of being unable. I look up to the great heaven; - Why am I plunged in this sorrow? 'I look up to the great heaven, But its stars sparkle bright. My great officers and excellent men, Ye have drawn near to Heaven with reverence with all your powers. Death is approaching, But do not cast away what you have done. You are seeking not for me only, But to give rest to all our departments. I look up to the great heaven: When shall I be favoured with repose?

# 259. SONG GAO

Grandly lofty are the mountains, With their large masses reaching to the heavens. From these mountains was sent down a Spirit, Who gave birth to the princes of Fu and shen. Fu and Shen, Are the support of Zhou, Screens to all the States, Diffusing their influence over the four quarters of the kingdom. Full of activity is the chief of Shen, And the king would employ him to continue the services of his fathers, With his capital in Xie, Where he should be a pattern to the States of the south. The king gave charge to the earl of Zhou, To arrange all about the residence of the chief of Shen. Where he should do what was neccessary for the regions of the south. And where his posterity might maintain his merit. The king gave charge to the chief of Shen, 'Be a pattern to the regions of the south, And by means of those people of Xie, Proceed to display your merit.' The king gave charge to the earl of Zhou, To make the statutory definition of the territory and fields of the chief of Shen. The king gave charge to the chief's steward, To remove the members of his family to the spot. Of the services of the chief of Shen, The foundation was laid by the earl of Zhou, Who built first the walls of this city, And then completed his ancestral temple. When the temple was completed, wide and grand, The king conferred on the chief of Shen, Four noble steeds, With their hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, glittering bright. The king sent away the chief of Shen. With its carriage of state and its team of horses. 'I have consulted about your residence, That it had best be fixed in the South. I confer on you a great sceptre, As the symbol of your dignity. Go, my uncle, And protect the country of the South.' The chief of Shen took his departure, And the king gave him a parting feast in Mei. Then the chief of Shen returned, and proceeded to the south, And found himself at last in Xie. The king had given charge to the earl of Zhou, To make the statutory division of the lands, And to lay up stores of provisions, That the progress of the chief might be accelerated. Martial-like, the chief of Shen, Entered into Xie. His footmen and charioteers were numerous, And throughout the regions of Zhou all rejoiced. 'You have got a good support: Very distinguished is the chief of Shen, The great uncle of the king, The pattern of the officers, both civil and military.' The virtue of the chief of Shen, Is mild, and regulated, and upright. He will keep all these countries in order, And be famed throughout the kingdom. I, Ji-fu, made

this song, An ode of great excellence, Of influence good, To present to the chief of Shen.

#### 260. ZHENG MIN

Heaven, in giving birth to the multitudes of the people, To every faculty and relationship annexed its law. The people possess this normal nature, And they consequently love its normal virtue. Heaven beheld the ruler of Zhou, Brilliantly affecting it by his conduct below; And to maintain him, its Son, Gave birth to Zhong Shan-fu. The virtue of Zhong Shanfu, Is mild and admirable, according as it ought to be. Good is his deportment; good his looks; The lessons of antiquity are his law; He is strenuously attentive to his deportment. In full accord with the Son of Heaven, He is employed to spread abroad his bright decrees. The king gave charge to Zhong Shan-fu:— 'Be a pattern to all the princes; Continue the services of your ancestors. You have to protect the royal person; Give out the royal decrees, and report on them. Be the king's throat and tongue; Spread his government abroad, So that in all quarters it shall be responded to.' Most dignified was the king's charge, And Zhong Shan-fu carries it into execution. In the States, the princes, be they good or bad, Are clearly distinguished by Zhong Shan-fu. Intelligent is he and wise, Protecting his own person; Never idle, day or night, In the service of the One man. The people have a saying:— 'The soft is devoured, And the hard is ejected from the mouth.' But Zhong Shan-fu, Does not devour the soft, Nor eject the powerful. He does not insult the poor or the widow; He does not fear the strong or the oppressive. The people have a - 'Virtue is light as a hair, But few are able to lift it.' saying:-When I think of the matter, It is only Zhong Shan-fu that can lift it. I love him, but can do nothing to help him. Any defects in the king's duties, Are supplied by Zhong Shan-fu. Zhong Shan-fu went forth, having sacrificed to the Spirit of the road. His four steeds were strong; His men were alert; He was always anxious lest he should not be equal to his commission; His steeds went on without stopping, To the tinkling of their eight bells. The king had given charge to Zhong Shan-fu, To fortify the city there in the east. With his four steeds so strong, And their eight bells, all tinkling, Zhong Shan-fu proceeded to Oi: — And he will soon return, I. Yin Ji-fu, have made this song:— May it enter like a quiet wind, Among the constant anxieties of Zhong Shan-fu, To soothe his mind!

#### 261. HAN YI

Very grand is the mountain of Liang, Which was made cultivable by Yu. Bright it is the way from it, Along which came the marquis of Han to receive investiture. The king himself gave the charge:— 'Continue the services of your ancestors; Let not my charge to you come to nought. Be diligent, early and late, And reverently discharge your duties; So shall my appointment of you not change. Be a support against those princes who do not come to court, Thus assisting your sovereign.' With his four steeds, all noble, Very long, and large, The marquis of Han came to court, With the large sceptre of his rank; — He entered and appeared before the king. The king gave him, A fine dragon-flag, with its feathery ornaments; A chequered bamboo-screen, and an ornamented yoke; A dark-coloured robe with the dragons on it, and the redslippers; The hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, and the carved frontlets; The leaning-board bound with leather, and a tiger's skin to cover it. The ends of the reins, with their metal rings. When the marquis of Han left the court, he sacrificed to the Spirit of the road; He went forth, and lodged for the night in Tu. There Xian-fu gave him the parting feast; - With a hundred vases of clear spirits. And what were the viands? Roast turtle and fresh fish. And what were the vegetables? Bamboo sprouts and pu. And what were the gifts? A carriage of state with its team. Many were the vessels of sauces and fruits; And the other princes at court joined in the feast. The marquis of Han took to himself a wife, A niece of king Fen, The daughter of Jue-fu. The marquis of Han went to receive her. To the residence of Jue. His hundred chariots were in grand array, The eight bells of each emitting their tinkling; — Illustrious was the glory of the occasion. The virgins, her companions, followed the lady, Leisurely like a beautiful cloud. The marquis of Han looked round at them, Filling the gate with their splendour. Jue-fu is very martial, And there is no State which he had not visited. When he would select a home for Han-ji, There seemed none so pleasant as Han, Very pleasant is the territory of Han, With its large streams and meres, Full of big bream and tench; With its multitudes of deer, With its bears and grisly bears; With its wild-cats and tigers. Glad was he of so admirable a situation, And here Han-ji found rest and joy. Large is the wall of the city of Han, Built by the multitudes of Yan. As his ancestor had received charge, To preside over all the wild tribes of that quarter, The king now gave to the marquis of Han, The Qi and the Mo, Forthwith to hold the States of the north, And to preside over them as their chief; Making strong his walls, and deep his moats, Laying out his fields, regulating his revenues, Presenting his skins of the white fox, With those of the red panther and the yellow grisly bear.

#### 262. JIANG HAN

Large was the volume of the Jiang and the Han, And the troops advanced like a flowing current. There was no resting, no idle wandering; -- We were seeking for the tribes of the Huai. We had sent forth our chariots; We had displayed our falcon-banners. There was no resting, no remissness; Against the tribes of the Huai were we marshalled. Large flowed the Jiang and the Han, And grandly martial looked the troops. The whole country had been reduced to order. And an announcement of our success had been made to be king. When the whole country was pacified, The king's State began to feel settled. There was then an end of strife, And the king's heart was composed. On the banks of the Jiang and the Han, The king had given charge to Hu of Zhou:- 'Open up the whole of the country; Make the statutory division of my lands there; Not to distress the people, nor with urgency, But making them conform to the royal state. Make the larger and the smaller divisions of hte ground, As far as the southern sea.' The king gave charge to Hu of Zhou:- 'You have everywhere diffused and carried out my orders. When Wen and Wu received their appointment, The duke of Zhou was their strong support. You do not only have a regard to me the little child, But you try to resemble that duke of Zhou. You have commenced and earnestly displayed your merit; And I will make you happy. 'I give you a large libation-cup of jade, And a jar of herb-flavoured spirits from the black millet. I have made announcement to the accomplished one. And confer on you hills, lands, and fields. In Yu-zhou shall you receive investiture, According as your ancestor received his. Hu bowed with his head to the ground, and said, 'May the Son of Heaven live for ever!' Hu bowed with his head to the ground, And in response displayed the goodness of the king, And roused himself to maintain the fame of his ancestor. 'May the Son of Heaven live for ever! Very intelligent is the Son of Heaven: His good fame shall be without end. Let him display his civil virtues, Till they permeate all quarters of the

#### 263, CHANG WU

Grandly and clearly, The king gave charge to his minister, A descendant of Nan Zhong, The Grand-master Huang-fu:-'Put my six armies in order, And get ready all my apparatus of war. Be reverent, be cautious, That we may give comfort to the States of the south.' The king said to the Head of the Yin clan, 'Give a charge to Xiu-fu, earl of Cheng, To undertake the arrangement of the ranks, And to warn all my troops. Along the bank of the Huai, We go to see the land of Xu, Not delaying our march, not occupying the territory, That the threefold labours of husbandry may proceed in order.' Full of grandeur and strength, The Son of Heaven looked majestic. eisurely and calmly the king advanced, Not with his troops in masses, nor in broken lines. The region of Xu from stage to stage was moved; It shook and was terrified, - the region of Xu. As by the roll of thunder or its sudden crash. The region of Xu shook and was terrified. The king aroused his warlike energy, As if he were moved with anger. He advanced his tiger-like officers. Looking fierce like raging tigers. He displayed his masses along the bank of the Huai, And forthwith seized a crowd of captives. Securely kept was the country about the bank of the Huai, Occupied by the royal armies. The royal legions were numerous; Swift as if they flew on wings, Imposing as the current of the Jiang and the Han; Firm as a mountain; Rolling on like a stream; Continuous and orderly; Inscrutable, invincible; Grandly proceeding to set in order the States of Xu. The king's plans were directed in truth and sincerity, And the region of Xu came at once to terms; Its chiefs were all collected together; - Through the merit of the Son of Heaven. The country was all reduced to order; Its chiefs appeared before the king. They would not again change their minds, And the kings said, 'Let us return.'

# 264. ZHAN YANG

I look up to great Heaven, But it shows us no kindness. Very long have we been disquieted, And these great calamities are sent down upon us. There is nothing settled in the country; Officers and people are in distress. Through the insects from without and from within, There is no peace or limit to our misery. The net of crime is not taken up, And there is no peace nor cure for our state. Men had their ground and fields, But you have them now. Men had their people and followers, But you have violently taken them from them. Here is one who ought to be held guiltless. But you snare him in the net of crime. There is one who ought to be held guilty, But you let him escape from it. A wise man builds up the wall of a city, But a wise woman overthrows it. Admirable may be the wise woman, But she is no batter than an owl. A woman with a long tongue, Is like a stepping-stone to disorder. Disorder does not come down from heaven; - It is produced by the woman. Those from whom come no lessons, no instruction, Are women and eunuchs. They beat men down, hurtful, deceitful. Their slanders in the beginning may be falsified in the end, But they do not say that their words were very wrong; They say, 'What evil was there in them? As if in the three times cent per cent of traffic, A superior man should have any

knowledge of it; So a woman who has nothing to do with public affairs, Leaves her silk-worms and weaving. Why is it that Heaven is thus reproving you? Why is it that the Spirits are not blessing you? You neglect your great barbarian foes, And regard me with hatred. You are reagrdless of the evil omens that abound, And your demeanour is all-unseemly; Good men are going away, And the country is sure to go to ruin. Heaven is letting down its net, And many are the calamities in it. Good men are going away. And my heart is sorrowful. Heaven is letting down its net, And soon will all be caught in it. Good men are going away. And my heart is sad. Right from the spring comes the water bubbling, Revealing its depth. The sorrow of my heart, - Is it only of to-day? Why were these things not before me? Or why were they not after me? But myteriously Great Heaven. Is able to strengthen anything; Do not disgrace your great ancestors, And it will save your posterity.

#### 265, ZHOU WEN

Compassionate Heaven is arrayed in angry terrors; Heaven is indeed sending down ruin, Afflicting us with famine, So that the people are all wandering fugitives; — In the settled regions and on the borders all is desolation. Heaven sends down its net of crime; — Devouring insects, who weary and confuse men's minds, Ignorant, oppressive, neglient, Breeders of confusion, utterly perverse: — These are the men employed to tranquilize our country. Insolent and slanderous, — The king does not know a flaw in them.

We, careful and feeling in peril, For long in unrest, Are constantly subjected to degradation. As in a year of drought, The grass not attaining to luxuriance; As water plants attached to a tree; So do I see in this country, All going to confusion. The wealth of former days, Was not like our present condition. The distress of the present, Did not previously reach this degree. Those are like coarse rice, these are like fine; -- Why do you not retire of yourselves, But prolong my anxious sorrow? A pool becomes dry, — Is it not because no water comes to it from its banks? A spring becomes dry, — Is it not because no water rises in it from itself? Great is the injury all about. So that my anxious sorrow is increased. Will not calamity light on my person? Formerly when the former kings received their appointment, There were such ministers as the duke of Zhou, Who would in a day enlarge the kingdom a hundred Li; Now it is contracted in a day a hundred Li. Oh! Alas! Among the men of the present day, Are there not still some with the old virtue?

# SHI JING 4. ODES OF THE TEMPLE AND THE ALTAR

[In this 4th section we have combined the three last chapters of the Shi Jing. They are: The "Eulogies of Zhou" 31 items; The "Eulogies of Lu" 4 items; and The "Eulogies of Shang" 5 items.]

Those who praise, the songs of the ancestral temple, and the so-called beauty and virtue in the grand preface also tell the gods about their success. Cover song and capacity, common ancient characters, so the preface is said in this way. Thirty one odes of the Zhou Dynasty were written by the Duke of Zhou, and there may be poems after King Kang. Lu Song four, Shang song five, because also attached to Yan by category. Where five volumes.

#### SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU, DECADE OF QING MIAO

266. QING MIAO

Ah! solemn is the ancestral temple in its pure stillness. Reverent and harmonious were the distinguished assistants; Great was the number of the officers:— All assiduous followers of the virtue of king Wen. In response to him in heaven, Grandly they hurried about in the temple. Distinguished is he and honoured, And will never be wearied of among men.

# 267. WEI TIAN ZHI MING

The ordinances of Heaven, — How deep are they and unintermitting! And oh! how illustrious, Was the singleness of the virtue of king Wen! How does he now show his kindness? We will receive his favour, Striving to be in accord with him, our king Wen; And may his remotest descendant be abundantly the same!

# 268. WEI QING

Clear, and to be preserved bright, Are the statutes of king Wen. From the first sacrifice to him, Till now when they have issued in our complete State, They have been the happy omen of the fortunes of Zhou.

# 269. LIE WEN

Ye, brilliant and accomplished princes, Have conferred on me this appiness. Your favours to me are without limit, And my descendants will preserve the fruits of them. Be not mercenary nor extravagant in your States, And the king will honour you. Thinking of this great service, He will enlarge

the dignity of your successors. What is most powerful is the being the man; — Its influence will be felt throughout your States. What is most distinguished is being virtuous; — It will secure the imitation of all the princes. Ah! the former kings are not forgotten!

#### 270. TIAN ZUO

Heaven made the lofty hill, And king Da brought the country about it under cultivation. He made the commencement with it, And king Wen tranquilly carried on the work, Till that rugged mount Qi, Had level roads leading to it. May their descendants ever preserve it!

#### 271. HAO TIAN YOU CHENG MING

Heaven made its determinate appointment, Which our two sovereigns received. King Cheng did not dare to rest idly in it. But night and day enlarged its foundations by his deep and silent virtue. How did he continue and glorify his heritage, Exerting all his heart, And so securing its tranquillity!

#### 272. WO JIANG

I have brought my offerings, A ram and a bull. May Heaven accept them! I imitate and follow and observe the statutes of king Wen, Seeking daily to secure the tranquillity of hte kingdom. King Wen, the Blesser, Has descended on the right and accepted the offerings. Do not I, night and day, Revere the majesty of Heaven. Thus to preserve their favour?

#### 273. SHI MAI

Now is he making a progress through the States, May Heaven accept him as its Son! Truly are the honour and succession come from it to the House of Zhou. To his movements, All respond with tremulous awe. He has attracted and given rest to all spiritual Beings, Even to the Spirits of the He, and the highest hills. Truly is the king the sovereign Lord. Brilliant and illustrious is the House of Zhou. He has regulated the positions of the princes; He has called in shields and spears; He has returned to their cases bows and arrows. I will cultivate admirable virtue, And display it throughout these great regions:— Truly will the king preserve the appointment.

#### 274. ZHI JING

The arm of king Wu was full of strength; Irresistable was his ardour. Greatly illustrious were Cheng and Kang, Kinged by God. When we consider how Cheng and Kang, Grandly held all within the four quarters of the kingdom, How penetrating was their intelligence! The bells and drums sound in harmony; The sounding stones and flutes blend their notes; Abundant blessing is sent down. Blessing is sent down in large measure; Careful and exact is all our deportment; We have drunk, and we have eaten, to the full; Our happiness and dignity will be prolonged.

# 275. SI WEN

O accomplished Hou-ji, Thou didst prove thyself the correlate of Heaven; Thou didst give grain-food to our multitudes; — The immense gift of thy goodness. Thou didst confer on us the wheat and the barley, Which God appointed for the nourishment of all; And without distinction of territory or boundary, The rules of social duty were diffused throughout these great regions.

#### SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU, DECADE OF CHEN GONG 276 CHEN GONG

Ah! Ah! ministers and officers, Reverently attend to your public duties. The king has given you perfect rules; — Consult about them and consider them. Ah! Ah! ye assistants, It is now the end of spring; And what have ye to seek for? Only how to manage the new fields and those of the third year. How beautiful are the wheat and the barley, Whose bright produce we shall receive! The bright and glorious God. Will in them give us a good year. Order all our men, To be provided with their spuds and hoes:— Anon we shall see the sickles at work.

# 277. YI XI

Oh! yes, king Cheng, Brightly brought himself near. Lead your husbandmen, To sow their various kinds of grain, Going vigorously to work on your private fields, All over the thirty Li. Attend to your ploughing, With your ten thousand men all in pairs.

# 278. ZHEN LU

A flock of egrets is flying, About the marsh there in the west. My visitors came, With an elegant carriage like those birds. There, [in their States], not disliked; Here, [in Zhou], never tired of; — They are sure, day and night, To penetrate their fame.

#### 279. FENG NIAN

Abundant is the year, with much millet and much rice; And we have our high granaries, With myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions of measures in them; For spirits and sweet spirits, To present to our ancestors, male and female, And to supply all out ceremonies. The blessings sent down on us are of every kind.

#### 280. YOU GU

There are the bird musicians; there are the blind musicians; In the court of the temple of Zhou. There are the music frames with their face-boards and posts, The high toothed-edge of the former, and the feathers stuck in the latter; With the drums, large and small, suspended from them; And the handdrums and sounding-stones, the instrument to give the signal for commencing, and the stopper.

#### 281. OIAN

Oh! in the Qi and the Ju, There are many fish in the warrens;
— Sturgeons, large and snouted, Zhan, yellow-jaws, mudfish, and carp:— For offerings, for sacrifice, That our bright happiness may be increased.

#### 282. YONG

They come full of harmony; They are here, in all gravity; — The princess assisting, While the Son of Heaven looks profound. While I present this noble bull, And they assist me in setting forth the sacrifice, O great and august Father, Comfort me, your filial Son! 'With penetrating wisdom thou did'st play the man, A sovereign with the gifts both of peace and war, Giving rest even to great Heaven, And ensuring prosperity to thy descendants. 'Thou comfortest me with the eyebrows of longevity; Thou makest me great with manifold blessings. I offer this sacrifice to my meritorious father, And to my accomplished mother.'

#### 283 ZALIJAN

They appeared before their sovereign king, To seek from him the rules they were to observe. With their dargonemblazoned banners, flying bright, The bells on them and their front-boards tinkling, And with the rings on the ends of the reins glittering, Admirable was their majesty, and splendour. He led them to appear before his father shrined on the left, Where he discharged hisi filial duty, and presented his offerings; — That he might have granted to him long life, And ever preserve his dignity. Great and many are his blessings. They are the brilliant and accomplished princes. Who cheer him with his many sources of happiness, Enabling him to perpetuate them in their brightness as pure blessing.

# 284. YOU KE

The noble visitor! The noble visitor! Drawn like his ancestors by white horses! The revered and dignified, Polished members of his suite! The noble guest will stop but a night or two! The noble guest will stop but two nights or four! Give him ropes, To blind his horses. I will convoy him with a parting feast; I will comfort him in every possible way. Adorned with such great dignity, It is very natural that he should be blessed.

# 285 WII

Oh! great wast thou, O king Wu, Displaying the utmost strength in thy work. Truly accomplished was king Wen, Opening the path for his successors. Thou did'st receive the inheritance from him; Thou did'st vanquish Yin, and put a stop to its cruelties; — Effecting the firm establishment of thy merit.

# SACRIFICIAL ODES OF ZHOU, DECADE OF MIN YOU XIAO ZI 286. MIN YU XIAO ZI

Alas for me, who am as a little child, On whom has devolved the unsettled State! Solitary am I and full of distress. Oh! my great Father, All thy life long, thou wast filial. Thou didst think of my great grandfather, Seeing him, as it were, ascending and descending in the court. I, the little child, Day and night will be so reverent. Oh! ye great kings, As your successor, I will strive not to forget you.

# 287. FANG LUO

I take counsel at the beginning of my rule, How I can follow the example of my shrined father. Ah! far-reaching were his plans, And I am not yet able to carry them out. However I endeavour to reach to them, My continuation of them will still be all-deflected. I am but as a little child, Unequal to the many difficulties of the State. In his room, I will look for him to go up and come down in the court, To ascend and descend in the house. Admirable art thou, O great Father, Condescend to preserve and enlighten me.

# 288. JING ZHI

Let me be reverent, let me be reverent, in attending to my duties; The way of Heaven is evident, And its appointment is

not easily preserved. Let me not say that It is high aloft above me. It ascends and descends about our doings; It daily inspects us wherever we are. I am [but as] a little child, Without intelligence to be reverently attractive to my duties; But by daily progress and monthly advance, I will learn to hold fast the gleams of knowledge, till I arrive at bright intelligence. Assist me to bear the burden of my position, And show me how to display a virtuous conduct.

#### 289, XIAO BI

I condemn myself for the past, and will be on my guard against future calamity. I will have nothing to do with a wasp, To seek for myself its painful sting. At first, indeed, the thing seemed but a wren, But it took wing and became a large bird. I am unequal to the many difficulties of the kingdom; And I am placed in the midst of bitter experiences.

#### 290. ZAI SHAN

They clear away the grass and the bushes; And the ground is laid open by their ploughs. In thousands of pairs they remove the roots, Some in the low wet lands, some along the dykes. There are the master and his eldest son; His younger sons, and all their children; Their strong helpers, and their hired servants. How the noise of their eating the viands brought to them resounds! The husbands think lovingly of their wives; The wives keep close to their husbands. Then with their sharp plough-shares, They set to work on the south-lying acres. They sow their different kinds of grain, Each seed containing in it a germ of life. In unbroken lines rises the blade, And well-nourished the stalks grow long. Luxuriant looks the young grain, And the weeders go among it in multitudes. Then come the reapers in crowds, And the grain is piled up the fields, Myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions of stacks; For spirits and for sweet spirits, To offer to our ancestors, male and female, And to provide for all ceremonies. Fragrant is their aroma, Enhancing the glory of the State. Like pepper is their smell, To give comfort to the aged. It is not here only that there is this abundance; It is not now only that there is such a time: - From of old it has been thus.

#### 291. LIANG SI

Very sharp are the excellent shares, With which they set to work on the south-lying acres. They sow their different kinds of grain, Each seed containing a germ of life. There are those who come to see them, With their baskets round and square, Containing the provision of millet. With their light splint hats on their heads, They ply their hoes on the ground, Clearing away the smart-weed on the dry land and wet. These weeds being decayed, The millets grow luxuriantly. They fall rustling before the reapers. And the sheaves are set up solidly, High as a wall, United together like the teeth of a comb; And the hundred houses are opened to receive the grain. Those hundred houses being full, The wives and children have a feeling of repose. Now we kill this black-muzzled tawny bull, With his crooked horns, To imitate and hand down, To land down the observances of our ancestors.

# 292. SI YI

In his silken robes, clear and bright, With his cap on his head, looking so respectful, From the hall he goes to the foot of the stairs, And from the sheep to the oxen. He inspects the tripods, large and small. The good spirits are mild; There is no noise, no insolence:— An auspice, all this, of great longevity.

# 293. ZHUO

Oh! powerful was the king's army; But he nursed it in obedience to circumstances while the time was yet dark. When the time was clearly bright, He thereupon donned his grand armour. We have been favoured to receive, What the martial king accomplished. To deal aright with what we have inherited, We have to be sincere imitators of thy course, O king.

# 294. HUAN

There is peace throughout our myriad regions; There has been a succession of plentiful years:— Heaven does not weary in its favour. The martial king Wu, Maintained the confidence of his officers, And employed them all over the kingdom, So securing the establishment of his Family. Oh! glorious was he in the sight of Heaven, Which kinged him in the room of Shang.

# 295. LAI

King Wen laboured earnestly; — Right is it we should have received the kingdom. We will diffuse his virtue, ever cherishing the thought of him; Henceforth we will seek only the settlement of the kingdom. It was he through whom came the appointment of Zhou; Oh! let us ever cherish the thought of him.

# 296. BAN

Oh! great now is Zhou. We ascend the high hills, Both those that are long and narrow, and the lofty mountains; Yes, and

we travel along the regulated He, All under the sky, Assembling those who now respond to me. Thus it is that the appointment belongs to Zhou.

PRAISE-SONGS OF LU 297. JIONG

Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the fardistant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are black and white-breeched; some light yellow; Some, pure black; some, bay; All, splendid carriage horses. His thoughts are without limit; -- He thinks of his horses, and they are thus good. Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the far-distant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are piebald, green and white; others, yellow and white; Some, yellowish red; some, dapple grey; All, strong carriage horses. His thoughts are without end; — He thinks of his horses, and they are thus strong. Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the far-distant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are flecked as with scales; some, white and blackmaned; Some, red and black-maned; some, black and whitemaned; All, docile in the carriage, His thoughts never weary; He thinks of his horses, and such they become. Fat and large are the stallions, On the plains of the far-distant borders. Of those stallions, fat and large, Some are cream-coloured; some, red and white; Some, with white hairy legs; some, with fishes' eyes; All, stout carriage horses. His thoughts are without depravity; --; He thinks of his horses, and thus serviceable are they.

#### 298, YOU BI

Fat and strong, fat and strong, Fat and strong, are the chestnut teams. Early and late are the officers in the court, In the court, discriminating and intelligent. They are as a flock of egrets on the wing, Of egrets anon lighting on the ground. The drums emit their deep sound; They drink to the full and then dance; — Thus rejoicing together. Fat and strong, fat and strong, Fat and strong are the teams of stallions. Early and late are the officers with the prince, With the prince drinking. They are as a flock of egrets on the wing, Of egrets flying about. The drums emit their deep sound; They drink to the full and then return home; — Thus rejoicing together. Fat and strong, fat and strong, Fat and strong are the teams of iron-greys. Early and late are the officers with the prince, With the prince feasting. 'From this time forth, May the years be abundant. May our prince maintain his goodness, And transmit it to his descendants! '— Thus they rejoice together.

# 299 PAN SHUI

Pleasant is the semi-circular water. And we will gather the cress about it. The marquis of Lu is coming to it, And we see his dragon-figured banner. His banner waves in the wind, And the bells of his horses tinkle harmoniously. Small and great, All follow the prince in his progress to it. Pleasant is the semi-circular water, And we will gather the pondweed in it. The marquis of Lu has come to it, With his horses looking so grand. His horses are grand. His fame is brilliant. Blandly he looks and smiles; Without any impatience he delivers his instructions. Pleasant is the semi-circular water, And we will gather the mallows about it. The marquis of Lu has come to it. And in the college he is drinking. He is drinking the good spirits; And may there be given him the old age that is seldom enioved! May he accord with the grand ways, So subduing to himself all the people! Very admirable is the marquis of Lu, Reverently displaying his virtue, And reverently watching over his deportment, The pattern of the people. With great qualities truly civil and martial, Brilliantly he affects his meritorious ancestors. In everything entirely filial, He seeks the blessing for himself. Very intelligent is the marquis of Lu, Making his virtue illustrious. He has made this college with its semicircle of water, And the tribes of the Huai will submit in consequence. His martial-looking, tiger leaders, Will here present the left ears of their foes. His examiners, wise as Gaotao, Will here present their prisoners. His numerous officers, Men who have enlarged their virtuous minds, With martial energy conducting their expedition, Will drive far away those tribes of the east and south. Vigorous and grand, Without noise or display, Without having appealed to the judges, They will here present the proofs of their merit. How they draw their bows adorned with bone! How their arrows whizz forth! Their war chariots are very large! Their footmen and charioteers never weary! They have subdued the tribes of the Huai, And brought them to an unrebellious submission! Only lay your plans securely, And all the tribes of the Huai will be got! They come flying on the wing, those owls, And settle on the trees about the college; They eat the fruit of our mulberry trees, And salute us with fine notes. So awakened shall be those tribes of the Huai; They will come presenting their precious things, Their large tortoises and their elephants teeth, And great contributions of the southern metals.

# 300. BI GONG

How pure and still are the solemn temples, In their strong solidity and minute completeness! Highly distinguished was Jiang Yuan, Of virtue undeflected. God regarded her with favour; And without injury or hurt, Immediately, when her months were fulfilled, She gave birth to Hou-ji. On him were conferred all blessings, - To know how the millet ripened early, and the sacrificial millet late, How first to sow pulse, and then wheat. Anon he was invested with an inferior State, And taught the people how to sow and to reap, The millet and the sacrificial millet, Rice and the black millet; Ere long all over the whole country; - Thus continuing the work of Yu. Among the descendants of Hou-ji, There was king Da, Dwelling on the south of mount Qi, Where the clipping of Shang began. In process of time Wen and Wu, Continued the work of king Da, And the purpose of Heaven was carried out in its time, In the plain of Mu. 'Have no doubts, no anxieties,' it was said]; 'God is with you.' Wu disposed of the troops of Shang: He and his men shared equally in the achievement. Then king Qing said, 'My uncle, I will set up your eldest son, And make him marquis of Lu. I will greatly enlarge your territory there, To be a help and support to the House of Zhou.' Accordingly he appointed our first duke of Lu, And make him marquis in the east, Giving him the hills and rivers, The lands and fields, and the attached States. The present descendant of the duke of Zhou, The son of duke Zhuang, With dragon-emblazoned banner attends the sacrifices, His six reins soft and pliant. In spring and autumn he does not neglect the sacrifices; His offerings are all without error. To the great and sovereign God, And to his great ancestor Hou-ji, He offers the victims, red and pure. Then enjoy, they approve, And bestow blessings in large number. The duke of Zhou, and your other great ancestors. Also bless you. In autumn comes the sacrifices of the season, But in summer the bulls for it have had their horns capped. They are the white bull and the red one; There are the bull-figured goblet in its dignity; Roast pig, minced meat, and soups; The dishes of bamboo and wood, and the large stand; And the dancers all-complete. The filial descendant will be blessed. Your ancestors will make you gloriously prosperous! They will make you long-lived and To preserve this eastern region, Long possessing the State of Lu, Unwaning, unfallen, Unshaken, undisturbed! They will make your friendship with your three aged ministers, Like the hills, like the mountains! Our prince's chariots are a thousand. And in each are the vermilion tassels and the green bands of the two spears and two bows. His footmen are thirty thousand, With shells of vermillion-strings [reddish-orange strings] adorning their helmets. So numerous are his ardent followers, To deal with the tribes of the west and north, And to punish those of King and Shu, So that none of them will dare to withstand us. May the Spirits make you grandly prosperous! May they make you long-lived and wealthy! May the hoary hair and wrinkled back. Marking the aged men, be always in your employment! May they make you prosperous and great! May they grant you old age, ever vigorous, For myriads and thousands of years, With the eyebrows of longevity, and ever unharmed! The mountain of Da is lofty, Looked up to by the State of Lu. We grandly possess also Gui and Mong; And we shall extend to the limits of the east. Even the States along the sea. The tribes of the Huai will seek our alliance; — All will proffer their allegiance:— Such shall be the achievements of the marquis of Lu. He shall maintain the possession of Hu and Yi, And extend his sway to the regions of Xu, Even to the States along the sea. The tribes of the Huai, the Man, and the Mi. And those tribes still more to the south, All will proffer their allegiance:— Not one will dare not to answer to his call, Thus showing their obedience to the marquis of Lu. Heaven will give great blessing to our prince, So that with the eyebrows of longevity he shall maintain Lu. He shall possess Chang and Xu, And recover all the territory of the duke of Zhou. Then shall the marquis of Lu feast and be glad, With his admirable wife and aged mother; With his excellent ministers and all his other officers. Our region and State shall be hold. Thus receiving many blessings. To hoary hair, with a child's teeth. The pines of Cu-lei, And the cypresses of Xin-fu, Were cut down and measured, With the cubit line and the eight cubits line. The projecting beams of pine were large; The large inner apartments rose vast. Splendid look the new temples, The work of Xi-si, Very wide and large. Answering to the expectations of all the people.

#### SACRIFICIAL ODES OF SHANG 301. NA

How admirable! how complete! Here are set our handdrums and drums. The drums resound harmonious and loud. To delight our meritorious ancestor. The descendant of Tang invites him with this music, That he may soothe us with the realization of our thoughts. Deep is the sound of the handdrums and drums; Shrilly sound the flutes; All harmonious and blending together, According to the notes of the sonorous gem. Oh! majestic is the descendant of Tang; Very admirable is his music. The large bells and drums fill the ear; The various dances are grandly performed. We have admirable visitors, Who are pleased and delighted. From the old, before our time, The former men set us the example; How to be mild and humble from morning to night, And to be reverent in discharging the service. May he regard our sacrifices in summer and autumn, Thus offered by the descendant of Tang!

302. LIE ZU

Ah! ah! our meritorious ancestor! Permanent are the blessings coming from him, Repeatedly conferred without end:— They have come to you in this place. The clear spirits are in our vessels, And there is granted to us the realization of our thoughts. There are also the well-tempered soups, Prepared beforehand, the ingredients rightly proportioned. By these offerings we invite his presence, without a word, Nor is there now any contention in any part of the service. He will bless us with the eyebrows of longevity, With the grey hair and wrinkled face, in unlimited degree. With the naves of their wheels bound with leather, and their ornamented vokes. With the eight bells at their horses' bits all tinkling, The princess come and assist at the offerings. We have received the appointment in all its greatness, And from Heaven is our prosperity sent down, Fruitful years of great abundance. Our ancestor will come and enjoy our offerings, And confer on us happiness without limit. May he regard our sacrifices in summer and winter, Thus offered by the descendant of Tang!

Heaven commissioned the swallow, To descend and give birth to the father of our Shang. His descendants dwelt in the land of Yin, and became great. Then long ago God appointed the martial Tang, To regulate the boundaries throughout the four quarters. In those quarters he appointed the princes. And grandly possessed the nine regions of the kingdom. The first sovereign of Shang, Received the appointment without any element of instability in it, And it is now held by the descendant of Wu-ding. The descendant of Wu-ding, Is a martial king, equal to every emergency. Ten princes, who came with their dragon-emblazoned banners, Bear the large dishes of millet. The royal domain of a thousand Li, Is where the people rest; But there commence the boundaries that reach to the four seas. From the four seas they come to out sacrifices; They come in multitudes; — King has the He for its outer border. That Yin should have received the apppointment of Heaven was entirely right; — Its sovereign sustains all its dignities.

#### 304. CHANG FA

Profoundly wise were the lords of Shang, And long had there appeared the omens of their dignity. When the waters of the deluge spread vast abroad, Yu arranged and divided the regions of the land, And assigned to the exterior great States their boundaries, With their borders extending all over the kingdom. Then the State of Song began to be great, And God raised up the son of its daughter, and founded the Family of Shang. The dark king exercised an effective sway. Charged with a small State, he commanded success; Charged with a large State, he commanded success. He followed his rules of conduct without error; Wherever he inspected the people, they responded to his instructions. Then came Xiang-tu, allardent, And all within the seas, beyond the middle region, acknowledged his restraints. The favour of God did not leave Shang, And in Tang was found the subject for its display. Tang was not born too late, And his wisdom and virtue daily advanced. Brilliant was the influence of his character on Heaven for long, And God appointed him to be model to the nine regions. He received the rank-tokens of the States, small and large, Which depended on him, like the pendants of a - So did he receive the blessing of Heaven. He was neither violent nor remiss, Neither hard nor soft. Gently he spread his instructions abroad, And all dignities and riches were concentrated iin him. He received the tribute of the States, large and small, And he supported them as a strong steed does its burden; - So did he receive the favour of Heaven. He displayed everywhere his valour, Unshaken, unmoved, Unterrified, unscared: - All dignities were united in him. The martial king displayed his banner, And with reverence grasped his axe. It was like the case of a blazing fire, Which no one can repress. The root, with its three shoots, Could make no progress, no growth. The nine regions were effectually secured by him. Having smitten the princes of Wei and Gu, He dealt with the prince of Kun-wu, and with Jie of Xia. Formerly in the middle of the period before Tang, There was a time of shaking and peril, But truly did Heaven then deal with him as its son, And sent him down a minister, Namely A-heng. Who gave his assistance to the king of Shang.

Rapid was the warlike energy of our king of Yin, And vigorously did he attack Jing-Chu. Boldly he entered its dangerous passes, And brought the multitudes of King together, Till the country was reduced under complete restraint:— Such was the fitting achievement of the descendant of Tang. 'Ye people,' he said, 'of Jing-chu, Dwell in the southern part of my kingdom. Formerly, in the time of Tang the Successful, Even from the Jiang of Di, They dared not but come with their offerings; Their chiefs dared not but come to seek acknowledgment: - Such is the regular rule of

Shang.' Heaven has given their appointments to the princes, But where their capitals had been assigned within the sphere of the labours of Yu, For the business of every year, they appeared before our king, Saying, 'Do not punish nor reprove us; We have not been remiss in our husbandry. 'When Heaven by its will is inspecting the kingdom, The lower people are to be feared. Our king showed no partiality in rewarding, no excess in punishing; He dared not to allow himself in So was his appointment established over the indolence: States, And he made his happiness grandly secure. The capital of Shang was full of order, The model for all parts of the kingdom, Glorious was his fame; Brilliant, his energy. Long lived he and enjoyed tranquillity, And so he preserves us, his descendants. We ascended the hill of King, Where the pines and cypresses grew symmetrical. We cut them down, and conveyed them here; We reverently hewed them square. Long are the projecting beams of pine; Large are the many pillars. The temple was completed, the tranquil abode [of his

#### THE SHU JING

or: The Book of Documents or: The Shang Shu / The Classic of History Romanisation: Pinyin Translation: James Legge, 1865 Estimated Range of Dating: 772-476 BC. (also called: Spring and Autumn period)

(The Book of Documents [also Shujing, Wade-Giles: Shuking] or Classic of History, also known as the Shangshu (Esteemed Documents), is one of the Five Classics of ancient Chinese literature. It is a collection of rhetorical prose attributed to figures of ancient China, and served as the foundation of Chinese political philosophy for over 2,000 years. According to a later tradition, the Book of Documents was compiled by Confucius (551–479 BC) as a selection from a much larger group of documents, with some of the remainder being included in the Yizhoushu. However, the early history of both texts is obscure. Beginning with Confucius, writers increasingly drew on the Documents to illustrate general principles, though it seems that several different versions were in use.

The Book of Documents was the subject of one of China's oldest literary controversies, between proponents of different versions of the text. The "New Text" version was preserved from Qin Shi Huang's burning of books and burying of scholars by scholar Fu Sheng. The longer "Old Text" version was supposedly discovered in the wall of Confucius' family estate in Qufu by his descendant Kong Anguo in the late 2nd century BC, lost at the end of the Han dynasty and rediscovered in the 4th century AD. Over time, the "Old Text" version of the Documents became more widely accepted, until it was established as the imperially sanctioned edition during the early Tang dynasty. This continued until the late 17th century, when the Qing dynasty scholar Yan Ruoqu demonstrated that the additional "Old Text" chapters not contained in the "New Text" version were actually fabrications "reconstructed" in the 3rd or 4th centuries AD.

New light has been shed on the Book of Documents by the recovery between 1993 and 2008 of eaches of texts written on bamboo slips from tombs of the state of Chu in Jingmen, Hubei. These texts are believed to date from the late Warring States period, around 300 BC, and thus predate the burning of the books during the Qin dynasty. The Guodian Chu Slips and the Shanghai Museum corpus include quotations of previously unknown passages of the work. The Tsinghua Bamboo Slips includes the New Text chapter "Golden Coffer", with minor textual differences, as well as several documents in the same style that are not included in the received text. The collection also includes two documents that are versions of the Old Text chapters "Common Possession of Pure Virtue" and "Charge to Yue", confirming that the "rediscovered" versions are forgeries.

Contents: In the orthodox arrangement, the work consists of 58 chapters, each with a brief preface traditionally attributed to Confucius, and also includes a preface and commentary, both purportedly by Kong Anguo. An alternative organisation, first used by Wu Cheng, includes only the New Text chapters, with the chapter prefaces collected together, but omitting the Kong preface and commentary. In addition, several chapters are divided into two or three parts in the orthodox form.

Nature of the chapters: With the exception of a few chapters of late date, the chapters are represented as records of formal speeches by kings or other important figures. Most of these speeches are of one of five types, indicated by their titles:

- Consultations (mo) between the king and his ministers (2 chapters).
- Instructions (xun) to the king from his ministers (1 chapter).
- Announcements (gao) by the king to his people (8 chapters),
- Declarations (shi) by a ruler on the occasion of a battle (6 chapters),
- Commands (ming) by the king to a specific vassal (7 chapters).

Traditional organisation: The chapters are grouped into four sections representing different eras: the semi-mythical reign of Yu the Great, and the three ancient dynasties of the Xia, Shang and Zhou. The first two sections - on Yu the Great and the Xia dynasty - contain two chapters each in the New Text version, and though they purport to record the earliest material in the Documents, from the 2nd millennium BC, most scholars believe they were written during the Warring States period. The Shang dynasty section contains five chapters, of which the first two - the "Speech of King Tang" and "Pan Geng" - recount the conquest of the Xia by the Shang and their leadership's migration to a new capital (now identified as Anyang). The bulk of the Zhou dynasty section concerns the reign of King Cheng of Zhou (r. c. 1040-1006 BC) and the kings's uncles, the Duke of Zhou and Duke of Shao. The last four New Text chapters relate to the later Western Zhou and early Spring and Autumn periods.)

(Chapters with "NT" = "New Text" are in reality the authentic texts!)

DOCUMENTS BOOK 1 - YU

(Book of Yu the Great)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 1 - Yao dian NT (Canon of Emperor Yao, c. 2356–2255 BC.)

I Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Di Yao was styled Fang-xun. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful - naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of (all) complaisance. The bright (influence of these qualities) was felt through the four quarters (of the land), and reached to (heaven) above and (earth) beneath. He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of (all in) the nine classes of his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious. He (also) his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious the myclasted and harmonised the myriad states; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was (universal) concord.

2 He commanded the Xis and Hes, in reverent accordance with (their observation of) the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate (the movements and appearances of) the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people.

He separately commanded the second brother Xi to reside at Yu-yi, in what was called the Bright Valley, and (there) respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. 'The day,' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Niao - you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people are dispersed (in the fields), and birds and beasts breed and copulate.'

He further commanded the third brother Xi to reside at Nan-jiao, (in what was called the Brilliant Capital). to adjust and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully-to observe the exact limit (of the shadow). 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its longest, and the star is in Huo - you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats.'

He separately commanded the second brother He to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and (there) respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. 'The night' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Xu - you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people feel at ease, and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition.'

He further commanded the third brother He to reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capital, and (there) to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its shortest, and the star is in Mao - you may thus exactly determine mid-winter. The people, keep in their houses, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick.'

The Di said, 'Ah! you, Xis and Hes, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. Do you, by means of the intercalary month, fix the four seasons, and complete (the period of) the year. (Thereafter), the various officers being regulated, in accordance with this, all the works (of the year) will be fully performed.'

3 The Di said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man according to the times, whom I can raise and employ?' Fangqi said, '(Your) heir-son Zhu is highly intelligent.' The Di said, 'Alas; he is insincere and quarrelsome - can he do?'

The Di said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?' Huan-dou said, 'Oh! the merits of the Minister of Works have just been displayed on a wide scale.' The Di said, 'Alas! when all is quiet, he talks; but when, employed, his actions turn out differently. he is respectful (only) in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens!'

The Di said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur 'Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity)?' All (in the court) said, 'Ah! is there not Kuan?' The Di said, 'Alasi how perverse is he! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers.' (The President of) the Mountains said, 'Well but--. Try if he can (accomplish the work).' (Kuan) was employed accordingly.

The Di said (to him), 'Go; and be reverent!' For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

4 The Di said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years. You can carry out my commands - I will resign my place to you.' The Chief said, 'I have not the virtue; I should disgrace your place.' (The Di) said, 'Show me some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean.' All (then) said to the Di, 'There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yu'. The Di said, 'Yes, I have heard of him. What have you to say about him?' The Chief said,' He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his (step-

)mother was insincere; his (half-) brother Xiang was arrogant. He has been able (however), by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they (no longer) proceed to great wickedness.' The Di said, 'I will try him; I will wive him, and thereby see his behaviour with my two daughters.' (Accordingly) he arranged and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Gui, to be wives in (the family of) Yu. The Di said to them. 'Be reverent!'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 2 - Shun dian NT

(Canon of Emperor Shun or Chonghua, c. 2294 and 2184 BC.)

- I Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Di Shun was styled Chong-hua. His character was entirely conformed to (that of) the (former) Di, he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous, and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.
- 2 (Shun) carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be (universally) observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of every (official) department were arranged in their proper seasons. Being charged) to receive (the princes) from the four quarters of the land, they were all docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, notwithstanding the tempests of wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray. The Di said, 'Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on (all) affairs, and examined your words, and found that they can be carried into practice (now) for three years. Do you ascend the seat of the Di.' Shun wished to decline in favour of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be (Yao's) successor. On the first day of the first month, (however), he received (Yao's) retirement (from his duties) in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor.
- 3 He examined the pearl-adorned turning sphere, with its transverse tube of jade, and reduced to a harmonious system (the movements of) the Seven Directors. Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits. He called in (all) the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to (the President of) the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors, (finally) returning their symbols to the various princes.
- 4 In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection eastwards, as far as Dai-zong, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers. Thereafter he gave audience to the princes of the east. He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of capacity, and the steelyards, he regulated the five (classes of) ceremonies, with (the various) articles of introduction - the five symbols of jade, the three kinds of silk, the two living (animals) and the one dead one. As to the five instruments of rank, when all was over, he returned them. In the fifth month he made a similar tour southwards, as far as the mountain of the south, where he observed the same ceremonies as at Dai. In the eighth month he made a tour westwards, as far as the mountain of the west, where he did as before. In the eleventh month he made a tour northwards, as far as the mountain of the north', where he observed the same ceremonies as in the west. He (then) returned (to the capital), went to (the temple of) the Cultivated Ancestor, and sacrificed a single bull. In five years there was one tour of inspection, and there were four appearances of the princes at court. They gave a report (of their government) in words, which was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their merits.
- 5 He instituted the division (of the land) into twelve provinces, raising altars upon twelve hills in them. He (also) deepened the rivers.
- 6 He exhibited (to the people) the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five (great) inflictions; with the whip to be employed in the magistrates courts, the stick to be employed in schools, and money to be received for redeemable offences. Inadvertent offences and those which could be ascribed to misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. 'Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent!' (he said to himself.) 'Let compassion rule in punishment!' He banished the Minister of Works to You island; confined Huan-dou on mount Chong; drove (the chief of) San-miao (and his people) into San-wei, and kept them there; and held Gun a prisoner till death on mount Yu. These four criminals being thus dealt with, all under heaven acknowledged the justice (of Shun's administration).
- 7 After twenty-eight years the Di deceased, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed.

8 On the first day of the first month (of the) next year, Shun went to (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor. He deliberated with (the President of) the Four Mountains how to throw open the doors (of communication between himself and the) four (quarters of the land), and how he could see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of all. He consulted with the twelve Pastors, and said to them, 'The food!--it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission.'

9 Shun said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, is there any one who can with vigorous service attend to all the affairs of the Di, whom I may appoint to be General Regulator, to assist me in (all) affairs, managing each department according to its nature?' All (in the court) replied, 'There is Bo-Yu, the Minister of Works.' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Yu, you have regulated the water and the land. In this (new office) exert yourself.' Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the Minister of Agriculture, or Xie, or Gao-Yao. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties).'

10 The Di said, 'Qi, the black-haired people are (still) suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as Minister of Agriculture, (continue to) sow (for them) the various kinds of grain.'

11 The Di said, 'Xie, the people are (still) wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely, observe the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the Minister of Instruction, reverently, to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness.'

12 The Di said, 'Gao-Yao, the barbarous tribes trouble our great land. There are (also) robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the Minister of Crime, to use the five punishments to deal with their offences. For the infliction of these there are the three appointed places. There are the five cases in which banishment in the appropriate places is to be resorted to, to which places, though five, three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere (submission).'

13 The Di said, 'Who can superintend my works, as they severally require?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Chui?' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Chui, you must be Minister of Works,' Chui did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Shu, Qiang, or Bo-Yu. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Effect a harmony (in all the departments).'

14 The Di said, 'Who can superintend, as the nature of the charge requires, the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts on my hills and in my marshes?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Yi?' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Yi do you be my Forester.' Yi dio obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Zhu, Hu, Xiong, or Pi. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). You must manage them harmoniously.'

15 The Di said, 'Ho! (President of the) Four Mountains, is there any one able to direct my three (religious) ceremonies?' All (In the court) answered, 'Is there not Bo-yi?' The Di said, 'Yes. Ho! Bo, you must be the Arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be reverent. Be upright, be pure.' Bo did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Kui or Long. The Di said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Be reverential!'

16 The Di said, 'Kui, I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle, dignified: the strong, not tyrannical: and the impetuous, not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the standard tubes. (In this way) the eight different kinds of musical instruments can be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another; and spirits and men are brought into harmony.' Kui said, 'I smite the (sounding-) stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance.'

17 The Di said, 'Long, I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of the (right) ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the Minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that everything is true.'

18 The Di said, 'Ho! you, twenty and two men, be reverent; so shall you be helpful to the business (entrusted to me by) Heaven.'

19 Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving advanced. (By this arrangement) the duties of all the departments were fully discharged; the (people of) San-miao (also) were discriminated and separated.

20 In the thirtieth year of his age, Shun was called to employment. Thirty years he was on the throne (with Yao). Fifty years afterwards he went on high and died.

21 (Emperor Li's land, set up a living, not classified. He is the author of "The Works". "The Nine", and "Gao Yu".)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 3 - Da Yu mo

(Counsels of the Great Yu or Si Wenming, c. 2123 – 2025

- 1 Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Great Yu was styled Wen-ming. Having arranged and divided (the land), all to the four seas, in reverent response to the Di, he said, 'If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignship, and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous.'
- 2 The Di said, 'Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be left neglected, away from court, and the myriad states will all enjoy repose. (But) to obtain the views of all; to give tip one's opinion and follow that of others; to keep from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the straitened and poor it was only the (former) Di who could attain to this.'
- 3 Yi said, 'Oh! your virtue, O Di, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spirit-like, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favour, and bestowed on you its appointment. Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all under heaven.'
- 4 Yu said, 'Accordance with the right leads to good fortune; following what is opposed to it, to bad the shadow and the
- 5 Yi said, 'Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there seems to be no occasion for anxiety. Do not fail to observe the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in idleness. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not carry out plans, of (the wisdom of) which you have doubts. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people's (wishes), to follow your own desires. (Attend to these things) without idleness or omission, and the barbarous tribes all around will come and acknowledge your sovereignty.'
- 6 Yu said, 'Oh! think (of these things), O Di. The virtue (of the ruler) is seen in (his) good government, and that government in the nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, the earth, and grain these must be duly regulated; there are the rectification of (the people's) virtue, (the tools and other things) that supply the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation these must be harmoniously attended to. When the nine services (thus indicated) have been orderly accomplished, that accomplishment will be hailed by (the people's) songs. Caution them with gentle (words), correct them with the majesty (of law), stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects in order that (your success) may not suffer diminution.'
- 7 The Di said, 'The earth has been reduced to order, and the (influences of) heaven produce their complete effect; those six magazines and three departments of (governmental) action are all truly regulated, and may be depended on for a myriad generations this is your merit.'

8 The Di said, 'Come, you Yu. I have occupied my place for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leading of my people.'

9 Yu replied, 'My virtue is not equal (to the position), and the people will not repose in me. (But there is) Gao-Yao with vigorous activity sowing abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O Di, think of him! When I think of him, (my mind) rests on him (as the man fit for this place); when I would put him out of my thoughts, (my mind still) rests on him; when I name and speak of him, (my mind) rests on him (for this); the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O Di, think of his merits.'

10 The Di said, 'Gao-Yao, that of these my ministers and all (my people) hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owing to your being Minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby assisting (the inculcation of) the five cardinal duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with (the path of) the Mean. (Continue to) be strenuous.'

11 Gao-Yao replied, 'Your virtue, O Di, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a kindly ease; you preside over the multitudes with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to (the criminal's) heirs, while rewards reach to (succeeding) generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why

they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers.'

12 The Di said, 'That I am able to follow and obtain what I desire in my government, the people responding everywhere as if moved by the wind - this is your excellence.'

13 The Di said, 'Come Yu. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you accomplished truly (all that you had represented), and completed your service - thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the country, and sparing in your expenditure on your family, and this without being full of yourself and elated you (again.) show your superiority to other men. You are without any prideful assumption, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of ability; you make no boasting, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of merit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend (the throne) of the great sovereign. The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean, Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; do not follow plans about which you have not sought counsel. Of all who are to be loved, is not the ruler the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without their sovereign Head, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverential! Carefully maintain the throne which you are to occupy, cultivating (the virtues) that are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and raises up war. I will not alter my words.'

14 Yu said, 'Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination, and let the favouring indication be followed.'

15 The Di replied, '(According to the rules for) the regulation of divination, one should first make up his mind, and afterwards refer (his judgement) to the great tortoiseshell. My mind (in this matter) was determined in the first place; I consulted and deliberated with all (my ministers and people), and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred. Divination, when fortunate, should not be repeated.' Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and firmly declined (the place).

firmly declined (the place).

16 The Di said, 'You must not do so. It is you who can suitably (occupy my place).'

17 On the first morning of the first month, (Yu) received the appointment in the temple (dedicated by Shun) to the spirits of his ancestors, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done by the Di at the commencement (of his government).

18 The Di said, 'Alas! O Yu, there is only the lord of Miao who refuses obedience; do you go and correct him.'

19 Yu on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, 'Ye multitudes here arrayed, listen all of you to my orders. Stupid is this lord of Miao, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys (all the obligations of) virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill (all) the offices. The people reject him and will not protect him. Heaven is sending down calamities upon him. I therefore, along with you, my multitude of gallant men, bear the instructions (of the Di) to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprize be crowned with success.'

20 At the end of three decades, the people of Miao continued rebellious against the commands (issued to them), when Yi came to the help of Yu, saying, 'It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase - this is the way of Heaven. In the early time of the Di, when he was living by mount Li, he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself all guilt, and charging himself with (their) wickedness. (At the same time) with respectful service he appeared before Gu-sou, looking grave and awe-struck, till Gu also became transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings - how much more will it move this lord of Miao!"

21 Yu did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.' (Thereupon) he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The Di set about diffusing on a grand scale the virtuous influences of peace - with shields and feathers they danced between the two staircases (in his courtyard). In seventy days, the lord of Miao came (and made his submission).

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 4 - Gao Yao mo NT (Counsels of Gao-yao, Shun's Minister for Law)

1 Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Gao-Yao said, 'If (the sovereign) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue,

the counsels (offered to him) will be intelligent, and the aids (of admonition that he receives) will be harmonious.'

Yu said, 'Yes, but explain yourself.'

Gao-Yao said, 'Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and thus he will produce a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine branches of his kindred. All the intelligent (also) will exert themselves in his service; and in this way from what is near he will reach to what is distant.'

Yu did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.'

Gao-Yao continued, 'Oh! it lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people.'

Yu said, 'Alas! to attain to both these things might well be a difficulty even to the Di. When (the sovereign) knows men, he is wise, and can put every one into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired race cherish him in their hearts. When he can be (thus) wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Huan-dou? what to be removing a lord of Miao? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?

2 Gao-Yao said, 'Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct, and when we say that a man possesses (any) virtue, that is as much as to say he does such and such things.'

Yu asked, 'What (are the nine virtues)?'

Gao-Yao replied, 'Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness: straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. (When these qualities are) displayed, and that continuously, have we not the good (officer)? When there is a daily display of three (of these) virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and brighten the clan (of which he was made chief). When there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six of them, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the state (with which he was invested). When (such men) are all received and advanced, the possessors of those nine virtues will be employed in (the public) service. The men of a thousand and men of a hundred will be in their offices; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five seasons (as the several elements predominate in them) - and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished. Let not (the Son of Heaven) set to the holders of states the example of indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, (remembering that) in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have his various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!

From Heaven are the (social) relationships with their several duties; we are charged with (the enforcement of) those five duties - and lo! we have the five courses of honourable conduct. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies - and lo! they appear in regular practice. When (sovereign and ministers show) a common reverence and united respect for these, lo! the moral nature (of the people) is made harmonious. Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous - are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty - are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government! - ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it? Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe - such connexion is there between the upper and lower (worlds). How reverent ought the masters of territories to be!

3 Gao-Yao said, 'My words are in accordance with reason, and maybe put in practice.'

Yu said, 'Yes, your words may be put in practice, and crowned with success.'

Gao-Yao added, '(As to that) I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May (the government) be perfected!'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 5 - Yi Ji NT (Yi and Ji)

(Yi and Ji)

I The Di said, 'Come Yu, you also must have excellent words (to bring before me).' Yu did obeisance, and said, 'Oh! what can I say, O Di, (after Gao-Yao)? I can (only) think of maintaining a daily assiduity.' Gao-Yao said, 'Alas! will you describe it?' Yu replied, 'The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the hills and overtopped the great mounds, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances, and all along the hills hewed down the trees, at the same time, along with Yi, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I (also) opened passages for the streams (throughout the) nine (provinces), and conducted them to the four seas. I deepened (moreover) the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, sowing (grain), at the same time, along with Ji,

and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil, (in addition to) the flesh meat. I urged them (further) to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. (In this way) all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule. Gao-Yao said, 'Yes, we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words.'

2 Yu said, 'Oh! carefully maintain, O Di, the throne which you occupy.' The Di replied, 'Yes;' and Yu went on, 'Find your repose in your (proper) resting-point. Attend to the springs of things; study stability; and let your assistants be the upright - then shall your movements be grandly responded to, (as if the people only) waited for your will. Thus you will brightly receive (the favour of) God - will not Heaven renew its appointment of you, and give you blessing?'

3 The Di said, 'Alas! what are ministers? - are they not (my) associates? What are associates? - are they not (my) ministers?' Yu replied, 'Yes'.

The Di went on, 'My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people - you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence (of my government) through the four quarters - you act as my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients - the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragons, and the flowery fowl (the pheasant), which are depicted (on the upper garment); the temple cups, the pondweed, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction. which are embroidered (on the lower Garment) - (I wish to see all these) fully displayed in the five colours, so as to form the (ceremonial) robes - it is yours to see them clearly (for me). I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes (determined by them), and the eight kinds of musical instruments (regulated again by these), examining thereby the virtues and defects of government, according as (the odes that) go forth (from the court, set to music), and come in (from the people), are ordered by those five notes - it is yours to hear them (for me). When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me; do not follow me to my face, and, when you have retired, have other remarks to make. Be reverent, ye associates, who are before and behind and on each side of me! As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are found not to be doing what is right, are there not the target to exhibit (their true character), the scourge to make them recollect, and the book of remembrance? Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters (of music) to receive their compositions, (set them to music), and continually publish them (as corrected by themselves). If they become reformed they are to be received and employed: if they do not let the terrors (of punishment) overtake them.

Yu said, 'So far good! But let your light shine, O Di, all under heaven, even to every grassy corner of the sea-shore, and throughout the myriad regions the most worthy of the people will all (wish) to be your ministers. Then, O Di, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them according to their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare not to cultivate a humble virtue? who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O Di, do not act thus, all (your ministers) together will daily proceed to a meritless character.'

4 'Be not haughty like Zhu of Dan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppressive course. Day and night without ceasing he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the prosperity of his house to an end. I took warning from his course. When I married in Tu-shan, (I remained with my wife only the days) xin, ren, gui, and jia. When (my son) Qi was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. (Then) I assisted in completing the five Tenures, extending over 5000 li; (in appointing) in the provinces twelve Tutors, and in establishing in the regions beyond, reaching to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path, and are meritorious; but there are still (the people of) Miao, who obstinately refuse to render their service. Think of this, O Di.' The Di said, 'That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly displayed. And now Gao-Yao, entering respectfully into your arrangements, is on every hand displaying the (various) punishments, as represented, with entire intelligence.'

5 Kui said, 'When the sounding-stone is tapped or struck with force, and the lutes are strongly swept or gently touched, to accompany the singing, the progenitors (of the Di) come (to the service), the guest of Yu is in his place, and all the princes show their virtue in giving place to one another. (In the court) below (the hall) there are the flutes and handdrums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at that of the stopper, when the organ and bells take their place. (This makes) birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Di, have all been performed, the male and female phenix come with their measured gambolings (into the court). 'Kui said, 'Oh! when I smite the (sounding-) stone, or gently strike it, the various

animals lead on one another to dance, and all the chiefs of the official departments become truly harmonious.'

6 The Di on this made a song, saying, 'We must deal cautiously with the favouring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular.' He then sang.

'When the members (work) joyfully,

The head rises (grandly);

And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged!

Gao-Yao did obeisance with his head to his hands and then to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said,' Think (O Di). It is your to lead on and originate things. Pay careful attention to your laws (in doing so). Be reverential! and often examine what has been accomplished (by your officers). Be reverential!' With this he continued the song,

'When the head is intelligent, The members are good; And all affairs will be happily performed!'

Again he continued the song, 'When the head is vexatious, The members are idle; And all affairs will go to ruin!'

The Di said, 'Yes, go and be reverently (attentive to your duties).'

# **DOCUMENTS BOOK 2 - XIA SHU** (Book of the Xia Dynasty)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 6 - Yu Gong NT (Tribute of Yu)

1 Yu divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he cut down the trees. He determined the highest hills and largest rivers (in the several regions).

2 With respect to Ji Zhou, he did his work at Hu-kou, and took effective measures at (the mountains) Liang and Qi. Having repaired the works on Tai-Yuan, he proceeded on to the south of (mount) Yue. He was successful with his labours on Tan-huai, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of Zhang. The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the highest of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class. The (waters of the) Heng and Wei were brought to their proper channels, and Da-lu was made capable of cultivation. The wild people of the islands (brought) dresses of skins (i.e. fur dresses); keeping close on the right to the rocks of Jie, they entered the He.

3 Between the Ji and the He was Yan Zhou. The nine branches of the He were made to keep their proper channels. Lei-xia was made a marsh, in which (the waters of) the Yong and the Ju were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then (the people) came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds (below). The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it was luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount; but it was not required from it, as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk, and, in baskets, woven ornamental fabrics. They floated along the Ji and Ta, and so reached the He.

4 The sea and (mount) Dai were the boundaries of Qing Zhou. (The territory of) Yu-yi was defined; and the Wei and Zi were made to keep their (old) channels. Its soil was whitish and rich. Along the shore of the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its articles of tribute were salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, productions of the sea of various kinds; with silk, hemp, lead, pine trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of Dai. The wild people of Lai were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry tree. They floated along the Wen, and so reached the Ji.

5 The sea, mount Dai, and the Huai were (the boundaries of) Xu Zhou. The Huai and the Yi (rivers) were regulated. The (hills) Meng and Yu were made fit for cultivation. (The waters of) Da-ye were confined (so as to form a marsh); and (the tract of) Dong-Yuan was successfully brought under management. The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. Its grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its articles of tribute were: earth of five different colours, variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yu, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yi, and the sounding-stones that (seemed to) float on the (banks of the) Si. The wild tribes about the Huai brought oysterpearls and fish, and their baskets full of deep azure and other silken fabrics, chequered and pure white. They floated along the Huai and the Si and so reached the He

6 The Huai and the sea formed (the boundaries of) Yang Zhou. The (lake of) Peng-li was confined to its proper limits, and the sun-birds (the wild geese) had places to settle on. The three Jiang were led to enter the sea, and it became possible to still the marsh of Zhen. The bamboos, small and large, then

spread about; the grass grew thin and long, and the trees rose high; the soil was miry. The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; yao and kun stones; bamboos, small and large; (elephants') teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell-patterns in their baskets. Their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes, rendered when specially required. They followed the course of the Jiang and the sea, and so reached the Huai and the Si.

7 (Mount) Jing and the south of (mount) Heng formed (the boundaries of) Jing Zhou. The Jiang and the Han pursued their (common) course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine Jiang were brought into complete order. The Tuo and Qian (streams) were conducted by their proper channels. The land in (the marsh of) Yun (became visible), and (the marsh of) Meng was made capable of cultivation. The soil of this province was miry. Its fields were the average of the middle class: and its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, (elephants') teeth, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; chun trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and cinnabar; and the jun and lu bamboos, with the hu tree, (all good for making arrows) - of which the Three Regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed-rush was sent in bundles, put into cases. The baskets were filled with silken fabrics, azure and deep purple, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the (country of the) nine Jiang, the great tortoise was presented when specially required (and found). They floated down the Jiang, the Tuo, the Qian, and the Han, and crossed (the country) to the Luo, whence they reached the most southern part of the He.

8 The Jing (mountain) and the He were (the boundaries of) Yu Zhou. The Yi, the Luo, the Chan, and the Jian were conducted to the He. The (marsh of) Rong-bo was confined within its proper limits. The (waters of that of) Ge were led to (the marsh of) Meng-zhu. The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was (in some places) rich, and (in others) dark and thin. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and the boehmerea. The baskets were full of chequered silks, and of fine floss silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered when required. They floated along the Luo, and so reached the He.

9 The south of (mount) Hua and the Blackwater, were (the boundaries of) Liang Zhou. The (hills) Min and Bo were made capable of cultivation. The Tuo and Qian streams were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to (the hills) Cai and Meng on the regulation (of the country about them). (The country of) the wild tribes about the He was successfully operated on. The soil of this province was greenish and light. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below. Its articles of tribute, were - the best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and soundingstones: with the skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and (nets) woven of their hair. From (the hill of) Xi-qing they came by the course of the Huan; floated along the Qian, and then crossed (the country) to the Mian; passed to the Wei, and (finally) ferried across the He.

10 The Black-water and western He were (the boundaries of) Yong Zhou. The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The Jing was led to mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Qi and the Zhu were next led in a similar way (to the Wei), and the waters of the Feng found the same receptacle. (The mountains) Jing and Qi were sacrificed to. (Those of) Zhongnan and Dun-we (were also regulated), and (all the way) on to Niao-shu. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to (the marsh of) Zhu-ye. (The country of) San-wei was made habitable, and the (affairs of the) people of San-miao were greatly arranged. The soil of the province was yellow and mellow. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue the lowest of the second. Its articles of tribute were the qiu jade and the lin, and (the stones called) lang-gan. Past Ji-shi they floated on to Long-men on the western He. They then met on the north of the Wei (with the tribute-bearers from other quarters) Haircloth and skins (were brought from) Kun-lun, Xi-zhi, and Jusou; the wild tribes of the West (all) coming to (submit to Yu's) arrangements.

11 (Yu) surveyed and described (the hills), beginning with Qian and Qi, and proceeding to mount Jing; then, crossing the He, Hu-kou, and Lei-shou, going on to Tai-yue. (After these came) Di-zhu and Xi-cheng, from which he went on to Wang-wu; (then there were) Tai-hang and Mount Heng, from which he proceeded to the rocks of Jie, where he reached the sea.

12 (South of the He, he surveyed) Xi-qing, Zhu-yu, and Niao-shu, going on to Tai-hua; (then) Xiong-er, Wai-fang, and Tong-pai, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

13 He surveyed and described Bo-zhong, going on to (the other) mount Jing; and Nei-fang, from which he went on to

14 (He did the same with) the south of mount Min, and went on mount Heng. Then crossing the nine Jiang, he proceeded to the plain of Fu-qian.

15 He traced the Weak-water as far as the He-li (mountains), from which its superfluous waters went away among the moving sands.

16 He traced the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it (went away to) enter the southern sea.

17 He traced the He from Ji-shi as far as Long-men; and thence, southwards, to the north of (mount) Hua; eastward then to Di-zhu; eastward (again) to the ford of Meng; eastward (still) to the junction of the Luo; and then on to Dapi. (From this the course was) northwards, past the Jiangwater, on to Da-lu; north from which the river was divided, and became the nine He, which united again, and formed the Meeting He, when they entered the sea.

18 From Bo-zhong he traced the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east it became the water of Cang-lang; and after passing the three Dykes, it went on to Da-bie, southwards from which it entered the Jiang. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of Pengli; and from that its eastern flow was the northern Jiang, as which it entered the sea.

19 From mount Min he traced the Jiang, which, branching off to the east, formed the Tuo; eastward again, it reached the Li, passed the nine Jiang, and went on to Dong-ling; then flowing east, and winding to the north, it joined (the Han) with its eddying movements. From that its eastern flow was the middle Jiang, as which it entered the sea.

20 He traced the Yan water, which, flowing eastward, became the Ji, and entered the He. (Thereafter) it flowed out, and became the Ying (marsh). Eastward, it issued forth on the north of Tao-qiu, and flowed farther east to (the marsh of) Ge; then it went north-east, and united with the Wen; thence it went north, and (finally) entered the sea on the east.

21 He traced the Huai from the hill of Tong-bai. Flowing east, it united with the Si and the Yi, and (still) with an eastward course entered the sea.

22 He traced the Wei from (the hill) Niao-shu-tong-xue. Flowing eastward, it united with the Feng, and eastwards again with the Jing. Farther east still, it passed the Qi and the Ju, and entered the He.

23 He traced the Luo from (the hill) Xiong-er. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the Jian and the Chan, and eastwards still with the Yi. Then on the north-east it entered the He

24 (Thus), throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected:—the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to; the sources of the rivers were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas. The six magazines (of material wealth) were fully attended to; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. (The fields) were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Region were established. He conferred lands and surnames. (He said), 'Let me set the example of a reverent attention to my virtue, and none will act contrary to my conduct.'

25 Five hundred li formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

Five hundred li (beyond) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred li was occupied by the cities and lands of the (sovereign's) high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the (other) three hundred, by the various other princes.

Five hundred li (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defence.

Five hundred li (remoter still) formed the Domain of Restraint. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the  $\hat{i}$ ; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Five hundred li (the most remote) constituted the Wild Domain. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the Man; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

26 On the east, reaching to the sea; on the west, extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south - his fame and influence filled up (all within) the four

seas. Yu presented the dark-coloured symbol of his rank, and announced the completion of his work.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 7 - Gan shi NT

(Speech at the Battle of Gan)

1 There was a great battle at Kan. (Previous to it), the king called together the six nobles, (the leaders of his six hosts),

And said, 'Ah! all ye who are engaged in my six hosts, I have a solemn announcement to make to you. The lord of Hu wildly wastes and despises the five elements (that regulate the seasons), and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment (to Hu); and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven. If you, (the archers) on the left, do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, (the spearmen) on the right, do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders, shall be rewarded before (the spirits of) my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders, shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children.'

## DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 8 - Wu zi zhi ge (Songs of the Five Sons)

1 Tai Kang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Luo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Yi, the prince of Qiong, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the He. The (king's) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Luo; and (when they heard of Yi's movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yu in the form of songs.

2 The first said,

'It was the lesson of our great ancestor:

The people should be cherished,

And not looked down upon.

The people are the root of a country;

The root firm, the country is tranquil.

When I look at all under heaven,

Of the simple men and simple women,

Any one may surpass me. If the One man err repeatedly,

Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?

Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.

In my dealing with the millions of the people,

I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses with rotten reins.

The ruler of men -

How should he be but reverent (of his duties)?'

3 The second said,

'It is in the Lessons

When the palace is a wild of lust,

And the country is a wild for hunting;

When spirits are liked, and music is the delight; When there are lofty roofs and carved walls;

The existence of any one of these things

Has never been but the prelude to ruin.

4 The third said,

'There was the lord of Tao and Tang

Who possessed this region of Ji.

Now we have fallen from his ways

And thrown into confusion his rules and laws;

The consequence is extinction and ruin.

5 The fourth said.

'Brightly intelligent was our ancestor,

Sovereign of the myriad regions.

He had canons, he had patterns,

Which he transmitted to his posterity.

The standard stone and the equalising quarter Were in the royal treasury.

Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us,

Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our sacrifices.

6 The fifth said,

'Oh! whither shall we turn?

The thoughts in my breast make me sad

All the people are hostile to us: On whom can we rely?

Anxieties crowd together in our hearts;

Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.

We have not been careful of our virtue;

And though we repent, we cannot over-take the past.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 9 - Yin zheng

(Punitive Expedition on King Zhongkang of Yin)

1 When Zhong Kang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the (king's) six hosts. (At this time) the Xi and He had neglected the duties of their office, and were abandoned to drink in their (private) cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king's charge to go and punish them

He made an announcement to his hosts, saying, 'Ah! ye, all my men, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage (founder of our dynasty), clearly verified in their power to give stability and security: "The former kings were carefully attentive to the warnings of Heaven, and their ministers observed the regular laws (of their offices). All the officers (moreover) watchfully did their duty to assist (the government), and their sovereign became entirely intelligent." Every year, in the first month of spring, the herald, with his wooden-tongued bell, goes along the roads, (proclaiming), "Ye officers able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subjects of your employments. If any of you do not attend with respect (to this requirement), the country has regular punishments for you."

'Now here are the Xi and He. They have allowed their virtue to be subverted, and are besotted by drink. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to let the regulating of the heavenly (bodies) get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped, and the common people (employed about the public offices) ran about. The Xi and the He, however, as if they were (mere) personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing - so stupidly went they astray (from their duties) in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendered themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, "When they anticipated the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when (their reckoning) is behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy

'Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.

'When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kun, gems and stones are burned together; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore), the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.

'Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and take warning, (and obey my

2-4 (Untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS BOOK 3 - SHANG SHU

(Book of the Shang Dynasty, or Yin Dynasty)

## DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 10 - Tang shi NT (Speech of Tang)

1 The king said, 'Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Xia, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him. Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, "Our prince does not compassionate us, but (is calling us) away from our husbandry to attack and punish Xia." I have indeed heard (these) words of you all; (but) the sovereign of Xia is guilty, and as I fear God, I dare not but punish him. Now you are saying, "What are the crimes of Xia to us?" The king of Xia in every way exhausts the strength of his people, and exercises oppression in the cities of Xia. His multitudes are become entirely indifferent (to his service), and feel no bond of union'(to him). They are saying, "When wilt thou, O sun, expire? We will all perish with thee." Such is the course of (the sovereign) of Xia, and now I must go (and punish him).

2 'Assist, I pray you, me, the One man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me - I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have thus spoken to you, I will put your children to death with you - you shall find no forgiveness.

3-4 (untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 11 - Zhonghui zhi gao

(Announcement of Zhong-hui)

1 When Tang the Successful was keeping Jie in banishment in Nan-chao, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, 'I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me, (as an apology for their rebellious proceedings.)

2 On this Zhong-hui made the following announcement: 'Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with (such) desires. that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven

again gives birth to the man of intelligence to regulate them. The sovereign of Xia had his virtue all-obscured, and the people were (as if they had fallen) amid mire and (burning) charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted (our) king with valour and prudence, to serve as a sign and director to the myriad regions, and to continue the old ways of Yu. You are now (only) following the proper course, honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Xia was an offender, falsely and calumniously alleging the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang to receive his appointment, and employed (you) to enlighten the multitudes (of the people).'

'Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful, many such followers he had indeed: (but) from the first our country was to the sovereign of Xia like weeds among the springing corn, and blasted grains among the good. (Our people), great and small, were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our (prince's) virtues became a theme (eagerly) listened to! Our king did not approach to (dissolute) music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and wealth. To great virtue he gave great offices, and to great merit great rewards. He employed others as if (their excellences) were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display, (of such virtue), confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

'When the earl of Ge showed his enmity to the provisioncarriers, the work of punishment began with Ge. When it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured: they said, "Why does he make us alone the last?" To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their families, saying, "We have waited for our prince; our prince is come, and we revive." The people's honouring our Shang is a thing of long existence.'

'Show favour to the able and right-principled (among the princes), and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. When you (thus) accelerate the end of what is (of itself) ready to perish, and strengthen what is itself strong to live, how will the states all flourish! When (a sovereign's) virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad regions; when his mind is full (only) of himself, he is abandoned by the nine branches of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your virtue (still more) illustrious, and set up (the standard of) the Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety - so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying, "He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to put questions, becomes enlarged; he who uses only his own views, becomes smaller (than he was)." Oh! he who would take care for the end must be attentive to the beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring appointment

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 12 - Tāng gào

(Announcement of King Tang or Cheng Tang or Da Yi, c. 1675 - 1646 BC.)

1 When the king returned from vanquishing Xia and came

to Bo, he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

The king said, 'Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the One man. The great God has conferred (even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign

The king of Xia extinguished his virtue, and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth." The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable. It sent down calamities on (the House of) Xia, to make manifest its guilt. Therefore I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive (the criminal). I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim-bull, and, making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Xia as a criminal. Then I sought for the great Sage, with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favour (of Heaven) for you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. What Heaven appoints is without error; brilliantly (now), like the blossoming of plants and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.

It is given to me, the One man, to secure the harmony and tranquillity of your states and clans and now I know not whether I may not offend against (the Powers) above and below. I am fearful and trembling, as if I were in danger of falling into a deep abyss. Throughout all the regions that enter on a new life under me, do not, (ye princes), follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolence and dissoluteness; let every one be careful to keep his statutes - that so we may receive the favour of Heaven. The good in you I will not dare to keep concealed; and for the evil in me I will not dare to forgive myself. I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God. When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One man. When guilt is found in me, the One man, it shall not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions. Oh! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a (happy) consummation.

2 (untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 13 - Yi xun

(Instructions of Yi, Minister to King Tang of Shang)

1 In the twelfth month of the first year, on (the day) Yichou, Yi Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir-king reverently before (the shrine of) his grandfather. All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the royal domain were present; all the officers (also), each continuing to discharge his particular duties, were there to receive the orders of the chief minister. Yi Yin then clearly described the complete virtue of the Meritorious Ancestor for the instruction of the (young) king.

He said, 'Oh! of old the former kings of Xia cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all enjoyed their existence according to their nature. But their descendant did not follow (their example), and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our (ruler) who was in possession of its favouring appointment. The attack (on Xia) may be traced to (the orgies in) Ming-tiao, but our (rise) began in Bo. Our king of Shang brilliantly displayed his sagely prowess; for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness; and the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue - all depends on (how) you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love (your relations); to set up respect, it is for you to respect (your elders). The commencement is in the family and the state; the consummation is in (all within) the four seas

'Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together. He listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to (the wisdom of) the ancients; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed (the good qualities of) the men (whom he employed), and did not seek that they should have every talent: in the government of himself, he seemed to think that he could never (sufficiently) attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. How painstaking was he in these things! He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you, his descendant and heir. He laid down the punishments for officers, And warned those who were in authority, saying, "If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers, that is called the fashion of sorcerers; if you dare, to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to the chase, that is called the fashion of extravagance; if you dare to despise sage words, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to seek the company of procacious youths, that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these three fashions with their ten evil ways, his family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his state will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not (try to) correct (such vices in the sovereign) shall be punished with branding." These rules were minutely inculcated (also) on the sons of officers and nobles in their lessons.

'Oh! do you who now succeed to the throne, revere (these warnings) in your person. Think of them!--sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth! (The ways) of God are not invariable: on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries. Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things (or in large), and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing. If you be not virtuous, be it in large things (or in small), it will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.

## DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 14 - Tai Jia 1 (Great Oath part 1)

1 The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow (the advice of) A-heng. (A-heng or) Yi Yin then made the following writing: 'The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple - all with a sincere reverence. Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions. I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people; and thus it is that you, O heir-king, have received the great inheritance. I have seen it myself in Xia with its western capital, that when its rulers went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same, and afterwards, when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. If you do not play the sovereign, as the name requires, you will disgrace your grandfather.

2 The king would not think (of these words), nor listen to them. On this Yi Yin said, 'The former king, before it was light, sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the dawn (to carry them into practice). He (also) sought on every side for men of ability and virtue, to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge (to me), and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue of self-restraint, and cherish farreaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets I go; reverently determine your aim, and follow the ways of your grandfather. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to show to all ages that I have discharged my trust.'

3 The king was not yet able to change (his course). Yin said (to himself), 'This is (real) unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice (a second) nature. I cannot bear to be near (so) disobedient (a person). I will build (a place) in the palace at Tong, where he can be in silence near (the grave of) the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life.' The king went (accordingly) to the palace at Tong, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 15 - Tai Jia 2

(Great Oath part 2)

5 On the first day of the twelfth month of his third year, Yi Yin escorted the young king in the royal cap and robes back to Bo. (At the same time) he made the following writing: Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to (the comfort of) their lives; without the people, the sovereign would have no sway over the four quarters (of the kingdom). Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous. This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations.

6 The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, 'I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape." Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian; -- my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be

7 Yi Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head on the ground, and said, 'To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous, bring (all) below to harmonious concord with him; this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands - all with sincere delight. Even in the states of the neighbouring princes, (the people) said, "We are waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments (that we, now do)." O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard (the example of) your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. In worshipping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety; in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking to what is distant. Try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to lessons of virtue - then shall I acknowledge (and respond to) the excellence of your majesty with an untiring (devotion to your service).

## DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 16 - Tai Jia 3 (Great Oath part 3)

8 Yi Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, 'Oh! Heaven has no (partial) affection - only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish; they cherish (only) him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them; they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A place of difficulty is the Heaven-(conferred) seat. When there are (those) virtues, good government is realized; when they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same

principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity; to pursue the courses of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God. Now O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line; fix your inspection on him.'

'(Your course must be) as when in ascending high you begin from where it is low, and when in travelling far you begin from where it is near. Do not slight the occupations of the people - think of their difficulties. Do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne - think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words that are distasteful to your mind, you must enquire whether they be not right; when you hear words that accord with your own views, you must enquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made without anxious thought? what achievement can be made without earnest effort? Let the One man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.

When the sovereign does not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister does not, for favour and gain, continue in an office whose work is done, -- then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness.'

### DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 17 - Xian vou vi de (Common Possession of Pure Virtue)

1 Yi Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

He said, 'Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven;--its appointments are not constant. (But if the sovereign see to it that) his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Xia could not maintain the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the. people. Great Heaven no (longer) extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favouring appointment, fondly seeking (a possessor of) pure virtue; whom it might make lord of all the spirits. Then there were I, Yin, and Tang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received (in consequence) the bright favour of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Xia's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang; it simply gave its favour to pure virtue. It was not that Shang sought (the allegiance of) the lower people; the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where (the sovereign's) virtue is pure, his enterprizes are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprizes are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befal men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.'

Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your (great) appointment, you should be seeking to make new your virtue. At last, as at first, have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to (his sovereign) above him, has to promote his virtue, and, in relation to the (people) beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be (to find the proper man)! what careful attention must be required! (Thereafter) there must be harmony (cultivated with him), and a oneness (of confidence placed in him). There is no invariable model of virtue; a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. There is no invariable characteristic of what is good that is to be supremely regarded; it is found where there is a conformity to the uniform consciousness (in regard to what is good). (Such virtue) will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, How great are the words of the king!" and also, "How single and pure is the king's heart!" It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the rich possession of the former king, and to Secure for ever the (happy) life of the multitudes of the people.

'Oh! (to retain a place) in the seven-shrined temple of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue. To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient evidence of one's government. The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their ability, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit.'

2-8 (untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 18 - Pan Geng 1 NT

(Pan Geng or Zi Xun, 18th king of Shang, c. 1290-1263

1 Pan-geng wished to remove (the capital) to Yin (near Anyang), but the people would not go to dwell there. He

therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations. 'Our king came, and fixed on this. He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they cannot (now) help one another to preserve their lives. I have consulted the tortoiseshell, and obtained the reply: "This is no place for us." When the former kings had any (important) business, they gave reverent heed to the commands of Heaven. In a case like this especially they did not indulge (the wish for) constant repose they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time (the capital has been) in five regions. If we do not follow (the example) of these old times, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty (here): how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city;--the great inheritance of the former kings will be continued and renewed, and tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters (of the kingdom).'

2 Pan-geng, in making the people aware of his views, began with those who were in (high) places, and took the constantly-recurring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law and measure (for the present emergency), saying, 'Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poor people.' The king commanded all to come to him in the courtyard (of his palace).

3 The king spoke to this effect: 'Come, all of you; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your (selfish) thoughts. Do not with haughty (disregard of me) follow after your own ease. Of old, our former kings planned like me how to employ the men of old families to share in (the labours of) government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, these did not conceal the royal views; and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth (in their communications with the people), and on this account the people became greatly changed (in their views). Now, (however), you keep clamouring, and get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches; I do not know what you are wrangling about. (In this movement) I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, and do not stand in awe of me, the One man. I see you as clearly as one sees a fire; but I, likewise, by my undecided plans, have produced your error.

4 When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion; and when the husbandman labours upon his fields, and reaps with all his might, there is the (abundant) harvest. If you can put away your (selfish) thoughts, and bestow real good upon the people, reaching (also) to your own relatives and friends, you may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated merit. But you do not fear the great evils which (through our not removing) are extending far and near; (you are like) idle husbandmen, who yield themselves to ease, and are not strong to toil and labour on their acres, so that they cannot get their crop of millets.

5 'You do not speak in a spirit of harmony and goodness to the people, and are only giving birth to bitter evils for yourselves. You play the part of destroyers and authors of calamity, of villains and traitors, to bring down misery on your own persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart; what will it avail you (then) to repent? Look at the poor people - they are still able to look to one another and give expression to their remonstrances, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk; how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report (their words) to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the flames so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? So, it will not be I who will be to blame, that you all cause dispeace in this way, (and must suffer the consequences).
6 'Chi Ren has said, "In men we seek those of old families; in

6 °Ch Ren has said, "In men we seek those of old families; in vessels, we do not seek old ones, but new." Of old, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers shared together the ease and labours (of the government); how should I dare to lay undeserved afflictions on you? For generations the toils of your (fathers) have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them. (They all observe) the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

7 'I have announced to you the difficulties (of the intended movement), being bent on it, like an archer (whose only thought is to hit). Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in this (new city), which is to be your abode; exert yourselves and put out your strength (in furthering the removal), and listen to the plans of me, the One man. I will make no distinction between men as being more distantly or more nearly related to me;—the criminal (in this matter) shall die the death, and the good-doer shall have his

virtue distinguished. The prosperity of the country (ought to) come from you all. If it fail of prosperity, that must arise from me, the One man, erring in the application of punishment. Be sure, all of you, to make known this announcement. From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; have (the duties of) your offices regularly adjusted; bring your tongues under the rule of law:—lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail.

## DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 19 - Pan Gang 2 NT

8 Pan-geng arose, and (was about to) cross the He with the people, moving (to the new capital). Accordingly, he addressed himself to those of them who were (still) dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence (in the measure). 'They all attended, and (being charged) to take no liberties in the royal courtyard, he called them near, and said, 'Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands. Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished, every one and above every other thing, a respectful care of the people, who (again) upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any (calamitous) time sent by Heaven. When great calamities came down on Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people's advantage, and therefore they moved (their capitals). Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient sovereigns, in my care of you and actings towards you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a common repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that (this movement) should be like a punishment. If I call upon you to cherish this new city, it is simply in your account, and as an act of great accordance with your wishes.

9 'My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the country. You, (however), have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great reserve in declaring your minds, (when you might) respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the One man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat;--if you do not cross the stream (at the proper time), you will destroy all the cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You, notwithstanding, will not examine the matter; -- though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring? You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befal you (from not removing). You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you will not have the future: what prolongation of life can you look for from above?

Now I charge you to have but one mind. Do not let wicked thoughts arise to ruin yourselves. I am afraid that men bend your persons, and pervert your minds. My measures are forecast to prolong your (lease of) life from Heaven; do I force you by the terrors of my power? My object is to support and nourish you all.

10 T think of my ancestors, (who are now) the spiritual sovereigns; when they made your forefathers toil (on similar occasions it was only for their good), and I would be enabled in the same way greatly to nourish you and cherish you. Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my high sovereign, (the founder of our dynasty), would send down on me great punishment for my crime, and say, "Why do you oppress my people?" If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, "Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit your virtue?" When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape.

11 'Of old, my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers toil (only for their good). You are equally the people whom I (wish to) cherish. But your conduct is injurious;—it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers happy, they, your ancestors and fathers, will (now) cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death. Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me in the offices (of the kingdom);—and yet they (only think of hoarding up) cowries and gems. Their ancestors and fathers earnestly represent (their course) to my high sovereign, saying, "Execute great punishments on our descendants." So do they advise my high sovereign to send down great calamities (on those men)."

12 Oh! I have now told you my unchangeable purpose;—do you perpetually respect (my) great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and think (only) of following me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful (to my orders), and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city

13 'Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you (to the new capital), and (there) establish your families for ever '

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 20 - Pan Gang 3 NT

14 Pan-geng having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust the several positions (of all classes at an assembly); and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, 'Do not play nor be idle, but exert yourselves to build (here) a great destiny (for us). Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as offenders; and do not you (any more) help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the One man.

15 'Of old, my royal predecessor, (Tang), that his merit might exceed that of those who were before him, proceeded to the hill-site. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country. Now you, my people, were by (your position) dissipated and separated, so that you had no abiding place. (And yet) you asked why I was troubling your myriads and requiring you to remove. But God, being about to renew the virtuous service of my high ancestor, and secure the good order of our kingdom, I, with the sincere and respectful (of my ministers), felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in (this) new city. I, a youth, did not neglect your counsels; I (only) used the best of them. Nor did any of you presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise-shell;—so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.'

16 'Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy,(with my people)! I will exert myself in the choice and guiding of you; do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are-fond of, enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement. I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow; let none of you but reverence (my will). Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things, but in fostering the life of the people, seek to find your merit. Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever maintain this one purpose in your hearts.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 21 - Yue ming 1 (Charge to Yue of Fuxian part 1)

I The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, 'Oh! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.'

2 On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect: 'As it is mine to serve as the director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me.' He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yue, a builder in the wild country of Fu-yan, was found like to it. On this the king raised and made (Yue) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.

3 He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel; I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream; I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought; I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of we) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground. Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine; so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'

4 Yue replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers, without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders - who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 22 - Yue ming 2

(Charge to Yue of Fuxian part 2)

5 Yue having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and

said, 'Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of states and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures (of one), but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing - let the sage (king) take it as his pattern. Then his ministers will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed.

It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward should not be lightly taken from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them, (your government) will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

'Anxious thought about what will be best should precede your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one's ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

'For all affairs let there be adequate preparation; with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and (go on to) make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence; and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably (in this way) is difficult.'

6 The king said, 'Excellent! your words, O Yue, should indeed be put in practice (by me). If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct." Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. (But) since your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yue, refrain from speaking (what I ought to speak), the blame will rest with me.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 23 - Yue ming 3 (Charge to Yue of Fuxian part 3)

7 The king said, 'Come, O Yue. I, the little one, first learned with Gan Pan. Afterwards I lived concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to (the country) inside the He, and lived there. From the He I went to Bo; and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away - so shall I attain to practise your instructions.'

8 Yue said, 'O king, a ruler should seek to learn much (from his ministers), with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard. In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness; in such a case (the learner's) improvement will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man's thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived. Survey the perfect pattern of our first king - so shall you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.

9 The king said, 'Oh! Yue, that all within the four seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage (king). Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Bao-heng, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, "If I cannot make my sovereign like Yao or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place." If any common man did not get (all he should desire), he said, "It is my fault." (Thus) he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven. Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not A-heng engross all the good service to the House of Shang. The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a (true) successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!'

10 Yue did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'I will venture to respond to. and display abroad, your Majesty's excellent charge.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 24 - Gaozong rong ri NT (Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice to Gao Zong)

I On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Gao Zong, there appeared a crowing pheasant. Zu Ji said, "To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected.' He delivered accordingly a lesson to the king, saying, 'In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them (accordingly) length of years or the contrary. It is not Heaven that cuts short men's lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men who have not complied with virtue will yet not acknowledge their offences, and when Heaven has by evident tokens charged them to correct their conduct, they still say, "What are these things to us?" Oh! our Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And all (your ancestors) were the heirs of (the kingdom by the gift of Heaven; in attending to the sacrifices (to them), be not so excessive in those to your father.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 25 - Xibo kan li NT (Chief of the west's Conquest of Li, or King Wen's Conquest of the State of Li)

1 The Chief of the West having subdued Li, Zu Yi was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king. He said, 'Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the dynasty of Yin; the wisest men and the shell of the great tortoise do not presume to know anything fortunate for it. It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this later time but by your dissoluteness and sport you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, and there are no good harvests to supply us with food. Men have no regard to their heavenly nature, and pay no obedience to the statutes (of the kingdom). (Yea), our people now all wish (the dynasty) to perish, saying, "Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? Why does not (some one with) its great appointment make his appearance? What has the present king to do with us?"

2 The king said, 'Oh! was not my birth in accordance with the appointment of Heaven (in favour of my House)?'

3 (On this) Zu Yi returned (to his own city), and said, 'Your, crimes, which are many, are registered above, and can you still appeal to the appointment of Heaven in your favour? Yin will perish very shortly. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 26 - Weizi NT (Prince Weizi or Count Weizi)

1 The Count of Wei spoke to the following effect: 'Grand-Master and Junior-Master, (the House of) Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters (of the kingdom). The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our maddened indulgence in spirits, we have destroyed (the effects of) his virtue in these after-times. (The people of) Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws, and there is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The smaller people (consequently) rise up, and commit violent outrages on one another. Yin is now sinking in ruin - its condition is like that of one crossing a stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present

2 He added, 'Grand-Master and Junior-Master, we are manifesting insanity. The most venerable members of our families are withdrawn to the wilds; and you indicate no course (to be taken), but (only) tell me of the impending ruin-what is to be done?'

3 The Grand-Master made about the following reply: 'O son of our (former) king, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin. Hence has arisen that mad indulgence in spirits. (The king) has no reverence for things which he ought to reverenced but does despite to the venerable aged, the men who have long been in office. The people of Yin will now steal even the pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth; and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat the victims, they suffer no punishment. (On the other hand), when I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods by which they are governed are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred; and this without ceasing. Such crimes equally belong to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity: I will arise and share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the servant (of another House). (But) I tell you, O king's son, to go away, as being the, course (for you). Formerly I injured you by what I said; if you do not (now) go away, our (sacrifices) will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly (in our several parts), and each present himself to the former kings (as having done so). I do not think of making my

# DOCUMENTS BOOK 4 - ZHOU SHU

(Book of the Zhou Dynasty)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 27 - Tai shi 1

(Great Declaration 1)

I in the spring of the thirteenth year there was a great assembly at Meng-jin. The king said, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states, and all ye my officers, managers of my affairs, hearken clearly to my declaration.

'Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincerely intelligent (among men) becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, Shou, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below. Abandoned to drunkenness and reckless in lust, he has dared to exercise cruel oppression. He has extended the punishment of offenders to their relatives. He has put men into offices on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriads of the people. He has burned and roasted the loval and good. He has ripped up pregnant women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wen to display its terrors; but (he died) before the work was completed.

'On this account, I, Fa, the little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly states, contemplated the government of Shang; but Shou has no repentant heart. He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it. The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, "The people are mine; the (heavenly) appointment is mine," never trying to correct his contemptuous mind.

Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters (of the kingdom). In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes?

"Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness." Shou has hundreds of thousands and myriads of officers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have (but) three thousand officers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not obey Heaven, my iniquity would be as great.

I, the little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received the command of my deceased father Wen; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due services to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to. Do you aid me, the One man, to cleanse for ever (all within) the four seas. Now is the time! It should not be lost.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 28 - Tai shi 2 (Great Declaration 2)

2 On (the day) Wu-wu, the king halted on the north of the He. When all the princes with their hosts were assembled, the king reviewed the hosts, and made the following declaration: 'Oh! ye multitudes of the west, hearken all to my words.

I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient; and that the evil man, doing evil, also finds the day insufficient. Now Shou, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has driven away the timeworn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form combinations and contract animosities, and depend on their power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odour of such a state is felt on high.

'Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverently carry out (this mind of) Heaven. Jie, the sovereign of Xia, would not follow the example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the states of the kingdom. Heaven therefore gave its aid to Tang the Successful, and charged him to make an end of the appointment of Xia. But the crimes of Shou exceed those of Jie. He has degraded from office the greatly good man; he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his reprover and helper. He says that with him is the appointment of Heaven; he says that a reverent care of his conduct is not worth observing; he says that sacrifice is of no use; he says that tyranny is no harm. The beacon for him to look to was not far off - it was that king of Xia. It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double. My attack on Shang must succeed.

'Shou has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and, divided in practice; I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men, one in heart and one in practice. Though he has his nearest relatives with him, they

are not like my virtuous men. Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear. The people are blaming me, the One man, for my delay; I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment (of evil) will be great, and more glorious than that executed by Tang. Rouse ye, my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared; better think that he cannot be withstood. (His) people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts; so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work, to last for all ages!"

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 29 - Tai shi 3 (Great Declaration 3)

3 The time was on the morrow, when the king went round his six hosts in state, and made a clear declaration to all his officers. He said, 'Oh ! my valiant men of the west, from Heaven are the illustrious courses of duty, of which the (several) requirements are quite plain. And now Shang, the king of Shang, treats with contemptuous slight the five regular (virtues), and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people. He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading, in the morning; he cut out the heart of the worthy man. By the use of his power, killing, and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer. He neglects the sacrifices to heaven and earth. He has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple. He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his wife. God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him this ruin. Do ye with untiring zeal support me, the One man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. The ancients have said, "He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy." This solitary fellow Shou, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. (It is said again), "In planting (a man's) virtue, strive to make it great; in putting away (a man's) wickedness, strive to do it from the roots. Here I, the little child, by the powerful help of you, all my officers, will utterly exterminate your enemy. Do you, all my officers, march forward with determined boldness to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not so advance, there shall be conspicuous disgrace

'Oh! (the virtue of) my deceased father Wen was like the shining of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the land, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Zhou has received (the allegiance of) many states. If I subdue Shou, it will not be from my prowess but from the faultless (virtue of) my deceased father Wen. If Shou subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wen, but because I, the little child, am not good.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 30 - Mu shi NT

(Speech at the Battle of Muye, or Mu, where Zhou overthrew Shang.)

I The time was the grey dawn of the day Jia-zi. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mu, in the borders of Shang, and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle-axe yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign, which he waved, saying, 'Far are ye come, ye men of the western regions!' He added, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states; ye managers of affairs - the Ministers of Instruction, of War, and of Works; the great officers subordinate to these, and the many other officers; the master of my body-guards; the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; and ye, O men of Yong, Shu, Qiang, Mao, Wei, Lu, Peng, and Pu, lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears: I have a speech to make.'

2 The king (then) said, 'The ancients have said, "The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning (indicates) the subversion of the family." Now Shou, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response (for the favours that he has received); he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannise over the people, and exercise their villainies in the cities of Shang.

'Now, I, Fa, am simply executing, respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven. In to-day's business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and adjust your ranks; my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows, or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks; my brave men, be energetic! Display a martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and

grisly bears, (here) in the borders of Shang. Do not rush on those who fly (to us in submission), but receive them to serve our western land; my brave men, be energetic! If you be not energetic (in all these matters), you will bring destruction on yourselves.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 31 - Wu cheng

(Successful Completion of the War on Shang)

I In the first month, the day Ren-chen immediately followed the end of the moon's waning. The next day was Guiji, when the king, in the morning, marched from Zhou to attack and punish Shang.

In the fourth month, at the first appearance of the moon, the king came from Shang to Feng, when he hushed all the movements of war, and proceeded to cultivate the arts of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of mount Hua, and tel loose his oxen in the open country of Tao-lin, showing to all under heaven that he would not use them (again).

On the day Ding-Wei, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Zhou, when (the princes) of the royal domain, and of the Dian, Hou, and Wei domains, all hurried about, carrying the dishes." The third day after was Geng-xu, when he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and worshipped towards the hills and rivers, solemnly announcing the successful completion of the war

After the moon began to wane, the hereditary princes of the various states, and all the officers, received their appointments from Zhou.

2 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Oh! ye host of princes, the first of our kings founded his state, and commenced (the enlargement of) its territory. Gong Liu, was able to consolidate the services of his predecessor. But it was the king Tai who laid the foundations of the royal inheritance. The king Ji was diligent for the royal House; and my deceased father, king Wen, completed his merit, and grandly received the appointment of Heaven, to soothe the regions of our great land. The great states feared his strength; the small states thought fondly of his virtue. In nine years, however, the whole kingdom was not united under his rule, and it fell to me, the little child, to carry out his will.

'Detesting the crimes of Shang, I announced to great Heaven and the sovereign Earth, to the famous hill I and the great river by which I passed, saying, "I, Fa, the principled, king of Zhou by a long descent, am about to administer a great correction to Shang. Shou, the present king of Shang, is without principle, cruel and destructive to the creatures of Heaven, injurious and tyrannical to the multitudes of the people, lord of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep, and beasts in the prairie. I, the little child, having obtained (the help of) virtuous men, presume reverently to comply with (the will of) God, and make an end of his disorderly ways. Our flowery, and great land, and the tribes of the south and north, equally follow and consent with me. Reverently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my punitive work to the east, to give tranquillity to its men and women. They meet me with their baskets full of dark-coloured and yellow silks, thereby showing (the virtues) of us, the kings of Zhou. Heaven's favours stir them up, so that they come with their allegiance to our great state of Zhou. And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid. that I may relieve the millions of the people, and nothing turn out to your shame."

3 On the day Wu-wu, the army crossed the ford of Meng, and on Gui-hai it was drawn up in array in the borders of Shang, waiting for the gracious decision of Heaven. On Jia-zi, at early dawn, Shou led forward his troops, (looking) like a forest, and assembled them in the wild of Mu. But they offered no opposition to our army. Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars. Thus did (king Wu) once don his armour, and the kingdom was grandly settled. He overturned the (existing) rule of Shang, and made government resume its old course. He delivered the count of Oi from prison, and raised a mound over the grave of Bi-gan. He bowed forward to the cross-bar of his carriage at the gate of Shang Rong's village. He dispersed the treasures of the Stag Tower, and distributed the grain of Ju-qiao, thus conferring great gifts on all within the four seas, so that the people joyfully submitted to him.

He arranged the nobles in five orders, assigning the territories to them according to a threefold scale. He gave offices only to the worthy, and employments only to the able. He attached great importance to the people's being taught the duties of the five relations of society, and to measures for ensuring a sufficient supply of food, attention to the rites of mourning, and to sacrifices. He showed the reality of his truthfulness, and proved clearly his righteousness. He honoured virtue, and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down, and fold his hands, and the kingdom was orderly ruled.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 32 - Hong fan NT

(Great Plan of the Sage Jizi to King Wu of Zhou, 1046-1043 BC)

I In the thirteenth year, the king went to enquire of the count of Qi, and said to him, Oh! count of Qi, Heaven, (working) unseen, secures the tranquillity of the lower people, aiding them to be in harmony with their condition. I do not know how the unvarying principles (of its method in doing so) should be set forth in due order.'

The count of Qi thereupon replied, 'I have heard that in old time Gun dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. God was consequently roused to anger, and did not give him the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and thus the unvarying principles (of Heaven's method) were allowed to go to ruin. Gun was therefore kept a prisoner till his death, and his son Yu rose up (and entered on the same undertaking). To him Heaven gave the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles (of its method) were set forth in their due order.'

2 '(Of those divisions) the first is called "the five elements;" the second, "reverent attention to the five (personal) matters;" the third, "earnest devotion to the eight (objects of) government;" the fourth, "the harmonious use of the five dividers of time;" the fifth, "the establishment and use of royal perfection;" the sixth, "the discriminating use of the three virtues;" the seventh, "the intelligent use of (the means for) the examination of doubts;" the eighth, "the thoughtful use of the various verifications;" the ninth, "the hortatory use of the five (sources of) happiness, and the awing use of the six (occasions of) Suffering."

3 (I) 'First, of the five elements. The first is water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth. (The nature of) water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and straight; of metal, to yield and change; while (that of) earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness.'

4 (II) Second, of the five (personal) matters. The first is the bodily demeanour; the second, speech; the third, seeing; the fourth, hearing; the fifth, thinking. (The virtue of) the bodily appearance is respectfulness; of speech, accordance (with reason); of seeing, clearness; of hearing distinctness; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity; accordance (with reason), in orderliness; the clearness, in wisdom; the distinctness, in deliberation; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness.'

5 (III) Third, of the eight (objects of) government. The first is food; the second, wealth and articles of convenience; the third, sacrifices; the fourth, (the business of) the Minister of Works; the fifth, (that of) the Minister of Instruction; the sixth, (that of) the Minister of Crime; the seventh, the observances, to be paid to guests; the eighth, the army.'

6 (IV) 'Fourth, of the five dividers of time. The first is the year (or the planet Jupiter); the second, the moon; the third, the sun; the fourth, the stars and planets, and the zodiacal spaces; and the fifth, the calendaric calculations.'

7 (V) 'Fifth, of royal perfection. The sovereign, having established (in himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence, concentrates in his own person the five (sources of) happiness, and proceeds to diffuse them, and give them to the multitudes of the people. Then they, on their part, embodying your perfection, will give it (back) to you, and secure the preservation of it. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be no unlawful confederacies, and among men (in office) there will be no bad and selfish combinations; let the sovereign establish in (himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be those who have ability to plan and to act, and who keep themselves (from evil) - do you keep such in mind; and there will be those who, not coming up to the highest point of excellence, yet do not involve themselves in evil - let the sovereign receive such. And when a placid satisfaction appears in their countenances, and they say, "Our love is fixed on virtue," do you then confer favours on them; those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign. Do not let him oppress the friendless and childless, nor let him fear the high and distinguished. When men (in office) have ability and administrative power, let them be made still more to cultivate their conduct; and the prosperity of the country will be promoted. All (such) right men, having a competency, will go on in goodness. If you cannot cause them to have what they love in their families, they will forthwith proceed to be guilty of crime. As to those who have not the love of virtue, although you confer favours (and emoluments) on them, they will (only) involve you in the guilt of employing the evil.

Without deflection, without unevenness, Pursue the royal righteousness. Without selfish likings, Pursue the royal way.

Without selfish dislikings,
Pursue the royal path.
Avoid deflection, avoid partiality;
Broad and long is the royal way.
Avoid partiality, avoid deflection;
Level and easy is the royal way.
Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness;
Correct and straight is the royal way.
(Ever) seek for this perfect excellence,
(Ever) turn to this perfect excellence.

He went on to say, 'This amplification of the royal perfection contains the unchanging (rule), and is the (great) lesson; yea, it is the lesson of God. All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this amplification of the perfect excellence, and carrying it into practice, will thereby approximate to the glory of the Son of Heaven, and say, "The Son of Heaven is the parent of the people, and so becomes the sovereign of all under the sky."

8 (VI) 'Sixth, of the three virtues. The first is correctness and straightforwardness; the second, strong rule; and the third, mild rule. In peace and tranquillity, correctness and straightforwardness (must sway); in violence and disorder, strong rule; in harmony and order, mild rule. For the reserved and retiring there should be (the stimulus of) the strong rule; for the high(-minded) and distinguished, (the restraint of) the mild rule. It belongs only to the sovereign to confer dignities and rewards, to display the terrors of majesty, and to receive the revenues (of the kingdom). There should be no such thing as a minister's conferring dignities or rewards, displaying the terrors of majesty, or receiving the revenues. Such a thing is injurious to the clans, and fatal to the states (of the kingdom); smaller affairs are thereby managed in a one-sided and perverse manner, and the people fall into assumptions and excesses.

9 (VII) 'Seventh, of the (means for the) examination of doubts. Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the stalks of the Achillea, they are to be charged (on occasion) to execute their duties. (In doing this), they will find (the appearances of) rain, of clearing up, of cloudiness, of want of connexion, and of crossing; and the inner and outer diagrams. In all (the indications) are seven; -- five given by the shell, and two by the stalks; and (by means) of these any errors (in the mind) may be traced out. These officers having been appointed, when the divination is proceeded with, three men are to interpret the indications, and the (consenting) words of two of them are to be followed. When you have doubts about any great matter, consult with your own mind; consult with your high ministers and officers; consult with the common people; consult the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, this is what is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants. If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers, and officers, and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate. If you and the shell agree, while the stalks, with the ministers and officers. and the common people, oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky. When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky

10 (VIII) 'Eighth, of the various verifications. They are rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness. When the five come, all complete, and each in its proper order, (even) the various plants will be richly luxuriant. Should any one of them be either excessively abundant or excessively deficient, there will be evil. There are the favourable verifications: namely, of gravity, which is emblemed by seasonable rain; of orderliness, emblemed by seasonable sunshine; of wisdom, emblemed by seasonable heat; of deliberation, emblemed by seasonable void; and of sageness, emblemed by seasonable wind, There are (also) the unfavourable verifications - namely, of recklessness, emblemed by constant rain; of assumption, emblemed by constant sunshine; of indolence, emblemed by constant heat; of hastiness, emblemed by constant cold; and of stupidity, emblemed by constant wind.

He went on to say, The king should examine the (character of the whole) year; the high ministers and officers (that of) the month; and the inferior officers (that of) the day. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, there be an unchanging seasonableness, all the grains will be matured; the measures of government will be wise, heroic men will stand forth distinguished; and in the families (of the people) there will be peace and prosperity. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, the seasonableness be interrupted, the various kinds of grain will not be matured; the measures of government will be dark and unwise; heroic men will be kept in obscurity; and in the families (of the people) there will be

an absence of repose. By the common people the stars should be examined. Some stars love wind, and some love rain. The courses of the sun and moon give winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars gives wind and rain.'

11 (IX) 'Ninth, of the five (sources of) happiness. The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will (of Heaven). Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life; the second, sickness; the third, distress of mind; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness.'

12 (untranslated)

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 33 - Lü ao (Hounds of the Western Tribesmen Lü)

I After the conquest of Shang, the way being open to the nine tribes of the Yi and the eight of the Man, the western tribe of Lu sent as tribute some of its hounds, on which the Grand-Guardian made 'the Hounds of Lu,' by way of instruction to the king.

2 He said, 'Oh! the intelligent kings paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side acknowledged subjection to them. The nearer and the more remote all presented the productions of their countries, in robes, food, and vessels for use. The kings then displayed the things thus drawn forth by their virtue, (distributing them) to the (princes of the) states of different surnames from their own, (to encourage them) not to neglect their duties. The (more) precious things and pieces of jade they distributed among their uncles in charge of states, thereby increasing their attachment (to the throne). The recipients did not despise the things, but saw in them the power of virtue.

Complete virtue allows no contemptuous familiarity. When (a ruler) treats superior men with such familiarity, he cannot get them to give him all their hearts; when he so treats inferior men, he cannot get them to put forth for him all their strength. Let him keep from being in bondage to his ears and eyes, and strive to be correct in all his measures. By trifling intercourse with men, he ruins his virtue; by finding his amusement in things (of mere pleasure), he ruins his aims. His aims should repose in what is right; he should listen to words (also) in their relation to what is right.

When he does not do what is unprofitable to the injury of what is profitable, his merit can be completed. When he does not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, his people will be able to supply (all that he needs). (Even) dogs and horses that are not native to his country he will not keep. Fine birds and strange animals be will not nourish in his state. When he does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is real worth that is precious to him, (his own) people near at hand will be in a state of repose.

Oh! early and late never be but earnest. If you do not attend jealously to your small actions, the result will be to affect your virtue in great matters; in raising a mound of nine fathoms, the work may be unfinished for want of one basket (of earth). If you really pursue this course (which I indicate), the people will preserve their possessions, and the throne will descend from generation to generation.'

3 (untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 34 - Jin teng NT

(Golden or metal-bound Coffer of Zhou Gong, or Dan, the Duke Wen of Zhou and brother of King Wu)

1 Two years after the conquest of Shang, the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two (other great) dukes said, 'Let us reverently consult the tortoise-shell about the king;' but the duke of Zhou said, 'You must not so distress our former kings.' He then took the business on himself, and reared three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south of these, and facing the north, he took there his own position. Having put a round symbol of jade (on each of the three altars), and holding in his bands the lengthened symbol (of his own rank), he addressed the kings Tai. Ji. and Wen.

The (grand) historiographer had written on tablets his prayer, which was to this effect: 'A. B., your great descendant, is suffering from a severe and violent disease; if you three kings have in heaven the charge of (watching over) him, (Heaven's) great son, let me Dan be a substitute for his person. I was lovingly obedient to my father; I am possessed of many abilities and arts, which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your great descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. And moreover he was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid all over the kingdom, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower earth. The people of the four quarters all stand in reverent awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and (all the long line of) our former kings will also have one in whom they can ever rest at our sacrifices. I will now seek for your determination (in this matter) from the great tortoiseshell. If you grant me (my request), I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for your orders. If you do not grant it, I will put them by.'

The duke then divined with the three tortoise-shells, and all were favourable. He opened with a key the place where the (oracular) responses were kept, and looked at them, and they also were favourable. He said, 'According to the form (of the prognostic) the king will take no injury. I, the little child, have got the renewal of his appointment from the three kings, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have now to wait for the issue. They can provide for our One man.'

When the duke returned, he placed the tablets (of the prayer) in a metal-bound coffer, and next day the king got better.

2 (Afterwards), upon the death of king Wu, (the duke's) elder brother, he of Guan, and his younger brothers, spread a baseless report through the kingdom, to the effect that the duke would do no good to the (king's) young son. On this the duke said to the two (other great) dukes, 'If I do not take the law (to these men), I shall not be able to make my report to the former kings.' He resided (accordingly) in the east for two years, when the criminals were taken (and brought to justice). Afterwards he made a poem to present to the king, and called it 'the Owl.' The King on his part did not dare to blame the duke.

In the autumn, when the grain was abundant and ripe, but before it was reaped, Heaven sent a great storm of thunder and lightning, along with wind, by which the grain was all broken down, and great trees torn up. The people were greatly terrified; and the king and great officers, all in their caps of state, proceeded to open the metal-bound coffer and examine the writings in it, where they found the words of the duke when he took on himself the business of being a substitute for king Wu. The two (great) dukes and the king asked the historiographer and all the other officers (acquainted with the transaction) about the thing, and they replied, 'It was really thus; but ah! the duke charged us that we should not presume to speak about it.'

The king held the writing in his hand, and wept, saying, 'We need not (now) go on reverently to divine. Formerly the duke was thus earnest for the royal House, but I, being a child, did not know it. Now Heaven has moved its terrors to display his virtue. That I, the little child, (now) go with my new views and feelings to meet him, is what the rules of propriety of our kingdom require.' The king then went out to the borders (to meet the duke), when Heaven sent down rain, and, by virtue of a contrary wind, the grain all rose up. The two (great) dukes gave orders to the people to take up the trees that had fallen and replace them. The year then turned out very fruitful.

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 35 - Da gao NT

(Great Announcement)

I The king speaks to the following effect: 'Ho! I make a great announcement to you, (the princes of) the many states, and to you, the managers of my affairs. We are unpitied, and Heaven sends down calamities on our House, without the least intermission. It greatly occupies my thoughts that I, so very young, have inherited this illimitable patrimony with its destinies and domains. I cannot display wisdom and lead the people to prosperity; and how much less should I be able to reach the knowledge of the decree of Heaven!

2 'Yes, I who am but a little child am in the position of one who has to go through a deep water; I must go and seek where I can cross over. I must diffuse the elegant institutions of my predecessor and display the appointment which he received (from Heaven); so shall I not be forgetful of his great work. Nor shall I dare to restrain the majesty of Heaven in sending down its inflictions (on the criminals).

3 'The Tranquillizing king left to me the great precious tortoise-shell, to bring into connexion with me the intelligence of Heaven. I divined by it, and it told me that there would be great trouble in the region of the west and that the western people would not be still. Accordingly we have these senseless movements. Small and reduced as Yin now is, (its prince) greatly dares to take in hand its (broken) line. Though Heaven sent down its terrors (on his House), yet knowing of the evils in our kingdom, and that the people are not tranquil, he says, "I will recover (my patrimony);" and so (he wishes to) make our Zhou a border territory again. One day there was a senseless movement, and the day after, ten men of worth appeared among the people, to help me to go forward to restore tranquillity and perpetuate the plans (of my father). The great business I am engaging in will (thus) have a successful issue. I have divined (also) by the tortoiseshell, and always got a favourable response.

4 'Therefore I tell you, the princes of my friendly states, and you, the directors of departments, my officers, and the managers of my affairs; I have obtained a favourable reply to my divinations. I will go forward with you from all the states, and punish those vagabond and transported ministers of Yin. (But) you the princes of the various states, and you the various officers and managers of my affairs, all retort on me, saying, "The hardships will be great, and that the people are not quiet has its source really in the king's palace and in the mansions of the princes in that (rebellious) state. We little ones, and the old and reverend men as well, think the

expedition ill-advised; why does your Majesty not go contrary to the divinations?"

5 I, in my youth, (also) think continually of these hardships, and say, Alas! these senseless movements will deplorably afflict the wifeless men and widows! But I am the servant of Heaven, which has assigned me this great task, and laid the hard duty on my person. I therefore, the young one, do not pity myself; and it would be right in you, the many officers, the directors of departments, and the managers of my affairs, to comfort me, saying, "Do not be distressed with sorrow. We shall surely complete the plans of your Tranquillizing father."

6 Yes, I, the little child, dare not disregard the Charge of God. Heaven, favourable to the Tranquillizing king, gave such prosperity to our small country of Zhou. The Tranquillizing king divined and acted accordingly, and so he calmly received his (great) appointment. Now when Heaven is (evidently) aiding the people, how much more should we follow the indications of the shell! Oh! the clearly intimated will of Heaven is to be feared: it is to help my great inheritance.

7 The king says, 'You, who are the old ministers, are fully able to remember the past; you know how great was the toil of the Tranquillizing king. Where Heaven (now) shuts up (our path) and distresses us, is the place where I must accomplish my work; I dare not but do my utmost to complete the plans of the Tranquillizing king. It is on this account that I use such efforts to remove the doubts and carry forward the inclinations of the princes of my friendly states. And Heaven easists me with sincere expressions (of sympathy), which I have ascertained among the people; how dare I but aim at the completion of the work formerly begun by the Tranquillizer? Heaven, moreover, is thus toiling and distressing the people; it is as if they were suffering from disease; how dare I allow (the appointment) which my predecessor, the Tranquillizer, received, to be without its happy fulfilment?'

8 The king says, 'Formerly, at the initiation of this expedition, I spoke of its difficulties, and thought of them daily. But when a deceased father, (wishing) to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof! Or if the father had broken up the ground, and his son be unwilling to sow the seed, how much less will he be willing to reap the crop! In such a case could the father, (who had himself) been so reverently attentive (to his objects), have been willing to say, "I have a son who will not abandon his patrimony?" How dare I therefore but use all my powers to give a happy settlement to the great charge entrusted to the Tranquillizing king? If among the friends of an elder brother or a deceased father there be those who attack his son, will the elders of the people encourage (the attacker, and not (come to the) rescue?"

9 The king says, 'Oh! take heart, ye princes of the various states, and ye managers of my affairs. The enlightening of the country was from the wise, even from the ten men who obeyed and knew the charge of God, and the real assistance given by Heaven. At that time none of you presumed to change the rules (prescribed by the Tranquillizing king). And now when Heaven is sending down calamity on the country of Zhou, and the authors of these great distresses (make it appear on a grand scale as if) the immates of a house were mutually to attack one another, you are without any knowledge that the decree of Heaven is not to be changed!

10 'I ever think and say, Heaven in destroying Yin was doing husbandman's work - how dare I but complete the work on my fields? Heaven will thereby show its favour to my predecessor, the Tranquillizer. How should I be all for the oracle of divination, and presume not to follow (your advice)? I am following the Tranquillizer, whose purpose embraced all within the limits of the land. How much more must I proceed, when the divinations are all favourable! It is on these accounts that I make this expedition in force to the east. There is no mistake about the decree of Heaven. The indications given by the tortoise-shell are all to the same effect.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 36 - Weizi zhi ming (Charge to the Count of Wei)

I The king speaks to the following effect: 'Ho! eldest son of the king of Yin, examining into antiquity, (I find) that the honouring of the virtuous (belongs to their descendants) who resemble them in worth, and (I appoint) you to continue the line of the kings your ancestors, observing their ceremonies and taking care of their various relics. Come (also) as a guest to our royal House, and enjoy the prosperity of our kingdom, for ever and ever without end.

'Oh! your ancestor, Tang the Successful, was reverent and sage, (with a virtue) vast and deep. The favour and help of great Heaven lighted upon him, and he grandly received its appointment, to soothe the people by his gentleness, and remove the wicked oppressions from which they were suffering. His achievements affected his age, and his virtue was transmitted to his posterity. And you are the one who pursue and cultivate his plans; this praise has belonged to you for long. Reverently and carefully have you discharged your filial duties; gravely and respectfully you behave to spirits and to

men. I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings; the people will be reverently harmonious (under your sway). I raise you therefore to the rank of high duke, to rule this eastern part of our great land.

'Be reverent. Go and diffuse abroad your instructions. Be carefully observant of your robes and (other accompaniments of) your appointment; follow and observe the proper statutes - so as to prove a bulwark to the royal House. Enlarge (the fame of) your meritorious ancestor; be a law to your people - so as for ever to preserve your dignity. (So also) shall you be a help to me, the One man; future ages will enjoy (the benefit of) your virtue; all the states will take you for a pattern; and thus you will make our dynasty of Zhou never weary of you.

Oh! go, and be prosperous. Do not disregard my charge.' 2-3 (untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 37 - Kang gao NT

(Announcement to the Prince Kang who became 3rd king of Zhou, reigned 1020-996 BC or 1005-978 BC.)

I [On the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of Zhou commenced the foundations, and proceeded to build the new great city of Lo, of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the Hou, Dian, Nan, Cai, and Wei domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business there was to be done for Zhou. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works).]

2 The king speaks to this effect: 'Head of the princes, and my younger brother, little one, Feng, it was your greatly distinguished father, the king Wen, who was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments. He did not dare to treat with contempt (even) wifeless men and widows. He employed the employable, and revered the reverend: he was terrible to those who needed to be awed - so getting distinction among the people. It was thus he laid the foundations of (the sway of) our small portion of the kingdom, and the one or two (neighbouring) regions were brought under, his improving influence, until throughout our western land all placed in him their reliance. The fame, of him ascended up to the high God, and God approved. Heaven accordingly gave a grand charge to king Wen, to exterminate the great (dynasty of) Yin, and grandly receive its appointment, so that the various countries belonging to it and their peoples were brought to an orderly condition. Then your unworthy elder brother exerted himself; and thus it is that you Feng, the little one, are here in this eastern region.

3 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, bear these things in mind, Now (your success in the management of) the people will depend on your reverently following your father Wen; do you carry out his virtuous words which you have heard, and clothe yourself with them. (Moreover), where you go, seek out among (the traces of) the former wise kings of Yin what you may use in protecting and regulating their people. (Again), you must in the remote distance study the (ways of) the old accomplished men of Shang, that you may establish your heart, and know how to instruct (the people). (Further still), you must search out besides what is to be learned of the wise kings of antiquity, and employ it in tranquillizing and protecting the people. (Finally), enlarge (your thoughts) to (the comprehension of all) heavenly (principles), and virtue will be richly displayed in your person, so that you will not render nugatory the king's charge.'

4 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, the little one, be respectfully careful, as if you were suffering from a disease. Awful though Heaven be, it yet helps the sincere. The feelings of the people can for the most part be discerned; but it is difficult to preserve (the attachment of) the lower classes. Where you go, employ all your heart. Do not seek repose, nor be fond of ease and pleasure. I have read the saying, "Dissatisfaction is caused not so much by great things, or by small things, as by (a ruler's) observance of principle or the reverse, and by his energy of conduct or the reverse."

Yes, it is yours, O little one, it is your business to enlarge the royal (influence), and to protect the people of Yin in harmony with their feelings. Thus also shall, you assist the king, consolidating the appointment of Heaven, and renovating the people.'

5 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, deal reverently and intelligently in your infliction of punishments. When men commit small crimes, which are not mischances, but purposed, they of themselves doing what is contrary to the laws intentionally, though their crimes be but small, you may not but put them to death. But in the case of great crimes, which were not purposed, but from mischance and misfortune, accidental, if the transgressors confess their guilt without reserve, you must not put them to death.'

6 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, there must be the orderly regulation (of this matter). When you show a great discrimination, subduing (men's hearts), the people will admonish one another, and strive to be obedient. (Deal firmly yet tenderly with evil), as if it were a disease in your own person, and the people will entirely put away their faults;

(Deal with them) as if you were protecting your own infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly. It is not you, O Feng, who (can presume to) inflict a (severe) punishment or death upon a man; do not, to please yourself, so punish a man or put him to death.' Moreover, he says, 'It is not you, O Feng, who (can presume to inflict a lighter punishment), cutting off a man's nose or ears; do not, to please yourself, cause a man's nose or ears to be cut off.'

7 The king says, 'In things beyond (your immediate supervision), have laws set forth which the officers may observe, and these should be the penal laws of Yin which were rightly ordered.' He also says, 'In examining the evidence in (criminal) cases, reflect upon it for five or six days, yea, for ten days or three months. You may then boldly come to a decision in such cases.'

8 The king says, 'In setting forth the business of the laws, the punishments will be determined by (what were) the regular laws of Yin. But you must see that those punishments, and (especially) the penalty of death, be righteous. And you must not let them be warped to agree with your own inclinations, O Feng. Then shall they be entirely accordant with right, and you may say, "They are properly ordered," yet you must say (at the same time), "Perhaps they are not yet entirely accordant with right."

Yes, though you are the little one, who has a heart like you, O Feng? My heart and my virtue are also known to you.

'All who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practising villainy and treachery, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death - these are abhorred by all.'

9 The king says, 'O Feng, such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more (detestable) are the unfilial and unbrotherly! - as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart, and the father who can (no longer) love his son. but hates him; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing up their children, and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who proceed to such wickedness as offenders, the laws (of our nature) given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into great disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wen, punishing them severely and not pardoning.

10 Those who are disobedient (to natural principles) are to be thus subjected to the laws; how much more the officers employed in your state as the instructors of the youth, the heads of the official departments, and the smaller officers charged with their several commissions, when they propagate other lessons, seeking the praise of the people, not thinking (of their duty), nor using (the rules for their offices), but distressing their ruler! These lead on (the people) to wickedness, and are an abomination to me. Shall they be let alone? Do you speedily, according to what is right, put them to death.

11 'And you will be yourself ruler and president; if you cannot manage your own household, with your smaller officers, and the heads of departments in the state, but use only terror and violence, you will greatly set aside the royal charge, and be trying to regulate your state contrary to virtue. You must in everything reverence the statutes, and proceed by them to the happy rule of the people. There were the reverence of king Wen and his caution; in proceeding by them to the happy rule of the people, say, "If I could only attain to them." So will you make me, the One man, to rejoice.'

12 The king says, 'O Feng, when I think clearly of the people, I see that they should be led (by example) to happiness and tranquillity. I think of the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin, whereby they tranquillized and regulated the people, and rouse myself to make it my own. Moreover, the people now are sure to follow a leader. If one do not lead them, he cannot be said to exercise a government in their state.'

13 The king says, 'O Feng, I can not dispense with the inspection (of the ancients),;and I make this declaration to you about virtue in the use of punishments. Now the people are not quiet; they have not yet stilled their minds; notwithstanding my leading of them, they have not come to accord (with my government). I clearly consider that severe as are the inflictions of Heaven on me, I dare not murmur. The crimes (of the people), though they were not great or many, (would all be chargeable on me), and how much more shall this be said when the report of them goes up so manifestly to heaven!

14 The king says, 'Oh! Feng, be reverent! Do not what will cause murmurings; and do not use bad counsels and uncommon ways. With the determination of sincerity, give yourself to imitate the active virtue (of the ancients). Hereby give repose to your mind, examine your virtue, send far forward your plans; and thus by your generous forbearance you will make the people repose in what is good, and I shall not have to blame you or cast you off.'

15 The king says, 'Oh! you, Feng, the little one, (Heaven's) appointments are not unchanging." Think of this, and do not make me deprive you of your dignity. Make illustrious the charge which you have received; exalt (the instructions) which you have heard, and tranquillize and regulate the people accordingly.

16 The king speaks to this effect: 'Go, Feng. Do not disregard the statutes you should reverence; hearken to what I have told you; so shall you among the people of Yin enjoy (your dignity), and hand it down to your posterity.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 38 - Jiu gao NT (Announcement about Drunkenness)

I The king speaks to the following effect: 'Do you clearly make known my great commands in the country of Mei. When your reverent father, the king Wen, laid the foundations of our kingdom in the western region, he delivered announcements and cautions to (the princes of) the various regions, and to all his (high) officers, with their assistants, and the managers of affairs, saying, morning and evening, "At sacrifices spirits should be employed." When Heaven was sending down its favouring decree, and laying the foundations of (the eminence of) our people, (spirits) were used only at the great sacrifices. When Heaven sends down its terrors, and our people are thereby greatly disorganized and lose their virtue, this may be traced invariably to their indulgence in spirits; yea, the ruin of states, small and great, (by these terrors), has been caused invariably by their guilt in the use of spirits.

2 'King Wen admonished and instructed the young nobles, who were charged with office or in any employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits; and throughout all the states, he required that such should drink spirits only on occasion of sacrifices, and that then virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness. He said, 'Let my people teach their young men that they are to love only the productions of the soil, for so will their hearts be good. Let the young also hearken wisely to the constant instructions of their fathers; and let them look at all virtuous actions, whether great or small, in the same light (with watchful heed).

3 '(Ye people of) the land of Mei, if you can employ your limbs, largely cultivating your millets, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance, that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then, when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong, and use them.

4 'Hearken constantly to my instructions, all ye my (high) officers and ye heads of departments, all ye, my noble chiefs; when ye have largely done your duty in ministering to your aged, and serving your ruler, ye may eat and drink freely and to satiety. And to speak of greater things: when you can maintain a constant, watchful examination of yourselves, and your conduct is in accordance with correct virtue, then may you present the offerings of sacrifice, and at the same time indulge yourselves in festivity. In such case you will indeed be ministers doing right service to your king, and Heaven likewise will approve your great virtue, so that you shall never be forgotten in the royal House.'

5 The king says, 'O Feng, in our western region, the princes of states, and the young (nobles), sons of the managers of affairs, who in former days assisted king Wen, were all able to obey his lessons, and abstain from excess in the use of spirits; and so it is that I have now received the appointment which belonged to Yin.'

6 The king says. 'O Feng, I have heard it said, that formerly the first wise king of Yin manifested a reverential awe of the bright principles of Heaven and of the lower people, acting accordingly, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his wisdom. From him Tang the Successful, down to Di-Yi, all completed their royal virtue and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of affairs respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure; how much less would they dare to indulge themselves in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains. (the princes of) the Hou, Dian, Nan, and Wei (states), with their presiding chiefs and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employés, the heads of great houses, and the men of distinguished name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but they had not leisure to do so, being occupied with helping to complete the sovereigns virtue and make it more illustrious, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to his service.

7 'I have heard it said likewise, that the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was (as if) reverently and unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure's sake he sacrificed all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart; but he gave himself wildly up to drink, not thinking of restraining himself. but continuing his excess, till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His

crimes (accumulated) in the capital of Shang: and though the extinction of the dynasty (was imminent), this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven. The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of creatures, went loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin, and showed no love for it - because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, (and its punishment).

8 The king says, 'O Feng, I make you this long announcement, not (for the pleasure of doing so); but the ancients have said, "Let not men look into water; let them look into the glass of other people." Now that Yin has lost its appointment, ought we not to look much to it as our glass, (and learn) how to secure the repose of our time?

9 I say to you, Strenuously warn the worthy ministers of Yin, and (the princes) in the Hou, the Dian, the Nan, and the Wei domains; and still more your friends, the great Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior, and all your worthy ministers, the heads of great Houses; and still more those whom you serve, with whom you calmly discuss matters, and who carry out your measures; and still more those who are, as it were, your mates; your Minister of War who deals with the rebellious, your Minister of Instruction who is like a protector to the people, and your Minister of Works who settles the boundaries; and above all, do you strictly keep yourself from drink.

10 'If you are informed that there are companies that drink together, do not fail to apprehend them all, and send them here to Zhou, where I may put them to death. As to the ministers and officers of Yin who were led to it and became addicted to drink, it is not necessary to put them to death (at once); let them be taught for a time. If they follow these (lessons of mine), I will give them bright distinction. If they disregard my lessons, then I, the One man, will show them no pity. As they cannot change their way, they shall be classed with those who are to be put to death.'

11 The king says, 'O Feng, give constant heed to my admonitions. If you do not rightly manage the officers, the people will continue lost in drunkenness.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 39 - Zi cai NT (Timber of Rottlera)

1 The king says, 'O Feng, to secure a good understanding between the multitudes of his people and his ministers (on the one hand), and the great families (on the other); and (again) to secure the same between all the subjects under his charge, and the sovereign - is the part of the ruler of a state. If you regularly, in giving out your orders, say, "My instructors whom I am to follow, my Minister of Instruction, my Minister of War, and my Minister of Works; my heads of departments, and all ye, my officers, I will on no account put any to death oppressively". Let the ruler also set the example of respecting and encouraging (the people), and these will (also) proceed to respect and encourage them. Then let him go on, in dealing with villainy and treachery, with murderers and harbourers of criminals, to exercise clemency (where it can be done), and these will likewise do the same with those who have assaulted others and injured their property.

2 'When sovereigns appointed overseers (of states), they did so in order to the government of the people, and said to them, "Do not give way to violence or oppression, but go on to show reverent regard for the friendless, and find helping connexions for (destitute) women." Deal with all according to this method, and cherish them. And when sovereigns gave their injunctions to the rulers of states, and their managers of affairs, what was their charge? It was that they should lead (the people) to the enjoyment of plenty and peace. Such was the way of the kings from of old. An overseer is to eschew the use of punishments.' (The king) says, 'As in the management of a field, when the soil has been all laboriously turned up, they have to proceed by orderly arrangements to make its boundaries and water-courses; as in building a house, after all the toil on its walls, they have to plaster and thatch it; as in working with the wood of the rottlera, when the toil of the coarser and finer operations has been completed, they have to apply the paint of red and other colours; (so do you finish for me the work which I have begun in the state of Wei.)

3 Now let your majesty say, 'The former kings diligently employed their illustrious virtue, and produced such attachment by their cherishing (of the princes), that from all the states they brought offerings, and came with brotherly affection from all quarters, and likewise showed their virtue illustrious. Do you, O sovereign, use their methods to attach (the princes), and all the states will largely come with offerings. Great Heaven having given this Middle Kingdom with its people and territories to the former kings, do you, our present sovereign, display your virtue, effecting a gentle harmony among the deluded people, leading and urging them on; so (also) will you comfort the former kings, who received the appointment (from Heaven). Yes, make these things your study. I say so simply from my wish that (your dynasty) may continue for myriads of years, and your descendants always be the protectors of the people.

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 40 - Shao gao NT

(Announcement of Duke or Earl of Shao, Ji Shi, Minister and younger brother of King Wu)

I In the second month, on the day Yi-wei, six in the second month, on the days after full moon, the king proceeded in the morning from Zhou to Feng.

2 (Thence) the Grand Guardian went before the duke of Zhou to survey the locality (of the new capital); and in the third month, on the day Wu-shen, the third day after the first appearance of the moon on Bing-wu, he came in the morning to Luo. He divined by the tortoiseshell about the (several) localities, and having obtained favourable indications, he set about laying out the plan (of the city). On Geng-xu, the third day after, he led the people of Yin to prepare the various sites on the north of the Luo; and this work was completed on Jiayin, the fifth day after.

3 On Yi-mao, the day following, the duke of Zhou came in the morning to Luo, and thoroughly inspected the plan of the new city. On Ding-si, the third day after, he offered two bulls as victims in the (northern and southern) suburbs; and on the morrow, Wu-wu, at the altar to the spirit of the land in the new city, he sacrificed a bull, a ram, and a boar.

4 After seven days, on Jia-zi, in the morning, from his written (specifications) he gave their several orders to the people of Yin, and to the presiding chiefs of the princes from the Hou, Dian, and Nan domains. When the people of Yin had thus received their orders, they arose and entered with vigour on their work.

5 ('When the work was drawing to a completion), the Grand-Guardian went out with the hereditary princes of the various states to bring their offerings (for the king); and when he entered again, he gave them to the duke of Zhou, saying, 'With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, I present these to his Majesty and your Grace. Announcements for the information of the multitudes of Yin must come from you, with whom is the management of affairs.' 'Oh! God (dwelling in) the great heavens has changed his decree respecting his great son and the great dynasty of Yin. Our king has received that decree. Unbounded is the happiness connected with it, and unbounded is the anxiety: Oh! how can he be other than reverent?

6 When Heaven rejected and made an end of the decree in favour of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven. The king, however, who had succeeded to them, the last of his race, from the time of his entering into their appointment, proceeded in such a way as at last to keep the wise in obscurity and the vicious in office. The poor people in such a case, carrying their children and leading their wives, made their moan to Heaven. They even fled away, but were apprehended again. Oh! Heaven had compassion on the people of the four quarters; its favouring decree lighted on our earnest (founders). Let the king sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence.

7 Examining the men of antiquity, there was the (founder of the) Xia dynasty. Heaven guided (his mind), allowed his descendants (to succeed him), and protected them. He acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But in process of time the decree in his favour fell to the ground. So also is it now when we examine the case of Yin. There was the same guiding (of its founder), who corrected (the errors of Xia), and (whose descendants) enjoyed the protection (of Heaven). He (also) acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But now the decree in favour of him has fallen to the ground. Our king has' now come to the throne in his youth; let him not slight the aged and experienced, for it may be said of them that they have studied the virtuous conduct of the ancients, and have matured their counsels in the sight of Heaven.

8 'Oh! although the king is young, yet he is the great son (of God). Let him effect a great harmony with the lower people. and that will be the blessing of the present time. Let not the king presume to be remiss in this, but continually regard and stand in awe of the perilous (uncertainty) of the people's (attachment). Let the king come here as the vice-gerent of God, and undertake (the duties of government) in this centre of the land. Dan said, "Now that this great city has been built, from henceforth he may be the mate of great Heaven, and reverently sacrifice to (the spirits) above and beneath; from henceforth he may from this central spot administer successful government." Thus shall the king enjoy the favouring regard (of Heaven) all-complete, and the government of the people will now be prosperous. Let the king first subdue to himself those who were the managers of affairs under Yin, associating them with the managers of affairs for our Zhou. This will regulate their (perverse) natures, and they will make daily advancement. Let the king make reverence the resting-place (of his mind); he must maintain the virtue of reverence.

9 'We should by all means survey the dynasties of Xia and Yin. I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of Xia was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer." The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour prematurely fell to the ground. (Similarly), I do not presume to know and say,

"The dynasty of Yin was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer." The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour fell prematurely to the ground. The king has now inherited the decree - the same decree, I consider, which belonged to those two dynasties. Let him seek to inherit (the virtues of) their meritorious (sovereigns).

10 '(Let him do this especially) at this commencement of his duties. Oh! it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on (the training of) his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom, in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom (to the king); it may have decreed good fortune or bad; it may have decreed a (long) course of years; we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties. Dwelling in this new city, let the king now sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence. When he is all-devoted to this virtue, he may pray to Heaven for a long-abiding decree in his favour.

11 'In the position of king, let him not, because of the excesses of the people in violation of the laws, presume also to rule by the violent infliction of death; when the people are regulated gently, the merit (of government) is seen. It is for him who is in the position of king to overtop all with his virtue. In this case the people will imitate him throughout the kingdom, and he will become still more illustrious. Let the king and his ministers labour with a mutual sympathy, saying, "We have received the decree of Heaven, and it shall be great as the long-continued years of Xia; yea, it shall not fail of the long-continued years of Yin." I wish the king, through (the attachment of) the lower people, to receive the long-abiding decree of Heaven.'

12 (The duke of Shao) then did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, and said, 'I, a small minister, presume, with the king's (heretofore) hostile people and all their officers, and with his (loyal) friendly people, to maintain and receive his majesty's dread command and brilliant virtue. That the king should finally obtain the decree all-complete, and that he should become illustrious' - this I do not presume to labour for. I only bring respectfully these offerings to present to his majesty, to be used in his prayers to Heaven for its long-abiding decree.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 41 - Luo gao NT

(Announcement concerning the city of Luoyang)

1 The duke of Zhou did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying 'Herewith I report (the execution of my commission) to my son my intelligent sovereign. The king appeared as if he would not presume to be present at Heaven's founding here the appointment (of our dynasty), and fixing it, whereupon I followed the (Grand-)Guardian, and made a great survey of this eastern region, hoping to found the place where he should become the intelligent sovereign of the people. On the day Yi-mao, I came in the morning to this capital of Luo. I (first) divined by the shell concerning (the ground about) the li-water on the north of the He. I then divined concerning the east of the Jian-water, and the west of the Chan, when the (ground near the) Luo was indicated. Again I divined concerning the east of the Chanwater when the (ground near the) Luo was also indicated. I (now) send a messenger with a map, and to present the (result of the) divinations.

2 The king did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'The duke did not presume not to acknowledge reverently the favour of Heaven, and has surveyed the locality where our Zhou may respond to that favour. Having settled the locality, he has sent his messenger to show me the divinations, favourable and always auspicious. We two must together sustain the responsibility. He has made provision for me (and my successors), for myriads and tens of myriads of years, there reverently to acknowledge the favour of Heaven. With my hands, to my head and my head to the ground, (I receive) his instructive words.'

3 The duke of Zhou said, 'Let the king at first employ the ceremonies of Yin, and sacrifice in the new city, doing everything in an orderly way, but without display. I will marshal all the officers to attend you from Zhou, merely saying that probably there will be business to be done (in sacrificing). Let the king instantly issue an order to the effect that the most meritorious (ministers) shall have the first place in the sacrifices; and let him also say in an order, "You, in whose behalf the above order is issued, must give me your assistance with sincere earnestness." Truly display the record of merits, for it is you who must in everything teach the officers.

My young son, can you indulge partiality? Eschew it, my young son. (If you do not), the consequence hereafter will be like a fire, which, a spark at first, blazes up, and by and by cannot be extinguished. Let your observance of the constant rules of right, and your soothing measures be like mine. Take only the officers that are in Zhou with you to the new city, and make them there join their (old) associates, with intelligent vigour establishing their merit, and with a

generous largeness (of soul) completing (the public manners); so shall you obtain an endless fame.'

4 The duke said, 'Yes, young as you are, be it yours to complete (the work of your predecessors). Cultivate (the spirit of) reverence, and you will know who among the princes (sincerely) present their offerings to you, and who do not. In connexion with those offerings there are many observances. If the observances are not equal to the articles, it must be held that there is no offering. When there is no service of the will in the offerings (of the princes), all the people will then say, "We need not (be troubled about) our offerings," and affairs will be disturbed by errors and usurpations. Do you, my young son, manifest everywhere my unwearied diligence.

And listen to my instructions to you how to help the people to observe the constant rules of right. If you do not bestir yourself in these things, you will not be of long continuance. If you sincerely and fully carry out the course of your Directing father, and follow exactly my example, there will be no venturing to disregard your orders. Go, and be reverent. Henceforth I will study husbandry. There do you generously rule our people, and there is no distance from which they will not come to you.'

5 The king spoke to this effect: 'O duke, you are the enlightener and sustainer of my youth. You have set forth the great and illustrious virtues, that I, notwithstanding my youth, may display a brilliant merit like that of Wen and Wu, reverently responding to the favouring decree of Heaven; and harmonize and long preserve the people of all the regions, settling the multitudes (in Luo); and that I may give due honour to the great ceremony (of recording) the most distinguished (for their merits), regulating the order for the first places at the sacrifices, and doing everything in an orderly manner without display. But your virtue, O duke, shines brightly above and beneath, and is displayed actively throughout the four quarters. On every hand appears the deep reverence (of your virtue) in securing the establishment of order, so that you fail in nothing of the earnest lessons of Wen and Wu. It is for me, the youth, (only) to attend reverently, early and late, to the sacrifices.' The king said, 'Great, O duke, has been your merit in helping and guiding me; let it ever continue so.'

6 The king said, 'O duke, let me, the little child, return to my sovereignty in Zhou, and I charge you, O duke, to remain behind (here). Order has been initiated throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, but the ceremonies to be honoured (by general observance) have not yet been settled, and I cannot look on your service as completed. Commence on a great scale what is to be done by your remaining here, setting an example to my officers and greatly preserving the people whom Wen and Wu received; by your good government you will be a help to the whole kingdom.

The king said, 'Remain, O duke. I will certainly go. Your services are devoutly acknowledged and reverently rejoiced in. Do not, O duke, occasion me this difficulty. I on my part will not be weary in seeking the tranquillity (of the people); do not let the example which you have afforded me be intermitted. So shall the kingdom enjoy for generations (the benefit of your virtue).

7 The duke of Zhou did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'You have charged me, O king, to come here. I undertake (the charge), and will protect the people whom your accomplished grandfather, and your glorious and meritorious father, king Wu, received by the decree (of Heaven). I will enlarge the reverence which I cherish for you. (But), my son, come (frequently), and inspect this settlement. Pay great honour to (old) statutes, and to the good and wise men of Yin. Good government (here) will make you (indeed) the new sovereign of the kingdom, and an example of (royal) respectfulness to all your successors of Zhou.' (The duke) proceeded to say, 'From this time, by the government administered in this central spot, all the states will be conducted to repose; and this will be the completion of your merit, O king. I, Tan, with the numerous officers and managers of affairs, will consolidate the achievements of our predecessors, in response to (the hopes of) the people. I will afford an example of sincerity to (future ministers of) Zhou, seeking to render complete the pattern intended for the enlightenment of you, my son, and thus to carry fully out the virtue of your accomplished grandfather.

8 (Afterwards, on the arrival of a message and gifts from the king, the duke said), '(The king) has sent messengers to admonish (the people of) Yin, and with a soothing charge to me, along with two flagons of the black-millet herb-flavoured spirits, saying, "Here is a pure sacrificial gift, which with my hands to my head and my head to the ground I offer for you to enjoy its excellence!" I dare not keep this by me, but offer it in sacrifice to king Wen and king Wu.' (In doing so, he prayed), 'May he be obedient to, and observant of your course! Let him not bring on himself any evil or illness! Let him satisfy his descendants for myriads of years with your virtue! Let (the people of) Yin enjoy prolonged (prosperity)!' (He also said to the messengers), 'The king has sent you to Yin, and we have received his well-ordered charges, (sufficient to direct us) for

myriads of years, but let (the people) ever (be able to) observe the virtue cherished by my son.'

9 On the day Wu-chen, the king, being in the new city, performed the annual winter sacrifice, offering (moreover) one red bull to king Wen and another to king Wu. He then ordered a declaration to be prepared, which was done by Yi in the form of a prayer, and it simply announced the remaining behind of the duke of Zhou.

The king's guests, on occasion of the killing of the victims and offering the sacrifice, were all present. The king entered the grand apartment, and poured out the libation. He gave a charge to the duke of Zhou to remain, and Yi, the preparer of the document, made the announcement - in the twelfth month. (Thus) the duke of Zhou grandly sustained the decree which Wen and Wu had received through the space of seven years.

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 42 - Duo shi NT (Numerous Officers)

I In the third month, at the commencement (of the government) of the duke of Zhou in the new city of Luo, he announced (the royal will) to the officers of the Shang dynasty, saving:

The king speaks to this effect: "Ye numerous officers who remain from the dynasty of Yin, great ruin came down on Yin from the cessation of forbearance in compassionate Heaven, and we, the lords of Zhou, received its favouring decree. We felt charged with its bright terrors, carried out the punishments which kings inflict, rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, and finished (the work of) God. Now, ye numerous officers, it was not our small state that dared to aim at the appointment belonging to Yin. But Heaven was not with (Yin), for indeed it would not strengthen its misrule. It (therefore) helped us; did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? God was not for (Yin), as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven."

2 'I have heard the saying, "God leads men to tranquil security," but the sovereign of Xia would not move to such security, whereupon God sent down corrections, indicating his mind to him. (Jie), however, would not be warned by God, but proceeded to greater dissoluteness and sloth and excuses for himself. Then Heaven no longer regarded nor heard him. but disallowed his great appointment, and inflicted extreme punishment. Then it charged your founder, Tang the Successful, to set Xia aside, and by means of able men to rule the kingdom. From Tang the Successful down to Di-Yi, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices. And thus it was that, while Heaven exerted a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the House of Yin, its sovereigns on their part were humbly careful not to lose (the favour of) God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven. But in these times, their successor showed himself greatly ignorant of (the ways of) Heaven, and much less could it be expected of him that he would be regardful of the earnest labours of his fathers for the country. Greatly abandoned to dissolute idleness, he gave no thought to the bright principles of Heaven, and the awfulness of the people. On this account God no longer protected him, but sent down the great ruin which we have witnessed. Heaven was not with him, because he did not make his virtue illustrious. (Indeed), with regard to the overthrow of all states, great and small, throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, in every case reasons can be given for their punishment.

3 The king speaks to this effect: "Ye numerous officers of Yin, the case now is this, that the kings of our Zhou, from their great goodness, were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them, 'Cut off Yin.' (They proceeded to perform it), and announced the execution of their service to God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims; ye of the royal House (of Yin) must (now simply) follow us. May I not say that you have been very lawless? I did not (want to) remove you. The thing came from your own city. When I consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that there was (there) what was not right."

4 'The king says, "Ho! I declare to you, ye numerous officers, it is simply on account of these things that I have removed you and settled you here in the west; it was not that I, the One man, considered it a part of my virtue to interfere with your tranquillity. The thing was from Heaven; do not offer resistance; I shall not presume to have any subsequent (charge concerning you); do not murmur against me.

5 'Ye know that your fathers of the Yin dynasty had their archives and statutes, (showing how) Yin superseded the appointment of Xia. Now, indeed, ye say further, '(The officers of) Xia were chosen and employed in the royal court (of Shang), and had their duties among the mass of its officers.' (But) I, the One man, listen only to the virtuous, and employ them; and it was with this view that I ventured to seek you in your capital of Shang (once sanctioned by) Heaven, (and removed you here to Luo.) I thereby follow (the ancient example), and have pity on you. (Your present non-

employment) is no fault of mine - it is by the decree of Heaven.

6 'The king says, "Ye numerous officers, formerly, when I came from Yan, I greatly mitigated the penalty and spared the lives of the people of your four states. At the same time I made evident the punishment appointed by Heaven, and removed you to this distant abode, that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured (capital), and (learn) their much obedience.

7 'The king says, "I declare to you, ye numerous officers of Yin, now I have not put you to death, and therefore I reiterate the declaration of my charge. I have now built this great city here in Luo, considering that there was no (central) place in which to receive my guests from the four quarters, and also that you, ye numerous officers, might here with zealous activity perform the part of ministers to us, with the entire obedience (ye would learn). Ye have still here, I may say, your grounds, and May still rest in your duties and dwellings. If you can reverently obey, Heaven will favour and compassionate you. If you do not reverently obey, you shall not only not have your lands, but I will also carry to the utmost Heaven's inflictions on your persons. Now you may here dwell in your villages, and perpetuate your families; you may pursue your occupations and enjoy your years in this Luo; your children also will prosper; (all) from your being removed

8 The king says: 'And again he says, "Whatever I may now have spoken is on account of (my anxiety about) your residence here.

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 43 - Wu yi NT

(Against Luxurious Ease)

1 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! the superior man rests in this. that he will indulge in no luxurious ease. He first understands how the painful toil of sowing and reaping conducts to ease, and thus he understands how the lower people depend on this toil (for their support). I have observed among the lower people, that where the parents have diligently laboured in sowing and reaping, their sons (often) do not understand this painful toil, but abandon themselves to ease, and to village Slang, and become quite disorderly. Or where they do not do so, they (still) throw contempt on their parents, saying, "Those old people have heard nothing and know nothing."

2 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! I have heard that aforetime Zhong Zong, one of the kings of Yin, was grave, humble, reverential, and timorously cautious. He measured himself with reference to the decree of Heaven, and cherished a reverent apprehension in governing the people, not daring to indulge in useless ease. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne seventy and five years. If we come to the time of Gao Zong, he toiled at first away from the court, and was among the lower people. When he came to the throne, and occupied the mourning shed, it may be said that he did not speak for three years. (Afterwards) he was (still inclined) not to speak; but when he did speak his words were full of harmonious (wisdom). He did not dare to indulge in useless ease, but admirably and tranquilly presided over the regions of Yin, till throughout them all, small and great, there was not a single murmur. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne fifty and nine years. In the case of Zu-jia, he refused to be king unrighteously, and was at first one of the lower people. When he came to the throne, he knew on what they must depend (for their support), and was able to exercise a protecting kindness towards their masses, and did not dare to treat with contempt the wifeless men and widows. Thus it was that he enjoyed the throne thirty and three years. The kings that arose after these, from their birth enjoyed ease. Enjoying ease from their birth, they did not know the painful toil of sowing and reaping, and had not heard of the hard labours of the lower people. They sought for nothing but excessive pleasure; and so not one of them had long life. They (reigned) for ten years, for seven or eight, for five or six, or perhaps (only) for three or four.'

3 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! there likewise were king Tai and king Ji of our own Zhou, who were humble and reverentially cautious. King Wen dressed meanly, and gave himself to the work of tranquillization and to that of husbandry. Admirably mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people, and showed a fostering kindness to the wifeless men and widows. From morning to mid-day, and from mid-day to sundown, he did not allow himself leisure to eat; thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people. King Wen did not dare to go to excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he would receive only the correct amount of contribution. The appointment (of Heaven) came to him in the middle of his life, and he enjoyed the throne for fifty years.'

4 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! from this time forward, do you who have succeeded to the throne imitate Wen's avoiding of excess in his sight-seeing, his indulgence in ease, his excursions, his hunting; and from the myriads of the people receive only the correct amount of contribution. Do not allow yourself the leisure to say, "To-day I will indulge in pleasure." This would not be holding out a lesson to the people, nor the

way to secure the favour of Heaven. Men will on the contrary be prompt to imitate you and practise evil. Become not like Shou the king of Yin, who went quite astray, and, became abandoned to drunkenness.

5 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! I have heard it said that, in the case of the ancients, (their ministers) warned and admonished them, protected and loved them, taught and instructed them; and among the people there was hardly one who would impose on them by extravagant language or deceiving tricks. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), your ministers will imitate you, and so the correct laws of the former kings, both small and great, will be changed and disordered. The people, blaming you, will disobey and rebel

in their hearts; yea, they will curse you with their mouths. 6 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! those kings of Yin, Zhong Zong, Gao Zong, and Zu-jia, with king Wen of our Zhou, these four men carried their knowledge into practice. If it was told them, "The lower people murmur against you and revile you," then they paid great and reverent attention to their conduct; and with reference to the faults imputed to them they said, "Our faults are really so," thus not simply shrinking from the cherishing of anger. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), when men with extravagant language and deceptive tricks say to you, "The lower people are murmuring against you and reviling you," you will believe them. Doing this, you will not be always thinking of your princely duties, and will not cultivate a large and generous heart, You will confusedly punish the guiltless, and put the innocent to death. There will be a general murmuring, which will be concentrated upon your person.

7 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! let the king, who has succeeded to the throne, make a study of these things.

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 44 - Jun shi NT

(Lord Shi or Prince Shi, that is the Duke Shao)

1 The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect: 'Prince Shi, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin. Yin has lost its appointment (to the throne), which our House of Zhou has received. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew it, "The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity. If Heaven aid sincerity,"Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, "The end will issue in our misfortunes." Oh! you have said, O prince, "It depends on ourselves." I also do not dare to rest in the favour of God, not forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time, when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people; (the issue) is with men. Should our present successor to his fathers prove greatly unable to reverence (Heaven) above and (the people) below, and so bring to an end the glory of his predecessors, could we in (the retirement of) our families be ignorant of it? The favour of Heaven is not easily preserved: Heaven is difficult to be depended on. Men lose its favouring appointment, because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers Now I Dan the little child am not able to make (the king) correct. I would simply conduct him to the glory of his fathers, and make him, who is my young charge, partaker of that.' He also said, 'Heaven is not to be trusted. Our course is only to seek the prolongation of the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, that Heaven may not find occasion to remove its favouring decree which king Wen received.'

2 The duke said, 'Prince Shi, I have heard that aforetime, when Tang the successful had received the appointment (to the throne), he had with him Yi Yin, making (his virtue) like that of great Heaven; that Tai Jia had (the same Yi Yin), the Baoheng; that Tai-wu had Yi Zhi and Chen Hu, through whom (his virtue) was made to affect God, and Wu Xian who regulated the royal House; that Zu-yi had Wu Xian's son; and that Wu-ding had Gan Pan. (These ministers) carried out (their principles), and displayed (their merit), preserving and regulating the dynasty of Yin, so that, while its ceremonies lasted, (those sovereigns), when deceased, were assessors to Heaven, and its duration extended over many years. Heaven thus determinately maintained its favouring appointment, and Shang was replenished with men. The various heads of great surnames and members of the royal House, holding employments, all held fast their virtue, and showed an anxious solicitude (for the kingdom). The smaller ministers, and the guardian princes in the Hou and Dian domains, hurried about on their services. Thus did they all exert their virtue and aid their sovereign, so that whatever affairs he, the One man, had in hand, throughout the land, an entire faith was reposed in their justice as in the indications of the shell or the divining

3 The duke said, 'Prince Shi, Heaven gives length of days to the just and the intelligent; (it was thus that those ministers) maintained and regulated the dynasty of Yin. He who came last to the throne granted by Heaven was extinguished by its terrors. Do you think of the distant future, and we shall have the decree (in favour of Zhou) made sure, and its good government will be, brilliantly exhibited in our newly-

4 The duke said, 'Prince Shi, aforetime when God was inflicting calamity (on Yin), he encouraged anew the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, till at last the great favouring decree was concentrated in his person. (But) that king Wen was able to conciliate and unite the portion of the great kingdom which we came to possess, was owing to his having (such ministers) as his brother of Kuo, Hong Yao, San Yi-sheng, Tai Dian, and Nan-gong Kuo.'

He said further, 'But for the ability of those men to go and come in his affairs, developing his constant lessons, there would have been no benefits descending from king Wen on the people. And it also was from the determinate favour of Heaven that there were these men of firm virtue, and acting according to their knowledge of the dread majesty of Heaven, to give themselves to enlighten king Wen, and lead him forward to his high distinction and universal rule, till his fame, reached the ears of God, and he received the appointment that had been Yin's. There were still four of those men who led on king Wu to the possession of the revenues of the kingdom, and afterwards, along with him, in great reverence of the majesty of Heaven, slew all his enemies. These four men, moreover, made king Wu so illustrious that his glory overspread the kingdom, and (the people) universally and greatly proclaimed his virtue. Now with me Dan, the little child, it is as if I were floating on a great stream; With you, O Shi, let me from this time endeavour to cross it. Our young sovereign is (powerless), as if he had not yet ascended the throne. You must by no means lay the whole burden on me; and if you draw yourself up without an effort to supply my deficiencies, no good will flow to the people from our age and experience. We shall not hear the voices of the phoenixes, and how much less can it be thought that we shall be able to make (the king's virtue) equal (to Heaven)!

5 The duke said, 'Oh! consider well these things, O prince. We have received the appointment to which belongs an unlimited amount of blessing, but having great difficulties attached to it. What I announce to you are counsels of a generous largeness. I cannot allow the successor of our kings to go astray.

6 The duke said, 'The former king laid bare his heart, and gave full charge to you, constituting you one of the guides and patterns for the people, saying, "Do you with intelligence and energy second and help the king; do you with sincerity support and convey forward the great decree. Think of the virtue of king Wen, and enter greatly into his boundless anxieties."

7 The duke said, 'What I tell you, O prince, are my sincere. thoughts. O Shi, the Grand-Protector, if you can but reverently survey with me the decay and great disorders of Yin, and thence consider the dread majesty of Heaven (which warns) us! Am I not to be believed that I must reiterate my words? I simply say. "The establishment (of our dynasty) rests with us Do you agree with me? Then you (also) will say, "It rests with us two." And the favour of Heaven has come to us so largely: it should be ours to feel as if we could not sufficiently respond to it. If you can but reverently cultivate your virtue (now), and bring to light our men of eminent ability, then when you resign (your position) to some successor in a time of established security, (I will interpose no objection.)

8 'Oh! it is by the earnest service of us two that we have come to the prosperity of the present day. We must both go on, abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of king Wen, till it has grandly overspread the kingdom, and from the corners of the sea, and the sunrising, there shall not be one who is disobedient to the rule (of Zhou).

9 The duke said, 'O prince, have I not spoken in accordance with reason in these many declarations? I am only influenced by anxiety about (the appointment of) Heaven, and about the

10 The duke said, 'Oh! you know, O prince, the ways of the people, how at the beginning they can be (all we could desire); but it is the end (that is to be thought of). Act in careful accordance with this fact. Go and reverently exercise the duties of your office.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 45 - Cai Zhong zhi ming

(Charge to Cai Zhong or Charge to Zhong of Cai; meaning Cai Zhong Hu, Hu, Elder of Cai, born Ji Hu, son of Ji Du, the first lord of Cai, 11th or 10th c. BC.)

1 When the duke, of Zhou was in the place of prime minister and directed all the officers, the (king's) uncles spread abroad an (evil) report, in consequence of which (the duke) put to death the prince of Guan in Shang; confined the prince of Cai in Guo-lin, with an attendance of seven chariots; and reduced the prince of Huo to be a private man, causing his name to be erased from the registers for three years. The son of the prince of Cai having displayed a reverent virtue, the duke of Zhou made him a high minister, and when his father died, requested a decree from the king, investing him with the country of Cai.

2 The king speaks to this effect: "My little child, Hu, you

follow the virtue (of our ancestors), and have changed from the conduct (of your father); you are able to take heed to your ways; I therefore appoint you to be a marquis in the east. Go to your fief, and be reverent! In order that you may cover the faults of your father, be loyal, be filial. Urge on your steps in your own way, diligent and never idle, and so shall you hand

down an example to your descendants. Follow the constant lessons of your grandfather king Wen, and be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders. Great Heaven has no partial affections; it helps only the virtuous. The people's hearts have no unchanging attachment; they cherish only the kind. Acts of goodness are different, but they contribute in common to good order. Acts of evil are different, but they contribute in common to disorder. Be cautious! In giving heed to the beginning think of the end;--the end will then be without distress. If you do not think of the end, it will be full of distress, even of the greatest. Exert yourself to achieve your proper merit. Seek to be in harmony with all your neighbours. Be a fence to the royal House. Live in amity with your brethren. Tranquillize and help the lower people. Follow the course of the Mean, and do not by aiming to be intelligent throw old statutes into confusion. Watch over what you see and hear, and do not for one-sided words deviate from the right rule. Then I, the One man, will praise you. The king says, "Oh! my little child, Hu, go, and do not idly throw away my charge.

3-4 (untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 46 - Duo fang NT (Numerous Regions)

I In the fifth month, on the day Ding-hai, the king arrived from Yan, and came to (Hao), the honoured (capital of) Zhou.

2 The duke of Zhou said, 'The king speaks to the following effect: "Ho! I make an announcement to you of the four states, and the numerous (other) regions. Ye who were the officers and people of the prince of Yin, I have dealt very leniently as regards your lives, as ye all know. You kept reckoning greatly on (some) decree of Heaven, and did not keep with perpetual awe before your thoughts (the preservation of) your sacrifices.

"God sent down correction on Xia, but the sovereign (only) increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He showed himself dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leadings of God - this is what you have heard. He kept reckoning on the decree of God (in his favour), and did not cultivate the means for the people's support. By great inflictions of punishment also he increased the disorder of the states of Xia. The first cause (of his evil course) was the internal misrule, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he endeavour to find and employ men whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people; but where any of the people of Xia were covetous and fierce, he daily honoured them, and they practised cruel tortures in the cities. Heaven on this sought a (true) lord for the people, and made its. distinguished and favouring decree light on Tang the Successful, who punished and destroyed the sovereign of Xia. Heaven's refusal of its favour (to Xia) was decided. The righteous men of your numerous regions were not permitted. to continue long in their posts of enjoyment, and the many officers whom Xia's (last sovereign) honoured were unable intelligently to maintain the people in the enjoyment (of their lives), but, on the contrary, aided one another in oppressing them, till of the hundred ways of securing (prosperity) they could not promote (one).

"In the case indeed of Tang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your numerous regions that he superseded Xia, and became the lord of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtue (of a sovereign), in order to stimulate the people, and they on their part imitated him and were stimulated. From him down to Di-Yi, the sovereigns all made their virtue illustrious, and were cautious in the use of punishments; thus also exercising a stimulating influence (over the people). When they, having examined the evidence in criminal cases, put to death those chargeable with many crimes, they exercised the same influence, and they did so also when they liberated those who were not purposely guilty. But when the throne came to your (last) sovereign, he could not with (the good will of) your numerous regions continue in the enjoyment of the favouring decree of Heaven." Oh!"

3 'The king speaks to the following effect: I announce and declare to you of the numerous regions, that Heaven had no set purpose to do away with the sovereign of Xia or with the sovereign of Yin. But it was the case that your (last) ruler, being in possession of your numerous regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favouring decree of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the (last) sovereign of Xia; his plans of government were not of a tendency to secure his enjoyment (of the kingdom), and Heaven sent down ruin on him, and the chief of the territory (of Shang) put an end (to the line of Xia). In truth, the last sovereign of your Shang was luxurious to the extreme of luxury, while his plans of government showed neither purity nor progress, and thus Heaven sent down such ruin on him.

4 "The wise, through not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise. Heaven for five years waited kindly, and forbore with the descendant (of Tang), to see if he would indeed prove himself the ruler of the people; but there was nothing in him deserving to be regarded. Heaven then sought among your numerous regions, making a

great impression by its terrors to stir up some one who would look (reverently) to it, but in all your regions there was not one deserving of its favouring regard. But there were the kings of our Zhou, who treated well the multitudes of the people, and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous (government). They could preside over (all services to) spirits and to Heaven. Heaven thereupon instructed us, and increased our excellence, made choice of us, and gave us the decree of Yin, to rule over your numerous regions."

"Why do I now presume to make (these) many declarations? I have dealt very leniently as regards the lives of you, the people of these four states. Why do you not show a sincere and generous obedience in your numerous regions? Why do you not aid and co-operate with the kings of our Zhou, to secure the enjoyment of Heaven's favouring decree? You now still dwell in your dwellings, and cultivate your fields; why do you not obey our kings, and consolidate the decree of Heaven? The paths which you tread are continually those of disquietude; have you in your hearts no love for yourselves? do you refuse so greatly to acquiesce in the ordinance of Heaven? do you triflingly reject that decree? do you of yourselves pursue unlawful courses, scheming (by your alleged reasons) for the approval of upright men? I simply instructed you, and published my announcement 1; with trembling awe I secured and confined (the chief criminals) - I have done so twice and for three times. But if you do not, take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives, I will proceed to severe punishments, and put you to death. It is not that we, the sovereigns of Zhou, hold it virtuous to make you untranquil, but it is you yourselves who accelerate your crimes (and sufferings).""

6 'The king says, "Oh! ho! I tell you, ye many officers of the. various regions, and you, ye many officers of Yin, now have ye been hurrying about, doing service to my overseers for five years. There are among you the inferior assistants, the chiefs, and the numerous directors, small and great - see that ve all attain to the discharge of your duties. Want of harmony (in the life) rises from (the want of it in) one's (inner) self - strive to be harmonious. Want of concord in your families (arises from the want of it in your conduct) - strive to be harmonious. When intelligence rules in your cities, then will you be proved to be attentive to your duties. Do not be afraid, I pray you, of the evil ways, (of the people); and moreover, by occupying your offices with a reverent harmony, yon will find it possible to select from your cities individuals on whose assistance you can calculate. You may thus long continue in this city of Luo, cultivating your fields. Heaven will favour and compassionate you, and we, the sovereigns of Zhou, will greatly help you, and confer rewards, selecting you to stand in-our royal court. Only be attentive to your duties, and you may rank among our great officers.'

7 'The king says, "Oh! ye numerous officers, if you cannot exhort one another to pay a sincere regard to my charges, it will further show that you are unable to honour your sovereign; and all the people will (also) say, 'We will not honour him.' Thus will ye be proved slothful and perverse, greatly disobedient to the royal charges. Throughout your, numerous regions you will bring on yourselves the terrors of Heaven, and I will then inflict on you its punishments, removing you far from your country."

8 'The king says, "I do not (wish to) make these many declarations, but it is in a spirit of awe that I lay my commands before you." He further says, "You may now make a (new) beginning. If you cannot reverently realize the harmony (which I enjoin), do not (hereafter) murmur against me."

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 47 - Li zheng NT (Establishment of Government)

I The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect: With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne. In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, 'In close attendance on your majesty there are the regular presidents, the regular ministers, and the officers of justice; the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards.

2 The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect: With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne.' In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, 'In close attendance on your majesty there are the regular presidents, the regular ministers, and the officers of justice; the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards.' The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them.'

3 The duke of Zhou said, 'Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them. Among the ancients who exemplified (this anxiety) there was the founder of the Xia dynasty. When his House was in its greatest strength, he sought for able men who should honour God (in the discharge of their duties). (His advisers), when they knew of men thoroughly proved. and trustworthy in the

practice of the nine virtues, would then presume to inform and instruct their sovereign, saying, "With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, O sovereign, we would say, Let (such an one) occupy one of your high offices: Let (such an one) be one of your pastors: Let (such an one) be one of your pastors: Let (such an one) be one of your officers. of justice. By such appointments you will fulfil your duty as sovereign. If you judge by the face only, and therefrom deem men well schooled in virtue, and appoint them, then those three positions will all be occupied by unrighteous individuals."

4 The way of Jie, however, was act to observe this precedent. Those whom he employed were cruel men; and he left no successor. After this there was Tang the Successful, who, rising to the throne, grandly administered the bright ordinances of God. He employed, to fill the three (high) positions, those who were equal to them; and those who were called possessors of the three kinds of ability would display that ability. He then studied them severely, and greatly imitated them, making the utmost of them in their three positions and with their three kinds of ability. The people in the cities of Shang were thereby all brought to harmony, and those in the four quarters of the kingdom were brought greatly under the influence of the virtue thus displayed. Oh! when the throne came to Shou, his character was all violence. He preferred men of severity, and who deemed cruelty a virtue, to share with him in the government of his states; and at the same time, the host of his associates, men who counted idleness a virtue, shared the offices of his court. God then sovereignly punished him, and caused us to possess the great land, enjoy the favouring decree which Shou had (afore) received, and govern all the people in their myriad realms.

5 'Then subsequently there were king Wen and king Wu, who knew well the minds of those whom they put in the three positions, and saw clearly the minds of those who had the three grades of ability. Thus they could employ them to serve God with reverence, and appointed them as presidents and chiefs of the people. In establishing their government, the three things which principally concerned them were to find the men for (high) offices, the officers of justice, and the pastors. (They had also) the guards; the keepers of the robes; their equerries; their heads of small departments; their personal attendants: their various overseers: and their treasurers. They had their governors of the larger and smaller cities assigned in the royal domain to the nobles; their men of arts; their overseers whose offices were beyond the court; their grand historiographers; and their heads of departments - all good men of constant virtue. (In the external states) there were the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Works, with the many officers subordinate to them. Among the wild tribes, such as the Wei, the Lu, and the Zheng, in the three Bo, and at the dangerous passes, they had

6 'King Wen was able to make the minds of those in the (three high) positions his own, and so it was that he established those regular officers and superintending pastors, so that they were men of ability and virtue. He would not appear himself in the various notifications, in litigations, and in precautionary measures. There, were the officers and pastors (to attend to them), whom he (simply) taught to be obedient (to his wishes), and not to be disobedient. (Yea), as to litigations and precautionary measures, he (would seem as if he) did not presume to know about them. He was followed by king Wu, who carried out his work of settlement, and did not presume to supersede his righteous and virtuous men, but entered into his plans, and employed, as before, those men. Thus it was that they unitedly received this vast inheritance.'

7 'Oh! young son, the king, from this time forth be it ours to establish the government, appointing the (high) officers, the officers of the laws, and the pastors; be it ours clearly to know what courses are natural to these men, and then fully to employ them in the government, that they may aid us in the management of the people whom we have received, and harmoniously conduct all litigations and precautionary measures. And let us river allow others to come between us and them. (Yea), in our every word and speech, let us be thinking of (these) officers of complete virtue, to regulate the people that we have received.

8 'Oh! I, Dan, have received these excellent words of others, and tell them all to you, young son, the king. From this time forth, O accomplished son (of Wu), accomplished grandson (of Wen), do not err in regard to the litigations and precautionary measures - let the proper officers manage them.

9 'From of old to the founder of Shang, and downwards to

9 'From of old to the founder of Shang, and downwards to king Wen of our Zhou, in establishing government, when they appointed (high) officers, pastors, and officers. of the laws, they settled them in their positions, And allowed them to unfold their talents; thus giving the regulation of affairs into their hands. In the kingdom, never has there been the establishment of government by the employment of artfultongued men; (with such men), unlessoned in virtue, never can a government be distinguished in the, world. From this time forth, in establishing government, make no use of artfultongued men, but (seek for) good officers, and get them to use all their powers in aiding the government of our country.

10 'Now, O accomplished son (of Wu), accomplished grandson (of Wen), young son, the king, do not err in the matter of litigations; there are the officers and pastors (to attend to them). Have well arranged (also) your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yu, and traverse all under the sky, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission: so shall you display the bright glory of king Wen, and render more illustrious the great achievements of king Wu. Oh! from this time forth, may (our) future kings, in establishing the government, be able to employ men of constant virtue!'

11 The duke of Zhou spoke to the following effect: 'O grand historiographer, the duke of Su, the Minister of Crime, dealt reverently with all the criminal matters that came before him, and thereby perpetuated the fortunes of our kingdom. Here was an example of anxious solicitude (for future ministers), whereby they may rank with him in the ordering of the appropriate punishments.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 48 - Zhou guan

(Officers of Zhou)

I The king of Zhou brought the myriad regions (of the kingdom) to tranquillity; he made a tour of inspection through the Hou and Dian tenures; he punished on all sides the chiefs who had refused to appear at court; thus securing the repose of the millions of the people, and all the (princes in the) six tenures acknowledging his virtue. He then returned to the honoured capital of Zhou, and strictly regulated the officers of the administration.

2 The king said, 'It was the grand method of former times to regulate the government while there was no confusion, and to secure the country while there was no danger.' He said, 'Yao and Shun, having studied antiquity, established a hundred officers. At court, there were the General Regulator and (the President of) the Four Mountains: abroad, there were the pastors of the provinces and the princes of states. Thus the various departments of government went on harmoniously, and the myriad states all enjoyed repose. Under the dynasties of Xia and Shang, the number of officers was doubled, and they were able still to secure good government. (Those early) intelligent kings, in establishing their government, cared not so much about the number of the offices as about, the men (to occupy them). Now I, the little child, cultivate with reverence my virtue, concerned day and night about my deficiencies; I look up to (those) former dynasties, and seek to conform to them, while I instruct and direct you, my officers.

3 'I appoint the Grand-Master, the Grand-Assistant, and the Grand-Guardian. These are the three Gong. They discourse about the principles of reason and adjust the states, harmonizing (also) and regulating the operations (in nature) of heaven and earth. These offices need not (always) be filled; there must (first) be the men for them.

'(I appoint) the junior Master, the junior Assistant, and the junior Guardian. These are called the three Gu. They assist the Gong to diffuse widely the transforming influences, and display brightly with reverence (the powers of) heaven and earth - assisting me, the One man.

'(I appoint) the Prime Minister, who presides over the ruling of the (various) regions, has the general management of all the other officers, and secures uniformity within the four seas; the Minister of Instruction, who presides over the education in the states, diffuses a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society, and trains the millions of the people to obedience; the Minister of Religion, who presides over the (sacred) ceremonies of the country, regulates the services rendered to the spirits and manes, and makes a harmony between high and low; the Minister of War, who presides over the (military) administration of the country. commands the six hosts, and secures the tranquillity of all the regions; the Minister of Crime, who presides over the prohibitions of the country, searches out the villainous and secretly wicked, and punishes oppressors and disturbers of the peace; and the Minister of Works, who presides over the land of the country, settles the four classes of the people, and secures at the proper seasons the produce of the ground.

These six ministers with their different duties lead on their several subordinates, and set an example to the nine pastors of the provinces, enriching and perfecting the condition of the millions of the people. In six years (the lords of) the five tenures appear once at the royal court; and after a second six years, the king makes a tour of inspection in the four seasons, and examines the (various) regulations and measures at the four mountains. The princes appear before him each at the mountain of his quarter; and promotions and degradations are awarded with great intelligence.'

4 The king said, 'Oh! all ye men of virtue, my occupiers of office, pay reverent attention to your charges. Be careful in the commands you issue; for, once issued, they must be carried into effect, and cannot be retracted. Extinguish all selfish aims by your public feeling, and the people will have confidence in you, and be gladly obedient. Study antiquity as a preparation for entering on your offices. In deliberating on affairs, form your determinations by help (of such study), and your measures will be free from error. Make the regular statutes of

(our own) dynasty your rule, and do not with artful speeches introduce disorder into your offices. To accumulate doubts is the way to ruin your plans; to be idle and indifferent is the way to ruin your government. Without study, you stand facing a wall, and your management of affairs will be full of trouble.

'I warn you, my high ministers and officers, that exalted merit depends on the high aim, and a patrimony is enlarged only by diligence; it is by means of bold decision that future difficulties are avoided. Pride comes, along with rank, unperceived, and extravagance in the same way with emolument. Let reverence and economy be (real) virtues with you, unaccompanied with hypocritical display. Practise them as virtues, and your minds will be at ease, and you will daily become more admirable. Practise them in hypocrisy, and your minds will be toiled, and you will daily become more stupid. In the enjoyment of favour think of peril, and never be without a cautious apprehension; he who is without such apprehension finds himself amidst what is really to be feared. Push forward the worthy, and show deference to the able; and harmony will prevail among all your officers. When they are not harmonious, the government becomes a mass of confusion. If those whom you advance be able for their offices, the ability is yours; if you advance improper men, you are not equal to

5 The king said, 'Oh! ye (charged) with the threefold business (of government) and ye great officers, I reverently attend to your departments, and conduct well the affairs under your government, so as to assist your sovereign, and secure the lasting happiness of the millions of the people - so shall there be no dissatisfaction throughout the myriad states '

6-7 (untranslated)

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 49 - Jun-chen

(Lord Chen)

I The king spake to the following effect: 'Jun-chen, it is you who are possessed of excellent virtue, filial and respectful. Being filial, and friendly with your brethren, you can display these qualities in the exercise of government. I appoint you to rule this eastern border. Be reverent.'

'Formerly, the duke of Zhou acted as teacher and guardian of the myriads of the people, who cherish (the remembrance of) his virtue. Go and with sedulous care enter upon his charge; act in accordance with his regular ways, and exert yourself to illustrate his lessons; so shall the people be regulated. I have heard that he said, "Perfect government has a piercing fragrance, and influences the spiritual intelligences. It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue." Do you make this lesson of the duke of Zhou your rule, being diligent from day to day, and not presuming to indulge in luxurious ease. Ordinary men, while they have not yet seen a sage, (are full of desire) as if they should never get a sight of him; and after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him. Be cautioned by this! You are the wind: the inferior people are the grass. In revolving the plans of your government, never hesitate to acknowledge the difficulty of the subject. Some things have to be abolished, and some new things to be enacted going out and coming in, seek the judgement of your people about them, and, when there is a general agreement, exert your own powers of reflection. When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your sovereign in the palace. Thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, "This plan or this view is all due to our sovereign." Oh! if all ministers were to act thus, how excellent would they be, and how distinguished!

2 The king said, 'Jun-chen, do you give their full development to the great lessons of the duke of Zhou. Do not make use of your power to exercise oppression; do not make use of the laws to practise extortion. Be gentle, but with strictness of rule. Promote harmony by the display of an easy forbearance.

'When any of the people of Yin are amenable to punishment, if I say "Punish," do not you therefore punish; and if I say "Spare," do not you therefore spare. Seek the due middle course. Those who are disobedient to your government, and uninfluenced by your instructions, you will punish, remembering that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing. Those who are inured to villainy and treachery, those who violate the regular duties of society, and those who introduce disorder into the public manners:—those three classes you will not spare, though their particular offences be but small.

'Do not cherish anger against the obstinate, and dislike them. Seek not every quality in one individual. You must have patience, and you will be successful; have forbearance, and your virtue will be great. Mark those who discharge their duties well, and also mark those who do not do so, (and distinguish them from one another.) Advance the good, to induce those who may not be so to follow (their example).

The people are born good, and are changed by (external) things, so that they resist what their superiors command, and follow what they (themselves) love. Do you but reverently

observe the statutes, and they will be found in (the way of) virtue; they will thus all be changed, and truly advance to a great degree of excellence. Then shall I, the One man, receive much happiness, and your excellent services will be famous through long ages!

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 50 - Gu ming NT (Testamentary Charge)

I In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the king was indisposed. On the day Jia-zi, he washed his hands and face; his attendants put on him his cap and robes; (and he sat up), leaning on a gem-adorned bench. He then called together the Grand-Guardian Shi, the earls of Rui and Tong, the duke of Bi, the marquis of Wei, the duke of Mao, the master of the warders, the master of the guards, the heads of the various departments, and the superintendents of affairs.

2 The king said, 'Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence, and maintains its hold. I am afraid I may not find (another opportunity) to declare my wishes about my successor, and therefore I (now) lay my charge upon you with special instructions. The former rulers, our kings Wen and Wu, displayed in succession their equal glory, making sure provision for the support of the people, and setting forth their instructions. (The people) accorded a practical submission, without any opposition, and the influence (of their example and instructions) extended to Yin, and the great appointment (of Heaven) was secured. After them, I, the stupid one, received with reverence the dread (decree) of Heaven, and continued to keep the great instructions of Wen and Wu, not daring blindly to transgress them. Now Heaven has laid affliction on me, and it seems as if I should not again rise or be myself. Do you take clear note of these my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son Zhao, and greatly assist him in the difficulties of his position. Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near. Promote the tranquillity of the states, small and great, and encourage them (to well-doing). I think how a man has to govern himself in dignity and with decorum; do not you allow Zhao to proceed heedlessly on the impulse of improper motives.

Immediately on receiving this charge, (the ministers and others) withdrew. The tent was then carried out into the court; and on the next day, (being) Yi-chou, the king died.

3 The Grand-Guardian then ordered Zhong Huan and Nan-Gong Mao to instruct Lu Ji, the marquis of Qi, with two shield-and-spearmen, and a hundred guards, to meet the prince Zhao outside the south gate, and conduct him to (one of) the side-apartments (near to that where the king lay), there to be as chief mourner. On the day Ding-Mao, (two days after the king's death), he ordered (the charge) to be recorded on tablets, and the forms (to be observed in publishing it). Seven days after, on Gui-you, as chief (of the west) and premier, he ordered the (proper) officers to prepare the wood (for all the requirements of the funeral).

4 The salvage men set out the screens, ornamented with figures of axes, and the tents. Between the window (and the door), facing the south, they placed the (three)fold mat of fine bamboo splints, with its striped border of white and black silk, and the usual bench adorned with different-coloured gems. In the side-space on the west, which faced the east, they placed the threefold rush mat, with its variegated border, and the usual bench adorned with beautiful shells. In the side-space on the east, which faced the west, they placed the threefold mat of fine grass, with its border of painted silk, and the usual bench carved, and adorned with gems. Before the western sidechamber, and facing the south, they placed the threefold mat of fine bamboo, with its dark mixed border, and the usual lacquered bench. (They set forth) also the five pairs of gems (or jade), and the precious things of display. There were the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces, all in the side-space on the west; the large piece of jade, the pieces contributed by the wild tribes of the east, the heavenly sounding-stone, and the river-plan, all in the side-space on the east: the dancing habits of Yin, the large, large tortoise-shell, and the large drum, all in the western apartment; the spear of Dui, the bow of He, and the bamboo arrows of Chui, all in the eastern apartment. The grand carriage was by the guests' steps, facing (the south); the next was by the eastern (or host's) steps, facing (the south). The front carriage was placed before the left lobby, and the one that followed it before the right lobby.

5 Two men in brownish leather caps, and holding three-cornered halberts, stood inside the gate leading to the private apartments. Four men in caps of spotted deer-skin, holding spears with blades upturned from the base of the point, stood, one on each side of the steps east and west, and near to the platform of the hall. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the east (end). One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe of a different pattern, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the west end. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance, stood at the front and east of the hall, close by the steps. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance of a different

pattern, stood in the corresponding place on the west. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a pointed weapon, stood by the steps on the north side of the hall.

6 The king, in a linen cap and the variously figured, skirt, ascended by the guests' steps, followed by the high ministers, (great) officers, and princes of states, in linen caps and darkcoloured skirts. Arrived in the hall, they all took their (proper) places. The Grand-Guardian, the Grand-Historiographer, and the Minister of Religion were all in linen caps and red skirts. The Grand-Guardian bore the great mace. The Minister of Religion bore the cup and the macecover. These two ascended by the steps on the east. The Grand Historiographer bore, the testamentary charge. He ascended by the guests' steps (on the west), and advanced to the king with the tablets containing the charge, and said, 'Our royal sovereign, leaning on the gem-adorned bench, declared his last charge, and commanded you to continue (the observance of) the lessons, and to take the rule of the kingdom of Zhou, complying with the great laws, and securing the harmony of all under the sky, so as to respond to and display the bright instructions of Wen and Wu '

The king twice bowed (low), and then arose, and replied, 'I am utterly insignificant and but a child, how should I be able to govern the four quarters (of the kingdom) with a corresponding reverent awe of the dread majesty of Heaven!' He then received the cup and the mace-cover. Thrice he slowly and reverently advanced with a cup of spirits (to the east of the coffin); thrice he sacrificed (to the spirit of his father); and thrice he put the cup down. The Minister of Religion said, 'It is accepted.'

The Grand-Guardian received the cup, descended the steps, and washed his hands. He then took another cup, (placed it on) a half-mace which he carried, and repeated the sacrifice. He then gave the cup to one of the attendants of the Minister of Religion, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian took a cup again, and poured out the spirits in sacrifice. He then just tasted the spirits, returned to his place, gave the cup to the attendant, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand Guardian descended from the hall, after which the various (sacrificial) articles were removed, and the princes all went out at the temple gate and waited.

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 51 - Kang wang zhi gao NT (Announcement of King Kang)

I The king came forth and stood (in the space) within the fourth gate of the palace, when the Grand-Guardian led in the princes of the western regions by the left (half) of the gate, and the duke of Bi those of the eastern regions by the right (half). They then all caused their teams of light bay horses, with their manes and tails dyed red, to be exhibited; and, (as the king's) guests, lifted up their rank-symbols, and (the other) presents (they had brought), saying, 'We your servants, defenders (of the throne), venture to bring the productions of our territories, and lay them here.' (With these words) they all did obeisance twice, laying their heads on the ground. The king, as the righteous successor to the virtue of those who had gone before him, returned their obeisance.

2 The Grand-Guardian and the earl of Rui, with all the rest, then advanced and bowed to each other, after which they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground, and said, 'O Son of Heaven, we venture respectfully to declare our sentiments. Great Heaven altered its decree which the great House of Yin had received, and Wen and Wu of our Zhou grandly received the same, and carried it out, manifesting their kindly government in the western regions. His recently ascended majesty, rewarding and punishing exactly in accordance with what was right, fully established their achievements, and transmitted this happy state to his successors. Do you, O king, now be reverent. Maintain your armies in great order, and do not allow the rarely equalled appointment of our high ancestors to come to harm.'

3 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Ye princes of the various states, chiefs of the Hou, Dian, Nan, and Wei domains. I, Zhao, the One man, make an announcement in return (for your advice). The former rulers, Wen and Wu, were greatly just and enriched (the people). They did not occupy themselves to find out people's crimes. Pushing to the utmost and maintaining an entire impartiality and sincerity, they became gloriously illustrious all under heaven. Then they had officers brave as bears and grisly bears, and ministers of no double heart, who (helped them) to maintain and regulate the royal House. Thus (did they receive) the true favouring decree from God, and thus did great Heaven approve of their ways, and give them the four quarters (of the land). Then they appointed and set up principalities, and established bulwarks (to the throne), for the sake of us, their successors. Now do ye, my uncles. I pray you, consider with one another, and carry out the service which the dukes, your predecessors, rendered to my predecessors. Though your persons be distant, let your hearts be in the royal House. Enter thus into my anxieties, and act in accordance with them, so that I, the little child, may not be put to shame.

4 The dukes and all the others, having heard this charge, bowed to one another, and hastily withdrew. The king put off his cap, and assumed again his mourning dress.

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 52 - Bi ming (Charge to the Duke of Bi)

In the sixth month of his twelfth year, the day of the new moon's appearance was Geng-wu, and on Ren-shen, the third day after, the king walked in the morning from the honoured capital of Zhou to Feng, and there, with reference to the multitudes of Cheng-Zhou, gave charge to the duke of Bi to protect and regulate the eastern border.

2 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Oh! Grand-Master, it was when Wen and Wu had diffused their great virtue all under heaven, that they therefore received the appointment which Yin had enjoyed. The duke of Zhou acted as assistant to my royal predecessors, and tranquillized and established their kingdom. Cautiously did he deal with the refractory people of Yin, and removed them to the city of Luo, that they might be quietly near the royal House, and be transformed by its lessons. Six and thirty years have elapsed; the generation has been changed; and manners have altered. Through the four quarters of the land there is no occasion for anxiety, and I, the One man, enjoy repose. The prevailing ways now tend to advancement and now to degeneracy, and measures of government must be varied according to the manners (of the time). If you (now) do not manifest your approval of what is good, 'the people will not be led to stimulate themselves in it. But your virtue, O duke, is strenuous, and you are cautiously attentive to the smallest things. You have been helpful to and brightened four reigns; with deportment all correct leading on the inferior officers, so that there is not one who does not reverently take your words as a law. Your admirable merits were many (and great) in the times of my predecessors: I, the little child, have but to let my robes hang down, and fold my hands, while I look up for the complete effect (of your measures).'

The king said, 'Oh! Grand-Master, I now reverently charge you with the duties of the duke of Zhou. Go! Signalize the good, separating the bad from them; give tokens of your approbation in their neighbourhoods, making it ill for the evil by such distinction of the good, and thus establishing the influence and reputation (of their virtue). When the people will not obey your lessons and statutes, mark off the boundaries of their hamlets, making them fear (to do evil), and desire (to do good). Define anew the borders and frontiers, and be careful to strengthen the guard-posts through the territory, in order to secure tranquillity (within) the four seas. In measures of government to be consistent and constant, and in proclamations a combination of completeness and brevity, and valuable. There should not be the love of what is extraordinary. Among the customs of Shang was the flattery of superiors; sharp-tonguedness was the sign of worth. The remains of these manners are not yet obliterated. Do you, O duke, bear this in mind. I have heard the saving, "Families which have for generations enjoyed places of emolument seldom observe the rules of propriety. They become dissolute, and do violence to virtue, setting themselves in positive opposition to the way of Heaven. They ruin the formative principles of good; encourage extravagance and display; and tend to carry all (future ages) on the same stream with them. Now the officers of Yin had long relied on the favour which they enjoyed. In the confidence of their prideful extravagance they extinguished their (sense of) righteousness. They displayed before men the beauty of their robes - proud, licentious, arrogant, and boastful - the natural issue was that they should end in being thoroughly bad. Although their lost minds have (in a measure) been recovered, it is difficult to keep them under proper restraint. If with their property and wealth they can be brought under the influence of instruction, they may enjoy lengthened years, virtue, and righteousness! these are the great lessons. If you do not follow in dealing with them these lessons of antiquity, wherein will you instruct

4 The king said, 'Oh! Grand-Master, the security or the danger of the kingdom depends on those officers of Yin. If you are not (too) stern with them nor (too) mild, their virtue will be truly cultivated. The duke of Zhou exercised the necessary caution at the beginning (of the undertaking); Jun-chen displayed the harmony proper to the middle of it; and you, O duke, can bring it at last to a successful issue. You three princes will have been one in aim, and will have equally pursued the proper way. The penetrating power of your principles, and the good character of your measures of government, will exert an enriching influence on the character of the people, so that the wild tribes, with their coats buttoning on the left, will all find their proper support in them, and I, the little child, will long enjoy much happiness. Thus, O duke, there in Cheng-Zhou will you establish for ever the power (of Zhou), and you will have an inexhaustible fame. Your descendants will follow your perfect pattern, governing accordingly. Oh! do not say, "I am unequal to this;" but exert your mind to the utmost. Do not say, "The people are few;" but attend carefully to your business. Reverently follow the

accomplished achievements of the former kings, and complete the excellence of the government of your predecessors.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 53 - Jun Ya (or Kun Ya) (Lord Ya)

1 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Oh! Kun-ya, your grandfather and your father, one after the other, with a true loyalty and honesty, laboured in the service of the royal House. accomplishing a merit that was recorded on the grand banner. I, the little child, have become charged by inheritance with the line of government transmitted from Wen and Wu, from Cheng and Kang; I also keep thinking of their ministers who aided them in the good government of the kingdom; the trembling anxiety of my mind makes me feel as if I were treading on a tiger's tail, or walking upon spring ice. I now give you charge to assist me; be as my limbs to me, as my heart and backbone. Continue their old service, and do not disgrace your grandfather and father. Diffuse widely (the knowledge of) the five invariable relations (of society), and reverently seek to produce a harmonious observance of the duties belonging to them among the people. If you are correct in your own person, none will dare to be but correct. The minds of the people cannot attain to the right mean (of duty); they must be guided by your attaining to it. In the heat and rains of summer, the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it is with them in the great cold of winter. How great are their hardships! Think of their hardships in order to seek to promote their ease; and the people will be tranquil. Oh! how great and splendid were the plans of king Wen! How greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wu! All in principle correct, and deficient in nothing, they are for the help and guidance of us their descendants. Do you with reverence and wisdom carry out your instructions, enabling me to honour and follow the example of my (immediate) predecessors, and to respond to and display the bright decree conferred on Wen and Wu - so shall you be the mate of your by-gone fathers.

2 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Kun-ya, do you take for your rule the lessons afforded by the courses of your excellent fathers. The good or the bad order of the people depends on this. You will thus follow the practice of your grandfather and father, and make the good government of your sovereign illustrious.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 54 - Jiong ming

(Charge to Jiong)

1 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Bo-jiong, I come short in virtue, and have succeeded to the former kings to occupy the great throne. I am fearful, and conscious of the peril (of my position). I rise at midnight, and think how I can avoid falling into errors. Formerly Wen and Wu were endowed with all intelligence, august and sage, while their ministers, small and great, all cherished loyalty and goodness. Their servants, charioteers, chamberlains, and followers were all men of correctness; morning and evening waiting on their sovereign's wishes, or supplying his deficiencies. (Those kings), going out and coming in, rising up and sitting down, were thus made reverent. Their every warning or command was good. The people yielded a reverent obedience, and the myriad regions were all happy. But I, the One man, am destitute of goodness, and really depend on the officers who have places about me to help my deficiencies, applying the line to my faults, and exhibiting my errors, thus correcting my bad heart, and enabling me to be the successor of my meritorious predecessors.

'Now I appoint you to be High Chamberlain, to see that all the officers in your department and my personal attendants are upright and correct, that they strive to promote the virtue of their sovereign, and together supply my deficiencies. Be careful in selecting your officers. Do not employ men of artful speech and insinuating looks, men whose likes and dislikes are ruled by mine, one-sided men and flatterers; but employ good men. When these household officers are correct, the sovereign will be correct; when they are flatterers, the sovereign will consider himself a sage. His virtue or his want of it equally depends on them. Cultivate no intimacy with flatterers, nor get them to do duty for me as my ears and eyes; they will lead their sovereign to disregard the statutes of the former kings. If you choose the men not for their personal goodness, but for the sake of their bribes, their offices will be made of no effect, your great want of reverence for your sovereign will be apparent, and I will hold you guilty.

2 The king said, 'Oh! be reverent! Ever help your sovereign to follow the regular laws of duty (which he should exemplify).'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 55 - Lü xing NT (Marquis Lü on Punishments)

I In reference to the charge to the marquis of Lu: When the king had occupied the throne till he reached the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration to the appointment of punishments, in order to deal with (the people of) the four quarters.

2 The king said, 'According to the teachings of ancient times, Chi You was the first to produce disorder, which spread among the quiet, orderly people, till all became robbers and murderers, owl-like and yet self-complacent in their conduct, traitors and villains, snatching and filching, dissemblers and oppressors. Among the people of Miao, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws. They slaughtered the innocent, and were the first also to go to excess in cutting off the nose, cutting off the ears, castration, and branding. All who became liable to those punishments were dealt with without distinction, no difference being made in favour of those who could offer some excuse. The people were gradually affected by this state of things, and became dark and disorderly. Their hearts were no more set on good faith, but they violated their oaths and covenants. The multitudes who suffered from the oppressive terrors, and were (in danger of) being murdered, declared their innocence to Heaven. God surveyed the people, and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their (cruel) punishments.

The great Di compassionated the innocent multitudes that were (in danger of) being murdered, and made the oppressors feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and (finally) extinguished the people of Miao, so that they should not continue to future generations. Then he commissioned Zhong and Li to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents (of spirits) ceased. From the princes down to the inferior officers, all helped with clear intelligence (the spread of) the regular principles of duty, and the solitary and widows were no longer overlooked.

3 'The great Di with an unprejudiced mind carried his enquiries low down among the people, and the solitary and widows laid before him their complaints against the Miao. He awed the people by the majesty of his virtue, and enlightened them by its brightness. He thereupon charged the three princely (ministers) to labour with compassionate anxiety in the people's behalf. Bo-yi delivered his statutes to prevent the people from rendering themselves obnoxious to punishment; Yu reduced to order the water and the land, and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers; Ji spread abroad a knowledge of agriculture, and (the people) extensively cultivated the admirable grains. When the three princes had accomplished their work, it was abundantly well with the people. The Minister of Crime exercised among them the restraint of punishment in exact adaptation to each offence, and taught them to reverence virtue. The greatest gravity and harmony in the sovereign, and the greatest intelligence in those below him, thus shining forth to all quarters (of the land), all were rendered diligent in cultivating their virtue. Hence, (if anything more were wanted), the clear adjudication of punishments effected the regulation of the people, and helped them to observe the regular duties of life. The officers who presided over criminal cases executed the law (fearlessly) against the powerful, and (faithfully) against the wealthy. They were reverent and cautious. They had no occasion to make choice of words to vindicate their conduct. The virtue of Heaven was attained to by them; from them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives (of men). In their low sphere they yet corresponded (to Heaven) and enioved (its favour)'.

4 The king said, 'Ah! you who direct the government and preside over criminal cases through all the land, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven? To whom ought you now to look as your pattern? Is it not to Bo-yi, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments? And from whom ought you now to take warning? Is it not from the people of Miao, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and din not make choice of good officers that should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them, so as to oppress the innocent, until God would no longer hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on Miao, when the people had no plea to allege in mitigation of their punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?'

5 The king said, 'Oh! lay it to heart. My uncles, and all ye, my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons, listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will only tread the path of satisfaction by being daily diligent; do not have occasion to beware of the want of diligence. Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments. Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are unpremeditated, depends on the parties concerned; do you (deal with them so as to) accord with the mind of Heaven, and thus serve me, the One man, Though I would put them to death, do not you therefore put them to death; though I would spare them, do not you therefore spare them. Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as fully to exhibit the three virtues. Then shall I, the One man, enjoy felicity; the people will look to you as their sure dependance; the repose of such a state will be perpetual.'

6 The king said, 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories, I Will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. It is yours now to give repose to the people; what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be the proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most carefully? Should it not be to whom these will reach?

When both parties are present, (with their documents and witnesses) all complete, let the judges listen to the fivefold statements that may be made. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and if these, again, are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error.

'In (settling) the five cases of error there are evils (to be guarded against) - being warped by the influence of power, or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Any one of these things should be held equal to the crime (before the judges). Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to (every difficulty).

When, in a doubtful case, the punishment of branding is forborne, the fine to be laid on instead is 600 ounces (of copper); but you must first have satisfied yourselves as to the crime. When the case would require the cutting off the nose, the fine must be double this - with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be the cutting off the feet, the fine must be 3000 ounces - with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be castration, the fine must be 3600 ounces with the same determination. When the punishment would be death, the fine must be 6000 ounces - with the same determination. Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding there are 1000; and the same number of those that would otherwise-incur cutting off the nose. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet extends to 500 cases; that in lieu of castration, to 300; and that in lieu of death, to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments, there are 3000

8 '(In the case of others not exactly defined), you must class them with the (next) higher or (next) lower offences, not admitting assumptive and disorderly pleadings, and not using obsolete laws. Examine and act lawfully, judging carefully, and proving yourselves equal (to every difficulty). Where the crime should incur one of the higher punishments, but there are mitigating circumstances, apply to it the next lower. Where it should incur one of the lower punishments, but there are aggravating circumstances, apply to it the next higher. The light and heavy fines are to be apportioned (in the same way) by the balance of circumstances. Punishments and fines should (also) be light in one age, and heavy in another. To secure uniformity in this (seeming) irregularity, there are certain relations of things (to be considered), and the essential principle (to be observed).

'The chastisement of fines is short of death vet it will produce extreme distress. They are not (therefore) persons of artful tongues who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were resolved not to follow, you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine carefully the penal code, and deliberate with all about it, that your decisions may be likely to hit the proper mean and be correct - whether it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully and mastering every difficulty. When the case is thus concluded, all parties will acknowledge the justice of the sentence; and when it is reported, the sovereign will do the same. In sending up reports of cases, they must be full and complete. If a man have been tried on two counts, his two punishments (must be

9 The king said, 'Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and princes, of the same surname with me, and of other surnames, (know all) that I speak in much fear. I think with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue. Now Heaven, wishing to help the people, has made us its representatives here below. Be intelligent and pure in hearing (each) side of a case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides - do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain (so) got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many judgements: you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven. It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves. If the punishment of Heaven were not so extreme, nowhere under the sky would the people have good government.

10 The king said, 'Oh! ye who shall hereafter inherit (the dignities and offices of) the present time, to whom are ye to look for your models? Must it not be to those who promoted the virtue belonging to the unbiassed nature of the people? I pray you give attention to my words. The wise men (of antiquity) by their use of punishments obtained boundless

fame. Everything relating to the five punishments exactly hit with them the due mean, and hence came their excellence. Receiving from your sovereigns the good multitudes, behold in the case of those men punishments made felicitous!"

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 56 - Wen hou zhi ming NT (Charge to Marquis or Duke Wen of Jin, born Chong'er, c. 697–628 BC.)

1 The king spoke to the following effect: 'Uncle Yi-he, how illustrious were Wen and Wu! Carefully did they make their virtue brilliant, till it rose brightly on high, and the fame of it was widely diffused here below. Therefore God caused his favouring decree to light upon king Wen. There were ministers also (thereafter), who aided and illustriously served their sovereigns, following and carrying out their plans, great and small, so that my fathers sat tranquilly on the throne.

'Oh! an object of pity am I, who am (but as) a little child, just as I have succeeded to the throne, Heaven has severely chastised me. Through the interruption of the (royal) bounties that ceased to descend to the inferior people, the invading barbarous tribes of the west have greatly (injured) our kingdom. Moreover, among the managers of my affairs there are none of age and experience and distinguished ability in their offices. I am (thus) unequal (to the difficulties of my position), and say to myself, "My grand-uncles and uncles, you ought to compassionate my case." Oh! if there were those who could establish their merit in behalf of me, the One man, I might long enjoy repose upon the throne.

Uncle Yi-he, you render still more glorious your illustrious ancestor. You were the first to imitate the example of Wen and Wu, collecting (the scattered powers), and continuing (the all but broken line of) your sovereign, Your filial piety goes back to your accomplished ancestor, (and is equal to his.) You have done much to repair my (losses), and defend me in my difficulties, and of you, being such, I am full of admiration.'

2 The king said, 'Uncle Yi-he, return home, survey your multitudes, and tranquillize your state. I reward you with a jar of spirits, distilled from the black millet, and flavoured with odoriferous herbs, with a red bow, and a hundred red arrows; with a black bow, and a hundred black arrows; and with four horses. Go, my uncle. Show kindness to those that are far off, and help those who are near at hand; cherish and secure the repose of the inferior people; do not idly seek your ease; exercise an inspection and (benign) compassion in your capital (and all your borders) - thus completing your illustrious virtue.'

# DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 57 - Fei shi NT (Speech at the Battle of Fei, or Speech at Bi)

1 The duke said, 'Ah! ye men, make no noise, but listen to my commands. We are going (to punish) those wild tribes of the Huai and of Xu, which have risen up together. Have in good repair your buff coats and helmets; have the laces of your shields well secured:--presume not to have any of them but in perfect order. Prepare your bows and arrows; temper your lances and spears; sharpen your pointed and edged weapons;--presume not to have any of them but in good condition. We must now largely let the oxen and horses loose, and not keep them in enclosures; -- (ye people), do you close your traps and fill up your pitfalls, and do not presume to injure any of the animals (so let loose). If any of them be injured, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments. When the horses or cattle are seeking one another, or when your followers, male or female, abscond, presume not to leave the ranks to pursue them. But let them be carefully returned. I will reward you (among the people) who return them according to their value. But if you leave your places to pursue them, or if you who find them do not restore them, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments. And let none of you presume to commit any robbery or detain any creature that comes in your way, to jump over enclosures and walls to steal (people's) horses or oxen, or to decoy away their servants or female attendants. If you do so, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

2 'On the day Jia-Xu I will take action against the hordes of Xu; prepare the roasted grain and other provisions, and presume not to have any deficiency. If you have, you shall suffer the severest punishment. Ye men of Lu, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with your posts and planks. On Jia-Xu I will commence my intrenchments - dare not but be provided with a supply of these. (If you be not so provided), you shall be subjected to various punishments, short only of death. Ye men of Lu, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with the forage, and do not dare to let it be other than abundant. (If you do), you shall suffer the severest punishment.'

DOCUMENTS CHAPTER 58 - Qin shi NT

(Speech of the Duke Mu of Qin, born Renhao, reigned 659-621 RC)

I The duke said, 'Ah! my officers, listen to me without noise I solemnly announce to you the most important of all sayings. (It is this which) the ancients have said, "Thus it is with all people, they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course, this is difficult." The sorrow of my heart is, that the days and months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, (so that I might pursue a different course.)

2 'There were my old counsellors. I said, "They will not accommodate themselves to me," and I hated them. There were my new counsellors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them. So indeed it was with me; but hereafter I will take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer! - his strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him (as my counsellor). That dashing brave officer! - his shooting and charioteering are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skilful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them?

3 Thave deeply thought and concluded. Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men. loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them: such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits. But if (the minister), when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he oppose them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them: such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man?

4 'The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a state may also arise from the goodness of one man.'

### DAOIST SCRIPTURE

# THE SAYINGS OF LAOZI

The Sayings of Lao-tzu Romanisation: Wade-Giles Translation: Lionel Giles 1904 Estimated Range of Dating: 5th - 3rd centuries B.C.

(Introduction

With rare modesty and intelligent self-appreciation, Confucius described himself as "a transmitter, not a maker, one who loved and believed in the ancients." This judicious estimate fairly sums up the position of China's most prominent teacher. Incalculable though his influence has been over millions of the human race, it is due rather to his sterling common sense backed by the moral strength of his character, than to any striking intellectual power or novelty in his ideas.

But some fifty years before the time of Confucius there lived another great Chinaman, who, besides being a lover of antiquity, takes high rank as a profound and original thinker. Apart from the thick crop of legend and myth which soon gathered round his name, very little is known about the life and personality of Lao Tzŭ, and even the meagre account preserved for us in the history of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien must be looked upon with suspicion. All the alleged meetings and conversations with Confucius may safely be rejected, not only on account of chronological difficulties, but because they are exactly the sort of invention which would to likely to pass current in an early and uncritical age. We need not, however, go so far as those who impugn the very existence of Lao Tzŭ as an individual, and regard the book which passes under his name as a mere collection of scraps of ancient proverbial philosophy. Some colour, indeed, is lent to this theory by the uncertainty that attaches to the proper interpretation of the name Lao Tzŭ, which is variously explained as (1) Old Bov. because he is said to have been born with a white beard (but we may rather suspect that the story was invented to explain the name); (2) Son of Lao, this being the surname of the virgin mother who conceived him at the sight of a falling star; or (3) Old Philosopher, because of the great age at which he

wrote his immortal book, the Tao Tê Ching. The mention of this classic, or "Treatise of the Way and of Virtue" (as it may be translated for want of better English equivalents), brings us naturally to the vexed question as to whether the text which has come down to us can really be attributed to the hand of Lao Tzŭ, or whether it is not rather a garbled and unauthorised compilation of his sayings, or even the mere forgery of a later age. The Chinese themselves. it may be remarked, are almost unanimous in denying its authenticity. It has been urged that we must make allowance here for Confucian bias; but the internal evidence alone should suffice to dispel the notion, to which many eminent sinologues have clung, that the Tao Tê Ching in its present form can possibly represent the actual work of Lao Tzŭ. On the other hand, it is highly probable that much of it is substantially what he said or wrote, though carelessly collected and pieced together at random. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, who published his history in 91 B.C., and was consequently removed from Lao Tzŭ by a much longer period than we are from Shakespeare, tells us that the Sage wrote a book of five thousand and odd words; and, indeed, by that time the Tao Tê Ching may possibly have existed in something like its present shape. But anyone who reflects on the turbulent condition of China during the intervening centuries, and the chaotic state of primitive literature before the labours of Confucius, to say nothing of the Burning of the Books in 213 B.C., will find it hard to convince himself that Ssu-ma Ch'ien ever had before him the actual writings of the philosopher.

Arbitrary and confused though the arrangement of the Tao Tê Ching appears, it is possible to trace a coherent line of thought throughout the whole. And although no coiner of paradox on such an extensive scale as Lao Tzŭ could hope to achieve absolute and invariable consistency, it is easy to see that the Tao Tê Ching is something more than a mere jumble of stray aphorisms--that it is, in fact, the well-defined though rudimentary outline of a great system of transcendental and ethical philosophy. That this magnificent scheme of thought never reached its full expression in Lao Tzŭ's treatment is largely due to the fact that he was perpetually struggling to convey his ideas through the medium of a language still imperfectly developed, and forming an inadequate vehicle for abstruse philosophical conceptions. This, too, combined with an extraordinary conciseness of diction, is the cause of the obscurity which hangs over several portions of the text, and which the labours of innumerable commentators have done very little to clear away. To the wide scope thus afforded for the imagination we owe the startling discoveries, in the body of the work, of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Hebrew word for Jehovah, thinly disguised in its Chinese dress. Sad to say, both of these once famous theories are now totally

The real value of the Tao Tê Ching lies not in such puerilities, but in its wealth of suggestive hints and pregnant phrases, each containing a world of thought in itself and capable of expansion into volumes. Whether Lao Tzŭ ever developed the germs of thought thrown out with such prodigality, we do not know. At any rate, no record of the development remains. And if Lao Tzŭ failed to work out his own system, the task was never satisfactorily accomplished by those who came after him. It is true that an enormous superstructure of Taoist literature has been raised upon the slender foundation of the Tao Tê Ching, but these Taoist writers soon forsook the austerity of Lao Tzŭ's way for the more attractive fields of ritual and magic. Lao Tzŭ was a Socrates who never found a Plato or an Aristotle to reap the goodly harvest he had sown; even Chuang Tzŭ, the greatest of his followers, whose exquisite literary style contrasts strangely with the rugged sentences of the Tao Tê Ching, scarcely seems to have caught the true spirit of his Master, and is apt to lose himself in the vague speculations of a dreamy mysticism.

Lao Tzŭ's work, however, was able to command attention on its own merits. It was first officially recognised as a "canon" or "classic" under the Emperor Ching Ti (B.C. 156-140) of the Han Dynasty, after which the study of Tao survived many vicissitudes, being now under a cloud, and now again in high favour at Court. One Emperor was in the habit of holding forth on the doctrines of Lao Tzŭ before his assembled ministers, and would forthwith degrade any one who stretched, yawned, or spat during his discourse. Another published an edition of the Tao Tê Ching, which is described in the preface as "the root of all things, the teacher of kings, and the most precious jewel of the public." The first Emperor of the later Chin dynasty asked if Tao was of any use in government. Chang Ch'ien-ming told him that "with Tao a corpse could govern the Empire." By successive edicts the Tao Tê Ching was made obligatory at the examination for graduates of the second degree, every one was required to possess a copy of the work, and it was cut on stone at both capitals. Later on, printed copies were distributed to all directors of education, and it was translated into the language of the Nü-chên Tartars. Finally, Kublai Khan ordered all Taoist books to be burnt, with the exception of the Tao Tê Ching, thus showing a just appreciation of the gulf separating Lao Tzŭ from the later writers on Tao.

In view of the disjointed and inartistic character of the work, and its antagonism to many of the principles of orthodox Confucianism, it is small wonder that native scholars, with true Chinese subordination of matter to form, seldom profess to hold it in great esteem; and, indeed, its qualities are not such as would strongly appeal to an essentially hard-headed and materialistic race. Yet, on reflection, it will certainly appear that the teaching of Lao Tel has not been barren of practical results. The great political lesson of laisser-faire is one that the Chinese people has well assimilated and perhaps carried to excess; it may even be said to impregnate their national life more thoroughly than any doctrine of Confucius. From two great evils of modern civilisation--the bane of over-legislation and the pest of meddlesome and overbearing officialdom--China is remarkably free; and in few other countries does the individual enjoy such absolute liberty of action. Thus, on the whole, the Chinese may be said to have adopted Lao Tzŭ's main principles of government, with no small success. It is hard to believe that a rigidly despotic Empire, encumbered with an irksome array of laws and statutes, could have remained homogeneous and intact throughout so lengthy a period. Who can doubt that the enormous bulk of China has managed to defy the disintegrating action of time by reason of its very inertness and placidity? It has been suggested that Lao Tzŭ may have reached this doctrine of non-interference by observing that the Supreme Power, Tao, governs the Universe by fixed laws, and yet leaves to man an apparently unrestricted freedom of will. Be this as it may, he was undoubtedly the first man to preach the gospel of peace and intelligent inaction, being in this, as in many other respects, far in advance of his age.

In those troublous times, when the land was torn by internecine feuds, and the spirit of militarism was rife, it is not a little remarkable to find him expressing unqualified abhorrence of war, though, to be sure, this was but the logical outcome of his system of quietism. Few can help being struck by the similarity of tone between the sayings of Lao Tzŭ and the Gospel enunciated six centuries later by the Prince of Peace. There are two famous utterances in particular which secure to Lao Tzŭ the glory of having anticipated the lofty morality of the Sermon on the Mount. The cavillers who would rank the Golden Rule of Confucius below that of Christ will find it hard to get over the fact that Lao Tzŭ said, "Requite injury with kindness," and "To the not-good I would be good in order to make them good." It was a hundred and fifty years later that Plato reached the same conclusion in the first book of the Republic.

It is interesting to observe certain points of contact between Lao Tai and the early Greek philosophers. He may be compared both with Parmenides, who disparaged sense-knowledge and taught the existence of the One as opposed to the Many, and with Heraclitus, whose theory of the identity of contraries recalls some of our Sage's paradoxes. But it is

when we come to Plato that the most striking parallels occur. It has not escaped notice that something like the Platonic doctrine of ideas is discoverable in the "forms" which Lao Tzŭ conceives as residing in Tao. But, so far as I know, no one has yet pointed out what a close likeness Tao itself bears to that curious abstraction which Plato calls the Idea of the Good. The function and attributes of this grandiose conception are not set forth quite so fully or clearly as those of Tao, but it certainly covers a great deal more than the ordinary moral connotation of our word "good."[1] It is at once the creative and sustaining Cause of the Universe, the condition of all knowledge, and the Summum Bonum or supreme object of man's desire. Being a metaphysical entity, it cannot be perceived by the eye or ear of sense, and is therefore ridiculed by the inferior man of little intelligence, while only the few can enter into close communion with it. Now, all of this might stand equally well as a description of Tao. On the other hand, the inactivity and repose which are so insisted on by the Chinese thinker as the primary characteristics of Tao, would have been less intelligible to the Greek, and seem to bring us nearer to Buddhism

The lack of reliable information about Lao Tzŭ is very disappointing. One cannot help wishing that some of the less important details touching the life of Confucius could be exchanged for an authentic personal account, however brief, of his older contemporary. All that we know for certain is that, after having spent most of his life in the State of Chou, he set out at an advanced age towards the West, passed the frontier, and was never heard of again. Thus Lao Tzŭ's gigantic figure looms but indistinctly through the mist of ages, and to gather some idea of his personality we must be content to fall back on his own rough-hewn sentences. There is one striking passage in which he describes himself, half sarcastically and half in earnest, as a dullard and a clown compared with ordinary men, and this, he seems to indicate, is the result of his adherence to Tao. These words, evidently written in great bitterness of spirit, may have been wrung from him by a sense of his failure to convert the careless generation which would have none of the Tao he venerated as the most precious thing under heaven. In showing himself, the man of Tao, in such a disadvantageous light, his meaning was probably much the same as that of Plato in the allegory of the Cave, where he depicts the blindness and bewilderment of those who descend once more into the darkness of their prison after having contemplated the dazzling brilliance of the sun.

Lao Tzŭ's despondency would have been greater still, could he have foreseen how his pure and idealistic teaching was destined to be dragged in the mire of degrading superstition, which for centuries has made Taoism a byword of reproach. Though frequently described as one of the "three religions of China," this cult is really little more than an inextricable mass of jugglery and fraud, absorbed from various popular beliefs and other sources, including even the rival creed of Buddhism, and conducted by a body of priests recruited from the very dregs of the Empire. Such a fate, however, is less to be wondered at than deplored, seeing that the great Founder himself took no pains to establish a practicable system. He propounded lofty sentiments, and neglected the homely details without which his ideas could not bear fruit. Moreover, when all is said and done, idealism can never hope to hold its own in human affairs, until indeed the new era dawns of which Plato dreamed long ago, and this world of ours becomes ripe for the dominion of Philosopher-Kings.

Lionel Giles; 21st June, 1904.

(Contents:

Introduction

1 Tao in its Transcendental Aspect, and in its Physical Manifestation

2 Tao as a Moral Principle, or 'Virtue

3 The Doctrine of Inaction

4 Lowliness and Humility

5 Government

6 War

7 Paradoxes

8 Miscellaneous Sayings and Precepts

9 Lao Tzu on Himself)

# SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 1

Tao in its Transcendental Aspect, and in its Physical Manifestation

The Tao which can be expressed in words is not the eternal Tao; the name which can be uttered is not its eternal name. Without a name, it is the Beginning of Heaven and Earth; with a name, it is the Mother of all things. Only one who is eternally free from earthly passions can apprehend its spiritual essence; he who is ever clogged by passions can see no more than its outer form. These two things, the spiritual and the material, though we call them by different names, in their origin are one and the same. This sameness is a mystery,—the mystery of mysteries. It is the gate of all spirituality.

How unfathomable is Tao! It seems to be the ancestral progenitor of all things. How pure and clear is Tao! It would

seem to be everlasting. I know not of whom it is the offspring. It appears to have been anterior to any Sovereign Power.[1]

Tao eludes the sense of sight, and is therefore called colourless. It eludes the sense of hearing, and is therefore called soundless. It eludes the sense of touch, and is therefore called incorporeal. These three qualities cannot be apprehended, and hence they may be blended into unity.

Its upper part is not bright, and its lower part is not obscure. Ceaseless in action, it cannot be named, but returns again to nothingness. We may call it the form of the formless, the image of the imageless, the fleeting and the indeterminable. Would you go before it, you cannot see its face; would you go behind it, you cannot see its back.

The mightiest manifestations of active force flow solely from Tao.

Tao in itself is vague, impalpable,—how impalpable, how vague! Yet within it there is Form. How vague, how impalpable! Yet within it there is Substance. How profound, how obscure! Yet within it there is a Vital Principle. This principle is the Quintessence of Reality, and out of it comes Truth.

From of old until now, its name has never passed away. It watches over the beginning of all things. How do I know this about the beginning of things? Through Tao.

There is something, chaotic yet complete, which existed before Heaven and Earth. Oh, how still it is, and formless, standing alone without changing, reaching everywhere without suffering harm! It must be regarded as the Mother of the Universe. Its name I know not. To designate it, I call it Tao. Endeavouring to describe it, I call it Great. Being great, it passes on; passing on, it becomes remote; having become remote, it returns.

Therefore Tao is great; Heaven is great; Earth is great; and the Sovereign also is great. In the Universe there are four powers, of which the Sovereign is one. Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; Heaven takes its law from Tao; but the law of Tao is its own spontaneity.

Tao in its unchanging aspect has no name. Small though it be in its primordial simplicity, mankind dare not claim its service. Could princes and kings hold and keep it, all creation would spontaneously pay homage. Heaven and Earth would unite in sending down sweet dew, and the people would be righteous unbidden and of their own accord.

As soon as Tao creates order, it becomes nameable. When it once has a name, men will know how to rest in it. Knowing how to rest in it, they will run no risk of harm.

Tao as it exists in the world is like the great rivers and seas which receive the streams from the valleys.

All-pervading is the Great Tao. It can be at once on the right hand and on the left. All things depend on it for life, and it rejects them not. Its task accomplished, it takes no credit. It loves and nourishes all things, but does not act as master. It is ever free from desire. We may call it small. All things return to it, yet it does not act as master. We may call it great.

The whole world will flock to him who holds the mighty form of Tao. They will come and receive no hurt, but find rest, peace, and tranquillity.

With music and dainties we may detain the passing guest. But if we open our mouths to speak of Tao, he finds it tasteless and insipid.

Not visible to the sight, not audible to the ear, in its use it is inexhaustible.

Retrogression is the movement of Tao. Weakness is the character of Tao.

All things under Heaven derive their being from Tao in the form of Existence; Tao in the form of Existence sprang from Tao in the form of Non-Existence.

Tao is a great square with no angles, a great vessel which takes long to complete, a great sound which cannot be heard, a great image with no form.

Tao lies hid and cannot be named, yet it has the power of transmuting and perfecting all things.

Tao produced Unity; Unity produced Duality; Duality produced Trinity; and Trinity produced all existing objects. These myriad objects leave darkness behind them and embrace the light, being harmonised by the breath of Vacancy.

Tao produces all things; its Virtue nourishes them; its Nature gives them form; its Force perfects them.

Hence there is not a single thing but pays homage to Tao and extols its Virtue. This homage paid to Tao, this extolling of its Virtue, is due to no command, but is always spontaneous.

Thus it is that Tao, engendering all things, nourishes them, develops them, and fosters them; perfects them, ripens them, tends them, and protects them.

Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination this is its mysterious operation.

The World has a First Cause, which may be regarded as the Mother of the World. When one has the Mother, one can know the Child. He who knows the Child and still keeps the Mother, though his body perish, shall run no risk of harm.

It is the Way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it knows how to overcome; not to speak, and yet it knows how to obtain a response; it calls not, and things come of themselves; it is slow to move, but excellent in its designs.

Heaven's net is vast; though its meshes are wide, it lets nothing slip through.

The Way of Heaven is like the drawing of a bow: it brings down what is high and raises what is low. It is the Way of Heaven to take from those who have too much, and give to those who have too little. But the way of man is not so. He takes away from those who have too little, to add to his own superabundance. What man is there that can take of his own superabundance and give it to mankind? Only he who possesses Tao.

The Tao of Heaven has no favourites. It gives to all good men without distinction.

Things wax strong and then decay. This is the contrary of Tao. What is contrary to Tao soon perishes.

## SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 2

Tao as a Moral Principle, or 'Virtue'

The highest goodness is like water, for water is excellent in benefiting all things, and it does not strive. It occupies the lowest place, which men abhor. And therefore it is near akin to Tao.

When your work is done and fame has been achieved, then retire into the background; for this is the Way of Heaven.

Those who follow the Way desire not excess; and thus without excess they are for ever exempt from change.

All things alike do their work, and then we see them subside. When they have reached their bloom, each returns to its origin. Returning to their origin means rest or fulfilment of destiny. This reversion is an eternal law. To know that law is to be enlightened. Not to know it, is misery and calamity. He who knows the eternal law is liberal-minded. Being liberal-minded, he is just. Being just, he is kingly. Being kingly, he is akin to Heaven. Being akin to Heaven, he possesses Tao. Possessed of Tao, he endures for ever. Though his body perish, yet he suffers no harm.

He who acts in accordance with Tao, becomes one with Tao. He who treads the path of Virtue becomes one with Virtue. He who pursues a course of Vice becomes one with Vice. The man who is one with Tao, Tao is also glad to receive. The man who is one with Virtue, Virtue is also glad to receive. The man who is one with Vice, Vice is also glad to receive.

He who is self-approving does not shine. He who boasts has no merit. He who exalts himself does not rise high. Judged according to Tao, he is like remnants of food or a tumour on the body--an object of universal disgust. Therefore one who has Tao will not consort with such.

Perfect Virtue acquires nothing; therefore it obtains everything. Perfect Virtue does nothing, yet there is nothing which it does not effect. Perfect Charity operates without the need of anything to evoke it. Perfect Duty to one's neighbour operates, but always needs to be evoked. Perfect Ceremony operates, and calls for no outward response; nevertheless it induces respect.

Ceremonies are the outward expression of inward feelings.

If Tao perishes, then Virtue will perish; if Virtue perishes, then Charity will perish; if Charity perishes, then Duty to one's neighbour will perish; if Duty to one's neighbour perishes, then Ceremonies will perish.

Ceremonies are but the veneer of loyalty and good faith, while oft-times the source of disorder. Knowledge of externals is but a showy ornament of Tao, while oft-times the beginning of imbecility.

Therefore the truly great man takes his stand upon what is solid, and not upon what is superficial; upon what is real, and not upon what is ornamental. He rejects the latter in favour of the former.

When the superior scholar hears of Tao, he diligently practises it. When the average scholar hears of Tao, he sometimes retains it, sometimes loses it. When the inferior scholar hears of Tao, he loudly laughs at it. Were it not thus ridiculed, it would not be worthy of the name of Tao.

He who is enlightened by Tao seems wrapped in darkness. He who is advanced in Tao seems to be going back. He who walks smoothly in Tao seems to be on a rugged path.

The man of highest virtue appears lowly. He who is truly pure behaves as though he were sullied. He who has virtue in abundance behaves as though it were not enough. He who is firm in virtue seems like a skulking pretender. He who is simple and true appears unstable as water.

If Tao prevails on earth, horses will be used for purposes of agriculture. If Tao does not prevail, war-horses will be bred on the common.

If we had sufficient knowledge to walk in the Great Way, what we should most fear would be boastful display.

The Great Way is very smooth, but the people love the bypaths.

Where the palaces are very splendid, there the fields will be very waste, and the granaries very empty.

The wearing of gay embroidered robes, the carrying of sharp swords, fastidiousness in food and drink, superabundance of property and wealth:--this I call flaunting robbery; most assuredly it is not Tao.

He who trusts to his abundance of natural virtue is like an infant newly born, whom venomous reptiles will not sting, wild beasts will not seize, birds of prey will not strike. The infant's bones are weak, its sinews are soft, yet its grasp is firm. All day long it will cry without its voice becoming hoarse. This is because the harmony of its bodily system is perfect.

Temper your sharpness, disentangle your ideas, moderate your brilliancy, live in harmony with your age. This is being in conformity with the principle of Tao. Such a man is impervious alike to favour and disgrace, to benefits and injuries, to honour and contempt. And therefore he is esteemed above all man kind.

In governing men and in serving Heaven, there is nothing like moderation. For only by moderation can there be an early return to man's normal state. This early return is the same as a great storage of Virtue. With a great storage of Virtue there is naught which may not be achieved. If there is naught which may not be achieved, then no one will know to what extent this power reaches. And if no one knows to what extent a man's power reaches, that man is fit to be the ruler of a State. Having the secret of rule, his rule shall endure. Setting the tap-root deep, and making the spreading roots firm: this is the way to ensure long life to the tree.

Tao is the sanctuary where all things find refuge, the good man's priceless treasure, the guardian and saviour of him who is not good.

Hence at the enthronement of an Emperor and the appointment of his three ducal ministers, though there be some who bear presents of costly jade and drive chariots with teams of four horses, that is not so good as sitting still and offering the gift of this Tao.

Why was it that the men of old esteemed this Tao so highly? Is it not because it may be daily sought and found, and can remit the sins of the guilty? Hence it is the most precious thing under Heaven.

All the world says that my Tao is great, but unlike other teaching. It is just because it is great that it appears unlike other teaching. If it had this likeness, long ago would its smallness have been known.

The skilful philosophers of the olden time were subtle, spiritual, profound, and penetrating. They were so deep as to be incomprehensible. Because they are hard to comprehend, I will endeavour to describe them.

Shrinking were they, like one fording a stream in winter. Cautious were they, like one who fears an attack from any quarter. Circumspect were they, like a stranger guest; self-effacing, like ice about to melt; simple, like unpolished wood; vacant, like a valley; opaque, like muddy water.

When terms are made after a great quarrel, a certain ill-feeling is bound to be left behind. How can this be made good? Therefore, having entered into an agreement, the Sage adheres to his obligations, [2] but does not exact fulfilment from others. The man who has Virtue attends to the spirit of the compact; the man without Virtue attends only to his claims.

He who tries to govern a kingdom by his sagacity is of that kingdom the despoiler; but he who does not govern by sagacity is the kingdom's blessing. He who understands these two sayings may be regarded as a pattern and a model. To keep this principle constantly before one's eyes is called Profound Virtue. Profound Virtue is unfathomable, farreaching, paradoxical at first, but afterwards exhibiting thorough conformity with Nature.

# SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 3

The Doctrine of Inaction

The Sage occupies himself with inaction, and conveys instruction without words. Is it not by neglecting self-interest that one will be able to achieve it?

Purge yourself of your profound intelligence, and you can still be free from blemish. Cherish the people and order the kingdom, and you can still do without meddlesome action.

Who is there that can make muddy water clear? But if allowed to remain still, it will gradually become clear of itself. Who is there that can secure a state of absolute repose? But let time go on, and the state of repose will gradually arise.

Be sparing of speech, and things will come right of themselves.

A violent wind does not outlast the morning; a squall of rain does not outlast the day. Such is the course of Nature. And if Nature herself cannot sustain her efforts long, how much less can man!

Attain complete vacuity, and sedulously preserve a state of repose.

Tao is eternally inactive, and yet it leaves nothing undone. If kings and princes could but hold fast to this principle, all things would work out their own reformation. If, having reformed, they still desired to act, I would have them restrained by the simplicity of the Nameless Tao. The simplicity of the Nameless Tao brings about an absence of desire. The absence of desire gives tranquillity. And thus the Empire will rectify itself.

The softest things in the world override the hardest. That which has no substance enters where there is no crevice. Hence I know the advantage of inaction.

Conveying lessons without words, reaping profit without action,--there are few in the world who can attain to this!

Activity conquers cold, but stillness conquers heat. Purity and stillness are the correct principles for mankind.

Without going out of doors one may know the whole world; without looking out of the window, one may see the Way of Heaven. The further one travels, the less one may know. Thus it is that without moving you shall know; without looking you shall see; without doing you shall achieve.

The pursuit of book-learning brings about daily increase. The practice of Tao brings about daily loss. Repeat this loss again and again, and you arrive at inaction. Practise inaction, and there is nothing which cannot be done.

The Empire has ever been won by letting things take their course. He who must always be doing is unfit to obtain the Empire.

Keep the mouth shut, close the gateways of sense, and as long as you live you will have no trouble. Open your lips and push your affairs, and you will not be safe to the end of your days.

Practise inaction, occupy yourself with doing nothing.

Desire not to desire, and you will not value things difficult to obtain. Learn not to learn, and you will revert to a condition which mankind in general has lost.

Leave all things to take their natural course, and do not interfere.

# SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 4

Lowliness and Humility

All things in Nature work silently. They come into being and possess nothing. They fulfil their functions and make no claim.

When merit has been achieved, do not take it to yourself; for if you do not take it to yourself, it shall never be taken from you.

Follow diligently the Way in your own heart, but make no display of it to the world.

Keep behind, and you shall be put in front; keep out, and you shall be kept in.

Goodness strives not, and therefore it is not rebuked.

He that humbles himself shall be preserved entire. He that bends shall be made straight. He that is empty shall be filled. He that is worn out shall be renewed. He who has little shall succeed. He who has much shall go astray.

Therefore the Sage embraces Unity, and is a model for all under Heaven. He is free from self-display, therefore he shines forth; from self-assertion, therefore he is distinguished; from self-glorification, therefore he has merit; from self-exaltation, therefore he rises superior to all. Inasmuch as he does not strive, there is no one in the world who can strive with him.

He who, conscious of being strong, is content to be weak, he shall be the paragon of mankind. Being the paragon of mankind, Virtue will never desert him. He returns to the state of a little child.

He who, conscious of his own light, is content to be obscure,—he shall be the whole world's model. Being the whole world's model, his Virtue will never fail. He reverts to the Absolute.

He who, conscious of desert, is content to suffer disgrace,--he shall be the cynosure of mankind. Being the cynosure of mankind, his Virtue then is full. He returns to perfect simplicity.

He who is great must make humility his base. He who is high must make lowliness his foundation. Thus, princes and kings in speaking of themselves use the terms "lonely," "friendless," "of small account." Is not this making humility their base?

Thus it is that "Some things are increased by being diminished, others are diminished by being increased." What others have taught, I also teach; verily, I will make it the root of my teaching.

What makes a kingdom great is its being like a downflowing river,---the central point towards which all the smaller streams under Heaven converge; or like the female throughout the world, who by quiescence always overcomes the male. And quiescence is a form of humility.

Therefore, if a great kingdom humbles itself before a small kingdom, it shall make that small kingdom its prize. And if a small kingdom humbles itself before a great kingdom, it shall win over that great kingdom. Thus the one humbles itself in order to attain, the other attains because it is humble. If the great kingdom has no further desire than to bring men together and to nourish them, the small kingdom will have no further desire than to enter the service of the other. But in order that both may have their desire, the great one must learn humility.

The reason why rivers and seas are able to be lords over a hundred mountain streams, is that they know how to keep below them. That is why they are able to reign over all the mountain streams.

Therefore the Sage, wishing to be above the people, must by his words put himself below them; wishing to be before the people, he must put himself behind them. In this way, though he has his place above them, the people do not feel his weight; though he has his place before them, they do not feel it as an injury. Therefore all mankind delight to exalt him, and weary of him not.

The Sage expects no recognition for what he does; he achieves merit but does not take it to himself; he does not wish to display his worth.

I have three precious things, which I hold fast and prize. The first is gentleness; the second is frugality; the third is humility, which keeps me from putting myself before others. Be gentle, and you can be bold; be frugal, and you can be liberal; avoid putting yourself before others, and you can become a leader among men.

But in the present day men cast off gentleness, and are all for being bold; they spurn frugality, and retain only extravagance; they discard humility, and aim only at being first. Therefore they shall surely perish.

Gentleness brings victory to him who attacks, and safety to him who defends. Those whom Heaven would save, it fences round with gentleness.

The best soldiers are not warlike; the best fighters do not lose their temper. The greatest conquerors are those who overcome their enemies without strife. The greatest directors of men are those who yield place to others. This is called the Virtue of not striving, the capacity for directing mankind; this is being the compeer of Heaven. It was the highest goal of the ancients.

## SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 5

Government

Not exalting worth keeps the people from rivalry. Not prizing what is hard to procure keeps the people from theft. Not to show them what they may covet is the way to keep their minds from disorder.

Therefore the Sage, when he governs, empties their minds and fills their bellies, weakens their inclinations and strengthens their bones. His constant object is to keep the people without knowledge and without desire, or to prevent those who have knowledge from daring to act. He practises inaction, and nothing remains ungoverned.

He who respects the State as his own person is fit to govern it. He who loves the State as his own body is fit to be entrusted with it.

In the highest antiquity, the people did not know that they had rulers. In the next age they loved and praised them. In the next, they feared them. In the next, they despised them.

How cautious is the Sage, how sparing of his words! When his task is accomplished and affairs are prosperous, the people all say: "We have come to be as we are, naturally and of ourselves."

If any one desires to take the Empire in hand and govern it, I see that he will not succeed. The Empire is a divine utensil which may not be roughly handled. He who meddles, mars. He who holds it by force, loses it.

Fishes must not be taken from the water: the methods of government must not be exhibited to the people.

Use uprightness in ruling a State; employ stratagems in waging war; practise non-interference in order to win the Empire. Now this is how I know what I lay down:--

As restrictions and prohibitions are multiplied in the Empire, the people grow poorer and poorer. When the people are subjected to overmuch government, the land is thrown into confusion. When the people are skilled in many cunning arts, strange are the objects of luxury that appear.

The greater the number of laws and enactments, the more thieves and robbers there will be. Therefore the Sage says: "So long as I do nothing, the people will work out their own reformation. So long as I love calm, the people will right themselves. If only I keep from meddling, the people will grow rich. If only I am free from desire, the people will come naturally back to simplicity."

If the government is sluggish and tolerant, the people will be honest and free from guile. If the government is prying and meddling, there will be constant infraction of the law. Is the government corrupt? Then uprightness becomes rare, and goodness becomes strange. Verily, mankind have been under delusion for many a day!

Govern a great nation as you would cook a small fish.[1]

If the Empire is governed according to Tao, disembodied spirits will not manifest supernatural powers. It is not that they lack supernatural power, but they will not use it to hurt mankind. Again, it is not that they are unable to hurt mankind, but they see that the Sage also does not hurt mankind. If then neither Sage nor spirits work harm, their virtue converges to one beneficent end.

In ancient times those who knew how to practise Tao did not use it to enlighten the people, but rather to keep them ignorant. The difficulty of governing the people arises from their having too much knowledge.

If the people do not fear the majesty of government, a reign of terror will ensue.

Do not confine them within too narrow bounds: do not make their lives too weary. For if you do not weary them of life, then they will not grow weary of you.

If the people do not fear death, what good is there in using death as a deterrent? But if the people are brought up in fear of death, and we can take and execute any man who has committed a monstrous crime, who will dare to follow his example?

Now, there is always one who presides over the infliction of death. He who would take the place of the magistrate and himself inflict death, is like one who should try to do the work of a master-carpenter. And of those who try the work of a master-carpenter there are few who do not cut their own

The people starve because those in authority over them devour too many taxes; that is why they starve. The people are difficult to govern because those placed over them are meddlesome; that is why they are difficult to govern. The people despise death because of their excessive labour in seeking the means of life; that is why they despise death.

A Sage has said: "He who can take upon himself the nation's shame is fit to be lord of the land. He who can take upon himself the nation's calamities is fit to be ruler over the Empire.'

Were I ruler of a little State with a small population, and only ten or a hundred men available as soldiers, I would not use them. I would have the people look on death as a grievous thing, and they should not travel to distant countries. Though they might possess boats and carriages, they should have no occasion to ride in them. Though they might own weapons and armour, they should have no need to use them. I would make the people return to the use of knotted cords.[2] They should find their plain food sweet, their rough garments fine. They should be content with their homes, and happy in their simple ways. If a neighbouring State was within sight of mine--nay, if we were close enough to hear the crowing of each other's cocks and the barking of each other's dogs--the two peoples should grow old and die without there ever having been any mutual intercourse.

## SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 6

War

He who serves a ruler of men in harmony with Tao will not subdue the Empire by force of arms. Such a course is wont to bring retribution in its train.

Where troops have been quartered, brambles and thorns spring up. In the track of great armies there must follow lean vears

The good man wins a victory and then stops; he will not go on to acts of violence. Winning, he boasteth not; he will not triumph; he shows no arrogance. He wins because he cannot choose; after his victory he will not be overbearing.

Weapons, however beautiful, are instruments of ill omen, hateful to all creatures. Therefore he who has Tao will have nothing to do with them.

Where the princely man abides, the weak left hand is in honour. But he who uses weapons honours the stronger right. Weapons are instruments of ill omen; they are not the instruments of the princely man, who uses them only when he needs must. Peace and tranquillity are what he prizes. When he conquers, he is not elate. To be elate were to rejoice in the slaughter of human beings. And he who rejoices in the slaughter of human beings is not fit to work his will in the

On happy occasions, the left is favoured; on sad occasions, the right. The second in command has his place on the left, the general in chief on the right. That is to say, they are placed in the order observed at funeral rites. And, indeed, he who has exterminated a great multitude of men should bewail them with tears and lamentation. It is well that those who are victorious in battle should be placed in the order of funeral

A certain military commander used to say: "I dare not act the host; I prefer to play the guest.[1] I dare not advance an inch: I prefer to retreat a foot.

There is no greater calamity than lightly engaging in war. Lightly to engage in war is to risk the loss of our treasure.[2]

When opposing warriors join in battle, he who has pity

# SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 7

Paradoxes

Among mankind, the recognition of beauty as such implies the idea of ugliness, and the recognition of good implies the idea of evil. There is the same mutual relation between existence and non-existence in the matter of creation; between difficulty and ease in the matter of accomplishing; between long and short in the matter of form; between high and low in the matter of elevation: between treble and bass in the matter of musical pitch; between before and after in the matter of

Nature is not benevolent; with ruthless indifference she makes all things serve their purposes, like the straw dogs we

use at sacrifices. The Sage is not benevolent: he utilises the people with the like inexorability.

The space between Heaven and Earth,--is it not like a bellows? It is empty, yet inexhaustible; when it is put in motion, more and more comes out.

Heaven and Earth are long-lasting. The reason why Heaven and Earth can last long is that they live not for themselves, and thus they are able to endure.

Thirty spokes unite in one nave; the utility of the cart depends on the hollow centre in which the axle turns. Clay is moulded into a vessel; the utility of the vessel depends on its hollow interior. Doors and windows are cut out in order to make a house; the utility of the house depends on the empty

Thus, while the existence of things may be good, it is the non-existent in them which makes them serviceable.

When the Great Tao falls into disuse, benevolence and righteousness come into vogue. When shrewdness and sagacity appear, great hypocrisy prevails. It is when the bonds of kinship are out of joint that filial piety and paternal affection begin. It is when the State is in a ferment of revolution that loval patriots arise.

Cast off your holiness, rid yourself of sagacity, and the people will benefit an hundredfold. Discard benevolence and abolish righteousness, and the people will return to filial piety and paternal love. Renounce your scheming and abandon gain, and thieves and robbers will disappear. These three precepts mean that outward show is insufficient, and therefore they bid us be true to our proper nature; -- to show simplicity, to embrace plain dealing, to reduce selfishness, to moderate

A variety of colours makes man's eye blind; a diversity of sounds makes man's ear deaf; a mixture of flavours makes man's palate dull.

He who knows others is clever, but he who knows himself is enlightened. He who overcomes others is strong, but he who overcomes himself is mightier still. He is rich who knows when he has enough. He who acts with energy has strength of purpose. He who moves not from his proper place is longlasting. He who dies, but perishes not, enjoys true longevity

If you would contract, you must first expand. If you would weaken, you must first strengthen. If you would overthrow, you must first raise up. If you would take, you must first give. This is called the dawn of intelligence.

He who is most perfect seems to be lacking; yet his resources are never outworn. He who is most full seems vacant; yet his uses are inexhaustible.

Extreme straightness is as had as crookedness Extreme cleverness is as bad as folly. Extreme fluency is as bad as stammering.

Those who know do not speak; those who .speak do not

Abandon learning, and you will be free from trouble and distress

Failure is the foundation of success, and the means by which it is achieved. Success is the lurking-place of failure; but who can tell when the turning-point will come?

He who acts, destroys; he who grasps, loses. Therefore the Sage does not act, and so does not destroy; he does not grasp, and so he does not lose

Only he who does nothing for his life's sake can truly be said to value his life.

Man at his birth is tender and weak; at his death he is rigid and strong. Plants and trees when they come forth are tender and crisp; when dead, they are dry and tough. Thus rigidity and strength are the concomitants of death; softness and weakness are the concomitants of life

Hence the warrior that is strong does not conquer; the tree that is strong is cut down. Therefore the strong and the big take the lower place; the soft and the weak take the higher

There is nothing in the world more soft and weak than water, yet for attacking things that are hard and strong there is nothing that surpasses it, nothing that can take its place.

The soft overcomes the hard; the weak overcomes the strong. There is no one in the world but knows this truth, and no one who can put it into practice.

Those who are wise have no wide range of learning; those who range most widely are not wise.

The Sage does not care to hoard. The more he uses for the benefit of others, the more he possesses himself. The more he gives to his fellow-men, the more he has of his own.

The truest savings are paradoxical.

# SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 8

Miscellaneous Sayings and Precepts

By many words wit is exhausted; it is better to preserve a mean. The excellence of a dwelling is its site; the excellence of a mind is its profundity; the excellence of giving is charitableness; the excellence of speech is truthfulness; the excellence of government is order; the excellence of action is ability: the excellence of movement is timeliness.

He who grasps more than he can hold, would be better without any. If a house is crammed with treasures of gold and jade, it will be impossible to guard them all.

He who prides himself upon wealth and honour hastens his own downfall. He who strikes with a sharp point will not himself be safe for long.

He who embraces unity of soul by subordinating animal instincts to reason will be able to escape dissolution. He who strives his utmost after tenderness can become even as a little

If a man is clear-headed and intelligent, can he be without knowledge?

The Sage attends to the inner and not to the outer; he puts away the objective and holds to the subjective.

Between yes and yea, how small the difference! Between

good and evil, how great the difference!

What the world reverences may not be treated with disrespect.

He who has not faith in others shall find no faith in them.

To see oneself is to be clear of sight. Mighty is he who conquers himself

He who raises himself on tiptoe cannot stand firm: he who stretches his legs wide apart cannot walk.

Racing and hunting excite man's heart to madness.

The struggle for rare possessions drives a man to actions injurious to himself.

The heavy is the foundation of the light; repose is the ruler of unrest.

The wise prince in his daily course never departs from gravity and repose. Though he possess a gorgeous palace, he will dwell therein with calm indifference. How should the lord of a myriad chariots conduct himself with levity in the Empire? Levity loses men's hearts; unrest loses the throne.

The skilful traveller leaves no tracks; the skilful speaker makes no blunders: the skilful reckoner uses no tallies. He who knows how to shut uses no bolts--vet you cannot open. He who knows how to bind uses no cords--yet you cannot

Among men, reject none; among things, reject nothing. This is called comprehensive intelligence.

The good man is the bad man's teacher: the bad man is the material upon which the good man works. If the one does not value his teacher, if the other does not love his material, then despite their sagacity they must go far astray. This is a mystery of great import.

As unwrought material is divided up and made into serviceable vessels, so the Sage turns his simplicity[1] to account, and thereby becomes the ruler of rulers.

The course of things is such that what was in front is now behind; what was hot is now cold; what was strong is now weak; what was complete is now in ruin. Therefore the Sage avoids excess, extravagance, and grandeur.

Which is nearer to you, fame or life? Which is more to you, life or wealth? Which is the greater malady, gain or loss?

Excessive ambitions necessarily entail great sacrifice. Much hoarding must be followed by heavy loss. He who knows when he has enough will not be put to shame. He who knows when to stop will not come to harm. Such a man can look forward to long life.

There is no sin greater than ambition; no calamity greater than discontent; no vice more sickening than covetousness. He who is content always has enough.

Do not wish to be rare like jade, or common like stone.

The Sage has no hard and fast ideas, but he shares the ideas of the people and makes them his own. Living in the world, he is apprehensive lest his heart be sullied by contact with the world. The people all fix their eyes and ears upon him. The Sage looks upon all as his children.

I have heard that he who possesses the secret of life, when travelling abroad, will not flee from rhinoceros or tiger; when entering a hostile camp, he will not equip himself with sword or buckler. The rhinoceros finds in him no place to insert its horn; the tiger has nowhere to fasten its claw; the soldier has nowhere to thrust his blade. And why? Because he has no spot where death can enter.

To see small beginnings is clearness of sight. To rest in weakness is strength.

He who knows how to plant, shall not have his plant uprooted; he who knows how to hold a thing, shall not have it taken away. Sons and grandsons will worship at his shrine, which shall endure from generation to generation.

Knowledge in harmony is called constant. Constant knowledge is called wisdom.[2] Increase of life is called felicity. The mind directing the body is called strength.

Be square without being angular. Be honest without being mean. Be upright without being punctilious. Be brilliant without being showy.

Good words shall gain you honour in the market-place, but good deeds shall gain you friends among men.

To the good I would be good; to the not-good I would also be good, in order to make them good.

With the faithful I would keep faith; with the unfaithful I would also keep faith, in order that they may become faithful. Even if a man is bad, how can it be right to cast him off?

Requite injury with kindness.

The difficult things of this world must once have been easy; the great things of this world must once have been small. Set about difficult things while they are still easy; do great things while they are still small. The Sage never affects to do anything great, and therefore he is able to achieve his great results.

He who always thinks things easy is sure to find them difficult. Therefore the Sage ever anticipates difficulties, and thus it is he never encounters them.

While times are quiet, it is easy to take action; ere coming troubles have cast their shadows, it is easy to lay plans.

That which is brittle is easily broken; that which is minute is easily dissipated. Take precautions before the evil appears; regulate things before disorder has begun.

The tree which needs two arms to span its girth sprang from the tiniest shoot. You tower, nine storeys high, rose from a little mound of earth. A journey of a thousand miles began with a single step.

A great principle cannot be divided; therefore it is that many containers cannot contain it.[3]

The Sage knows what is in him, but makes no display; he

The Sage knows what is in him, but makes no display; he respects himself, but seeks not honour for himself.

To know, but to be as though not knowing, is the height of wisdom. Not to know, and yet to affect knowledge, is a vice. If we regard this vice as such, we shall escape it. The Sage has not this vice. It is because he regards it as a vice that he escapes it.

Use the light that is in you to revert to your natural clearness of sight. Then the loss of the body is unattended by calamity. This is called doubly enduring.

In the management of affairs, people constantly break down just when they are nearing a successful issue. If they took as much care at the end as at the beginning, they would not fail in their enterprises.

He who lightly promises is sure to keep but little faith.

He whose boldness leads him to venture, will be slain; he who is brave enough not to venture, will live. Of these two, one has the benefit, the other has the hurt. But who is it that knows the real cause of Heaven's hatred? This is why the Sage hesitates and finds it difficult to act.

The violent and stiff-necked die not by a natural death.

True words are not fine; fine words are not true.

The good are not contentious; the contentious are not good. This is the Way of Heaven, which benefits, and injures not. This is the Way of the Sage, in whose actions there is no element of strife.

# SAYINGS OF LAOZI CHAPTER 9

Lao Tzu on Himself

Alas! the barrenness of the age has not yet reached its limit. All men are radiant with happiness, as if enjoying a great feast, as if mounted on a tower in spring. I alone am still, and give as yet no sign of joy. I am like an infant which has not yet smiled, forlorn as one who has nowhere to lay his head. Other men have plenty, while I alone seem to have lost all. I am a man foolish in heart, dull and confused. Other men are full of light; I alone seem to be in darkness. Other men are alert; I alone am listless. I am unsettled as the ocean, drifting as though I had no stopping-place. All men have their usefulness; I alone am stupid and clownish. Lonely though I am and unlike other men, yet I revere the Foster-Mother, Tao.

My words are very easy to understand, very easy to put into practice; yet the world can neither understand nor practise them.

My words have a clue, my actions have an underlying principle. It is because men do not know the clue that they understand me not.

Those who know me are but few, and on that account my honour is the greater.

Thus the Sage wears coarse garments, but carries a jewel in his bosom.

THE END

# THE DAO DE JING

Romanisation: Wade-Giles: The Tao Teh King Translation By Aleister Crowley, 1918 Estimated Range of Dating: 6th - 5th century B.C.

(The Dao De Jing (Wade-Giles: Tao Te King or Tao Te Ching) is a Chinese classic text traditionally credited to the 6th-century BC sage Laozi. The Chinese character Dao literally means "way," De means "virtue", Jing as it is used here means "canon" or "great book," ergo Dao De Jing can best be translated as "Canon about the Way to Virtue."

The text's authorship, date of composition and date of compilation are debated. The oldest excavated portion dates back to the late 4th century BC, but modern scholarship dates other parts of the text as having been written—or at least compiled—later than the earliest portions of the Zhuangzi.

The Dao De Jing, along with the Zhuangzi, is a fundamental text for both philosophical and religious Daoism. It also strongly influenced other schools of Chinese

philosophy and religion, including Legalism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, which was largely interpreted through the use of Taoist words and concepts when it was originally introduced to China. Many artists, including poets, painters, calligraphers, and gardeners, have used the Dao De Jing as a source of inspiration. Its influence has spread widely outside East Asia and it is among the most translated works in world literature.

Historical authenticity of the author

The Dao De Jing is ascribed to Laozi, whose historical existence has been a matter of scholarly debate. His name, which means "Old Master", has only fueled controversy on this issue.

The first reliable reference to Laozi is his "biography" in the Records of the Grand Historian (63, tr. Chan 1963:35–37), by Chinese historian Sima Qian (c. 145–86 BC), which combines three stories. In the first, Laozi was a contemporary of Confucius (551–479 BC). His surname was Li ("plum"), and his personal name was Er ("ear") or Dan ("long ear"). He was an official in the imperial archives, and wrote a book in two parts before departing to the West; at the request of the keeper of the Han-ku Pass, Yinxi, Laozi composed the Tao Te Ching. In the second story, Laozi, also a contemporary of Confucius, was Lao Laizi ("Old Come Master"), who wrote a book in 15 parts. Third, Laozi was the grand historian and astrologer Lao Dan ("Old Long-ears"), who lived during the reign (384–362 BC) of Duke Xian of Oin.

Generations of scholars have debated the historicity of Laozi and the dating of the Dao De Jing. Linguistic studies of the text's vocabulary and rhyme scheme point to a date of composition after the Shijing\* yet before the Zhuangzi. Legends claim variously that Laozi was "born old" and that he lived for 996 years, with twelve previous incarnations starting around the time of the Three Sovereigns before the thirteenth as Laozi. Some Western scholars have expressed doubts over Laozi's historical existence. [\* One of the oldest complete Chinese books in existence that is known as Classic of Poetry, translated better as Book of Odes or Book of Songs.]

Many Daoists venerate Laozi as Daotsu, the founder of the school of Dao, the Daode Tianjun in the Three Pure Ones, and one of the eight elders transformed from Taiji in the Chinese creation myth. The text seem to be a compilation or anthology representing multiple authors. The current text might have been compiled c. 250 BC, drawn from a wide range of texts dating back a century or two.

Principal versions

Among the many transmitted editions of the Dao De Jing text, the three primary ones are named after early commentaries. The "Yan Zun Version", which is only extant for the Te Ching, derives from a commentary attributed to Han dynasty scholar Yan Zun (fl. 80 BC – 10 AD). The "Heshang Gong Version" is named after the legendary Heshang Gong ("Riverside Sage") who supposedly lived during the reign (180–157 BC) of Emperor Wen of Han. This commentary has a preface written by Ge Xuan (164–244 AD), granduncle of Ge Hong, and scholarship dates this version to around the 3rd century AD. The "Wang Bi Version" has more verifiable origins than either of the above. Wang Bi (226–249 AD) was a famous Three Kingdoms period philosopher and commentator on the Dao De Jing and the Yi Jing.

Dao De Jing scholarship has advanced from archaeological discoveries of manuscripts, some of which are older than any of the received texts. Beginning in the 1920s and 1930s, Marc Aurel Stein and others found thousands of scrolls in the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang. They included more than 50 partial and complete "Dao De Jing" manuscripts. One written by the scribe So/Su Dan is dated 270 AD and corresponds closely with the Heshang Gong version. Another partial manuscript has the Xiang'er commentary, which had previously been lost.

Mawangdui and Guodian texts

In 1973, archaeologists discovered copies of early Chinese books, known as the Mawangdui Silk Texts, in a tomb dating from 168 BC. They included two nearly complete copies of the text, referred to as Text A and Text B. Based on calligraphic styles and imperial naming taboo avoidances, scholars believe that Text A can be dated to about the first decade and Text B to about the third decade of the 2nd century BC.

Mawangdui (lit. 'King Ma's Mound') is an archaeological site located in Changsha, China. The site consists of two saddle-shaped hills and contained the tombs of three people from the Changsha Kingdom during the western Han dynasty (206 BC – 9 AD): the Chancellor Li Cang, his wife and a male believed to have been their son. The site was excavated from 1972 to 1974. Most of the artifacts from Mawangdui are displayed at the Hunan Provincial Museum.

The three tombs were made of large cypress planks. The outside of the tombs were layered with white clay and charcoal. White clay layering originated with Chu burials, while charcoal layering was practiced during the early

western Han dynasty in the Changsha area. All three tombs were topped by a pyramid made of earth that was stamped to a concrete-hard mass.

Tomb Number 1, the eastern tomb, contained the remains of a woman in her fifties. Her name was Xin Zhui (also known as Lady Dai). She was born c. 217 BC and died aged 50 in 168 BC. We found out her name because the tomb's original inventory was still intact. Of the more famous artifacts from Mawangdui were its silk funeral banners. The T-shaped silk funeral banner in the tomb of the Marquise is called the "name banner" with the written name of the deceased replaced with a portrait. The Marquise was buried in four nested, massive, airtight and lacquered coffins; the silk banner drapes the innermost of the coffins.

Xin Zhui's tomb was not only the best preserved of the three. it was in fact the very best preserved tomb from Antiquity ever found in history. Her mummified body was so well-preserved that researchers were able to perform an autopsy on her body. Her skin was soft and moist, with muscles that still allowed for her arms and legs to flex at the joints. All her organs and blood vessels were also intact, with small amounts of Type A blood being found in her veins. There was hair on her head, with a wig pinned with a hair clasp on the back of her head. There was skin on her face, and her eyelashes and nose hair still exist. The tympanic membrane of her left ear was intact, and her finger and toe prints were distinct. This preservation allowed doctors at Hunan Provincial Medical Institute to perform an autopsy on 14 December 1972. Much of what is known about Xin Zhui's lifestyle was derived from this and other examinations. More than 1,000 precious artifacts were found with Xin Zhui's body.

She suffered from a gallstone that was blocking a bile duct and that excruciating pain may have caused her to go into cardiac arrest, she died from a heart attack. Her diet was too rich in sugars and meats, and she suffered from arterial-coronary problems. Achieved was her remarkable state of good preservation by a mildly acidic and Mercury-containing liquid in which Xin Zhui's body was soaked; it instantly killed any germs. Buried with her were skeletons of various food-animals, jujubes, lotus soup, grains and a complete meal including soup, rice and meat skewers on a lacquer set. Researchers found 138 honeydew melon seeds in her stomach, implying consumption right before death. She outlived the occupants of the other two tombs.

A complete cosmetic set, lacquered pieces and finely woven silk garments with paintings are almost perfectly preserved. Her coffins were painted according to Chu customs and beliefs, with whirling clouds interwoven with mystical animals and dragons. The corpse was bound tightly in layers of silk cloth and covered with a wonderfully painted T-shaped tapestry depicting the netherworld, earth and heavens with Chinese mythological characters as well as Xin Zhui. There was also a silk painting showing a variety of exercises that researchers have called the forerunner of Tai ji. Highly regarded artifacts in particular were the lacquered wine-bowls and cosmetic boxes, which showcased the craftsmanship of the regional lacquerware industry.

Tomb Number 2, The western tomb, was the burial site of the first Marquis of Dai, Li Cang. He died in 186 BC. The Han dynasty had appointed Li Cang as the chancellor of the Kingdom of Changsha, an imperial fieldom of Han. This tomb had been plundered several times by grave robbers who destroyed or removed its contents.

Tomb Number 3 was directly south of Tomb 1, and contained the tomb of a man in his thirties who died in 168 BC. The occupant is believed to have been a son of Li Cang and his wife Xin Zhui. This tomb contained an incredible collection of item: a silk name banner (similar to that of Tomb 1) and three maps drawn on silk: a topographic map, a military map and a prefecture map. The maps display the Hunan, Guangdong and Guangxi region and depict the political boundary between the Han dynasty and Nanyue. At the time of discovery, these were the oldest maps yet discovered in China, until 1986 when Qin State maps dating to the 4th century BC were found. And Tomb 3 contained a wealth of classical texts, such as texts on astronomy, which accurately depicted the planetary orbits for Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars and Saturn and described various comets. The Mawangdui texts of the Yijing (Book of Changes) are hundreds of years earlier than those known before. The tomb also contained a rich collection of Huang-Lao Taoist texts, as well a copy of the Zhan Guo Ce. The tomb also contained various medical texts, including depictions of tao yin (qigong) exercises, as well as a historical text, the Chunqiu shiyu. These books identify the people of these three tombs as Daoists like the probably with them related Han emperors.)

DAO DE JING CHAPTER 1

The Nature Of The Tao.

1 The Tao that can be described is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name.

- 2 Conceived of as having no name, it is the Originator of heaven and earth; (conceived of as) having a name, it is the Mother of all things.
- 3 Always without desire we must be found, If its deep mystery we would sound;

But if desire always within us be, Its outer fringe is all that we shall see.

4 Under these two aspects, it is really the same; but as development takes place, it receives the different names. Together we call them the Mystery. Where the Mystery is the deepest is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 2

- The Energy Source Of The Self.

  1 All men know that beauty and ugliness are correlatives, as are skill and clumsiness; one implies and suggests the other.
- 2 So also existence and non-existence pose the one the other; so also is it with ease and difficulty, length and shortness; height and lowness. Also Musick exists through harmony of opposites; time and space depend upon contraposition
- 3 By the use of this method, the sage can fulfil his will without action, and utter his word without speech.
- 4 All things arise without diffidence; they grow, and none interferes; they change according to their natural order, without lust of result. The work is accomplished; yet continueth in its orbit, without goal. This work is done unconsciously; this is why its energy is indefatigable.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 3

Quieting Folk.

- 1 To reward merit is to stir up emulation; to prize rarities is to encourage robbery; to display desirable things is to excite the disorder of covetousness.
- 2 Therefore, the sage governeth men by keeping their minds and their bodies at rest, contenting the one by emptiness, the other by fullness. He satisfieth their desires, thus fulfilling their wills, and making them frictionless; and he maketh them strong in body, to a similar end.
- 3 He delivereth them from the restlessness of knowledge and the cravings of discontent. As to those who have knowledge already, he teacheth them the way of non-action. This being assured, there is no disorder in the world.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 4

The Spring Without Source.

- 1 The Tao resembleth the emptiness of Space; to employ it, we must avoid creating ganglia. Oh Tao, how vast art Thou, the Abyss of Abysses, thou Holy and Secret Father of all Fatherhoods of Things!
- 2 Let us make our sharpness blunt; let us loosen our complexes; let us tone down our brightness to the general obscurity. Oh Tao, how still art thou, how pure, continuous One beyond Heaven!
- 3 This Tao hath no Father; it is beyond all other conceptions, higher than the highest.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 5

The Formula Of The Vacuum.

- 1 Heaven and earth proceed without motive, but casually in their order of nature, dealing with all things carelessly, like used talismans. So also the sages deal with their people, not exercising benevolence, but allowing the nature of all to move without friction.
- 2 The Space between heaven and earth is their breathing apparatus: Exhalation is not exhaustion, but the complement of Inhalation, and this equally of that. Speech exhausteth; guard thyself, therefore, maintaining the perfect freedom of thy nature.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 6

The Perfecting Of Form.

1 The Teh is the immortal enemy of the Tao, its feminine aspect. Heaven and Earth issued from her Gate; this Gate is the Root of their World-Sycamore. Its operation is of pure Joy and Love, and faileth never.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 7

The Concealment Of The Light.

- 1 Heaven and Earth are mighty in continuance, because their work is delivered from the lust of result.
- 2 Thus also the sage, seeking not any goal, attaineth all things; he doth not interfere in the affairs of his body, and so that body acteth without friction. It is because he meddleth not with personal aims that these come to pass with simplicity.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 8

- The Nature Of Peace.

  1 Admire thou the High Way of Water! Is not Water the soul of the life of things, whereby they change? Yet it seeketh its level, and abideth content in obscurity. So also it resembleth the Tao, in this Way thereof!
- 2 The virtue of a house is to be well-placed; of the mind, to be at ease in silence as of Space; of societies, to be welldisposed; of governments, to maintain quietude; of work, to

be skillfully performed; and of all motion, to be made at the right time.

3 Also it is the virtue of a man to abide in his place without discontent; thus offendeth he no man.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 9

The Way Of Reticence.

- 1 Fill not a vessel, lest it spill in carrying. Meddle not with a sharpened point by feeling it constantly, or it will soon become blunted.
- 2 Gold and jade endanger the house of their possessor. Wealth and honors lead to arrogance and envy, and bring ruin. Is thy way famous and thy name becoming distinguished? Withdraw, thy work once done, into obscurity; this is the way of Heaven.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 10

Things Attainable.

1 When soul and body are in the bond of love, they can be kept together. By concentration on the breath it is brought to perfect elasticity, and one becomes as a babe. By purifying oneself from Samadhi one becomes whole.

- 2 In his dealing with individuals and with society, let him move without lust of result. In the management of his breath, let him be like the mother-bird. Let his intelligence comprehend every quarter; but let his knowledge cease.
- 3 Here is the Mystery of Virtue. It createth all and nourisheth all; yet it doth not adhere to them; it operateth all, but knoweth not of it, nor proclaimeth it; it directeth all, but without conscious control.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 11

The Value Of The Unexpressed.

1 The thirty spokes join in their nave, that is one; yet the wheel dependeth for use upon the hollow place for the axle. Clay is shapen to make vessels; but the contained space is what is useful. Matter is therefore of use only to mark the limits of the space which is the thing of real value.

## DAO DE IING CHAPTER 12

The Withdrawal From The External.

- 1 The five colors film over Sight; The five sounds make Hearing dull; The five flavours conceal Taste; occupation with motion and action bedevil Mind; even so the esteem of rare things begetteth covetousness and disorder.
- 2 The wise man seeketh therefore to content the actual needs of the people; not to excite them by the sight of luxuries. He banneth these, and concentrateth on those

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 13

The Contempt For Circumstance.

1 Favor and disgrace are equally to be shunned; honour and calamity to be alike regarded as adhering to the personality.

- 2 What is this which is written concerning favour and disgrace? Disgrace is the fall from favour. He then that hath favour hath fear, and its loss begetteth fear vet greater of a further fall. What is this which is written concerning honour and calamity? It is this attachment to the body which maketh calamity possible; for were one bodiless, what evil could befall him?
- 3 Therefore let him that regardeth himself rightly administer also a kingdom; and let him govern it who loveth it as another man loveth himself.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 14

The Shewing-Forth Of The Mystery.

- 1 We look at it, and see it not; though it is Omnipresent; and we name it the Root-Balance. We listen for it, and hear it not, though it is Omniscient; and we name it the Silence. We feel for it, and touch it not, though it is Omnipotent; and we name it the Concealed. These three Virtues hath it, yet we cannot describe it as consisting of them; but, mingling them aright, we apprehend the One.
- 2 Above, it shineth not; below, it is not dark. It moveth all continuously, without Expression, returning into Naught. It is the Form of That which is beyond Form; it is the Image of the Invisible; it is Change, and Without Limit.
- 3 We confront it, and see not its Face; we pursue it, and its Back is hidden from us. Ah! but apply the Tao as in old Time to the work of the present; know it as it was known in the Beginning; follow fervently the Thread of the Tao.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 15

The Appearance Of The True Nature.

- 1 The adepts of past ages were subtle and keen to apprehend this Mystery, and their profundity was obscurity unto men. Since then they were not known, let me declare their nature.
- 2 To all seeming, they were fearful as men that cross a torrent in winter flood; they were hesitating like a man in apprehension of them that are about him; they were full of awe like a guest in a great house; they were ready to disappear like ice in thaw; they were unassuming like unworked wood; they were empty as a valley; and dull as the waters of a marsh.

- 3 Who can clear muddy water? Stillness will accomplish this. Who can obtain rest? Let motion continue equably, and it will itself be peace.
- 4 The adepts of the Tao, conserving its way, seek not to be actively self-conscious. By their emptiness of Self they have no need to show their youth and perfection; to appear old and imperfect is their privilege.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 16

The Withdrawal To The Root.

- 1 Emptiness must be perfect, and Silence made absolute with tireless strength. All things pass through the period of action; then they return to repose. They grow, bud, blossom and fruit; then they return to the root. This return to the root is this state which we name Silence; and this Silence is Witness of their Fulfilment.
- 2 This cycle is the universal law. To know it is the part of intelligence; to ignore it bringeth folly of action, whereof the end is madness. To know it bringeth understanding and peace; and these lead to the identification of the Self with the Not-Self. This identification maketh man a king; and this kingliness groweth unto godhood. That godhood beareth fruit in the mastery of the Tao. Then the man, the Tao permeating him, endureth; and his bodily principles are in harmony, proof against decay, until the hour of his Change.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 17

The Purity Of The Current.

1 In the Age of Gold, the people were not conscious of their rulers; in the Age of Silver, they loved them, with songs; in the Age of Brass, they feared them; in the Age of Iron, they despised them. As the rulers lost confidence, so also did the people lose confidence in them.

2 How hesitating did they seem, the Lords of the Age of Gold, speaking with deliberation, aware of the weight of their word! Thus they accomplished all things with success; and the people deemed their well-being to be the natural course of

## DAO DE CHING CHAPTER 18

The Decay Of Manners.

1 When men abandoned the Way of the Tao, benevolence and justice became necessary. Then also was need of wisdom and cunning, and all fell into illusion. When harmony ceased to prevail in the six spheres it was needful to govern them by manifesting Sons. When the kingdoms and races became confused, loval ministers had to appear.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 19

Returning To The Purity Of The Current.

- 1 If we forgot our statesmanship and our wisdom, it would be an hundred times better for the people. If we forgot our benevolence and our justice, they would become again like sons, folk of good will. If we forget our machines and our business, there would be no knavery.

  2 These new methods despised the olden Way, inventing fine
- names to disguise their baneness. But simplicity in the doing of the will of every man would put an end to vain ambitions and desires.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 20

The Withdrawal From The Common Way.

- To forget learning is to end trouble. The smallest difference in words, such as "yes" and "yea", can make endless controversy for the scholar. Fearful indeed is death, since all men fear it; but the abyss of questionings, shoreless and bottomless is worse!
- 2 Consider the profane man, how he preeneth, as if at feast, or gazing upon Spring from a tower! But as for me, I am as one who yawneth, without any trace of desire. I am like a babe before its first smile. I appear sad and forlorn, like a man homeless. The profane man hath his need filled, ay, and more also. For me, I seem to have lost all I had. My mind is as it were stupefied; it hath no definite shape. The profane man looketh lively and keen-witted; I alone appear blank in my mind. They seem eagerly critical; I appear careless and without perception. I seem to be as one adrift upon the sea, with no thought of an harbor. The profane have each one his definite course of action; I alone appear useless and uncomprehending, like a man from the border. Yea, thus I differ from all other men: but my jewel is the All-Mother!

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 21

The Infinite Womb.

1 The sole source of energy is the Tao. Who may declare its nature? It is beyond Sense, yet all form is hidden within it. It is beyond Sense, yet all Perceptibles are hidden within it. It is beyond Sense, yet all Perceptibles are hidden within it. It is beyond Sense, yet all Being is hidden within it. This Being excites Perception, and the Word thereof. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, its Name operateth continuously, causing all to flow in the cycle of Change, which is Love and Beauty. How do I know this? By my comprehension of the Tao.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 22

The Guerdon Of Modesty.

- 1 The part becometh the whole. The curve becometh straight; the void becometh full; the old becometh new. He who desireth little accomplisheth his Will with ease; who desireth many things becometh distracted.
- 2 Therefore, the sage concentrateth upon one Will, and it is as a light to the whole world. Hiding himself, he shineth; withdrawing himself, he attracteth notice; humbling himself, he is exalted; dissatisfied with himself, he gaineth force to achieve his Will. Because he striveth not, no man may contend against him.
- 3 That is no idle saw of the men of old; "The part becometh the whole": it is the Canon of Perfection.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 23

The Void Of Naught.

- 1 To keep silence is the mark of one who is acting in full accordance with his Will. A fierce wind soon falleth; a stormshower doth not last all day. Yet Heaven and Earth cause these; and if they fail to make violence continue, how much less can man abide in spasm of passion!
- 2 With him that devoteth him to Tao, the devotees of Tao are in accord; so also are the devotees of Teh, yea, even they who fail in seeking those are in accord.
- 3 So then his brothers in the Tao are joyful, attaining it; and his brothers in the Teh are joyful, attaining it; and they who fail in seeking these are joyful, partaking of it. But if he himself realize not the Tao with calm of confidence, then they also appear lacking in confidence.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 24

Evil Manners.

1 He who standeth a-tiptoe standeth not firm; he who maketh rigid his legs walketh ill. He who preeneth himself shineth not; he who talketh positively is vulgar; he who boastheth is refused acceptance; he who is wise in his own conceit is thought inferior. Such attitudes, to him that hath the view given by understanding the Tao, seem like garbage or like cancer, abhorrent to all. They then who follow the Way do not admit them.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 25

- Images Of The Mystery.

  1 Without Limit and Perfect, there is a Becoming, beyond Heaven and Earth. It hath nor motion nor Form; it is alone, it changeth not; it extendeth all ways; it hath no Adversary. It is like the All-Mother.
- 2 I know not its Name, but I call it the Tao. Moreover, I exert myself, and call it Vastness.
- 3 Vastness, the Becoming! Becoming, it flieth afar. Afar, it draweth near. Vast is this Tao; Heaven also is Vast; Earth is vast; and the Holy King is vast also. In the Universe are Four Vastnesses, and of these is the Holy King. 4 Man followeth the formula of Earth; Earth followeth that
- of Heaven, and Heaven that of the Tao. The formula of the Tao is its own Nature.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 26

The Nature Of Mass

- 1 Mass is the fulcrum of mobility; stillness is the father of
- 2 Therefore the sage King, though he travel afar, remaineth near his supplies. Though opportunity tempt him, he remaineth quietly in proper disposition, indifferent. Should the master of an host of chariots bear himself frivolously? If he attack without support, he loseth his base; if he become a raider, he forfeiteth his throne

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 27

Skill In The Method.

- 1 The experienced traveler concealeth his tracks; the clever speaker giveth no chance to the critic; the skilled mathematician useth no abacus; the ingenious safesmith baffleth the burglar without the use of bolts, and the cunning binder without ropes and knots. So also the sage, skilled in man-emancipation-craft, useth all men; understanding the value of everything, he rejecteth nothing. This is called the Occult Regimen.
- 2 The adept is then master to the zelator, and the zelator assisteth and honoreth the adept. Yet unless these relations were manifest, even the most intelligent observer might be perplexed as to which was which. This is called the Crown of Mystery.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 28

The Return To Simplicity.

1 Balance thy male strength with thy female weakness and thou shalt attract all things, as the ocean absorbeth all rivers; for thou shalt formulate the excellence of the Child eternal, simple, and perfect. Knowing the light, remain in the Dark Manifest not thy Glory, but thine obscurity. Clothed in this Child-excellence eternal, thou hast attained the Return of the

First State. Knowing splendour of Fame, cling to Obloquy and Infamv: then shalt thou remain as in the Valley to which flow all waters, the lodestone to fascinate all men. Yea, they shall hail in thee this Excellence, eternal, simple and perfect, of the Child.

2 The raw material, wrought into form, produceth vessels. So the sage King formulateth his Wholeness in divers Offices; and his Law is without violence or constraint.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 29

Refraining From Action.

- 1 He that, desiring a kingdom, exerteth himself to obtain it, will fail. A Kingdom is of the nature of spirit, and yieldeth not to activity. He who graspeth it, destroyeth it; he who gaineth it, loseth it.
- 2 The wheel of nature revolveth constantly; the last becometh first, and the first last; hot things grow cold, and cold things hot; weakness overcometh strength; things gained are lost anon. Hence the wise man avoideth effort, desire and

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 30

A Warning Against War.

- 1 If a king summon to his aid a Master of the Tao, let Him not advise recourse to arms. Such action certainly bringeth the corresponding reaction.
- 2 Where armies are, are weeds. Bad harvests follow great hosts
- 3 The good general striketh decisively, once and for all. He does not risk by overboldness. He striketh, but doth not vaunt his victory. He striketh according to strict law of necessity, not from desire of victory.
- 4 Things become strong and ripe, then age. This is discord with the Tao; and what is not at one with the Tao soon cometh to an end.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 31

Composing Quarrel.

- 1 Arms, though they be beautiful, are of ill omen, abominable to all created beings. They who have the Tao love not their use.
- 2 The place of honour is on the right in wartime; so thinketh the man of distinction. Sharp weapons are illomened, unworthy of such a man; he useth them only in necessity. He valueth peace and ease, desireth not violence of victory. To desire victory is to desire the death of men; and to desire that is to fail to propitiate the people.
- 3 At feasts, the left hand is the high seat; at funerals, the right. The second in command of the army leadeth the left wing, the commander-in-chief, the right wing; it is as if the battle were a rite of mourning! He that hath slain most men should weep for them most bitterly; so then the place of the victor is assigned to him with philosophical propriety.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 32

The Wisdom Of Teh.

1 The All-Tao hath no name.

- 2 It is That Minute Point yet the whole world dare not contend against him that hath it. Did a lord or king gain it and guard it, all men would obey him of their own accord.
- 3 Heaven and Earth combining under its spell, shed forth dew, extending throughout all things of its own accord, without man's interference.
- 4 Tao, in its phase of action, hath a name. Then men can comprehend it; when they do this, there is no more risk of wrong or ill-success.
- 5 As the great rivers and the oceans are to the valley streams, so is the Tao to the whole universe.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 33

The Discrimination (Viveka) Of Teh.

- 1 He who understandeth others understandeth Two; but he who understandeth himself understandeth One. He who conquereth others is strong; but he who conquereth himself is stronger yet. Contentment is riches; and continuous action is
- 2 He that adapteth himself perfectly to his environment, continueth for long; he who dieth without dying, liveth for

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 34

The Method Of Attainment.

- 1 The Tao is immanent; it extendeth to the right hand as to the left.
- 2 All things derive from it their being; it createth them, and all comply with it. Its work is done, and it proclaimeth it not. It is the ornament of all things, yet it claimeth not fief of them; there is nothing so small that it inhabiteth not, and informeth it. All things return without knowledge of the Cause thereof; there is nothing so great that it inhabiteth not, and informeth

3 In this manner also may the Sage perform his Works. It is by not thrusting himself forward that he winneth to his success

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 35

The Good Will Of The Teh.

- 1 The whole world is drawn to him that hath the likeness of the Tao. Men flock unto him, and suffer no ill, but gain repose, find peace, enjoy all ease.
- 2 Sweet sounds and cates lure the traveler from his way. But the Word of the Tao; though it appear harsh and insipid, unworthy to hearken or to behold; hath his use all inexhaustible

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 36

The Hiding Of The Light.

- 1 In order to draw breath, first empty the lungs; to weaken another, first strengthen him; to overthrow another, first exalt him; to despoil another, first load him with gifts; this is called the Occult Regimen.
- 2 The soft conquereth the hard; the weak pulleth down the
- 3 The fish that leaveth ocean is lost; the method of government must be concealed from the people.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 37

The Right Use Of Government.

- 1 The Tao proceedeth by its own nature, doing nothing; therefore there is no doing which it comprehendeth not.
- 2 If kings and princes were to govern in this manner, all things would operate aright by their own motion.
- 3 If this transmutation were my object, I should call it Simplicity. Simplicity hath no name nor purpose; silently and at ease all things go well.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 38

Concerning The Teh.

- 1 Those who possessed perfectly the powers did not manifest them, and so they preserved them. Those who possessed them imperfectly feared to lose them, and so lost them.
- 2 The former did nothing, nor had need to do. The latter did, and had need to do.
- 3 Those who possessed benevolence exercised it, and had need it; so also was it with them who possessed justice.
- 4 Those who possessed the conventions displayed them; and when men would not agree, they made ready to fight them.
- 5 Thus, when the Tao was lost, the Magick Powers appeared; then, by successive degradations, came Benevolence, Justice, Convention.
- 6 Now convention is the shadow of loyalty and good will, and so the herald of disorder. Yea, even Understanding is but a Blossom of the Tao, and foreshadoweth Stupidity.
- 7 So then the Tao-Man holdeth to Mass, and avoideth Motion; he is attached to the Root, not to the flower. He leaveth the one, and cleaveth to the other.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 39

The Law Of The Beginning.

- 1 These things have possessed the Tao from the beginning: Heaven, clear and shining; Earth, steady and easy; Spirits, mighty in Magick; Vehicles, overflowing with Joy; all that hath life; and the rulers of men. All these derive their essence from the Tao.
- 2 Without the Tao, Heaven would dissolve Earth disrupt, Spirits become impotent; Vehicles empty; living things would perish and rulers lose their power.
- 3 The root of grandeur is humility, and the strength of exaltation in its base. Thus rulers speak of themselves as "Fatherless," "Virtueless,' "Unworthy," proclaiming by this that their Glory is in their shame. So also the virtue of a Chariot is not any of the parts of a Chariot, if they be numbered. They do not seek to appear fine like jade, but inconspicuous like common stone.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 40

Omitting Utility.

- 1 The Tao proceeds by correlative curves, and its might is in weakness
- 2 All things arose from the Teh, and the Teh budded from

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 41

The Identity Of The Differential.

- 1 The best students, learning of the Tao, set to work earnestly to practice the Way. Mediocre students now cherish it, now let it go. The worst students mock at it. Were it not thus mocked, it were unworthy to be Tao.
- 2 Thus spake the makers of Saws: the Tao at its brightest is obscure. Who advanceth in that Way, retireth. Its smooth Way is rough. Its summit is a valley. Its beauty is ugliness. Its wealth is poverty. Its virtue, vice. Its stability is change. Its form is without form. Its fullness is vacancy. Its utterance is silence. Its reality is illusion.
- 3 Nameless and imperceptible is the Tao; but it informeth and perfecteth all things.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 42

The Veils Of The Tao.

- 1 The Tao formulated the One. The One exhaled the Two. The Two were parents of the Three. The Three were parents of all things. All things pass from Obscurity to Manifestation, inspired harmoniously by the Breath of the Void.
- <sup>2</sup> Men do not like to be fatherless, virtueless, unworthy: yet rulers describe themselves by these names. Thus increase bringeth decrease to some, and decrease bringeth increase to others.
- 3 Others have taught thus; I consent to it. Violent men and strong die not by natural death. This fact is the foundation of my law.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 43

The Cosmic Method.

- 1 The softest substance hunteth down the hardest; the unsubstantial penetrateth where there is no opening. Here is the Virtue of Inertia.
- 2 Few are they who attain: whose speech is Silence, whose Work is Inertia.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 44

Monitorial.

- 1 What shall it profit a man if he gain fame or wealth, and lose his life?
- 2 If a man cling to fame or wealth, he risketh what is worth more
- 3 Be content, not fearing disgrace. Act not, and risk not criticism. Thus live thou long, without alarm.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 45

The Overflowing Of Teh.

- 1 Despise thy masterpieces; thus renew the vigor of thy creation. Deem thy fullness emptiness; thus shall thy fullness never be empty. Let the straight appear crooked to thee, thy Craft clumsiness; thy Musick discord.
- 2 Exercise moderateth cold; stillness heat. To be pure and to keep silence, is the True Law of all that are beneath Heaven.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 46

The Withdrawal From Ambition.

- 1 When the Tao beareth away on Earth, men put swift horses to night-carts. When it is neglected, they breed chargers in the border marches.
- 2 There is no evil worse than ambition; no misery worse than discontent; no crime greater than greed. Content of mind is peace and satisfaction eternal.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 47

The Vision Of The Distant.

- I One need not pass his threshold to comprehend all that is under Heaven, nor to look out from his lattice to behold the Tao Celestial. Nay! but the farther a man goeth, the less he knoweth
- 2 The sages acquired their knowledge without travel; they named all things aright without beholding them; and, acting without aim, fulfilled their Wills.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 48

Oblivion Overcoming Knowledge.

- 1 The scholar seeketh daily increase of knowing; the sage of Tao daily decrease of doing.
- 2 He decreaseth it, again and again, until he doth no act with the lust of result. Having attained this Inertia all accomplisheth itself.
- 3 He who attracteth to himself all that is under Heaven doth so without effort. He who maketh effort is not able to attract it.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 49

The Adaptability Of The Teh.

- 1 The wise man hath no fixed principle; he adapteth his mind to his environment.
- 2 To the good I am good, and to the evil I am good also; thus all become good. To the true I am true, and to the false I am true; thus all become true.
- 3 The sage appeareth hesitating to the world, because his mind is detached. Therefore the people look and listen to him, as his children; and thus doth he shepherd them.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 50

The Estimation Of Life.

- 1 Man cometh into life, and returneth again into death.
- 2 Three men in ten conserve life; three men in ten pursue leath
- 3 Three men also in ten desire to live, but their acts hasten their journey to the house of death. Why is this? Because of their efforts to preserve life.
- 4 But this I have heard. He that is wise in the economy of his life, whereof he is warden for a season, journeyeth with no need to avoid the tiger or the rhinoceros, and goeth uncorsleted among the warriors with no fear of sword or lance. The rhinoceros findeth in him no place vulnerable to its

horn, the tiger to its claws, the weapon to its point. Why is this? Because there is no house of death in his whole body.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 51

The Teh As The Nurse.

- 1 All things proceed from the Tao, and are sustained by its forth-flowing virtue. Every one taketh form according to his nature, and is perfect, each in his particular Way. Therefore, each and every one of them glorify the Tao, and worship its forth-flowing Virtue.
- 2 This glorifying of the Tao, this worship of the Teh, is constantly spontaneous, and not by appointment of Law.
- 3 Thus the Tao buddeth them out, nurtureth them, developeth them, sustaineth them, perfecteth them, ripeneth them, upholdeth them, and reabsorbeth them.
- 4 It buddeth them forth, and claimeth not lordship over them; it is overseer of their changes, and boasteth not of his puissance; perfecteth them, and interfereth not with their Ways; this is called the Mystery of its Virtue.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 52

The Withdrawal Into The Silence.

- 1 The Tao buddeth forth all things under Heaven; it is the Mother of all.
- 2 Knowing the Mother, we may know her offspring. He that knoweth his Mother, and abideth in Her nature, remaineth in surety all his days.
- 3 With the mouth closed, and the Gates of Breath controlled, he remaineth at ease all his days. With the mouth open, and the Breath directed to outward affairs, he hath no surety all his days.
- 4 To perceive that Minute Point is True Vision; to maintain the Soft and Gentle is True Strength.
- 5 Employing harmoniously the Light Within so that it returneth to its Origin, one guardeth even one's body from evil, and keepeth Silence before all men.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 53

The Witness Of Greed.

- 1 Were I discovered by men, and charged with government, my first would be lest I should become proud.
- 2 The true Path is level and smooth; but men love by-paths.
- 3 They adorn their courts, but they neglect their fields, and leave their storehouses empty. They wear elaborate and embroidered robes; they gird themselves with sharp swords; they eat and drink with luxury; they heap up goods; they are thievish and vainglorious. All this is opposite to the Way of

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 54

The Witness Of Wisdom.

- 1 If a man plant according to the Tao it will never be uprooted; if he thus gather, it will never be lost. His sons and his son's sons, one following another, shall honour the shrine of their ancestor
- 2 The Tao, applied to oneself, strengtheneth the Body, to the family, bringeth wealth; to the district, prosperity; to the state, great fortune. Let it be the Law of the Kingdom, and all men will increase in virtue.
- 3 Thus we observe its effect in every case, as to the person, the family, the district, the state, and the kingdom.
- 4 How do I know that this is thus universal under Heaven? By experience.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 55

The Spell Of The Mystery.

- 1 He that hath the Magick powers of the Tao is like a young child. Insects will not sting him or beasts or birds of prey attack him.
- 2 The young child's bones are tender and its sinews are elastic, but its grasp is firm. It knoweth nothing of the Union of Man and Woman, yet its Organ may be excited. This is because of its natural perfection. It will cry all day long without becoming hoarse, because of the harmony of its being.
- 3 He who understandeth this harmony knoweth the mystery of the Tao, and becometh a True Sage. All devices for inflaming life, and increasing the vital Breath, by mental effort are evil and factitious.
- 4 Things become strong, then age. This is in discord with the Tao, and what is not at one with the Tao soon cometh to an end.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 56

The Excellence Of The Mystery.

- 1 Who knoweth the Tao keepeth Silence; he who babbleth knoweth it not.
- 2 Who knoweth it closeth his mouth and controlleth the Gates of his Breath. He will make his sharpness blunt; he will loosen his complexes; he will tone down his brightness to the general obscurity. This is called the Secret of Harmony.
- 3 He cannot be insulted either by familiarity or aversion; he is immune to ideas of gain or loss, of honour or disgrace; he is the true man, unequalled under Heaven.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 57

The True Influence.

- 1 One may govern a state by restriction; weapons may be used with skill and cunning; but one acquireth true command only by freedom, given and taken.
- 2 How am I aware of this? By experience that to multiply restrictive laws in the kingdom impoverisheth the people; the use of machines causeth disorder in state and race alike. The more men use skill and cunning, the more machines there are; and the more laws there are, the more felons there are.
- 3 A wise man has said this: I will refrain from doing, and the people will act rightly of their own accord; I will love Silence, and the people will instinctively turn to perfection; I will take no measures, and the people will enjoy true wealth; I will restrain ambition, and the people will attain simplicity.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 58

Adaptation To Environment.

- 1 The government that exerciseth the least care serveth the people best; that which meddleth with everybody's business worketh all manner of harm. Sorrow and joy are bedfellows; who can divine the final result of either?
- 2 Shall we avoid restriction? Yea; restriction distorteth nature, so that even what seemeth good in it is evil. For how long have men suffered from misunderstanding of this.
- 3 The wise man is foursquare, and avoideth aggression; his corners do not injure others. He moveth in a straight line and turneth not aside therefrom; he is brilliant but doth not blind with his brightness.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 59

Warding The Tao.

- 1 To balance our earthly nature and cultivate our heavenly nature, tread the Middle Path.
- 2 This Middle Path alone leadeth to the Timely Return to the True Nature. This Timely Return resulteth from the constant gathering of Magick Powers. With that Gathering cometh Control. This Control we know to be without Limit and he who knoweth the Limitless may rule the state.
- 3 He who possesseth the Tao continueth long. He is like a plant with well-set roots and strong stems. Thus it secureth long continuance of its life.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 60

The Duty Of Government.

- 1 The government of a kingdom is like the cooking of fish.
- 2 If the kingdom be ruled according to the Tao, the spirits of our ancestors will not manifest their Teh. These spirits have this Teh, but will not turn it against men. It is able to hurt men; so also is the Wise King; but he doth not.
- 3 When these powers are in accord, their Good Will produceth the Teh, endowing the people therewith.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 61

The Modesty Of The Teh.

- 1 A state becometh powerful when it resembleth a great river, deep-seated; to it tend all the small streams under Heaven.
- $2\ \mathrm{It}$  is as with the female, that conquereth the male by her Silence. Silence is a form of Gravity.
- 3 Thus a great state attracteth small states by meeting their views, and small states attract the great state by revering its eminence. In the first case this Silence gaineth supporters; in the second, favour.
- 4 The great state uniteth men and nurtureth them; the small state wisheth the good will of the great, and offereth service; thus each gaineth its advantage. But the great state must keep

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 62

The Workings Of The Tao.

- 1 The Tao is the most exalted of all things. It is the ornament of the good, and the protection and purification of the evil.
- 2 Its words are the fountain of honour, and its deeds the engine of achievement. It is present even in evil.
- 3 Though the Son of Heaven were enthroned with his three Dukes appointed to serve him, and he were offered a round symbol- of-rank as great as might fill the hands, with a team of horses to follow, this gift were not to be matched against the Tao, which might be offered by the humblest of men.
- 4 Why did they of old time set such store by the Tao? Because he that sought it might find it, and because it was the Purification from all evil. Therefore did all men under Heaven esteem it the most exalted of all things.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 63

Forethought At The Outset.

- I Act without lust of result; work without anxiety; taste without attachment to flavour; esteem small things great and few things many; repel violence with gentleness.
- 2 Do great things while they are yet small, hard things while they are yet easy; for all things, how great or hard soever, have a beginning when they are little and easy. So thus

the wise man accomplisheth the greatest tasks without undertaking anything important.

3 Who undertaketh thoughtlessly is certain to fail in attainment; who estimateth things easy findeth them hard. The wise man considereth even easy things hard, so that even hard things are easy to him. {69}

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 64

Attending To Details.

- 1 It is easy to grasp what is not yet in motion, to withstand what is not yet manifest, to break what is not yet compact, to disperse what is not yet coherent. Act against things before they become visible; attend to order before disorder ariseth.
- 2 The tree which filleth the embrace grew from a small shoot: the tower nine-storied rose from a low foundation: the ten-day journey began with a single step.
- 3 He who acteth worketh harm; he who graspeth findeth it a slip. The wise man acteth not, so worketh no harm; he doth not grasp, and so doth not let go. Men often ruin their affairs on the eve of success, because they are not as prudent at the end as in the beginning.

  4 The wise man willeth what others do not will, and valueth
- not things rare. He learneth what others learn not, and gathered up what they despise. Thus he is in accord with the natural course of events, and is not overbold in action.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 65

The Purity Of The Teh.

- 1 They of old time that were skilled in the Tao sought not to enlighten the people, but to keep them simple.
- 2 The difficulty of government is the vain knowledge of the people. To use cleverness in government is to scourge the kingdom; to use simplicity is to anoint it.
- 3 Know these things, and make them thy law and thine example. To possess this Law is the Secret Perfection of rule. Profound and Extended is this Perfection; he that possesseth it is indeed contrary to the rest, but he attracteth them to full

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 66

Putting One's Self Last.

- 1 The oceans and the rivers attract the streams by their skill in being lower than they; thus are they masters thereof. So the Wise Man, to be above men, speaketh lowly; and to precede them acteth with humility.
- 2 Thus, though he be above them, they feel no burden; nor, though he precede them, do they feel insulted.
- 3 So then do all men delight to honour him, and grow not weary of him. He contendeth not against any man; therefore no man is able to contend against him.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 67

The Three Jewels.

- 1 They say that while this Tao of mine is great, yet it is inferior. This is the proof of its greatness. If it were like anything else, its smallness would have long been known.
- 2 I have three jewels of price whereto I cleave; gentleness, economy, and humility.
- 3 That gentleness maketh me courageous, that economy generous, that humility honoured. Men of today abandon gentleness for violence, economy for extravagance, humility for pride: this is death.
- 4 Gentleness bringeth victory in fight; and holdeth its ground with assurance. Heaven wardeth the gentle man by

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 68

Assimilating One's Self To Heaven.

1 He that is skilled in war maketh no fierce gestures; the most efficient fighter bewareth of anger. He who conquereth refraineth from engaging in battle; he whom men most willingly obey continueth silently with his Work. So it is said: "He is mighty who fighteth not; he ruleth who uniteth with his subjects; he shineth whose will is that of Heaven.'

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 69

The Use Of The Mysterious Way.

- 1 A great strategist saith: "I dare not take the offensive. I prefer the defensive. I dare not advance an inch; I prefer to retreat a foot." Place therefore the army where there is no army; prepare for action where there is no engagement; strike where there is no conflict; advance against the enemy where the enemy is not.
- 2 There is no error so great as to engage in battle without sufficient force. To do so is to risk losing the gentleness which is beyond price. Thus when the lines actually engage, he who regretteth the necessity is the victor.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 70

The Difficulty Of Right Apprehension.

1 My words are easy to understand and to perform; but is there anyone in the world who can understand them and perform them?

- 2 Mv words derive from a creative and universal Principle, in accord with the One Law. Men, not knowing these, understand me not.
- 3 Few are they that understand me; therefore am I the more to be valued. The Wise Man weareth sack-cloth, but guardeth his iewel in his bosom.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 71

The Distemper Of Knowledge.

- 1 To know, yet to know nothing, is the highest; not to know, yet to pretend to knowledge, is a distemper.
- 2 Painful is this distemper; therefore we shun it. The wise man hath it not. Knowing it to be bound up with Sorrow, he putteth it away from him.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 72

Concerning Love Of Self.

- 1 When men fear not that which is to be feared, that which they fear cometh upon them.
- 2 Let them not live, without thought, the superficial life. Let them not weary of the Spring of Life!

  3 By avoiding the superficial life, this weariness cometh not
- upon them.
- 4 These things the wise man knoweth, not showeth: he loveth himself, without isolating his value. He accepteth the former and rejecteth the latter.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 73

Establishing The Law Of Freedom.

- 1 One man, daring, is executed; another, not daring, liveth. It would seem as if the one course were profitable and the other detrimental. Yet when Heaven smiteth a man, who shall assign the cause thereof? Therefore the sage is diffident.
- 2 The Tao of Heaven contendeth not, yet it overcometh; it is silent, yet its need is answered: it summoneth none, but all men come to it of their free will. Its method is quietness, yet its will is efficient. Large are the meshes of Heaven's Net; wide open, yet letting none escape.

### DAO DE JING CHAPTER 74

- A Restraint Of Misunderstanding.

  1 The people have no fear of death; why then seek to awe them by the threat of death? If the people feared death and I could put to death evil-doers, who would dare to offend?
- 2 There is one appointed to inflict death. He who would usurp that position resembleth a hewer of wood doing the work of a carpenter. Such an one, presumptuous, will be sure to cut his own hands

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 75

The Injury Of Greed.

- 1 The people suffer hunger because of the weight of taxation imposed by their rulers. This is the cause of famine.
- 2 The people are difficult to govern because their rulers meddle with them. This is the cause of bad government.
- 3 The people welcome death because the toil of living is intolerable. This is why they esteem death lightly. In such a state of insecurity it is better to ignore the question of living than to set store by it.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 76

- A Warning Against Rigidity.

  1 At the birth of man, he is elastic and weak; at his death, rigid and unyielding. This is the common law; trees also, in their youth, are tender and supple; in their decay, hard and
- 2 So then rigidity and hardness are the stigmata of death; elasticity and adaptability, of life.
- 3 He then who putteth forth strength is not victorious; even as a strong tree filleth the embrace.
- 4 Thus the hard and rigid have the inferior place, the soft and elastic the superior.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 77

The Way Of Heaven.

- 1 The Tao of Heaven is likened to the bending of a bow, whereby the high part is brought down, and the low part raised up. The extreme is diminished, and the middle increased
- 2 This is the Way of Heaven, to remove excess, and to supplement insufficiency. Not so is the way of man, who taketh away from him that hath not to give to him that hath already excess.
- 3 Who can employ his own excess to the weal of all under Heaven? Only he that possesseth the Tao.
- 4 So the Wise Man acteth without lust of result; achieveth and boasteth not; he willeth not to proclaim his greatness

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 78

A Creed

1 Nothing in the world is more elastic and yielding than water; yet it is preeminent to dissolve things rigid and resistant; there is nothing which can match it.

- 2 All men know that the soft overcometh the hard, and the weak conquereth the strong; but none are able to use this law in action.
- 3 A Wise Man hath said: "He that taketh on the burden of the state is a demigod worthy of sacrificial worship; and the true King of a people is he that undertaketh the weight of their sorrows.
- 4 Truth appeareth paradox.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 79

Truth In Covenant.

- 1 When enemies are reconciled, there is always an aftermath of illwill. How can this be useful?
- 2 Therefore, the Wise Man, while he keepeth his part of the record of a transaction, doth not insist on its prompt execution. He who hath the Teh considereth the situation from all sides, while he who hath it not seeketh only to benefit
- 3 In the Tao of Heaven, there is no distinction of persons in its love; but it is for the True Man to claim it.

## DAO DE JING CHAPTER 80

Isolation.

- 1 In a little kingdom of few people it should be the order that though there were men able to do the work of ten men or five score, they should not be employed. Though the people regarded death as sorrowful, yet they should not wish to go
- 2 They should have boats and wagons, yet no necessity to travel; corslets and weapons, yet no occasion to fight.
- 3 For communication they should use knotted cords
- 4 They should deem their food sweet, their clothes beautiful, their houses homes, their customs delightful.
- 5 There should be another state within view, so that its fowls and dogs should be heard; yet to old age, even to death, the people should hold no traffic with it.

# DAO DE JING CHAPTER 81

The Shewing-Forth Of Simplicity.

- 1 True speech is not elegant; elaborate speech is not truth. Those who know do not argue; the argumentative are without knowledge. Those who have assimilated are not learned; those who are gross with learning have not assimilated.
- 2 The Wise Man doth not hoard. The more he giveth, the more he hath; the more he watereth, the more is he watered
- 3 The Tao of Heaven is like an Arrow, yet it woundeth not; and the Wise Man, in all his Works, maketh no contention.

# THE LIEZI

Taoist teachings from the book of Lieh Tzu Source: Wisdom of the East Wade-Giles: Lieh-tzu / Pinvin: Liezi Romanisation: Wade-Giles Translation: Lionel Giles, 1912 Estimated Range of Dating: 5th-4th centuries B.C.

(The Liezi (Wade-Giles: Lieh-tzu) is a Daoist text attributed to Lie Yukou, a c. 5th century BC philosopher. The text might have have been compiled around the 4th century AD. Lie Yukou (also: Lieqiu / Lieyukou) is considered the author of the Taoist book Liezi, which uses his honourific name Liezi (Wade-Giles: Lieh-tzu; "Master Lie"). According to tradition, Lie Yukou was born in the State of Zheng, near today's Zhengzhou, Henan Province, although there is little historical evidence of Lie Yukou as a Hundred Schools of Thought philosopher during the Warring States Period. As for his name Yukou, the Chinese character Yu means "imprison" and the character Kou means "bandit; enemy." So, Yukou means "imprisoned enemy." In other words: one of Lie Yukou's ancestors might have been a soldier who had been captured. Lie Yukou was born in the State of Zheng, near today's Zhengzhou, Henan Province. There is little historical evidence of Lie Yukou as a Hundred Schools of Thought philosopher during the Warring States period. Claims that he never existed are not convincing. His, as the biography or others and their books, were distroyed by Qin Shi Huangdi in the burning of books that he launched.

The first two references to the Liezi book are from the Former Han Dynasty. The editor Liu Xiang notes he eliminated repetitions in Liezi and rearranged it into eight chapters. The Book of Han bibliography section says it has eight chapters and concludes that since the Zhuangzi quotes Liezi, he must have lived before Zhuangzi. There is a threecentury historical gap until the next evidence of the Liezi: the Jin dynasty commentary by Zhang Zhan (fl. ca. 370 AD). Zhang's preface claims his Liezi copy was transmitted down from his grandfather. All received Liezi texts derive from Zhang's version, which is divided into eight chapters (juan).

During the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, the Liezi was designated a Daoist classic, completing the trilogy with the more famous Tao Te Ching and Zhuangzi, and it was honorifically entitled the Chongxu zhenjing ("True Classic of

Simplicity and Vacuity", that is, Classic of the Perfect Emptiness). This "Simplicity and Vacuity" is Wing-tsit Chan's translation; chongxu (literally "soar/young/simple empty/skies/modest") usually means "soar aloft, rise high; carefree, unburdened with ambition". During the reign of Emperor Zhenzong of Song, the Liezi was further honoured as the Chongxu zhide zhenjing, the "True Classic of Simplicity and Vacuity and Perfect Virtue").

The Liezi is generally considered to be the most practical of the major Taoist works, compared to the poetic narrative of Laozi and the philosophical writings of Zhuangzi. Although the Liezi has not been extensively published in the West, some passages are well known. For example, Geng-sang-zi (Zhuangzi chap. 23) gives this description of Taoist pure experience: "My body is in accord with my mind, my mind with my energies, my energies with my spirit, my spirit with Nothing. Whenever the minutest existing thing or the faintest sound affects me, whether it is far away beyond the eight borderlands, or close at hand between my eyebrows and eyelashes, I am bound to know it. However, I do not know whether I perceived it with the seven holes in my head and my four limbs, or knew it through my heart and helly and internal organs. It is simply self-knowledge." (chap. 4, tr. Graham 1990:77-78). Compare the Zhuangzi saying, "The Perfect Man uses his mind like a mirror — going after nothing, welcoming nothing, responding but not storing. Therefore he can win out over things and not hurt himself.

### Contents

The eight Liezi chapters are shown below (with Chinese names and their alternative). Most Liezi chapters are named after famous figures in Chinese mythology and history. Either sage rulers like the Yellow Emperor (supposedly r. 2698?—2599 BC), King Tang of Shang (r. 1617?—1588 BC), and King Mu of Zhou (r. 1023?—983 BC); or philosophers like Confucius (551—479 BC) and Yang Zhu (fl. c. 350 BC). Chapter number, Chinese name, Other name:

- 1. Tian Rui, Heaven's Gifts (Cosmogony)
- 2. Huang Di, The Yellow Emperor
- 3. Zhou Mu Wang, Dreams (King Mu of Zhou)
- 4. Zhong Ni, (Confucius)
- 5. Tang Wen, (The Questions of Tang)
- 6. Li Ming, (Effort and Destiny)
- 7. Yang Zhu (Yangzi), Egoism (Yang Zhu, Yangzi)
- 8. Shuo Fu, Causality (Explaining Conjunctions)

## Authenticity and Infuence

Liezi is known as one of the three most important texts in Taoism, together with the Tao Te Ching and Zhuangzi. Outside of Taoism, the biji genre story Yi Jian Zhi by Hong Mai borrowed the character of Yi Jian, a contemporary of the ancient mythical emperor Yu, from Liezi. Liezi scholars have long recognised that it shares many passages with other pre-Han texts like the Zhuangzi, Daodejing, and Lüshi Chunqiu. Barrett (1993:298) says opinion is "divided as to whether it is an ancient work with later interpolations or a forgery confected from ancient sources." On the one hand, the Liezi could contain a core of c. 400 BC authentic writings of Lie Yukou; on the other hand, it could be a c. 400 AD compilation forged by Zhang Zhan. The Liezi is most similar with the Zhuangzi. They share many characters and stories; Graham (1990:12) lists sixteen complete episodes plus sections from others. The Zhuangzi also mentions Liezi in four chapters and Lie Yukou in three, for example, the famous passage about Liezi's ability to ride the wind and go flying

Buddhism might have influenced chapters 3 and 6 in the Liezi are potentially corroborating evidence for a late date of composition; see Buddhism in China. The final two chapters have heterogeneous contents that differ from the Daoism elsewhere in the book. Chapter 7 records the Hedonist philosophy of "Yang Zhu" (Yangzi), infamous for the criticism of Mencius that he, "believed in 'every man for himself.' If he could have helped the whole world by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it." Lie Yukou might have been a hedonist in his earlier years before he became a Daoist. The well-known scholar of Chinese philosophy, Wing-Tsit Chan (1963:309) calls the "Yang Zhu" chapter "negative Daoism" in contrast with the Daoism of Laozi, Zhuangzi, and Huainanzi that were "all positive in that each represents something new." "King Mu of Zhou" discusses sense perceptions as illusions; "Effort (or: Endeavour) and Destiny" takes a fatalistic (if not karmic) view of destiny, which goes against the traditional Daoist concept of Wuwei. Chapter 8, "Explaining Conjunctions," is primarily taken from other early sources, not only Daoist but Confucian and Mohist texts, two philosophies that opposed the philosophical Daoism this book expounds.)

# LIEZI BOOK 1 - Heaven's Gifts (Cosmogony)

Our Master Lieh Tzu dwelt on a vegetable plot in the Chêng State for forty years, and no man knew him for what he was. The Prince, his Ministers, and all the State officials looked upon him as one of the common herd. A time of dearth fell upon the State, and he was preparing to migrate to Wei, when his disciples said to him: 'Now that our Master is going away without any prospect of returning, we have ventured to approach you, hoping for instruction. Are there no words from the lips of Hu-Ch'iu Tzu-lin that you can impart to us? Lieh Tzu smiled and said: 'Do you suppose that Hu Tzu dealt in words? However, I will try to repeat to you what my Master said on one occasion to Po-hun Mou-jên. [A fellow-disciple. Out of modesty, Lieh Tzu does not say that the teaching was imparted directly to himself.] I was standing by and heard his words, which ran as, follows:

"There is a Creative Principle which is itself uncreated; there is a Principle of Change which is itself unchanging. The Uncreated is able to create life: the Unchanging is able to effect change. That which is produced cannot but continue producing; that which is evolved cannot but continue evolving. Hence there is constant production and constant evolution. The law of constant production and of constant evolution at no time ceases to operate. [The commentator says: That which is once involved in the destiny of living things can never be annihilated.' So is it with the Yin and the Yang, so is it with the Four Seasons. [The Yin and the Yang are the Positive and Negative Principles of Nature, alternately predominating in day and night.] The Uncreated we may surmise to be Alone in itself. [The Supreme, the Non-Engendered — how can its reality be proved? We can only suppose that it is mysteriously One, without beginning and without end.'l

The Unchanging goes to and fro, and its range is illimitable. We may surmise that it stands Alone, and that its Ways are inexhaustible."

In the Book of the Yellow Emperor it is written: "The Spirit of the Valley dies not; it may be called the Mysterious Feminine. The issuing-point of the Mysterious Feminine must be regarded as the Root of the Universe. Subsisting to all eternity, it uses its force without effort." [The Book of the Yellow Emperor is no longer extant, but the above passage is now incorporated in the Tao Tê Ching, and attributed to Lao Tzu.]

'That, then, which engenders all things is itself unengendered; that by which all things are evolved is itself untouched by evolution. Self-engendered and self-evolved, it has in itself the elements of substance, appearance, wisdom, strength, dispersion and cessation. Yet it would be a mistake to call it by any one of these names.

The Master Lieh Tzu said: 'The inspired men of old

The Master Lieh Tzu said: 'The inspired men of old regarded the Yin and the Yang as controlling the sum total of Heaven and Earth. But that which has substance is engendered from that which is devoid of substance; out of what then were Heaven and Earth engendered? ['They were engendered out of nothing, and came into existence of themselves.']

'Hence we say, there is a great Principle of Change, a great Origin, a great Beginning, a great Primordial Simplicity. In the great Change substance is not yet manifest. In the great Origin lies the beginning of substance. In the great Beginning, lies the beginning of material form. ['After the separation of the Yin and the Yang, when classes of objects assume their forms.'] In the great Simplicity lies the beginning of essential qualities. When substance, form and essential qualities are still indistinguishably blended together it is called Chaos. Chaos means that all things are chaotically intermixed and not yet separated from one another. The purer and lighter elements, tending upwards, made the Heavens; the grosser and heavier elements, tending downwards, made the Earth. Substance, harmoniously proportioned, became Man; and, Heaven and Earth containing thus a spiritual element, all things were evolved and produced.'

The Master Lieh Tzu said: 'The virtue of Heaven and Earth, the powers of the Sage, and the uses of the myriad things in Creation, are not perfect in every direction. It is Heaven's function to produce life and to spread a canopy over it. It is Earth's function to form material bodies and to support them. It is the Sage's function to teach others and to influence them for good. It is the function of created things to conform to their proper nature. That being so, there are things in which Earth may excel, though they lie outside the scope of Heaven; matters in which the Sage has no concern, though they afford free play to others. For it is clear that that which imparts and broods over life cannot form and support material bodies; that which forms and supports material bodies cannot teach and influence for good; one who teaches and influences for good cannot run counter to natural instincts; that which is fixed in suitable environment does not travel outside its own sphere. Therefore the Way of Heaven and Earth will be either of the Yin or of the Yang; the teaching of the Sage will be either of altruism or of righteousness; the quality of created objects will be either soft or hard. All these conform to their proper nature and cannot depart from the province assigned

On one hand, there is life, and on the other, there is that which produces life; there is form, and there is that which imparts form: there is sound, and there is that which causes sound; there is colour, and there is that which causes colour; there is taste, and there is that which causes taste.

Things that have been endowed with life die; but that which produces life itself never comes to an end. The origin of form is matter; but that which imparts form has no material existence. The genesis of sound lies in the sense of hearing; but that which causes sound is never audible to the ear. The source of colour is vision; but that which produces colour never manifests itself to the eye. The origin of taste lies in the palate: but that which causes taste is never perceived by that sense. All these phenomena are functions of the principle of Inaction. [Wu Wei, Inaction, here stands for the inert, unchanging Tao.] To be at will either bright or obscure, soft or hard, short or long, round or square, alive or dead, hot or cold, buoyant or sinking, treble or bass, present or absent, black or white, sweet or bitter, fetid or fragrant — this it is to be devoid of knowledge, yet all-knowing, destitute of power, yet allpowerful. [Such is Tao; Pinyin: Dao.]

On his journey to Wei, the Master Lieh Tzu took a meal by the roadside. His followers espied an old skull, and pulled aside the undergrowth to show it to him. Turning to his disciple Po Fêng, the Master said: 'That skull and I both know that there is no such thing as absolute life or death. ['If we regard ourselves as passing along the road of evolution, then I am alive and he is dead. But looked at from the standpoint of the Absolute, since there is no such principle as life in itself, it follows that there can be no such thing as death."

This knowledge is better than all your methods of prolonging life, a more potent source of happiness than any other '

In the Book of the Yellow Emperor it is written: 'When form becomes active it produces not form but shadow; when sound becomes active it produces not sound but echo.'

When Not-Being becomes active, it does not produce Not-Being but Being. Form is something that must come to an end. Heaven and Earth, then, have an end, even as we all have an end. But whether the end is complete we do not know. [When there is conglomeration, form comes into being; when there is dispersion, it comes to an end. That is what we mortals mean by beginning and end. But although for us, in a state of conglomeration, this condensation into form constitutes beginning, and its dispersion an end, from the standpoint of dispersion, it is void and calm that constitute the beginning, and condensation into form the end. Hence there is perpetual alternation in what constitutes beginning and end, and the underlying Truth is that there is neither any beginning nor any end at all.]

The course of evolution ends where it started, without a beginning; it finishes up where it began, in Not-Being. [A paradoxical way of stating that there is no beginning and no end.] That which has life returns again into the Lifeless; that which has form returns again into the formless. This, that I call the Lifeless, is not the original Lifelessness. This, that I call the formless, is not the original Formlessness. [That, which is here termed the Lifeless has formerly possessed life, and subsequently passed into the extinction of death, whereas the original Lifelessness from the beginning knows neither life nor extinction.' We have here again the distinction between the unchanging life-giving Principle (Tao; Dao), which is itself without life, and the living things themselves, which are in a perpetual flux between life and death.]

That which has life must by the law of its being come to an end; and the end can no more be avoided than the living creature can help having been born. So that he who hopes to perpetuate his life or to shut out death is deceived as to his destiny.

The spiritual element in man is allotted to him by Heaven, his corporeal frame by Earth. The part that belongs to Heaven 'is ethereal and dispersive, the part that belongs to Earth is dense and tending to conglomeration. When the spirit parts from the body, each of these elements resumes its true nature. That is why disembodied spirits are called kuei, which means 'returning', that is, returning to their true dwelling-place. ['The region of the Great Void.']

The Yellow Emperor said: 'If my spirit returns through the gates whence it came, and my bones go back to the source from which they sprang, where does the Ego continue to exist?"

Between his birth and his latter end, man passes through four chief stages - infancy, adolescence, old age and death. In infancy, the vital force is concentrated, the will is undivided, and the general harmony of the system is perfect. External objects produce no injurious impression, and to the moral nature nothing can be added. In adolescence, the animal passions are wildly exuberant, the heart is filled with rising desires and preoccupations. The man is open to attack by the objects of sense, and thus his moral nature becomes enfeebled. In old age, his desires and preoccupations have lost their keenness, and the bodily frame seeks for repose. External objects no longer hold the first place in his regard. In this state, though not attaining to the perfection of infancy, he is already different from what he was in adolescence. In death, he comes to his rest, and returns to the Absolute.

Confucius was travelling once over Mount T'ai when he caught sight of an aged man roaming in the wilds. He was clothed in a deerskin, girded with a rope, and was singing as he played on a lute. 'My friend,' said Confucius, 'what is it that makes you so happy?' The old man replied: 'I have a great deal to make me happy. God created all things, and of all His creations man is the noblest. It has fallen to my lot to be a man: that is my first ground for happiness. Then, there is a distinction between male and female, the former being rated more highly than the latter. Therefore it is better to be a male; and since I am one, I have a second ground for happiness. Furthermore, some are born who never behold the sun or the moon, and who never emerge from their swaddling-clothes. But I have already walked the earth for the space of ninety years. That is my third ground for happiness. Poverty is the normal lot of the scholar, death the appointed end for all human beings. Abiding in the normal state, and reaching at last the appointed end, what is there that should make me unhappy?; What an excellent thing it is,' cried Confucius, 'to be able to find a source of consolation in oneself!

Tzu Kung was tired of study, and confided his feelings to Confucius, saying: 'I yearn for rest.' Confucius replied: 'In life there is no rest.' [To toil in anxious planning for the future, to slave in bolstering up the bodily frame — these are the businesses of life.']

'Is rest, then, nowhere to be found? 'Oh yes!' replied Confucius; 'look at all the graves in the wilds, all the vaults, all the tombs, all the funeral urns, and you may know where rest is to be found.' 'Great, indeed, is Death!' exclaimed Tzu Kung. 'It gives rest to the noble hearted, and causes the base to cower.' 'You are right,' said Confucius. 'Men feel the joy of life, but do not realize its bitterness. They feel the weariness of old age, but not its peacefulness. They think of the evils of death, but not of the repose which it confers.'

Yen Tzu said: 'How excellent was the ancients' view of death!
— bringing rest to the good and subjection to the wicked.
Death is the boundary-line of Virtue. [That is, Death abolishes all artificial and temporary distinctions between good and evil, which only hold good in this world of relativity.]

'The ancients spoke of the dead as kuei-iên (men who have returned). But if the dead are men who have returned, the living are men on a journey. Those who are on a journey and think not of returning have cut themselves off from their home. Should any one man cut himself off from his home, he would incur universal reprobation. But all mankind being homeless, there is none to see the error. Imagine one who leaves his native village, separates himself from all his kith and kin, dissipates his patrimony and wanders away to the four corners of the earth, never to return: — what manner of man is this? The world will surely set him down as a profligate and a vagabond. On the other hand, imagine one who clings to respectability and the things of this life, holds cleverness and capacity in high esteem, builds himself up a reputation, and plays the braggart amongst his fellow men without knowing where to stop: — what manner of man, once more, is this The world will surely look upon him as a gentleman of great wisdom and counsel. Both of these men have lost their way, yet the world will consort with the one, and not with the other. Only the Sage knows with whom to consort and from whom to hold aloof.' ['He consorts with those who regard life and death merely as waking and sleeping, and holds aloof from those who are steeped in forgetfulness of their return.']

Yu Hsiung said: 'Evolution is never-ending. But who can perceive the secret processes of Heaven and Earth? Thus, things that are diminished here are augmented there; things that are made whole in one place suffer loss in another. Diminution and augmentation, fullness and decay are the constant accompaniments of life and death. They alternate in continuous succession, and we are not conscious of any interval. The whole body of spiritual substance progresses without a pause; the whole body of material substance suffers decay without intermission. But we do not perceive the process of completion, nor do we perceive the process of decay. Man, likewise, from birth to old age becomes something different every day in face and form, in wisdom and in conduct. His skin, his nails and his hair are continually growing and continually perishing. In infancy and childhood there is no stopping nor respite from change. Though imperceptible while it is going on, it may be verified afterwards if we wait.'

There was once a man in the Ch'i State who was so afraid the universe would collapse and fall to pieces, leaving his body without a lodgment, that he could neither sleep nor eat. Another man, pitying his distress, went to enlighten him. 'Heaven,' he said, 'is nothing more than an accumulation of ether, and there is no place where ether is not. Processes of contraction and expansion, inspiration and expiration are continually taking place up in the heavens. Why then should you be afraid of a collapse?' The man said: 'It is true that Heaven is an accumulation of ether; but the sun, the moon, and the stars — will they not fall down upon us? His informant replied: 'Sun, moon and stars are likewise only bright lights within this mass of ether. Even supposing they were to fall, they could not possibly harm us by their impact.'

'But what if the earth should fall to pieces? 'The earth,' replied the other, 'is merely an agglomeration of matter, which fills and blocks up the four comers of space. There is no part of it where matter is not. All day long there is constant treading and tramping on the surface of the earth. Why then should you be afraid of its falling to pieces? Thereupon the man was relieved of his fears and rejoiced exceedingly. And his instructor was also joyful and easy in mind. But Ch'ang Lu Tzu laughed at them both, saying: 'Rainbows, clouds and mist, wind and rain, the four seasons - these are perfected forms of accumulated ether, and go to make up the heavens. Mountains and cliffs, rivers and seas, metals and rocks, fire and timber these are perfected forms of agglomerated matter, and constitute the earth. Knowing these facts, who can say that they will never be destroyed? Heaven and earth form only a small speck in the midst of the Void, but they are the greatest things in the sum of Being. This much is certain: even as their nature is hard to fathom, hard to understand, so they will be slow to pass away, slow to come to an end. He who fears lest they should suddenly fall to pieces is assuredly very far from the truth. He, on the other hand, who says that they will never be destroyed has also not reached the right solution. Heaven and earth must of necessity pass away, but neither will revert to destruction apart from the other. [The speaker means that though there is no immediate danger of a collapse, it is certain that our universe must obey the natural law of disintegration, and at some distant date disappear altogether. But the process of decay will be so gradual as to be imperceptible.] Who, having to face the day of disruption, would not be alarmed?

The Master Lieh Tzu heard of the discussion, and smiling said: 'He who maintains that Heaven and earth are destructible, and he who upholds the contrary, are both equally at fault. Whether they are destructible or not is something we can never know, though in both cases it will be the same for all alike. The living and the dead, the going and the coming, know nothing of each other's state. Whether destruction awaits the world or no, why should I trouble my head about it?

Mr Kuo of the Ch'i State was very rich, while Mr Hsiang of the Sung State was very poor. The latter travelled from Sung to Ch'i and asked the other for the secret of his prosperity. Mr Kuo told him. 'It is because I am a good thief,' he said. 'The first year I began to be a thief, I had just enough. The second year, I had ample. The third year, I reaped a great harvest. And, in course of time, I found myself the owner of whole villages and districts.' Mr Hsiang was overjoyed; he understood the word 'thief' in its literal sense, but he did not understand the true way of becoming a thief. Accordingly, he climbed over walls and broke into houses, grabbing everything he could see or lay hands upon. But before very long his thefts brought him into trouble, and he was stripped even of what he had previously possessed. Thinking that Mr Kuo had basely deceived him, Hsiang went to him with a bitter complaint. 'Tell me,' said Mr Kuo, 'how did you set about being a thief?' On learning from Mr Hsiang what had happened, he cried out: 'Alas and alack! You have been brought to this pass because you went the wrong way to work. Now let me put you on the right track. We all know that Heaven has its seasons, and that earth has its riches. Well, the things that I steal are the riches of Heaven and earth, each in their season — the fertilizing rain-water from the clouds, and the natural products of mountain and meadow-land. Thus I grow my grain and ripen my crops, build my walls and construct my tenements. From the dry land I steal winged and four-footed game, from the rivers I steal fish and turtles. There is nothing that I do not steal. For corn and grain, clay and wood, birds and beasts, fishes and turtles are all products of Nature. How can I claim them as mine? [It will be observed that Lieh Tzu anticipates here, in a somewhat different sense, Proudhon's famous paradox: 'La propriété c'est le vol.']

'Yet, stealing in this way from Nature, I bring on myself no retribution. But gold, jade, and precious stones, stores of grain, silk stuffs, and other kinds of property, are things accumulated by men, not bestowed upon us by Nature. So who can complain if he gets into trouble by stealing them?

Mr Hsiang, in a state of great perplexity, and fearing to be led astray a second time by Mr Kuo, went off to consult Tung Kuo, a man of learning. Tung Kuo said to him: 'Are you not already a thief in respect of your own body? You are stealing the harmony of the Yin and the Yang in order to keep alive and to maintain your bodily form. How much more, then, are you a thief with regard to external possessions! Assuredly, Heaven and earth cannot be dissociated from the myriad objects of Nature. To claim any one of these as your own betokens confusion of thought. Mr Kuo's thefts are carried out in a spirit of justice, and therefore bring no retribution. But your thefts were carried out in a spirit of self-seeking and therefore landed you in trouble. Those who take possession of property, whether public or private, are thieves. [By 'taking possession of public property', as we have seen, Lieh Tzu means utilizing the products of Nature open to all and the like.] Those who abstain from taking property, public or private, are also thieves. ['For no one can help possessing a

body, and no one can help acquiring some property or other which cannot be got rid of with the best will in the world. Such thefts are unconscious thefts.'

The great principle of Heaven and earth is to treat public property as such and private property as such. Knowing this principle, which of us is a thief, and at the same time which of us is not a thief?! [The object of this anecdote is to impress us with the unreality of mundane distinctions. Lieh Tzu is not much interested in the social aspect of the question. He is not an advocate of communism, nor does he rebel against the common-sense view that theft is a crime which must be punished. With him, everything is intended to lead up to the metaphysical standpoint.]

## LIEZI BOOK 2 - Huang Di (The Yellow Emperor)

The Yellow Emperor sat for fifteen years on the throne, and rejoiced that the Empire looked up to him as its head. He was careful of his physical well-being, sought pleasures for his ears and eyes, and gratified his senses of smell and taste. Nevertheless, he grew melancholy in spirit, his complexion became sallow, and his sensations became dull and confused. Then, for a further period of fifteen years, he grieved that the Empire was in disorder; he summoned up all his intelligence, exhausted his resources of wisdom and strength in trying to rule the people. But, in spite of all, his face remained haggard and pale, and his sensations dull and confused. [The practice of enlightened virtue will not succeed in establishing good government, but only disorganize the spiritual faculties.]

Then the Yellow Emperor sighed heavily and said: 'My fault is want of moderation. The misery I suffer comes from overattention to my own self, and the troubles of the Empire from over-regulation in everything.' Thereupon, he threw up all his schemes, abandoned his ancestral palace, dismissed his attendants, removed all the hanging bells, cut down the delicacies of his cuisine, and retired to live at leisure in private apartments attached to the Court. There he fasted in heart, and brought his body under control. [Fasting in heart means freeing oneself from earthly desires, after which, says the commentator, the body will naturally be under control. Actual abstention from food or other forms of bodily mortification are not intended.]

For three months he abstained from personal intervention in government. Then he fell asleep in the daytime, and dreamed that he made a journey to the kingdom of Hua-hsu, situated 1 know not how many tens of thousands of miles distant from the Ch'i State. It was beyond the reach of ship or vehicle or any mortal foot. Only the soul could travel so far. [In sleep, the hun or spiritual part of the soul is supposed by the Chinese, to quit the body.]

This kingdom was without head or ruler; it simply went on

of itself. Its people were without desires or cravings; they simply followed their natural instincts. They felt neither joy in life nor abhorrence of death; thus they came to no untimely ends. They felt neither attachment to self nor indifference to others: thus they were exempt from love and hatred alike They knew neither aversion from one course nor inclination to another; hence profit and loss existed not among them. All were equally untouched by the emotions of love and sympathy, of jealousy and fear. Water had no power to drown them, nor fire to burn; cuts and blows caused them neither injury nor pain, scratching or tickling could not make them itch. They bestrode the air as though treading on solid earth; they were cradled in space as though resting in a bed. Clouds and mist obstructed not their vision, thunder-peals could not stun their ears, physical beauty disturbed not their hearts, mountains and valleys hindered not their steps. They moved about like

When the Yellow Emperor awoke from his dream, he summoned his three Ministers and told them what he had seen. For three months,' he said, 'I have been living a life of leisure, fasting in heart, subduing my body, and casting about in my mind for the true method of nourishing my own life and regulating the lives of others. But I failed to discover the secret\*. Worn out, I fell asleep and dreamed this dream. [It is wrong to nourish one's own life, wrong to regulate those of others. No attempt to do this by the light of intelligence can be successful.'] Now I know that the Perfect Way is not to be sought through the senses. This Way I know and hold within me, yet I cannot impart it to you.' ['If the Way cannot be sought through the senses, it cannot be communicated through the senses.']

For twenty-eight years after this, there was great orderliness in the Empire, nearly equalling that in the kingdom of Hua-hsu. And when the Emperor ascended on high, the people bewailed him for two hundred years without intermission.

Lieh Tzu had Lao Shang for his teacher, and Po Kao Tzu for his friend. When he had fully mastered the system of these two philosophers, he rode home again on the wings of the wind. [See: Chuang Tzu, ch. 1: 'There was Lieh Tzu again. He could ride upon the wind, and travel whithersoever he wished, staying away as long as fifteen days.']

Yin Shêng heard of this, and became his disciple. He dwelt with Lieh Tzu for many months without visiting his own

home. While he was with him, he begged to be initiated into his secret arts. Ten times he asked, and each time received no answer. Becoming impatient Yin Shêng announced his departure, but Lieh Tzu still gave no sign. So Yin Shêng went away, but after many months his mind was still unsettled, so he returned and became his follower once more. Lieh Tzu said to him: 'Why this incessant going and coming?' Yin Shêng replied: 'Some time ago, I sought instruction from you, Sir. but you would not tell me anything. That made me vexed with you. But now I have got rid of that feeling, and so I have come again.' Lieh Tzu said: 'Formerly, I used to think you were a man of penetration, and have you now fallen so low? Sit down and I will tell you what I learned from my Master. After I had served him, and enjoyed the friendship of Po Kao, for the space of three years, my mind did not venture to reflect on right and my wrong, my lips did not venture to speak of profit and loss. Then, for the first time, my Master bestowed one glance upon me — and that was all. [To be in reality entertaining the ideas of profit and loss, though without venturing to utter them, is a case of hiding one's resentment and harbouring secret passions; hence a mere glance was vouchsafed.'1

'At the end of five years a change had taken place; my mind was reflecting on right and wrong, and my lips were speaking of profit and loss. Then, for the first time, my Master relaxed his countenance and smiled. ['Right and wrong, profit and loss, are the fixed principles prevailing in the world of sense. To let the mind reflect on what it will, to let the lips utter what they please, and not grudgingly bottle it up in one's breast, so that the internal and the external may become as one, is still not so good as passing beyond the bounds of self and abstaining from all manifestation. This first step, however, pleased the Master and caused him to give a smile.']

'At the end of seven years, there was another change. I let my mind reflect on what it would, but it no longer occupied itself with right and wrong. I let my lips utter whatsoever they pleased, but they no longer spoke of profit and loss. Then, at last, my Master led me in to sit on the mat beside him. ['The question is, how to bring the mind into a state of calm, in which there is no thinking or mental activity; how to keep the lips silent, with only natural inhalation and exhalation going on. If you give yourself up to mental perfection, right and wrong will cease to exist; if the lips follow their natural law they know not profit or loss. Their ways agreeing, Master and friend sat side by side with him on the same seat. That was only as it should be.']

'At the end of nine years my mind gave free rein to its reflections, my mouth free passage to its speech. Of right and wrong, profit and loss, I had no knowledge, either as touching myself or others. I knew neither that the Master was my instructor, nor that the other man was my friend. Internal and External were blended into Unity. After that, there was no distinction between eye and ear, ear and nose, nose and mouth: all were the same. My mind was frozen, my body in dissolution, my flesh and bones all melted together. I was wholly unconscious of what my body was resting on, or what was under my feet. I was borne this way and that on the wind, like dry chaff or leaves falling from a tree. In fact, I knew not whether the wind was riding on me or I on the wind. Now, you have not spent one whole season in your teacher's house. and yet you have lost patience two or three times already. Why, at this rate, the atmosphere will never support an atom of your body, and even the earth will be unequal to the weight of one of your limbs! [The only way to etherealise the body being to purge the mind of its passions.] How can you expect to walk in the void or to be charioted on the wind?

Hearing this, Yin Shêng was deeply ashamed. He could hardly trust himself to breathe, and it was long ere he ventured to utter another word.

Mr Fan had a son named Tzu Hua, who succeeded in achieving great fame as an exponent of the black art, and the whole kingdom bowed down before him. He was in high favour with the Prince of Chin, taking no office but standing on a par with the three Ministers of State. Any one on whom he turned a partial eye was marked out for distinction; while those of whom he spoke unfavourably were forthwith banished. People thronged his hall in the same way as they went to Court. Tzu Hua used to encourage his followers to contend amongst themselves, so that the clever ones were always bullying the slow-witted, and the strong riding rough-shod over the weak. Though this resulted in blows and wounds being dealt before his eyes, he was not in the habit of troubling about it. Day and night, this sort of thing served as an amusement, and practically became a custom in the State.

One day, Ho Sheng and Tzu Po, two of Fan's leading disciples, set off on a journey and, after traversing a stretch of wild country, they put up for the night in the hut of an old peasant named Shang Ch'iu Wai. During the night, the two travellers conversed together, speaking of Tzu Hua's reputation and influence, his power over life and death, and how he could make the rich man poor and the poor man rich. Now, Shang Ch'iu Wai was living on the border of starvation. He had crept round under the window and overheard this conversation. Accordingly, he borrowed some provisions and,

shouldering his basket, set off for Tzu Hua's establishment. This man's followers, however, were a worldly set, who wore silken garments and rode in high carriages and stalked about with their noses in the air. Seeing that Shang Ch'iu Wai was a weak old man, with a weather-beaten face and clothes of no particular cut, they one and all despised him. Soon he became a regular target for their insults and ridicule, being hustled about and slapped on the back and what not. Shang Ch'iu K'ai, however, never showed the least annovance, and at last the disciples, having exhausted their wit on him in this way, grew tired of the fun. So, by way of a jest, they took the old man with them to the top of a cliff, and the word was passed round that whosoever dared to throw himself over would be rewarded with a hundred ounces of silver. There was an eager response, and Shang Ch'iu K'ai, in perfect good faith, was the first to leap over the edge. And lo! he was wafted down to earth like a bird on the wing, not a bone or muscle of his body being hurt. Mr Fan's disciples, regarding this as a lucky chance, were merely surprised, but not yet moved to great wonder. Then they pointed to a bend in the foaming river below, saying: 'There is a precious pearl at the bottom of that river, which can be had for the diving.' Ch'iu K'ai again acted on their suggestion and plunged in. And when he came out, sure enough he held a pearl in his hand.

Then, at last, the whole company began to suspect the truth, and Tzu Hua gave orders that an array of costly viands and silken raiment should be prepared; then suddenly a great fire was kindled round the pile. 'If you can walk through the midst of these flames,' he said, 'you are welcome to keep what you can get of these embroidered stuffs, be it much or little, as a reward.' Without moving a muscle of his face, Shang Ch'iu K'ai walked straight into the fire, and came back again with his garments unsoiled and his body unsinged.

Mr Fan and his disciples now realized that he was in possession of Tao, and all began to make their apologies, saying: 'We did not know, Sir, that you had Tao, and were only playing a trick on you. We insulted you, not knowing that you were a divine man. You have exposed our stupidity, our deafness and out blindness. May we venture to ask what the Great Secret is?' 'Secret I have none,' replied Shang Ch'iu K'ai. 'Even in my own mind I have no clue as to the real cause. Nevertheless, there is one point in it all which I must try to explain to you. A short time ago, Sir, two disciples of yours came and put up for the night in my hut. I heard them extolling Mr Fan's powers - how he could dispense life and death at his will, and how he was able to make the rich man poor and the poor man rich. I believed this implicitly, and as the distance was not very great I came hither. Having arrived, I unreservedly accepted as true all the statements made by your disciples, and was only afraid lest the opportunity might never come of putting them triumphantly to the proof I knew not what part of space my body occupied, nor yet where danger lurked. My mind was simply One, and material objects thus offered no resistance. That is all. But now, having discovered that your disciples were deceiving me, my inner man is thrown into a state of doubt and perplexity, while outwardly my senses of sight and hearing re-assert themselves. When I reflect that I have just had a providential escape from being drowned and burned to death, my heart within me freezes with horror, and my limbs tremble with fear. I shall never again have the courage to go near water or fire.'

From that time forth, when Mr Fan's disciples happened to meet a beggar or a poor horse-doctor on the road, so far from jeering at him, they would actually dismount and offer him a humble salute.

Tsai Wo heard this story, and told it to Confucius. 'Is this so strange to you? was the reply. 'The man of perfect faith can extend his influence to inanimate things and disembodied spirits; he can move heaven and earth, and fly to the six cardinal points without encountering any hindrance. [11 Compare the familiar passage in the Bible (Matthew 17:20).] His powers are not confined to walking in perilous places and passing through water and fire. If Shang Ch'iu K'ai, who put his faith in falsehoods, found no obstacle in external matter, how much more certainly will that be so when both parties are equally sincere! Young man, bear this in mind.' [In Shang Ch'iu K'ai's case, though he himself was sincere, his Master Fan Tzŭ Hua was merely an impostor.]

The Keeper of Animals under King Hsuan, of the Chou dynasty, had an assistant named Liang Yang, who was skilled in the management of wild birds and beasts. When he fed them in their park-enclosure, all the animals showed themselves tame and tractable, although they comprised tigers, wolves, eagles and ospreys. Male and female freely propagated their kind, and their numbers multiplied. [The difficulty of getting wild animals to breed in captivity is well known to naturalists.] The different species lived promiscuously together, yet they never clawed nor bit one another.

The King was afraid lest this man's secret should die with him, and commanded him to impart it to the Keeper. So Liang Yang appeared before the Keeper and said: 'I am only a humble servant, and have really nothing to impart. I fear his Majesty thinks I am hiding something from you. With regard to my method of feeding tigers, all I have to say is this: when

yielded to, they are pleased; when opposed, they are angry. Such is the natural disposition of all living creatures. But neither their pleasure nor their anger is manifested without a cause. Both are really excited by opposition.[Anger directly, pleasure indirectly, owing to the natural reaction when the opposition is overcome.]

'In feeding tigers, then, I avoid giving them either live animals or whole carcases, lest in the former case the act of killing, in the latter the act of tearing them to pieces, should excite them to fury. Again, I time their periods of hunger and repletion, and I gain a full understanding of the causes of their anger. Tigers are of a different species from man, but, like him, they respond to those who coax them with food, and consequently the act of killing their victims tends to provoke them. This being so, I should not think of opposing them and thus provoking their anger; neither do I humour them and thus cause them to feel pleased. For this feeling of pleasure will in time be succeeded by anger, just as anger must invariably be succeeded by pleasure. Neither of these states hits the proper mean. Hence it is my aim to be neither antagonistic nor compliant, so that the animals regard me as one of themselves. Thus it happens that they walk about the park without regretting the tall forests and the broad marshes, and rest in the enclosure without yearning for the lonely mountains and the dark valleys. Such are the principles which have led to the results you see.

There was once a man, a sailor by profession, who was very fond of sea-gulls. Every morning he went into the sea and swam about in their midst, at which times a hundred gulls and more would constantly flock about him. ['Creatures are not shy of those whom they feel to be in mental and bodily harmony with themselves.]

One day his father said to him: 'I am told that sea-gulls swim about with you in the water. I wish you would catch one or two for me to make pets of.' On the following day, the sailor went down to the sea as usual, but lo! the gulls only wheeled about in the air and would not alight.['There was disturbance in his mind, accompanied by a change in his outward demeanour; thus the birds became conscious of the fact that he was a human being. How could their instinct be deceived?'

Chao Hsiang Tzu led out a company of a hundred thousand men to hunt in the Central Mountains. Lighting the dry undergrowth, they set fire to the whole forest, and the glow of the flames was visible for a hundred miles around. Suddenly a man appeared, emerging from a rocky cliff\*, and was seen to hover in the air amidst the flames and the smoke. [\* That is to say, passing miraculously out of the actual stone itself. Everybody took him for a disembodied spirit. When the fire had passed, he walked quietly out, and showed no trace of having been through the ordeal. Hsiang Tzu marvelled thereat, and detained him for the purpose of careful examination. In bodily form he was undoubtedly a man, possessing the seven channels of sense, besides which his breathing and his voice also proclaimed him a man. So the prince inquired what secret power it was that enabled him to dwell in rock and to walk through fire. 'What do you mean by rock?' replied the man; 'what do you mean by fire?' Hsiang Tzu said: 'What you just now came out of is rock; what you just now walked through is fire.' 'I know nothing of them, replied the man.['It was this extreme feat of unconsciousness that enabled him to perform the above feats.'

The incident came to the ears of Marquis Wên of the Wei State, who spoke to Tzu Hsia about it, saying: 'What an extraordinary man this must be!' From what I have heard the Master say,' replied Tzu Hsia, 'the man who achieves harmony with Tao enters into close unison with external objects, and none of them has the power to harm or hinder him. Passing through solid metal or stone, walking in the midst of fire or on the surface of water — all these things become possible to him.' 'Why, my friend,' asked the Marquis, 'cannot you do all this?' I have not yet succeeded,' said Tzu Hsia, 'in cleansing my heart of impurities and discarding Wisdom. I can only find leisure to discuss the matter in tentative fashion.' 'And why,' pursued the Marquis, 'does not the Master himself perform these feats?' The Master,' replied Tzu' Hsia, 'is is able to do these things, but he is also able to refrain from doing them.' Which answer hugely delighted the Marquis.

There may be similarity in understanding without similarity in outward form. There may also be similarity in form without similarity in understanding. The Sage embraces similarity of understanding and pays no regard to similarity of form. The world in general is attracted by similarity of form, but remains indifferent to similarity of understanding. Those creatures that resemble them in shape they love and consort with; those that differ from them in shape they fear and keep at a distance. The creature that has a skeleton seven feet long [The Chinese foot at that time being considerably shorter than ours.], hands differently shaped from the feet, hair on its head, and an even set of teeth in its jaws, and walks erect, is called a man. But it does not follow that a man may not have the mind of a brute. Even though this be the case, other men will still recognize him as one of their own species in virtue of his outward form. Creatures which have wings on

the back or horns on the head, serrated teeth or extensile talons, which fly overhead or run on all fours, are called birds and beasts. But it does not follow that a bird or a beast may not have the mind of a man. Yet, even if this be so, it is nevertheless assigned to another species because of the difference in form.

P'ao Hsi, Nu Kua, Shên Nung and Hsia Hou had serpents' bodies, human faces, ox-heads and tigers' snouts. Thus, their forms were not human, yet their virtue was of the saintliest. Chieh of the Hsia dynasty, Chou of the Yin, Huan of the Lu State, and Mu of the Ch'u State, were in all external respects, as facial appearance and possession of the seven channels of sense, like unto other men; yet they had the minds of savage brutes. Howbeit, in seeking perfect understanding, men attend to the outward form alone, which will not bring them near to it.

When the Yellow Emperor fought with Yen Ti on the field of P'an-ch'uan, his vanguard was composed of bears, wolves, panthers, lynxes and tigers, while his ensign-bearers were eagles, ospreys, falcons and kites. This was forcible impressment of animals into the service of man. The Emperor Yao entrusted K'uei with the regulation of music. [K'uei was a composite being, half beast, half man, of irreproachable virtue. His son, on the other hand, is said to have had 'the heart of a pig'. He was insatiably gluttonous, covetous and quarrelsome.]

When the latter tapped the musical stone in varying cadence, all the animals danced to the sound of the music. When the Shao in its nine variations was heard on the flute, the phœnix itself flew down to assist. This was the attraction of animals by the power of music. In what, then, do the minds of birds and beasts differ from the minds of men? Their shapes and the sounds they utter are different from ours, and they know no way of communicating with us. But the wisdom and penetration of the Sage are unlimited: that is why he is able to lead then, to do his bidding. The intelligence of animals is innate, even as that of man. Their common desire is for selfpreservation, but they do not borrow their knowledge from men. There is pairing between the male and the female, and mutual attachment between the mother and her young. They shun the open plain and keep to the mountainous parts; they flee the cold and make for warmth; when they settle, they gather in flocks; when they travel, they preserve a fixed order. The young ones are stationed in the middle, the stronger ones place themselves on the outside. They show one another the way to the drinking-places, and call to their fellows when there is food. In the earliest ages, they dwelt and moved about in company with man. It was not until the age of emperors and kings that they began to be afraid and broke away into scattered bands. And now, in this final period, they habitually hide and keep out of man's way so as to avoid injury at his hands. At the present day, the Chieh-shih in the far east can in many cases interpret the language of the six domestic animals, although they have probably but an imperfect understanding ofit

In remote antiquity, there were men of divine enlightenment who were perfectly acquainted with the feelings and habits of all living things, and thoroughly understood the languages of the various species. They brought them together, trained them, and admitted them to their society, exactly like human beings. . . . These sages declared that, in mind and understanding, there was no wide gulf between any of the living species endowed with blood and breath. And therefore, knowing that this was so, they omitted nothing from their course of training and instruction.

Hui Yang went to visit Prince K'ang of the Sung State. The Prince, however, stamped his foot, rasped his throat, and said angrily: 'The things I like are courage and strength. I am not fond of your good and virtuous people. What can a stranger like you have to teach me? 'I have a secret,' replied Hui Yang, 'whereby my opponent, however brave or strong, can be prevented from harming me either by thrust or by blow. Would not your Highness care to know that secret?' 'Capital!' exclaimed K'ang; 'that is certainly something I should like to hear about.' Hui Yang went on: 'To render ineffectual the stabs and blows of one's opponent is indeed to cover him with shame. But my secret is one which will make your opponent, however brave or strong, afraid to stab or to strike at all! His being afraid, however, does not always imply that he has not the will to do so. Now, my secret method operates so that even the will is absent. Not having the will to harm, however, does not necessarily connote the desire to love and to do good. But my secret is one whereby every man, woman and child in the Empire shall be inspired with the friendly desire to love and do good to one another! This is something that transcends all social distinctions, and is much better than the mere possession of courage and strength. Has your Highness no mind to acquire such a secret as this?' 'Nay,' said the Prince, 'I am anxious to learn it. What is the secret, pray?' 'Nothing else,' replied Hui Yang, 'than the teachings of Confucius and Mo Tzu. [21 Mozi (original name: Mo Di, Latin: Micius; c. 470-391 BC) A famous philosopher who flourished about 400 B.C. and propounded in his book The Mozi or Mojing, chiefly on utilitarian grounds, the doctrine of 'universal love'.]

Neither of these two men possessed any land, and yet they were princes; they held no official rank, and yet they were leaders. All the inhabitants of the Empire, old and young, used to crane their necks and stand on tiptoe to catch a glimpse of them. For it was their object to bring peace and happiness to all. Now, your Highness is lord of ten thousand chariots. [A conventional way of saying that Sung was a feudal State of the first class.] If you are sincere in your purpose, all the people within the four borders of your realm will reap the benefit, and the fame of your virtue will far exceed that of Confucius or of Mo Tzu.' [They not having enjoyed the advantage of ruling over a large State.]

The Prince of Sung found himself at loss for an answer, and Hui Yang quickly withdrew. Then the Prince turned to his courtiers and said: 'A forcible argument! This stranger has carried me away by his eloquence.'

# LIEZI BOOK 3 - Dreams (King Mu of Zhou)

In the time of King Mu of Chou, there was a magician who came from a kingdom in the far west. He could pass through fire and water, penetrate metal and stone, overturn mountains and make rivers flow backwards, transplant whole towns and cities, ride on thin air without falling, encounter solid bodies without being obstructed. There was no end to the countless variety of changes and transformations which he could effect; and, besides changing the external form, he could also spirit away men's internal cares

King Mu revered him as a god, and served him like a prince. He set aside for his use a spacious suite of apartments, regaled him with the daintiest of food, and selected a number of singing-girls for his express gratification. The magician, however, condemned the King's palace as mean, the cooking as rancid, and the concubines as too ugly to live with. So King Mu had a new building erected to please him. It was built entirely of bricks and wood, and gorgeously decorated in red and white, no skill being spared in its construction. The five royal treasuries were empty by the time that the new pavilion was complete. It stood six thousand feet high, overtopping Mount Chung-nan, and it was called Touch-the-sky Pavilion. Then the King proceeded to fill it with maidens, selected from Chêng and Wei, of the most exquisite and delicate beauty. They were anointed with fragrant perfumes, adorned with moth-eyebrows, provided with jewelled hairpins and earrings, and arrayed in the finest silks, with costly satin trains. Their faces were powdered, and their eyebrows pencilled, their girdles were studded with precious stones. All manner of sweet-scented plants filled the palace with their odours, and ravishing music of the olden time was played to the honoured guest. Every month he was presented with fresh and costly raiment; every morning he had set before him some new and delicious food.

The magician could not well refuse to take up his abode in this palace of delight. But he had not dwelt there very long before he invited the King to accompany him on a jaunt. So the King clutched the magician's sleeve, and soared up with him higher and higher into the sky, until at last they stopped, and lo! they had reached the magician's own palace. This palace was built with beams of gold and silver, and incrusted with pearls and jade. It towered high above the region of clouds and rain, and the foundations whereon it rested were unknown. It appeared like a stupendous cloud-mass to the view. The sights and sounds it offered to eve and ear, the scents and flavours which abounded there, were such as exist not within mortal ken. The King verily believed that he was in the Halls of Paradise, tenanted by God Himself, and that he was listening to the mighty music of the spheres. He gazed at his own palace on the earth below, and it seemed to him no better than a rude pile of clods and brushwood.

It seemed to the King as if his stay in this place lasted for several decades, during which he gave no thought to his own kingdom. Then the magician invited him to make another journey, and in the new region they came to, neither sun nor moon could be seen in the heavens above, nor any rivers or seas below. The King's eyes were dazed by the quality of the light, and he lost the power of vision; his ears were stunned by the sounds that assailed them, and he lost the faculty of hearing. The framework of his bones and his internal organs were thrown out of gear and refused to function. His thoughts were in a whirl, his intellect became clouded, and he begged the magician to take him back again. [This was the region of the Great Void, where all is dim and blurred, assuredly not meant to be traversed by the ordinary man. The dizziness of brain and eye was the effect produced by the Absolute.'] Thereupon, the magician gave him a shove, and the King experienced a sensation of falling through space. .

When he awoke to consciousness, he found himself sitting on his throne just as before, with the selfsame attendants round him. He looked at the wine in front of him, and saw that it was still full of sediment; he looked at the viands, and found that they had not yet lost their freshness. He asked where he had come from, and his attendants told him that he had only been sitting quietly there. This threw King Mu into a reverie, and it was three months before he was himself again. Then he made further inquiry, and asked the magician to

explain what had happened. 'Your Majesty and I,' replied the magician, 'were only wandering about in the spirit, and, of course, our bodies never moved at all. What essential difference is there between that sky-palace we dwelt in and your Majesty's palace on earth, between the spaces we travelled through and your Majesty's own park? [Looked at from the standpoint of the Absolute, both palaces were unreal.] During your retirement from public affairs, you have been in a perpetual state of doubt as to the reality of your experience. But in a universe where changes are everlasting in progress, and fast and slow are purely relative conceptions, how can the Ideal ever be fully attained?' [The sky-palace was only some degrees finer than the King's, just as the King's palace was only some degrees finer than the hovel of a peasant. To strive for something that shall satisfy man's desires and aspirations once and for all is only labour lost. The story continues with an account of the King's marvellous journey to the West. But though he drained the cup of pleasure to the dregs, the upshot of it all was that he never truly attained to Tao. We may seek the moral in a saying of Lao Tzu: 'Without going out of doors, one may know the whole world; without looking out of window, one may see the Way of Heaven. The farther one travels, the less one may know.']

Lao Ch'êng Tzu went to learn magic from the venerable Yin Wên. After a period of three years, having obtained no communication, he humbly asked permission to go home. Yin Wên bowed, and led him into the inner apartment. There, having dismissed his attendants, he spoke to him as follows: 'Long ago, when Lao Tzu was setting out on his journey to the West, he addressed me and said: "All that has the breath of life, all that possesses bodily form, is mere illusion. The point at which creation begins, the change effected by the Dual Principles — these are called respectively Life and Death. That which underlies the manifold workings of Destiny is called Evolution; that which produces and transforms bodily substance is called Illusion. The ingenuity of the Creative Power is mysterious, and its operations are profound. In truth, it is inexhaustible and eternal. [The 'Creative Power', of course, is Tao; but how widely the conception of Tao, differs from that of a personal God may be seen from the commentator's note: 'How should the Creative Power possess a conscious mind? It is its spontaneity that constitutes the mystery. Spirit and matter eagerly come together and coalesce into perceptible forms. Following the path of evolution they proceed on their way, and before long relapse into nothingness.'] The ingenuity of that which causes material form is patent to the eye, and its operations are superficial. Therefore it arises anon, and anon it vanishes." Only one who knows that Life is really Illusion, and that Death is really Evolution, can begin to learn magic from me. You and I are both illusions. What need, then, to make a study of the subject?' [If a person wishes to make a study of illusion, in spite of the fact that his own body is an illusion, we are reduced to the absurdity of an illusion studying an illusion.'

Lao Ch'êng Tzu returned home, and for three months pondered deeply over the words of the Venerable Yin Wên. Subsequently, he had the power of appearing or disappearing at will; he could reverse the order of the four seasons, produce thunderstorms in winter and ice in summer, make flying things creep and creeping things fly. But to the end of his days he never published the secret of his art, so that it was not handed down to after generations.

The Master Lieh Tzu said: 'A dream is something that comes into contact with the mind; an external event is something that impinges on the body. Hence our feelings by day and our dreams by night are the result of contacts made by mind or body. It follows that if we can concentrate the mind in abstraction, our feelings and our dreams will vanish of themselves. Those who rely on their waking perceptions will not argue about them. Those who put faith in dreams do not understand the processes of change in the external world. [This refers to a previous passage, omitted in the present selection. Contrary to the received opinion of his own day, Lieh Tzu held that dreams were not just arbitrary manifestations portending future events, but the effects of regular antecedent causes, without any further significance. They are produced by certain processes of the mind, and if these processes can be checked (as Lieh Tzu believes they can) by means of abstraction, dreaming will also cease.]

"The pure men of old passed their waking existence in selfoblivion, and slept without dreams." How can this be dismissed as an empty phrase?"

Mr Yin of Chou was the owner of a large estate who harried his servants unmercifully, and gave them no rest from morning to night. There was one old servant in particular whose physical strength had quite left him, yet his master worked him all the harder. All day long he was groaning as he went about his work, and when night came he was reeling with fatigue and would sleep like a log. His spirit was then free to wander at will, and every night he dreamt that he was a king, enthroned in authority over the multitude, and controlling the affairs of the whole State. He took his Pleasure in palaces and belvederes, following his own fancy in everything, and his happiness was beyond compare. But when

he awoke, he was servant once more. To some one who condoled with him on his hard lot the old man replied: 'Human life may last a hundred years, and the whole of it is equally divided into nights and days. In the daytime I am only a slave, it is true, and my misery cannot be gainsaid. But by night I am a king, and my happiness is beyond compare. So what have I to grumble at?'

Now, Mr Yin's mind was full of worldly cares, and he was always thinking with anxious solicitude about the affairs of his estate. Thus he was wearing out mind and body alike, and at night he also used to fall asleep utterly exhausted. Every night he dreamt that he was another man's servant, running about on menial business; of every description, and subjected to every possible kind of abuse and ill-treatment. He would mutter and groan in his sleep, and obtained no relief until morning came. This state of things at last resulted in a serious illness, and Mr Yin besought the advice of a friend. 'Your station in life,' his friend said, 'is a distinguished one, and you have wealth and property in abundance. In these respects you are far above the average. If at night you dream that you are a servant and exchange ease for affliction, that is only the proper balance in human destiny. What you want is that your dreams should be as pleasant as your waking moments. But that is beyond your power to compass.' On hearing what his friend said, Mr Yin lightened his servant's toil, and allowed his own mental worry to abate; whereupon his malady began to decrease in proportion.

A man was gathering fuel in the Cheng State when he fell in with a deer that had been startled from its usual haunts. He gave chase, and succeeded in killing it. He was overjoyed at his good luck; but, for fear of discovery, he hastily concealed the carcass in a dry ditch, and covered it up with brushwood. Afterwards, he forgot the spot where he had hidden the deer, and finally became convinced that the whole affair was only a dream. He told the story to people he met as he went along; and one of those who heard it, following the indications given, went and found the deer. On reaching home with his booty, this man made the following statement to his wife: 'Once upon a time,' he said, 'a wood-cutter dreamt that he had got a deer, but couldn't remember the place where he had put it. Now I have found the deer, so it appears that his dream was a true dream.' 'On the contrary.' said his wife, 'it is you who must have dreamt that you met a wood-cutter who had caught a deer. Here you have a deer, true enough. But where is the wood-cutter? it is evidently your dream that has come true.' 'I have certainly got a deer,' replied her husband; 'so what does it matter to us whether it was his dream or mine?

Meanwhile, the wood-cutter had gone home, not at all disgusted at having lost the deer. [For he thought the whole thing must have been a dream.] But the same night, he saw in a dream the place where he had really hidden it, and he also dreamt of the man who had taken it. So, the next morning, in accordance with his dream, he went to seek him out in order to recover the deer. A quarrel ensued, and the matter was finally brought before the magistrate, who gave judgment in these terms: 'You,' he said to the wood-cutter, 'began by really killing a deer, but wrongly thought it was a dream. Then you really dreamt that you had got the deer, but wrongly took the dream to be a reality. The other man really took your deer, which he is now disputing with you. His wife, on the other hand, declares that he saw both man and deer in a dream, so that nobody can be said to have killed the deer at all. Meanwhile, here is the deer itself in court, and you had better divide it between you.'

The case was reported to the Prince of the Chêng State, who said: 'Why, the magistrate must have dreamt the whole thing himself!' The question was referred to the Prime Minister, but the latter confessed himself unable to disentangle the part that was a dream from that part that was not a dream. 'If you want to distinguish between waking and dreaming,' he said, 'only the Yellow Emperor or Confucius could help you. But both these sages are dead, and there is nobody now alive who can draw any such distinction. [Of course, it is implied that there is no real distinction between the two.] So the best thing you can do is to uphold the magistrate's decision.'

Yang-li Hua-tzu, of the Sung State, was afflicted in middle age by loss of memory. Anything he received in the morning he had forgotten by the evening, anything he gave away in the evening he had forgotten the next morning. Out-of-doors, he forgot to walk; indoors, he forgot to sit down. At any given moment, he had no recollection of what had just taken place; and a little later on, he could not even recollect what had happened then. All his family were perfectly disgusted with him. Fortune-tellers were summoned, but their divinations proved unsuccessful; Wizards were sought out, but their exorcisms were ineffectual; physicians were called in, but their remedies were of no avail. At last, a learned professor from the Lu State volunteered his services, declaring that he could effect a cure. Hua-Tzu's wife and family immediately offered him half their estate if only he would tell them how to set to work. The professor replied: 'This is a case which cannot be dealt with by means of auspices and diagrams; the evil cannot be removed by prayers and incantations, nor successfully combated by drugs and potions. What I shall try to do is to

influence his mind and turn the current of his thoughts; in that way a cure is likely to be brought about.'

Accordingly, the experiment was begun. The professor exposed his patient to cold, so that he was forced to beg for clothes; subjected him to hunger, so that he was fain to ask for light. Soon, he was able to report progress to the sons of the house, saying gleefully: 'The disease can be checked. But the methods I shall employ have been handed down as a secret in my family, and cannot be made known to the public. All attendants must, therefore, be kept out of the way, and I must be shut up alone with my patient.' The professor was allowed to have his way, and for the space of seven days no one knew what was going on in the sick man's chamber. Then, one fine morning, the treatment came to an end, and, wonderful to relate, the disease of so many years' standing had entirely disappeared!

No sooner had Hua-Tzu regained his senses, however, than he flew into a great rage, drove his wife out of doors, beat his sons, and, snatching up a spear, hotly pursued the professor through the town. On being arrested and asked to explain his conduct, this is what he said: 'Lately when I was steeped in forgetfulness, my senses were so benumbed that I was quite unconscious of the existence of the outer world. But now I have been brought suddenly to a perception of the events of half a lifetime. Preservation and destruction, gain and loss, sorrow and joy, love and hate have begun to throw out their myriad tentacles to invade my peace; and these emotions will, I fear, continue to keep my mind in the state of turmoil that I now experience. Oh! if I could but recapture a short moment of that blesséd oblivion!' ['If this is the sentiment of a man whose mental infirmity bears some resemblance to the Highest Principle [Tao], how much stronger will be on entering the realm of the Absolute itself!'

There was once a man who, though born in Yen, was brought up in Ch'u, and it was only in his old age that he returned to his native country. [Yen was the northernmost State of ancient China, while Ch'u was bounded by the left bank of the River Yangtsze.] On the way thither, as they were passing through the Chin State, a fellow-traveller played a practical joke on him. Pointing to the city he said: 'Here is the capital of the Yen State': whereupon the old man flushed with excitement. Pointing out a certain shrine, he told him that it was his own village altar, and the old man heaved a deep sigh. Then he showed him a house, and said: 'This is where your ancestors lived'; and the tears welled up in his eyes. Finally, a mound was pointed out to him as the tomb where his ancestors lay buried, whereupon the old man could control himself no longer, and wept aloud. But his fellow-traveller burst into roars of laughter. 'I have been hoaxing you,' he cried; 'this is only the Chin State.' His victim was greatly mortified; and when he arrived at his journey's end, and really did see before him the city and altars of Yen, with the actual abode and tombs of his ancestors, his emotion was much less

# LIEZI BOOK 4 - Zhong Ni (Confucius)

A high official from Shang paid a visit to Confucius 'You are a sage, are you not?' he inquired. 'A sage!' replied Confucius. 'How could I venture to think so? I am only a man with a wide range of learning and information.' The Minister then asked: 'Were the Three Kings sages?' [The Three Kings, in this particular passage, are probably T'ang, surnamed 'The Completer' or 'The Successful', who founded the Shang dynasty, 1766 B.C., and the two founders of the Chou dynasty, Wên and Wu. The word shêng, here translated 'sage', implies a man inspired by Heaven.] 'The Three Kings,' replied Confucius, 'were great in the exercise of wisdom and courage. I do not know, however, that they were sages.' 'What of the Five Emperors? Were they not sages?' [Shao Hao, Chuan Hsü, Yao, Shun, and the Great Yü. The last-named came to the throne in 2205 BC] 'The Five Emperors excelled in the exercise of altruism and righteousness. I do not know that they were sages.' 'And the Three Sovereigns: surely they were sages?' [The Three Sovereigns always denote the legendary rulers Fu Hsi, Shên Nung and the Yellow Emperor.] 'The Three Sovereigns excelled in the virtues that were suited to their age. But whether they were sages or no I really cannot say.' ['The wide learning of Confucius, the warlike prowess of T'ang and Wu, the humility and self-abnegation of Yao, and Shun, the rude simplicity of Fu Hsi and Shên Nung, simply represent the ordinary activities of the sage who accommodates himself to the necessities of the world he lives in. They are not the qualities which make them sages. Those qualities are truly such as neither word nor deed can adequately express.']

'Why, who is there, then,' cried the Minister, much astonished, 'that is really a sage?' The expression of Confucius' countenance changed, and he replied after a pause: 'Among the people of the West a true sage dwells. He governs not, yet there is no disorder. He speaks not, yet he is naturally trusted. He makes no reforms, yet right conduct is spontaneous and universal. So great and incomprehensible is he that the people can find no name to call him by. I suspect that this man is a

sage, but whether in truth he is a sage or is not a sage I do not know.' [The early Jesuit missionaries saw in the above an allusion to Jesus Christ. But (apart from other considerations) it is almost certain that the present work had taken definite shape before the Christian era. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the Sage whom Lieh Tzŭ had in mind was Shakyamuni, the sage from the Shakya clan, better known as Siddhartha Gautama Buddha.]

The Minister from Shang meditated awhile in silence. Then he said to himself: 'Confucius is making a fool of me!'

When the Master Lieh Tzu took up his abode in Nan-kuo the number of those who settled down with him was past reckoning, though one were to count them day by day. Lieh Tzu, however, continued to live in retirement, and every morning would hold discussions with them, the fame of which spread far and wide.

Nan-kuo Tzu was his next-door neighbour, but for twenty years no visit passed between them, and when they met in the street they made as though they had not seen each other. [There was a mysterious harmony between their doctrines, and therefore they arrived at old age without having had any mutual intercourse.' Nan-kuo Tzu means simply 'the Philosopher of Nan-kuo'.]

Lieh Tzu's disciples felt convinced that there was enmity between their Master and Nan-kuo Tzu; and at last, one who had come from the Ch'u State spoke to Lieh Tzu about it, saying: 'How comes it, Sir, that you and Nan-kuo Tzu are enemies?' 'Nan-kuo Tzu,' replied the Master, 'has the appearance of fullness, but his mind is a blank. [By no means a term of disparagement, in the mouth of a Taoist.] His ears do not hear, his eyes do not see, his mouth does not speak, his mind is devoid of knowledge, his body free from agitation. What would be the object of visiting him? However, we will try, and you shall accompany me thither to see.' Accordingly, forty of the disciples went with him to call on Nan-kuo Tzu. who turned out to be a repulsive-looking creature with whom they could make no contact. [Taoist writers seem to delight in attributing ugliness and deformity to their sages, no doubt as a sort of foil or set-off to their inward grandeur.] He only gazed blankly at Lieh Tzu. Mind and body seemed not to belong together, and his guests could find no means of approach. I'The soul had subjugated the body. The mind being void of sense-impressions, the countenance remained motionless. Hence it seemed as if there were no co-operation between the two. How could they respond to external stimuli?']

Suddenly, Nan-kuo Tzu singled out the hindermost row of Lieh Tzu's disciples, and began to talk to them quite pleasantly and simply, though in the tone of a superior. ['Fraternizing with the hindmost row, he recognised no distinctions of rank or standing; meeting a sympathetic influence, and responding thereto, he did not allow his mind to be occupied with the external.']

The disciples were astonished at this, and when they got home again, all wore a puzzled expression. Their Master Lieh Tzu said to them: 'He who has reached the stage of thought is silent. He who has attained to perfect knowledge is also silent. He who uses silence in lieu of speech really does speak. He who for knowledge substitutes blankness of mind really does know. Without words and speaking not, without knowledge and knowing not, he really speaks and really knows. Saying nothing and knowing nothing, there is in reality nothing that he does not say, nothing that he does not know. This is how the matter stands, and there is nothing further to be said. Why are you thus astonished without cause?'

Lung Shu said to Wên Chih\*: 'You are the master of cunning arts. I have a disease. [\* 'Wên Chih lived in the time of the Six States, and acted as physician to Prince Wei of Ch'i (378-333 BC]. Another account says that he was an able physician of the Sung State in the "Spring and Autumn" period, and that he cured Prince Wen of Ch'i by making him angry, whereupon his sickness vanished.'] Can you cure it, 'I am at your service,' replied Wên Chih. 'But please let me know first the symptoms of your disease.' 'I hold it no honour,' said Lung Shu, 'to be praised in my native village, nor do I consider it a disgrace to he decried in my native State. Gain excites in me no joy, and loss no sorrow. I look upon life in the same light as death, upon riches in the same light as poverty, upon my fellow-men as so many swine, and upon myself as I look upon my fellow-men. I dwell in my home as though it were a mere caravanserai, and regard my native district with no more feeling than I would a barbarian State. Afflicted as I am in these various ways, honours and rewards fail to rouse me, pains and penalties to overawe me, good or bad fortune to influence me, joy or grief to move me. Thus I am incapable of serving my sovereign, of associating with my friends and kinsmen, of directing my wife and children, or of controlling my servants and retainers. ['Men are controlled by external influences in so far as their minds are open to impressions of good and evil, and their bodies are sensitive to injury or the reverse. But one who is able to discern a connecting unity in the most multiform diversity will surely, in his survey of the universe, be unconscious of the differences between positive and negative.']

What disease is this, and what remedy is there that will cure it?

Wên Chih replied by asking Lung Shu to stand with his back to the light, while he himself faced the light and looked at him intently. 'Ah!' said he after a while, 'I see that a good square inch of your heart is hollow. You are within an ace of being a true sage. Six of the orifices in your heart are open and clear, and only the seventh is blocked up. ['It was an ancient belief that the sage had seven orifices in his heart' (the seat of the understanding).] This, however, is doubtless due to the fact that you are mistaking for a disease that which is really divine enlightenment. It is a case in which my shallow art is of no avail.

Pu-tsê, in the Cheng State, was rich in wise men, and Tungli in men of administrative talent. Among the vassals of Pu-tsê was a certain Po Fêng Tzu, who happened to travel through Tung-li and had a meeting with Têng Hsi. [A noted sophist of the sixth century B.C.1

The latter cast a glance at his followers, and asked them, with a smile: 'Would you like to see me have some sport with this stranger?' They understood what he would be at, and assented. Têng Hsi then turned to Po Fêng Tzu. 'Are you acquainted with the true theory of Sustentation?' he inquired. 'To receive sustenance from others, through inability to support oneself, places one in the category of dogs and swine. It is man's prerogative to give sustenance to other creatures, and to use them for his own purposes. That you and your fellows are provided with abundant food and comfortable clothing is due to us administrators. Young and old, you herd together, and are penned up like cattle destined for the shambles: in what respect are you to be distinguished from dogs and swine?'

Po Fêng Tzu made no reply, but one of his company disregarding the rules of precedence, stepped forward and said: 'Has your Excellency never heard of the variety of craftsmen in Ch'i and Lu? Some are skilled potters and carpenters, others are clever workers in metal and leather; there are good musicians, trained scribes and accountants, military experts and men learned in the ritual of ancestor-worship. All kinds of talent are there fully represented. But without proper organization, these craftsmen cannot be usefully employed But those who organize them lack knowledge, those who employ them lack technical ability, and therefore they make use of those who have both knowledge and ability. I'Whoso possesses skill and knowledge of any particular kind is incapable of helping his prince in the direction of affairs.'] So it is really we who may be said to employ the Government administrators. What is it, then, that you are boasting about?

Têng Hsi could think of nothing to say in reply. He glanced round at his disciples and retreated

# LIEZI BOOK 5 - The Questions of Tang

T'ang of Yin questioned Hsia Ko, saying: 'In the beginnings of antiquity, did individual things exist?' ['He suspected that there was only Chaos, and nothing more.

'If things did not exist then,' replied Hsia Ko, 'how could they be in existence now? Or will the men of future ages be right in denying the existence of things at the present time?'

'Things in that case,' pursued T'ang, 'have no before nor after?'

Hsia Ko replied: 'To the beginning and end of things there is no precise limit. Beginning may be end, and end may be beginning. How can we conceive of any fixed period to either? [That which we call an end at the present moment may be the beginning of a new thing, and that which we call a beginning may, contrariwise, be the end of something. End and beginning succeed one another until at last they cannot be distinguished.' But when it comes to something outside matter in space, or anterior to events in time, our knowledge

'Then upwards and downwards and in every direction space is a finite quantity?'

Ko replied: 'I do not know.' ['It was not so much that he did not know as that it is unknowable.']

T'ang asked the question again with more insistence, and Ko said: 'If there is nothing in space, then it is infinite; if there is something, then that something must have limits. How can I tell which is true? But beyond infinity there must again exist non-infinity, and within the unlimited again that which is not unlimited\*. It is this consideration — that infinity must be succeeded by non-infinity, and the unlimited by the notunlimited — that enables me to apprehend the infinity and unlimited extent of space, but does not allow me to conceive of its being finite and limited.' [\* Lieh Tzu means that in this universe of relativity there must be contraries, even to a negative. We are only brought back, however, to our starting-point, for, as the commentator points out, that which is not infinite and not unlimited really stands for that which is finite and limited.]

T'ang continued his inquiries, saying: 'What is there beyond the Four Seas?' [That is, the inhabited world as known to the Chinese.]

Ko replied: 'Just what there is here in the province of Ch'i.'

'How can you prove that?' asked T'ang.
'When travelling eastwards,' said Ko, 'I came to the land of Ying, where the inhabitants were nowise different from those in this part of the country. I inquired about the countries east of Ying, and found that they, too, were similar to their neighbour. Travelling westwards, I came to Pin, where the inhabitants were similar to our own countrymen. I inquired about the countries west of Pin, and found that they were again similar to Pin. That is how I know that the regions within the Four Seas, the Four Wildernesses and the Four Uttermost Ends of the Earth are nowise different from the country we ourselves inhabit. Thus, the lesser is always enclosed by a greater, without ever reaching an end. Heaven and earth, which enclose the myriad objects of creation, are themselves enclosed in some outer shell. ['That which contains heaven and earth is the Great Void.' Enclosing heaven and earth and the myriad objects within them, this outer shell is infinite and immeasurable. How do we know but that there is some mightier universe in existence outside our own? That is a question to which we can give no answer.

'Heaven and earth, then, are themselves only material objects, and therefore imperfect. Hence it is that Kua of old fashioned many-coloured blocks of stone to repair the defective parts. ['Nü Kua, being a divine man, was able to refine and extract the essence of the five constituents of matter!] He cut off the legs of the Ao and used them to support the four corners of the heavens. [This Chinese 'Atlas' was a gigantic sea-turtle.] Later on, Kung Kung fought with Chuan Hsu for the throne, and, blundering in his rage against Mount Pu-chou, he snapped the pillar which connects Heaven and earth. [At the north-western comer.] That is why Heaven dips downwards to the north-west, so that sun, moon and stars travel towards that quarter. The earth, on the other hand, is now not large enough to fill up the south-east, so that all rivers and streams roll in that direction.' [An ingenious theory to account for the apparent westward revolution of the heavenly bodies, as also for the easterly trend of the great Chinese rivers.]

The two mountains T'ai-hsing and Wang-wu, which cover an area of 700 square li, and rise to an enormous altitude, originally stood in the south of the Chi district and north of Ho-vang. The Simpleton of the North Mountain, an old man of ninety, dwelt opposite these mountains, and was vexed in spirit because their northern flanks blocked the way to travellers, who had to go all the way round. So he called his family together, and broached a plan. 'Let us,' he said, 'put forth our utmost strength to clear away this obstacle, and cut right through the mountains until we come to Han-vin What say you?' They all assented except his wife, who made objections and said: 'My goodman has not the strength to sweep away a dunghill, let alone two such mountains as T'aihsing and Wang-wu. Besides, where will you put all the earth and stones that you dig up?' The others replied that they would throw them on the promontory of P'o-hai. So the old man, followed by his son and grandson, sallied forth with their pickaxes, and the three of them began hewing away at the rocks, and cutting up the soil, and carting it away in baskets to the promontory of P'o-hai. A widowed woman who lived near had a little boy who, though he was only just shedding his milk teeth, came skipping along to give them what help he could. Engrossed in their toil, they never went home except once at the turn of the season

The Wise Old Man of the River-bend burst out laughing and urged them to stop. 'Great indeed is your witlessness!' he said. 'With the poor remaining strength of your declining years you will not succeed in removing a hair's breadth of the mountain, much less the whole vast mass of rock and soil. With a sigh, the Simpleton of the North Mountain replied: 'Surely it is you who are narrow-minded and unreasonable. You are not to be compared with the widow's son, despite his puny strength. Though I myself must die, I shall leave a son behind me, and through him a grandson. That grandson will beget sons in his turn, and those soils will also have sons and grandsons. With all this posterity, my line will not die out, while on the other hand the mountain will receive no increment or addition. Why then should I despair of levelling it to the ground at last?' The Wise Old Man of the River-bend had nothing to say in reply.

One of the serpent-brandishing deities heard of the undertaking and, fearing that it might never be finished, went and told God Almighty, who was touched by the old man's simple faith, and commanded the two sons of K'ua O to transport the mountains, one to the extreme north-east, the other to the southern comer of Yung. [In the south-west. That is, as far apart as possible. K'ua O was apparently a god of strength.]

Ever since then, the region lying between Chi in the north and Han in the south has been an unbroken plain. [Roughly, the modern province of Honan.]

Kung-hu of Lu and Ch'i-ying of Chao both fell ill at the same time, and called in the aid of the great Pien-ch'iao. [A famous physician of the fifth century B.C.] Pien-ch'iao cured them both, and when they were well again he told them that the malady they had been suffering from was one that

attacked the internal organs from without, and for that reason was curable by the application of vegetable and mineral drugs. 'But,' he added, 'each of you is also the victim of a congenital disease, which has grown along with the body itself. Would you like me now to grapple with this?' They said, 'Yes'; but asked to hear his diagnosis first. Pien-ch'iao turned to Kung-hu. 'Your mental powers,' he said, 'are strong, but your willpower is weak. Hence, though fruitful in plans, you are lacking in decision. Ch'i-ving's mental powers, on the other hand, are weak, while his will-power is strong. Hence there is want of forethought, and he is placed at a disadvantage by the narrowness of his aim. Now, if I can effect an exchange of hearts between you, the good will be equally balanced in both.' [That is, Kung-hu, who has the weaker character, will get weaker brain-power to match, while Ch'iying, with the stronger will, receives a stronger mind to direct it. Though it may be that Ch'i-ying has the best of the bargain, each man, under the new arrangement, will at any rate be perfectly well balanced. The heart, as we have seen, was regarded as the seat of the mental faculties.]

So saying, Pien-ch'iao administered to each of them a potion of medicated wine, which threw them into a death-like trance lasting three days. [A striking proof of the knowledge and practical application of anæsthetics at a very early date.] Then, making an incision in their breasts, he took out each man's heart and placed it in the other's body, poulticing the wounds with herbs of marvellous efficacy.

When the two men regained consciousness, they looked exactly the same as before; and, taking their leave, they returned home. Only it was Kung-hu who went to Ch'i-ying's house, where Ch'i-ying's wife and children naturally did not recognize him, while Ch'i-ying went to Kung-hu's house and was not recognised either. This led to a lawsuit between the two families, and Pien-ch'iao was called in as arbitrator. On his explaining how the matter stood, peace was once more restored.

King Mu of Chou made a tour of inspection in the west. He crossed the K'un-lun range, but turned back before he reached the Yen mountains. [The place where the sun sets.'] On his return journey, before arriving in China, a certain artificer was presented to him, by name Yen Shih. King Mu received him in audience, and asked what he could do. 'I will do anything,' replied Yen Shih, 'that your Majesty may please to command. But there is a piece of work, already finished, that I should like to submit first to your Majesty's inspection.'
'Bring it with you to-morrow.' said the King, 'and we will look at it together.' So Yen Shih called again the next day, and was duly admitted to the royal presence. 'Who is that man accompanying you?' asked the King. 'That, Sire, is my own handiwork. He can sing and he can act.' The King stared at the figure in astonishment. It walked with rapid strides, moving its head up and down, so that any one would have taken it for a live human being. The artificer touched its chin, and it began singing, perfectly in tune. He touched its hand, and it started posturing, keeping perfect time. It went through any number of movements that fancy might happen to dictate. The King, looking on with his favourite concubine and the other inmates of his harem, could hardly persuade himself that it was not real.

As the performance was drawing to an end, the automaton winked his eye and made sundry advances to the ladies in attendance on the King. This, however, threw the King into a passion, and he would have put Yen Shih to death on the spot had not the latter, in mortal terror, instantly pulled the automaton to pieces to let him see what it really was. And lo! it turned out to be merely a conglomeration of leather, wood, glue and paint, variously coloured white, black, red and blue. Examining it closely, the King found all the internal organs complete — liver, gall, heart, lungs, spleen, kidneys, stomach and intestines - and, over these, again, muscles and bones and limbs with their joints, skin and teeth and hair, all of them artificial. Not a part but was fashioned with the utmost nicety and skill; and when it was put together again, the figure presented the same appearance as when first brought in. The King tried the effect of taking away the heart, and found that the mouth would no longer utter a sound; he took away the liver, and the eyes could no longer see; he took away the kidneys, and the legs lost their power of locomotion.

Now the King was delighted. Drawing a deep breath, he exclaimed: 'Can it be that human skill is really on a par with that of the Creator?' And forthwith he gave an order for two extra chariots, in which he took home with him the artificer and his handiwork.

Now, Pan Shu, with his cloud-scaling ladder, and Mo Ti, with his flying kite, thought that they had reached the limits of human achievement. ['Pan Shu made a cloud-ladder by which he could mount to the sky and assail the heights of heaven: Mo Ti made a wooden kite which would fly for three days without coming down.'] But when Yen Shih's wonderful piece of work had been brought to their knowledge, the two philosophers never again ventured to boast of their mechanical skill, and ceased to busy themselves so frequently with the square and compasses.

Hei Luan of Wei had a secret grudge against Ch'iu Pingchang, for which he slew him; and Lai Tan, the son of Ch'iu Ping-chang, plotted vengeance against his father's enemy. Lai Tan's spirit was very fierce, but his body was very slight. You could count the grains of rice that he ate, and he was at the mercy of every gust of wind. For all the anger in his heart, he was not strong enough to take his revenge in open fight, and he was ashamed to seek help from others. So he swore that, sword in hand, he would cut Hei Luan's throat unawares. This Hei Luan was the most ferocious character of his day, and in brute strength he was a match for a hundred men. His bones and sinews, skin and flesh were cast in superhuman mould. He would stretch out his neck to the blade or bare his breast to the arrow, but the sharp steel would bend or break, and his body show no scar from the Impact, Trusting to his native strength, he looked disdainfully upon Lai Tan as a mere fledgling.

Lai Tan had a friend Shên T'o, who said to him: 'You have a bitter feud against Hei Luan, and Hei Luan treats you with sovereign contempt. What is your plan of action?' Shedding tears. Lai Tan besought his friend's counsel. 'Well' said Shên T'o, 'I am told that K'ung Chou of Wei has inherited, through an ancestor, a sword formerly possessed by the Yin Emperors, of such magical power that a mere boy wielding it can put to flight the embattled hosts of an entire army. Why not sue for the loan of this sword?' Acting on this advice, Lai Tan betook himself to Wei and had an interview with K'ung Chou. Following the usage of supplicants, he first went through the ceremony of handing over his wife and children, and then stated his request. 'I have three swords,' replied K'ung Chou, 'but with none of them can you kill a man. You may choose which you like. First, however, let me describe their qualities. The first sword is called "Light-absorber". It is invisible to the eye, and when you swing it you cannot tell that there is anything there. Things struck by it retain an unbroken surface, and it will pass through a man's body without his knowing it. The second is called "Shadow-receiver". If you face north and examine it at the point of dawn, when darkness melts into light, or in the evening, when day gives way to dusk, it appears misty and dim, as though there were something there, the shape of which is not discernible. Things struck by it give out a low sound, and it passes through men's bodies without causing them any pain. The third is called "Night-tempered", because in broad daylight you only see its outline and not the brightness of its blade, while at night you see not the sword itself but the dazzling light which it emits. ['Alluding to its reflecting power.'] The objects which it strikes are cleft through with a sibilant sound, but the line of cleavage closes up immediately. Pain is felt, but no blood remains on the blade.

These three precious heirlooms have been handed down for thirteen generations, but have never been in actual use. They lie stored away in a box, the seals of which have never been broken.' In spite of what you tell me,' said Lai Tan, 'I should like to borrow the third sword.' K'ung Chou then returned his wife and children to him, and they fasted together for seven days. On the seventh day, in the dusk of evening, he knelt down and presented the third sword to Lai Tan, who received it with two low obeisances and went home again. ['He chose the third of the swords because it could be both handled and seen.']

Grasping his new weapon, Lai Tan now sought out his enemy, and found him lying in a drunken stupor at his window. He cut clean through his body in three places between the neck and the navel, but Hei Luan was quite unconscious of it. Thinking he was dead, Lai Tan made off as fast as he could, and happening to meet Hei Luan's son at the door, he struck at him three times with his sword. But it was like hitting the empty air. Hei Luan's son laughed and said: 'Why are you motioning to me in that silly way with your hand?' [It will be remembered that the sword was invisible in daylight.]

Realizing at last that the sword had no power to kill a man, Lai Tan heaved a sigh and returned home.

When Hei Luan recovered from the effects of his debauch, he was angry with his wife: 'What do you mean by letting me lie exposed to a draught?' he growled; 'it has given me a sore throat and aching pains in the small of my back.' 'Why,' said his son, 'I am also feeling a pain in my body, and a stiffness in my limbs. Lai Tan, you know, was here a little time ago and, meeting me at the door, made three gestures, which seem somehow to have been the cause of it. How he hates us, to be usire!' [Thus, the improper use of divine weapons only leads to discomfiture. In this allegory, Lieh Tzū is satirizing the blood-feud, which must have been a terrible feature of the lawless times in which he lived. The powerlessness of the magic sword to kill may symbolically represent the essential futility of the vendetta which perpetuates itself from father to son.]

# LIEZI BOOK 6 - Effort and Destiny

Effort said to Destiny\*: 'Your achievements are not equal to mine.' 'Pray what do you achieve in the working of things,' replied Destiny, 'that you would compare yourself with me?'

'Why,' said Effort, 'the length of man's life, his measure of success, his rank, and his wealth, are all things which I have the power to determine.' To this, Destiny made reply: 'P'êng Tsu's wisdom did not exceed that of Yao and Shun, yet he lived to the age of eight hundred. [Legendary longevity like in the Bible and the Jain scriptures Yen Yuan's ability was not inferior to that of the average man, yet he died at the early age of thirty-two. [\* I have purposely avoided the familiar modern terms. Fate and Free will, which might seem to furnish the best equivalent to li and ming. Li is the ordinary word for 'strength' or 'force,' and here indicates human effort exerted in some definite direction (the German 'streben') as opposed to the blind and unconscious workings of Nature or Tao.] The virtue of Confucius was not less than that of the feudal princes. vet he was reduced to sore straits between Ch'ên and Ts'ai. The conduct of Chou, of the Yin dynasty, did not surpass that of the Three Men of Virtue, yet he occupied a kingly throne. [Wei Tzu, Chi Tzu and Pi Kan were all relatives of Chou Hsin, by whose orders the last-named was disembowelled.] Chi Cha would not accept the overlordship of Wu, while Tien Hêng usurped sole power in Ch'i. Po I and Shu. Ch'i starved to death at Shou-yang, while Chi Shih waxed rich at Chan-ch'in. If these results were compassed by your efforts, how is it that you allotted long life to P'êng Tsu and an untimely death to Yen Yuan; that you awarded discomfiture to the sage and success to the impious, humiliation to the wise man and high honours to the fool, poverty to the good and wealth to the wicked?' 'If, as you say,' rejoined Effort, 'I have really no control over events, is it not, then, owing to your management that things turn out as they do?' Destiny replied: 'The very name "Destiny" [Something already immutably fixed.] shows that there can be no question of management in the case. When the way is straight, I push on; when it is crooked, I put up with it. Old age and early death, failure and success, high rank and humble station, riches and poverty all these come naturally and of themselves. How can I know anything about them? ['Being what it is, without knowing why — that is the meaning of Destiny. What room is there for management here?']

Yang Čhu had a friend called Chi Liang, who fell ill. In seven days' time his illness had become very grave; medical aid was summoned, and his sons stood weeping round his bed. Chi Liang said to Yang Chu: 'Such excess of emotion shows my children to be degenerate. Will you kindly sing them something which will enlighten their minds?' Yang Chu then chanted the following words:

'How can men be aware of things outside God's ken? Over misfortune man has no control, and can look for no help from God. Have doctors and wizards this knowledge that you and I have not?'

The sons, however, did not understand, and finally called in three physicians, Dr Chiao, Dr Yu and Dr Lu. They all diagnosed his complaint; and Dr Chiao delivered his opinion first: 'The hot and cold elements of your body,' he said to Chi Liang, 'are not in harmonious accord, and the impermeable and infundibular parts are mutually disproportionate. The origin of your malady is traceable to disordered appetites, and to the dissipation of your vital essence through worry and care. Neither God nor devil is to blame. Although the illness is grave, it is amenable to treatment.' Chi Liang said: 'You are only one of the common ruck,' and speedily got rid of him. Then Dr Yu came forward and said: 'You were born with too little nervous force, and were too freely fed with mother's milk. Your illness is not one that has developed in a matter of twenty-four hours; the causes which have led up to it are of gradual growth. It is incurable.' Chi Liang replied: 'You are a good doctor,' and told them to give him some food. Lastly, Dr Lu said: 'Your illness is attributable neither to God, nor to man, nor to the agency of spirits. It was already foreordained in the mind of Providence when you were endowed with this bodily form at birth. What possible good can herbs and drugs do you?' 'You are a heaven-born physician indeed!' cried Chi Liang; and he sent him away laden with presents.

Not long after, his illness disappeared of itself.

Duke Ching of Ch'i was travelling across the northern flank of the Ox-mountain in the direction of the capital. Gazing at the view before him, he burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming: What a lovely scene! How verdant and luxuriantly wooded! To think that some day I must die and leave my kingdom, passing away like running water! If only there were no such things as death, nothing should induce me to stir from this spot.' Two of the Ministers in attendance on the Duke, taking their cue from him, also began to weep, saying: 'We, who are dependent on your Highness's bounty, whose food is of an inferior sort, who have to ride on broken-down hacks or in creaking carts — even we do not want to die. How much less our sovereign liege!'

Yen Tzu, meanwhile, was standing by, with a broad smile on his face. The Duke wiped away his tears and, looking at him, said: 'To-day I am stricken with grief on my journey, and both K'ung and Chu mingle their tears with mine. How is it hat you alone can smile? Yen Tzu replied: 'If the worthy ruler were to remain in perpetual possession of his realm, Duke T'ai and Duke Huan would still be exercising their sway. If the

bold ruler were to remain in perpetual possession, Duke Chuang and Duke Ling would still be ruling the land. But if all these rulers were now in possession, where would your Highness be? Why, standing in the furrowed fields, clad in coir cape and hat! [The ordinary garb of a Chinese peasant in wet weather.] Condemned to a hard life on earth, you would have had no time, I warrant, for brooding over death. Again, how did you yourself come to occupy this throne? By a series of successive reigns and removals, until at last your turn came. And are you alone going to weep and lament over this order of things? That is pure selfishness. it was the sight of these two objects — a self-centred prince and his fawning attendants — that set me quietly laughing to myself just now.'

Duke Ching felt much ashamed. Raising his goblet, he filled himself one cup, and his obsequious courtiers two cups of wine apiece.

There was once a man, Tung-mên Wu of Wei, who when his son died testified no grief. His house-steward said to him: 'The love you bore your son could hardly be equalled by that of any other parent. Why, then, do you not mourn for him now that he is dead?' 'There was a time,' replied Tung-mên Wu, 'when I had no son, yet I never had occasion to grieve on that account. Now that my son is dead, I am only in the same condition as I was before my son was born. What reason have I, then, to mourn? [There is a story of Lucius Plutarchus consoling his wife in exactly similar terms after the death of their daughter.] The husbandman takes his measures according to the season. the trader occupies himself with gain, the craftsman strives to master his art, the official pursues power. Here we have the operation of human forces. [Or 'effort'.] But the husbandman has seasons of rain and seasons of drought, the trader meets with gains and losses, the craftsman experiences both failure and success, the official finds opportunities or the reverse. Here we see the working of Destiny.

## LIEZI BOOK 7 - Egoism (Yangzi; Yang Zhu)

[Yang Chu (also: Yang Zhu or Yangzi), 4th century B.C., is a heterodox thinker who taught the doctrine of egoism, as opposed to the altruism of Mo Tzu. He has left us no book. His views are taken from chapter 7 of Lieh Tzu.]

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[Lionel Giles has omitted Chapter 7 because: "The seventh of these (chapters) deals exclusively with the doctrine of the egoistic philosopher Yang Chu, and has therefore been omitted altogether from the present selection." As all works in the Grand Bible are displayed in their most complete form available, we have put it in again for the sake of historicity.]

# Is Life Worth Living?

A hundred years are the extreme limit of human life, an age which not one in a thousand attains. Let us take the case of a man who does. His helpless infancy and his helpless old age will together occupy nearly half the time. Pain and sickness, sorrow and misfortune, actual losses and opportunities missed, anxieties and fears, these will almost fill up the rest. He may possibly have some ten years or so to the good; but even then he will hardly enjoy a single hour of absolute serenity, undarkened by the gloom of care. What, then, can be the object of human existence? Wherein is happiness to be found?

In the appointments of wealth and luxury? Or in the enjoyment of the pleasures of sense? Alas! those will not always charm, and these may not always be enjoyed.

Then again there is the stimulus of good report, there is the restraint of law, in things we may do and in things we may not do. And thus we struggle on for a breath of fame, and scheme to be remembered after death; ever on our guard against the allurements of sense, ever on the watch over our hearts and actions. We miss whatever of real happiness is to be got out of life, never being able even for a single moment to relax the vigilance of our heed. In what do we differ, indeed, from the fettered captives of a gaol?

The men of old knew that with life they had come but for a while, and that with death they would shortly depart again. Therefore they followed the desires of their own hearts, and did not deny themselves pleasures to which they felt naturally inclined. Fame tempted them not; but led by their instincts alone, they took such enjoyments as lay in their path, not seeking for a name beyond the grave. They were thus out of the reach of censure; while as for precedence among men, or length or shortness of life, these gave them concern whatever.

A disciple asked Yang Chu, saying, "Here is a man who values his life, and loves his body so that he may escape death; is that possible?" "We know," replied Yang Chu, "that there is no one who does not die." "So that he may obtain a very long life," said the enquirer; "is that possible?" "We know," replied Yang Chu, "that no one has a very long life. Life cannot be kept by being valued, nor can the body be strengthened by being loved. Moreover, what will long life do for you? The five passions, with love and hate, are still with us, as of old. Comfort and discomfort of our four limbs are still with us, as of old. The miseries and pleasures of this life are still with us, as of old. The changes of good government and rebellion are still with us, as of old. And since these things are actually heard and seen and do alternate, even a hundred years seem too many; how much more miserable would be a still

further prolongation of life?" To this the enquirer rejoined, "If this is so, then a short life would be better than a long one, an end which could be reached by falling on a spear or a sword, by water or by fire." "Not so," answered Yang Chu; "once you are born, regard life as a disease, and bear it, following the desires of your heart until death comes; being about to die, regard death as a disease, and bear it, following its lead until there is an end of you. Life and death should both be regarded as diseases, and both should be borne as such; why worry about slowly or quickly in these matters?"

## Egoism versus Altruism

Yang Chu said, A certain man would not part with a single hair in order to benefit any one. He turned his back on his country and went into retirement, occupying himself with agriculture. The Great Yü who did not employ himself for his own advantage, became paralysed on one side. The men of old if by losing one hair they could advantage the empire, would not give it; but all would offer the whole body, which was not wanted. If no man ever lost a single hair, and no man ever advantaged the empire, the empire would enjoy good government. An enquirer then asked Yang Chu, saying, "If by sacrificing a single hair you could help the world, would you do it?" "The world," replied Yang Chu, "could most certainly not be helped by a single hair." "But if it could," urged the enquirer, "would you do it?" To this, Yang Chu returned no answer, and the enquirer took his leave.

### Self-Sacrifice

Yang Chu said, The admiration of the empire is for Shun, Yü, Chou, and Confucius; its detestation, for Chieh and Chou.

Shun was engaged in ploughing and in making pottery. His four limbs never knew a moment's rest; his palate was never tickled and his belly never full; his parents ceased to love him, and his brothers and sisters ceased to care for him. He had lived for thirty years before he asked his parents' leave to be married; and when Yao resigned the throne to him, he was already old, his mind was impaired, and his son was worthless, so he handed on the throne to Yü and dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man who exhausted all the poisons of this life.

When K'un failed to reduce the waters of the flood, and was put to death, Yü (his son), ignoring the question of vengeance, took over the task and worked at it with great energy. A son was born to him, but he had no time to care for it; he even passed his own door without going into the house. He was paralysed on one side; his hands and feet became hard and horny; when he received the throne from Shun, his palace was a humble cottage, though his State regalia was magnificent; and thus he dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was sorrowful and wretched.

After the death of the Martial King, his heir being a child, Duke Chou became Regent. One of the feudal nobles was aggrieved, and mutterings were heard throughout the Four States. The Duke had to stay in the east; he killed his elder brother and banished his younger brother; and then he dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was full of dangers and alarms.

Confucius preached the doctrines of the rulers of old, and took service under the princes of his day. In the Sung State, the tree under which he was preaching was cut down; in the Wei State, his traces were obliterated; in the Shang and Chou States, he was reduced to want; in the Ch'en and Ts'ai States, he was reduced to want; in the Ch'en and Ts'ai States, whose chief Minister insulted him; and thus he dragged out a melancholy existence until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was all hurry, without a moment's leisure.

All these four holy men failed to get a single day's enjoyment out of life. Dead, their fame will last for ten thousand generations; but they will get no reality out of that. Though praised, they do not know it; though rewarded, they do not know it any more than if they were logs of wood or clods of clay.

Chieh inherited vast wealth and enjoyed the dignity of the throne. He had wit enough to enable him to hold in check his officials, and power enough to make himself feared within the empire. He gave himself over to the lusts of the ear and of the eye; he carried out to the uttermost every fanciful scheme, and had a glorious time until the end. Here was a divine man whose life was all pleasure and dissipation.

Chou likewise inherited great wealth, and enjoyed the dignity of the throne. His power enabled him to do anything, and he might have gratified any ambition. He indulged his passions with his concubines, spending long nights in such revelry. He did not bother about rites and ceremonies or his duties, and had a glorious time until he was slain.

These two scoundrels had every pleasure in life that they wished to have. Dead, they will be branded as fools and tyrants; but they will get no reality out of that. Though reviled, they do not know it; though praised, they do not know it; what difference is there between these two and logs of wood or clods of clav?

Those four holy men, although objects of admiration to all, suffered miseries throughout their lives and then died like

everybody else. Those two scoundrels, although objects of detestation to all, enjoyed themselves throughout their lives and also died like everybody else.

# LIEZI BOOK 8 - Causality (Explaining Conjunctions)

In the course of Lieh Tzu's instruction by Hu-ch'iu Tzu-lin, the latter said to him: 'You must familiarize yourself with the theory of consequents before you can talk of regulating conduct.' Lieh Tzu said: 'Will you explain what you mean by the theory of consequents' 'Look at your shadow,' said his Master, 'and then you will know.' Lieh turned and looked at his shadow. When his body was bent, the shadow was crooked; when his body was upright, the shadow was straight. Thus it appeared that the attributes of straightness and crookedness were not inherent in the shadow, but corresponded to certain positions of the body. Likewise, contraction and extension are not inherent in the subject, but take place in obedience to external causes. Holding this theory of consequents is to be at home in the antecedent. [The Law of Causality is the foundation of all science.]

Kuan Yin spoke to the Master Lieh Tzu, saying: 'If speech is sweet, the echo will be sweet; if speech is harsh, the echo will be harsh. If the body is long, the shadow will be long; if the body is short, the shadow will be short. Reputation is like an echo, personal experiences like a shadow.

'Hence the saying: "Heed your words, and they will meet with harmonious response; heed your actions, and they will find agreeable accord." Therefore, the Sage observes the origin in order to know the issue, scrutinizes the past in order to know the future. Such is the principle whereby he attains foreknowledge.

The standard of conduct lies with one's own self; the testing of it lies with other men. We are impelled to love those who love us, and to hate those who hate us. Tang and Wu loved the Empire, and therefore each became King. Chieh and Chou hated the Empire, and therefore they perished. Here we have the test applied. He who does not follow Tao when standard and test are both clear may be likened to one who, when leaving a house, does not go by the door, Or, when travelling abroad, does not keep to the straight road. To seek profit in this way is surely impossible. ['No one has ever profited himself by opposing natural law.']

'You may consider the virtues of Shên Nung and Yu Yen, you may examine the books of Yu, Hsia, Shang and Chou, you may weigh the utterances of great teachers and sages, but you will find no instance of preservation or destruction, fullness or decay, which has not obeyed this supreme Law.' [Of Causality.]

Lieh Tzu learned archery and, when he was able to hit the target, he asked the opinion of Kuan Yin Tzu on his shooting. 'Do you know why you hit the target?' said Kuan Yin Tzu. No, I do not,' was the reply. 'Then you are not good enough yet,' rejoined Kuan Yin Tzu. Lieh Tzu withdrew and practised for three years after which he again presented himself. Kuan Yin Tzu asked, as before: 'Do you know why you hit the target?' 'Yes,' said Lieh Tzu, 'I do.' 'In that case, all is well. Hold that knowledge fast, and do not let it slip.' ['Mental and bodily equilibrium are to be sought within oneself. Once you know the causal process which makes you hit the target, you will be able to determine the operation of Destiny beforehand, and when you let fly you will make no mistake.']

The above principle does not apply only to shooting, but also to the government of a State and to personal conduct. Therefore the Sage investigates not the mere facts of preservation and destruction, but rather the causes which bring them about.

Lieh Tzu said: 'Those who excel in beauty become vain; those who excel in strength become violent. To such, it is useless to speak of Tao. He who is not yet turning grey will surely err if he but speak of Tao; how much less can he put it into practice!

'No man will confide in one who shows himself aggressive. And he in whom no man confides will remain solitary and without support. [The arrogant and the aggressive will accept no confidences, even if they are made. Their mental attitude to others is one of distrust, and they keep their ears and eyes blocked. Who can render them assistance?]

'The wise man puts his trust in others: thus he reaches fullness of years without decay, perfection of Wisdom without bewilderment. In the government of a State, then, the hardest thing is to recognize the worth of others, not to rely upon one's own.' [If you succeed in recognizing worth, then the wise will think out plans for you, and the able will act for you. By never rejecting talent from outside, you will find the State easy to govern.']

There was once a man in Sung who carved a mulberry leaf out of jade for his prince. It took three years to complete, and it imitated Nature so exquisitely in its down, its glossiness, and its general configuration from tip to stem, that, if placed in a heap of real mulberry leaves, it could not be distinguished from them. This man was subsequently pensioned by the Sung State as a reward for his skill. Lieh Tzu, hearing of it, said: If it took the Creator three years to make a single leaf, there would be very few trees with leaves on them. The Sage will

rely not so much on human science and skill as on the operations of Tao.'

The Master Lieh Tzu was very poor, and his face wore a hungry look. A certain stranger spoke about it to Tzu Yang, of Cheng. 'Lieh Yu-k'ou,' said he, 'is a scholar in possession of Tao. Yet here he is, living in destitution, within your Excellency's dominion. It surely cannot be that you have no liking for scholars?' Tzu Yang forthwith directed that an official allowance of grain should be sent to him. Lieh Tzu came out to receive the messengers, made two low bows and declined the gift, whereupon the messengers went away, and Lieh Tzu reentered the house. There he was confronted by his Wife, who beat her breast and cried aloud: 'I have always understood that the wife and family of a man of Tao live a life of ease and pleasure. Yet now, when his Honour sends you a present of food, on account of your starved appearance, you refuse to accept it! I suppose you will call that "destiny"!' Master Lieh Tzu smiled and replied: 'The Minister did not know about me himself. His present of grain was made on the suggestion of another. If it had been a question of punishing me, that too would have been done at some one else's prompting. That is the reason why I did not accept the gift.'

Later on, the masses rose in actual rebellion against Tzu Yang, and slew him. [It is implied that Lieh Tzū's independence of spirit saved his life, inasmuch as a pensioner would have shared the fate of his patron.]

Mr Shih of Lu had two sons, one of whom was a scholar and the other a soldier. The former found in his accomplishments the means of ingratiating himself with the Marquis of Ch'i, who engaged him as tutor to the young princes. The other brother proceeded to Ch'u, and won favour with the King of that State by his military talents. The King was so well pleased that he installed him at the head of his troops. Thus both of them succeeded in enriching their family and shedding lustre on their kinsfolk.

Now, a certain Mr Mêng, the neighbour of Mr Shih, also had two sons who followed the selfsame professions but were straitened by poverty. Envying the affluence of the Shih family, Mr Mêng called at his neighbour's house, and wanted to know the secret of their rapid rise in the world. The two brothers readily gave him the desired information, whereupon the eldest son immediately set off for Ch'in, hoping that his cultural attainments would recommend him to the King of that State. But the King said: 'At the present moment all the feudal princes are struggling to outbid one another in power, and the great essential is to keep up a large army. If I tried to govern my State on the lines of benevolence and righteousness, ruin and annihilation would be the outcome! So saying, he had the unfortunate man castrated, and turned him away.

The second son, meanwhile, had gone to Wei, hoping that his military knowledge would stand him in good stead. But the Marquis of Wei said to himself — 'Mine is a weak State hedged in by powerful ones. [Wei was bounded by Chin and Ch'i on the north, Lu on the east, and Chêng on the south.] My method of preserving tranquillity is to show subservience to the larger States and to conciliate the lesser ones. If I were to rely on armed force, I could only expect utter destruction. I must not allow this man to depart unscathed, or he may find his way to some other State and be a terrible thorn in my side.' So, without more ado, he cut off his feet and sent him back to Lu.

On their return, the whole family fell to beating their breasts in despair, and uttered imprecations on Mr Shih. Mr Shih, however, said: 'Success consists in hitting off the right moment, while missing it means failure. Your method was identical with ours, only the result was different. That is not due to any flaw in the action itself, but simply because it was not well timed. Nothing, in the ordering of this world, is either at all times right or at all times wrong. What formerly passed current may nowadays be rejected; what is now rejected may by and by come into use again. The fact that a thing is in use or in disuse forms no criterion whatever of right or wrong. There is no fixed rule for seizing opportunities, hitting off the right moment, or adapting oneself to circumstances; it is all a matter of native wit. If you are deficient in that, you may possess the learning of a Confucius or the strategical gifts of a Lu Shang, and yet you will remain poor wherever you go.

The Mêng family were now in a more resigned frame of mind, and their indignation had subsided. 'Yes, you are right,' they said: 'please say no more about it.'

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Duke Wên of Chin put an army into the field with the intention of attacking the Duke of Wei, whereat Tzu Ch'u threw his head back and laughed aloud. On being asked the reason of his behaviour, he replied: 'I was thinking of the experience of a neighbour of mine, who was escorting his wife on a visit to her own family. On the way, he came across a woman tending silkworms, who attracted him greatly, and he fell into conversation with her. Happening to look up, what should he see but his own wife also receiving the attentions of an admirer! It was the recollection of this incident that made me laugh.'

The Duke saw the point, and forthwith turned home with his army. Before he got back, an invading force had already

crossed his northern frontier! ['As you behave to others, so others will behave to you. He who rides roughshod towards the accomplishment of his own desires, in the belief that it will not occur to others to do the like, will in all probability find himself circumstanced as above.']

In the Chin State, which was infested with robbers, there lived a certain Chi Yung, who was able to tell a robber by his face; by examining the expression of his eyes he could read his inmost thoughts. The Marquis of Chin employed him in the inspection of hundreds and thousands of robbers, and he never missed a single one. The Marquis expressed his delight to Wên Tzu of Chao, saying: 'I have a man who, singlehanded, is ridding my whole State of robbers. He saves me the necessity of employing a whole staff of police.' Wên Tzu replied: 'If your Highness relies on a detective for catching robbers, you will never get rid of them. And what is more, Ch'i Yung is certain sooner or later to meet with a violent end.'

Meanwhile, a band of robbers were plotting together. 'Ch'i Yung,' they said, 'is the enemy who is trying to exterminate us.' So one day they stole upon him in a body and murdered him. When the Marquis of Chin heard the news, he was greatly alarmed and immediately sent for Wên Tzu. 'Your prophecy has come true,' he said; 'Ch'i Yung is dead. What means can I adopt for catching robbers now?' 'In Chou,' replied Wên Tzu, 'we have a proverb: "Search not the oceandepths for fish: calamity comes upon those who pry into hidden mysteries." If you want to be quit of robbers, the best thing your Highness can do is to promote the worthy to office. Let them instruct and enlighten their sovereign on the one hand, and reform the masses below them on the other. if once the people acquire a sense of shame, you will not find them turning into robbers.'

The Marquis then appointed Sui Hui to be Prime Minister, and all the robbers fled to the Ch'in State. [A shrewd thrust at the brigand State which eventually swallowed up all the rest. The commentator says: 'Apply cleverness to ferret out wrongdoing, and the cunning rogue will escape. Using the gift of intuition to expose crime only excites hatred in the wicked. That "sagacity is an evil" is no empty saying.']

Duke Mu of Ch'in said to Po Lo\*: 'You are now advanced in years. [\* A famous judge of horses, of whom Chuang Tzŭ speaks with scant respect.] Is there any member of your family whom I could employ to look for horses in your stead?' Po Lo replied: 'A good horse can be picked out by its general build and appearance. But the superlative horse — one that raises no dust and leaves no tracks — is something evanescent and fleeting, elusive as thin air. The talent of my sons lies on a lower plane altogether: they can tell a good horse when they see one, but they cannot tell a superlative horse. I have a friend, however, one Chiu-fang Kao, a hawker of fuel and vegetables, who in things appertaining to horses is nowise my inferior. Pray see him.'

Duke Mu did so, and subsequently despatched him on the quest for a steed. Three months later, he returned with the news that he had found one. 'It is now in Sha-ch'iu ' he added 'What kind of a horse is it?' asked the Duke. 'Oh, it is a duncoloured mare,' was the reply. However, on some one being sent to fetch it, the animal turned out to be a coal-black stallion! Much displeased, the Duke sent for Po Lo. 'That friend of yours,' he said, 'whom I commissioned to look for a horse, has made a nice mess of it. Why, he cannot even distinguish a beast's colour or sex! What on earth can he know about horses?' Po Lo heaved a sigh of satisfaction. 'Has he really got as far as that?' he cried. 'Ah, then he is worth a thousand of me put together. There is no comparison between us. What Kao keeps in view is the spiritual mechanism. In making sure of the essential, he forgets the homely details; intent on the inward qualities, he loses sight of the external He sees what he wants to see, and not what he does not want to see. He looks at the things he ought to look at, and neglects those that need not be looked at. So clever a judge of horses is Kao, that he has it in him to judge something better than horses.'

When the horse arrived, it turned out indeed to be a superlative horse.

Mr Yu was a wealthy man of the Liang State. [Another name for the Wei State in the fourth century BC] His household was rolling in riches, and his hoards of money and silk and other valuables were quite incalculable. It was his custom to have banquets served, to the accompaniment of music, in a high upper hall overlooking the main road; there he and his friends would sit drinking their wine and amusing themselves with bouts of gambling.

One day, a party of young gallants happened to pass along the road. In the chamber above, play was going on as usual, and a lucky throw of the dice, which resulted in the capture of both fishes, evoked a loud burst of merriment from the players. [The game here alluded to was played on a board with a 'river' in the middle.] Precisely at that moment, it happened that a kite which was sailing overhead dropped the carcass of a rat in the midst of the company outside. The young men held an angry consultation on the spot: 'This Mr Yu,' they said, 'has been enjoying his wealth for many a long day, and has always treated his neighbours in the most arrogant spirit. And now,

although we have never offended him, he insults us with this dead rat. If such an outrage goes unavenged, the world will look upon us as a set of poltroons. Let us summon up our utmost resolution, and combine with one accord to wipe him and his family out of existence!' The whole party signified their agreement, and when the evening of the day appointed had come, they collected, fully armed for the attack, and exterminated every member of the family. ['Pride and extravagance lead to calamity and ruin in more ways than one. Mr. Yū's family was destroyed, although in this particular instance he had no thought of insulting others; nevertheless, the catastrophe was due to an habitual lack of modesty and courtesy in his conduct.']

In the east of China there was a man named Yuan Ching Mu, who set off on a journey but was overcome by hunger on the way. A certain robber from Hu-fu, of the name of Ch'iu, saw him lying there, and fetched a bowl of rice-gruel in order to feed him. After swallowing three mouthfuls, Yuan Ching Mu opened his eyes and murmured, 'Who are you?' 'I am a native of Hu-fu, and my name is Ch'iu.' 'Oh misery!' cried Yuan Ching Mu, 'are not you the robber Ch'iu? What are you feeding me for? I am an honest man and cannot eat your food.' So saying, he clutched the ground with both hands, and began retching and coughing in order to bring it up again. Not succeeding, however, he fell flat on his face and expired.

Now the man from Hu-fu was a robber, no doubt, but the food he brought was not affected thereby. Because a man is a robber, to refuse to eat the food he offers you, on the ground that it is tainted with crime, is to have lost all power of discriminating between the normal and the real.

Yang Chu's younger brother, named Pu, went out one day wearing a suit of white clothes. It came on to rain, so that he had to change and came back dressed in a suit of black. His dog failed to recognize him in this garb, and rushed out at him, barking. This made Yang Pu angry, and he was going to give the dog a beating, when Yang Chu said: 'Do not beat him. You are no wiser than he. For, suppose your dog went away white and came home black, do you mean to tell me that you would not think it strange?'

Yang Chu said: 'You may do good without thinking about fame, but fame will follow in its wake. Fame makes no tryst with gain, but gain will come all the same. Gain makes no tryst with strife, but strife will certainly ensue. Therefore the superior man is very cautious about doing good.'

The good people of Han-tan were in the habit, every New Year's day, of presenting their Governor, Chien Tzu, with a number of live pigeons. This pleased the Governor very much, and he liberally rewarded the donors. To a stranger who asked the meaning of the custom, Chien Tzu explained that the release of living creatures on New Year's day was the sign of a benevolent disposition. 'But,' rejoined the stranger, 'the people, being aware of your Excellency's whim, no doubt exert themselves to catch as many pigeons as possible, and large numbers must get killed in the process. If you really wish to let the birds live, the best way would be to prohibit the people from capturing them at all. If they have to be caught first in order to be released, the kindness does not compensate for the cruelty.' Chien Tzu acknowledged that he was right.

Mr T'ien, of the Ch'i State, was holding an ancestral banquet in his hall, to which a thousand guests were bidden. As he sat in their midst, many came up to him with presents of fish and game. Eveing them approvingly, he exclaimed with unction: 'How generous is Almighty God to man! He makes the five kinds of grain to grow, and creates the finny and the feathered tribes, especially for our benefit.' All Mr T'ien's guests applauded this sentiment to the echo; but the twelveyear-old son of a Mr Pao, regardless of seniority, came forward and said: 'You are wrong, my lord. All the living creatures of the universe stand in the same category as ourselves, and one is of no greater intrinsic value than another. It is only by reason of size, strength or cunning that some particular species gains the mastery, or that one preys upon another. None of them are produced in order to subserve the uses of others. Man catches and eats those that are fit for food. but how can it be maintained that God creates these expressly for man's use? Mosquitoes and gnats suck man's blood, and tigers and wolves devour his flesh; but we do not therefore assert that God created man expressly for the benefit of mosquitoes and gnats, or to provide food for tigers and wolves.' [In reading these words, penned before the beginning of our era, it is curious to reflect that only about fifty years ago Christian teleology used solemnly to preach this very doctrine of 'design', until Darwin arose and swept it away for

A man, having lost his axe, suspected his neighbour's son of having taken it. Certain peculiarities in his gait, his countenance and his speech, marked him out as the thief. In his actions, his movements, and in fact his whole demeanour, it was plainly written that he and no other had stolen the axe. By and by, however, while digging in a dell, the owner came across the missing implement. The next day, when he saw his neighbour's son again, he found no trace of guilt in his movements, his actions, or his general demeanour. ['The man in whose mind suspicion is at work will let himself be carried

away by utterly distorted fancies, until at last he sees white as black, and detects squareness in a circle.'

There was once a man in the Ch'i State who had a burning lust for gold. Rising early one morning, he dressed and put on his hat and went down to the marketplace, where he proceeded to seize and carry off the gold from a money-changer's shop. [An ordinary thief would have gone at night, and probably naked, after smearing his body with oil.] He was arrested by the police, who were puzzled to know why he had committed the theft at a time when every body was about. When I was taking the gold,' he replied, 'I did not see anybody at all; what I saw was the gold, and nothing but the gold.'

# THE ZHUANGZI

All Works of Master Zhuang The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu Translation: Burton Watson, 2000s Estimated Range of Dating: 4th - 3rd centuries B.C.

(The Zhuangzi (historically romanised Chuang Tzu) is an ancient Chinese text from the late Warring States period (476–221 BC) which contains stories and anecdotes that exemplify the carefree nature of the ideal Taoist sage. Named for its traditional author, "Master Zhuang" (Zhuangzi), the Zhuangzi is one of the two foundational texts of Taoism, along with the Dao de Ching (Tao Te King).

The Zhuangzi consists of a large collection of anecdotes, allegories, parables, and lables, which are often humorous or irreverent. Its main themes are of spontaneity in action and of freedom from the human world and its conventions. The lables and anecdotes in the text attempt to illustrate the lalseness of human distinctions between good and bad, large and small, life and death, and human and nature. While other ancient Chinese philosophers focused on moral and personal duty, Zhuangzi promoted carefree wandering and becoming one with "the Way" (Dao) by following nature.

Though primarily known as a philosophical work, the Zhuangzi is regarded as one of the greatest literary works in all of Chinese history, and has been called "the most important pre-Qin text for the study of Chinese literature". A masterpiece of both philosophical and literary skill, it has significantly influenced writers for more than 2000 years from the Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) to the present. Many major Chinese writers and poets in history—such as Sima Xiangru and Sima Qian during the Han dynasty, Ruan Ji and Tao Yuanming during the Six Dynasties (222–589), Li Bai during the Tang dynasty (618–907), and Su Shi and Lu You in the Song dynasty (960–1279)—were heavily influenced by the Zhuangzi.

# Authorship and textual history

The Zhuangzi is named for and attributed to a man named Zhuang Zhou, usually known as "Zhuangzi"—from the Mandarin Chinese Zhuāngzǐ, meaning "Master Zhuang" Almost nothing is concretely known of Zhuangzi's life. He is generally said to have been born around 369 BC at a place called Meng in the state of Song (in present-day Henan around Shangqiu), and to have died around 301, 295, or 286 BC. He is thought to have spent time in the southern state of Chu, as well as in Linzi, the capital of the state of Qi. Sima Qian's 1st century BC Records of the Grand Historian, the first of China's 24 dynastic histories, has a biography of Zhuangzi, but most of it seems to have simply been drawn from anecdotes in the Zhuangzi itself. In the introduction to his Zhuangzi translation, the American scholar Burton Watson concluded: "Whoever Zhuang Zhou was, the writings attributed to him bear the stamp of a brilliant and original mind

Since ancient times, the Zhuangzi's first seven chapters—the "inner chapters" (nėi piān)—have been considered to be the actual work of Zhuangzi, and most scholars agree with this view. But how many, if any, of the remaining 26 chapters—the "outer chapters" (wài piān) and "miscellaneous chapters" (zá piān)—were written by Zhuangzi has long been debated. Chinese scholars recognized as early as the Song dynasty (960–1279) that some parts of the book could not have been written by Zhuangzi himself. Today, it is generally accepted that the middle and later Zhuangzi chapters are the result of a process of "accretion and redaction" by other authors "responding to the scintillating brilliance" of the inner chapters. Despite the uncertainty over the later chapters' authorship, however, scholars have accepted all of the Zhuangzi's 33 surviving chapters as compositions dating from the 4th to 2nd centuries BC.

Details of the Zhuangzi's textual history prior to the Han dynasty (206 BC – AD 220) are largely unknown. Traces of its influence in late Warring States period (475–221 BC) philosophical texts such as the Guanzi, Han Feizi, Huainanzi, and Lüshi Chunqiu suggest that Zhuangzi's intellectual lineage was already fairly influential in the states of Qi and Chu in the 3rd century BC. In Records of the Grand Historian, Sima Qian refers to a 100,000-word Zhuangzi work and

references several chapters that are still in the text. The Book of Han, finished in AD 111, lists a Zhuangzi in 52 chapters, which many scholars believe to be the original form of the work. Several different versions of the Zhuangzi survived into the Tang dynasty (618-907), but a shorter and more popular 33-chapter form of the book prepared by the philosopher and writer Guo Xiang around AD 300 is the source of all surviving editions.

In 742, an imperial proclamation from Emperor Xuanzong of Tang canonised the Zhuangzi as one of the Chinese classics and awarded it the honourific title True Scripture of Southern Florescence (Nánhuá zhēnjīng). However, most orthodox Chinese scholars did not consider the Zhuangzi to be a true "classic" (jing) due to its non-Confucian nature.

### Manuscripts

Portions of the Zhuangzi have been discovered among bamboo slip texts from Warring States period and Han dynasty tombs, particularly at the Shuanggudui and Zhangjiashan Han bamboo texts sites. One of the slips from the Guodian bamboo texts, which date to around 300 BC, contains what appears to be a short fragment from the "Ransacking Coffers" ("Qu qie") chapter.

Many Zhuangzi fragments dating from the early Tang dynasty were discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts in the early 20th century by the expeditions of Hungarian-British explorer Aurel Stein and French Sinologist Paul Pelliot. They collectively form about twelve chapters of Guo Xiang's version of the Zhuangzi, and are preserved mostly at the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Among the Japanese national treasures preserved in the Kōzan-ji temple in Kyoto is a Zhuangzi manuscript from the Muromachi period (1338–1573). The manuscript has seven complete chapters from the "outer" and "miscellaneous" chapters, and is believed to be a close copy of an annotated edition written in the 7th century by the Chinese Daoist master Cheng Xuanying (fl. 630-660 BC).

The Zhuangzi consists of a large collection of anecdotes, allegories, parables, fables, and "goblet words", which are often humorous or irreverent in nature. A master of language, Zhuangzi sometimes engages in logic and reasoning, but then turns it upside down or carries the arguments to absurdity to demonstrate the limitations of human knowledge and the rational world. Zhuangzi employs hypothetical dialogues involving Confucius, Laozi (Lao Tzu), and other debaters. Some of Zhuangzi's reasoning, such as his renowned argument with his philosopher friend Huizi (Master Hui) about the joy of fish (chapter 17), have been compared to the Socratic and Platonic dialogue traditions, and Huizi's paradoxes near the end of the book have been termed "strikingly like those of Zeno of Elea".

Most Zhuangzi stories are fairly short and simple, such as "Lickety" and "Split" drilling seven holes in "Wonton" (chapter 7) or Zhuangzi being discovered sitting and drumming on a basin after his wife dies (chapter 18), although a few are longer and more complex, like the story of Master Lie and the magus (chapter 14) and the account of the Yellow Emperor's music (chapter 14). Unlike the other stories and allegories in other pre-Qin texts, the Zhuangzi is unique in that the allegories form the bulk of the text, rather than occasional features, and are always witty, emotional, and are not limited to reality.

Unlike other ancient Chinese works, whose allegories were usually based on historical legends and proverbs, most Zhuangzi stories seem to have been invented by Zhuangzi himself. Some are completely whimsical, such as the strange description of evolution from "misty spray" through a series of substances and insects to horses and humans (chapter 18), while a few other passages seem to be "sheer playful nonsense which read like Lewis Carroll's "Jabberwocky". The Zhuangzi is full of quirky and fantastic characters, such as "Mad Stammerer", "Fancypants Scholar", "Sir Plow", and a man who fancies that his left arm will turn into a rooster, his right arm will turn into a crossbow, and his buttocks will become cartwheels

- 1. Free and Easy Wandering
- 2. Discussion on Making All Things Equal 3. The Secret of Caring for Life
- 4. In the World of Men
- 5. The Sign of Virtue Complete
- 6. The Great and Venerable Teacher
- 7. Fit for Emperors and Kings
- 8. Webbed Toes
- 9. Horses' Hoofs
- 10. Riffling Trunks 11. Let It Be, Leave It Alone
- 12. Heaven and Earth
- 13. The Way of Heaven
- 14. The Turning of Heaven 15. Constrained in Will

- 16. Mending the Inborn Nature
- 17. Autumn Floods
- 18. Perfect Happiness
- 19. Mastering Life
- 20. The Mountain Tree
- 21. T'ien Tzu-fang 22. Knowledge Wandered North
- 23. Keng-sang C'hu
- 24. Hsu Wu-kei
- 25. Tse-yang
- 26. External Things
- 27. Inputed Words
- 28. Giving Away a Throne 29. Robber Chih
- 30. Discoursing on Swords
- 31. The Old Fishermman
- 32. Lieh Yu-k'ou
- 33. The World

The stories and anecdotes of the Zhuangzi embody a unique set of principles and attitudes, including living one's life with natural spontaneity, uniting one's inner self with the cosmic "Way" (Dao), keeping oneself distant from politics and social obligations, accepting death as a natural transformation, showing appreciation and praise for things others view as useless or aimless, and stridently rejecting social values and conventional reasoning. These principles form the core ideas of philosophical Daoism. The other major philosophical schools of ancient China—such as Confucianism, Legalism, and Mohism-were all concerned with concrete social, political, or ethical reforms designed to reform people and society and thereby alleviate the problems and suffering of the world. However, Zhuangzi believed that the key to true happiness was to free oneself from the world and its standards through the Daoist principle of "inaction" (Wu wei wuwei)—action that is not based on any purposeful striving or motives for gain-and was fundamentally opposed to systems that impose order on individuals.

The Zhuangzi interprets the universe as a thing that changes spontaneously without a conscious God or will driving it, and argues that humans can achieve ultimate happiness by living equally spontaneously. It argues that because of humans' advanced cognitive abilities, they have a tendency to create artificial distinctions—such as good versus bad, large versus small, usefulness versus uselessness, and social systems like Confucianism—that remove themselves from the natural spontaneity of the universe. To illustrate the mindlessness and spontaneity he felt should characterize human action, Zhuangzi most often uses the analogy of craftsmen or artisans. As Burton Watson described, skilled woodcarver, the skilled butcher, the skilled swimmer does not ponder or ratiocinate on the course of action he should take; his skill has become so much a part of him that he merely acts instinctively and spontaneously and, without knowing why, achieves success." The term "wandering" (yóu) is used throughout the stories of the Zhuangzi to describe how an enlightened person "wanders through all of creation, enjoying its delights without ever becoming attached to any one part of it '

The Zhuangzi vigorously opposes formal government, which Zhuangzi seems to have felt was problematic at its "because of the opposition between man and nature." The text tries to show that "as soon as government intervenes in natural affairs, it destroys all possibility of genuine happiness." It is unclear if Zhuangzi's positions amounted to a form of anarchism, as the political references in the Zhuangzi are more concerned with what government should not do, rather than what kind of government should

Western scholars have long noticed that the Zhuangzi is often strongly anti-rationalist. Mohism, deriving from Zhuangzi's possible contemporary Mozi, was the most logically sophisticated school in ancient China. Whereas reason and logic became the hallmark of Ancient Greek philosophy and then the entire Western philosophical tradition, in China philosophers preferred to rely on moral persuasion and intuition. The Zhuangzi played a significant role in the traditional Chinese skepticism toward rationalism, as Zhuangzi frequently turns logical arguments upside-down to satirize and discredit them. However, Zhuangzi did not entirely abandon language and reason, but "only wished to point out that overdependence on them could limit the flexibility of thought.'

# Daoism, Confucianism, Buddhism

The Zhuangzi is the most influential purely literary Chinese work dating from before China's imperial unification in 221 BC. Its literary quality, imagination and creativity, and linguistic prowess were unprecedented in the period of its creation. Virtually every major Chinese writer or poet in history, from Sima Xiangru and Sima Qian during the Han dynasty, Ruan Ji and Tao Yuanming during the Six Dynasties, Li Bai during the Tang dynasty, to Su Shi and Lu You in the

Song dynasty were "deeply imbued with the ideas and artistry of the Zhuangzi.

Traces of the Zhuangzi's influence in late Warring States period philosophical texts such as the Guanzi, Han Feizi, Huainanzi, and Lüshi Chunqiu suggest that Zhuangzi's intellectual lineage was already fairly influential in the states of Qi and Chu in the 3rd century BC. However, during the Oin and Han dynasties—with their state-sponsored Legalist and Confucian ideologies, respectively—the Zhuangzi does not seem to have been highly regarded. One exception is Han dynasty scholar Jia Yi's 170 BC work "Fu on the Owl" (Funiă o fu), the earliest definitively known fu rhapsody, which does not reference the Zhuangzi by name but cites it for one-sixth of the poem.

After the collapse of the Han dynasty in AD 207 and the subsequent chaos of the Three Kingdoms period, both the Zhuangzi and Zhuang Zhou began to rise in popularity and acclaim The 3rd century AD poets Ruan Ji and Xi Kang, both members of the famous Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, were ardent Zhuangzi admirers, and one of Ruan's essays, entitled "Discourse on Summing Up the Zhuangzi" (Dá Zhuāng lùn), is still extant. This period saw Confucianism temporarily surpassed by a revival of Daoism and old divination texts, such as the Classic of Changes (I Ching), and many early medieval Chinese poets, artists, and calligraphers were deeply influenced by the Zhuangzi.

The Zhuangzi has been called "the most important of all the Daoist writings" and its "inner chapters" embody the core ideas of philosophical Daoism. In the 4th century AD, the Zhuangzi became a major source of imagery and terminology for a new form of Daoism known as the "Highest Clarity (Shangqing) school that was popular among the aristocracy of the Jin dynasty (266-420). Highest Clarity Daoism borrowed notable Zhuangzi terms, such as "perfected man" (zhēn rén), "Great Clarity" (Tài Qīng), and "fasting the mind" (xīn zhāi), and though they are used somewhat differently than in the Zhuangzi itself, they still show the important role the Zhuangzi played at the time.

The Zhuangzi was very influential in the adaptation of Buddhism to Chinese culture after Buddhism was first brought to China from India in the 1st century AD. Zhi Dun, China's first aristocratic Buddhist monk, wrote a prominent commentary to the Zhuangzi in the mid-4th century. The Zhuangzi also played a significant role in the formation of Chan ("Zen") Buddhism, which grew out of "a fusion of Buddhist ideology and ancient Daoist thought." Among the traits Chan/Zen Buddhism borrowed from the Zhuangzi are a distrust of language and logic, an insistence that "the Dao' can be found in everything, even dung and urine, and a fondness for dialogues based on riddles or paradigmchallenging statements known as gong'an.)

# ZHUANGZI SECTION 1

Free And Easy Wandering

In The Northern Darkness there is a fish and his name is K'un.1 The K'un is so huge I do not know how many thousand li he measures. He changes and becomes a bird whose name is P'eng. The back of the P'eng measures I do not know how many thousand li across and, when he rises up and flies off, his wings are like clouds all over the sky. When the sea begins to move, this bird sets off for the southern darkness. which is the Lake of Heaven.

The Universal Harmony records various wonders, and it says: "When the P'eng journeys to the southern darkness, the waters are roiled for three thousand li. He beats the whirlwind and rises ninety thousand li, setting off on the sixth month gale." Wavering heat, bits of dust, living things blowing each other about-the sky looks very blue. Is that its real colour, or is it because it is so far away and has no end? When the bird looks down, all he sees is blue too.

If water is not piled up deep enough, it won't have the strength to bear up a big boat. Pour a cup of water into a hollow in the floor and bits of trash will sail on it like boats. But set the cup there and it will stick fast, for the water is too shallow and the boat too large. If wind is not piled up deep enough, it won't have the strength to bear up great wings. Therefore when the P'eng rises ninety thousand li, he must have the wind under him like that. Only then can he mount on the back of the wind, shoulder the blue sky, and nothing can hinder or block him. Only then can he set his eyes to the south.

The cicada and the little dove laugh at this, saying, "When we make an effort and fly up, we can get as far as the elm or the sapanwood tree, but sometimes we do not make it and just fall down on the ground. Now how is anyone going to go ninety thousand li to the south!"

If you go off to the green woods nearby, you can take along food for three meals and come back with your stomach as full as ever. If you are going a hundred li, you must grind your grain the night before; and if you are going a thousand li, you must start getting the provisions together three months in advance. What do these two creatures understand? Little understanding cannot come up to great understanding; the shortlived cannot come up to the long-lived.

How do I know this is so? The morning mushroom knows nothing of twilight and dawn; the summer cicada knows nothing of spring and autumn. They are the short-lived. South of Ch'u there is a caterpillar which counts five hundred years as one spring and five hundred years as one autumn. Long, long ago there was a great rose of Sharon that counted eight thousand years as one spring and eight thousand years as one autumn. They are the long-lived. Yet P'eng-tsu4 alone is famous today for having lived a long time, and everybody tries to ape him. Isn't it pitiful!

Among the questions of T'ang to Ch'i we find the same thing. In the bald and barren north, there is a dark sea, the Lake of Heaven. In it is a fish which is several thousand li across, and no one knows how long. His name is K'un. There is also a bird there, named P'eng, with a back like Mount T'ai and wings like clouds filling the sky. He beats the whirlwind, leaps into the air, and rises up ninety thousand li, cutting through the clouds and mist, shouldering the blue sky, and then he turns his eyes south and prepares to journey to the southern darkness.

The little quail laughs at him, saying, "Where does he think he's going? I give a great leap and fly up, but I never get more than ten or twelve yards before I come down fluttering among the weeds and brambles. And that's the best kind of flying anyway! Where does he think he's going?" Such is the difference between big and little.

Therefore a man who has wisdom enough to fill one office effectively, good conduct enough to impress one community, virtue enough to please one ruler, or talent enough to be called into service in one state, has the same kind of self-pride as these little creatures. Sung Jung-tzu would certainly burst out laughing at such a man. The whole world could praise Sung Jung-tzu and it wouldn't make him exert himself; the whole world could condemn him and it wouldn't make him mope.

He drew a clear line between the internal and the external, and recognized the boundaries of true glory and disgrace. But that was all. As far as the world went, he did not fret and worry, but there was still ground he left unturned.

Lieh Tzu could ride the wind and go soaring around with cool and breezy skill, but after fifteen days he came back to earth. As far as the search for good fortune went, he did not fret and worry. He escaped the trouble of walking, but he still had to depend on something to get around. If he had only mounted on the truth of Heaven and Earth, ridden the changes of the six breaths, and thus wandered through the boundless, then what would he have had to depend on?

Therefore I say, the Perfect Man has no self; the Holy Man has no merit; the Sage has no fame.

Yao wanted to cede the empire to Hsu-Yu. "When the sun and moon have already come out," he said, "it's a waste of light to go on burning the torches, isn't it? When the seasonal rains are falling, it's a waste of water to go on irrigating the fields. If you took the throne, the world would be well ordered. I go on occupying it, but all I can see are my failings. I beg to turn over the world to you."

Hsu Yu said, "You govern the world and the world is already well governed. Now if I take your place, will I be doing it for a name? But name is only the guest of reality - will I be doing it so I can play the part of a guest? When the tailorbird builds her nest in the deep wood, she uses no more than one branch. When the mole drinks at the river, he takes no more than a bellyful. Go home and forget the matter, my lord.

I have no use for the rulership of the world! Though the cook may not run his kitchen properly, the priest and the impersonator of the dead at the sacrifice do not leap over the wine casks and sacrificial stands and go take his place."

Chien Wu said to Lien Shu, "I was listening to Chieh Yu's talk - big and nothing to back it up, going on and on without turning around. I was completely dumfounded at his words no more end than the Milky Way, wild and wide of the mark, never coming near human affairs!"

"What were his words like?" asked Lien Shu.

"He said that there is a Holy Man living on faraway Ku-she Mountain, with skin like ice or snow, and gentle and shy like a young girl. He does not eat the five grains, but sucks the wind, drinks the dew, climbs up on the clouds and mist, rides a flying dragon, and wanders beyond the four seas. By concentrating his spirit, he can protect creatures from sickness and plague and make the harvest plentiful. I thought this was all insane and refused to believe it."

"You would!" said Lien Shu. "We cannot expect a blind man to appreciate beautiful patterns or a deaf man to listen to bells and drums. And blindness and deafness are not confined to the body alone - the understanding has them too, as your words just now have shown. This man, with this virtue of his, is about to embrace the ten thousand things and roll them into one. Though the age calls for reform, why should he wear himself out over the affairs of the world? There is nothing that can harm this man. Though flood waters pile up to the sky, he will not drown. Though a great drought melts metal and stone and scorches the earth and hills, he will not be burned

From his dust and leavings alone you could mold a Yao or a Shun! Why should he consent to bother about mere things?"

A man of Sung who sold ceremonial hats made a trip to Yueh, but the Yueh people cut their hair short and tattoo their bodies and had no use for such things. Yao brought order to the people of the world and directed the government of all within the seas. But he went to see the Four Masters of the faraway Ku-she: Mountain, [and when he got home] north of the Fen. River, he was dazed and had forgot his kingdom there.

Hui Tzu10 said to Chuang Tzu, "The king of Wei gave me some seeds of a huge gourd. I planted them, and when they grew up, the fruit was big enough to hold five piculs. I tried using it for a water container, but it was so heavy I couldn't lift it. I split it in half to make dippers, but they were so large and unwieldy that I couldn't dip them into any thing. It's not that the gourds weren't fantastically big - but I decided they were no use and so I smashed them to pieces."

Chuang Tzu said, "You certainly are dense when it comes to using big things! In Sung there was a man who was skilled at making a salve to prevent chapped hands, and generation after generation his family made a living by bleaching silk in water. A traveler heard about the salve and offered to buy the prescription for a hundred measures of gold. The man called everyone to a family council. 'For generations we've been bleaching sills and we've never made more than a few measures of gold, he said. Now, if we sell our secret, we can make a hundred measures in one morning. Let's let him have it!' The traveler got the salve and introduced it to the king of Wu. who was having trouble with the state of Yueh. The king put the man in charge of his troops, and that winter they fought a naval battle with the men of Yueh and gave them a bad beating.11 A portion of the conquered territory was awarded to the man as a fief. The salve had the power to prevent chapped hands in either case; but one man used it to get a fief, while the other one never got beyond silk bleaching - because they used it in different ways. Now you had a gourd big enough to hold five piculs. Why did not you think of making it into a great tub so you could go floating around the rivers and lakes, instead of worrying because it was too big and unwieldy to dip into things! Obviously you still have a lot of underbrush in vour head!

Hui Tzu said to Chuang Tzu, "I have a big tree of the kind men call shu. Its trunk is too gnarled and bumpy to apply a measuring line to, its branches too bent and twisty to match up to a compass or square. You could stand it by the road and no carpenter would look at it twice. Your words, too, are big and useless, and so everyone alike spurns them!"

Chuang Tzu said, "Maybe you have never seen a wildcat or a weasel. It crouches down and hides, watching for something to come along. It leaps and races east and west, not hesitating to go high or low-until it falls into the trap and dies in the net. Then again there is the yak, big as a cloud covering the sky. It certainly knows how to be big, though it does not know how to catch rats. Now You have this big tree and you are distressed because it's useless. Why don't you plant it in Not-Even-Anything Village, or the field of Broad-and-Boundless, relax and do nothing by its side, or lie down for a free and easy sleep under it? Axes will never shorten its life, nothing can ever harm it. If there is no use for it, how can it come to grief or pain?"

# ZHUANGZI SECTION 2

Discussion On Making All Things Equal

Tzu-Ch'i Of South Wall sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing - vacant and far away, as though he'd lost his companion. I Yen Ch'eng Tzu-yu, who was standing by his side in attendance, said, "What is this? Can you really make the body like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes? The man leaning on the armrest now is not the one who leaned on it before!"

Tzu-ch'i said, "You do well to ask the question, Yen. Now I have lost myself. Do you understand that? You hear the piping of men, but you have not heard the piping of earth. Or if you have heard the piping of earth, you have not heard the piping of Heaven!"

Tzu-yu said, " May I venture to ask what this means?"

Tzu-ch'i said, "The Great Clod belches out breath and its name is wind. So long as it does not come forth, nothing happens. But when it does, then ten thousand hollows begin crying wildly. Cannot you hear them, long drawn out? In the mountain forests that lash and sway, there are huge trees a hundred spans around with hollows and openings like noses, like mouths, like ears, like jugs, like cups, like mortars, like rifts, like rifts. They roar like waves, whistle like arrows, screech, gasp, cry, wail, moan, and howl, those in the lead calling out yeee!, those behind calling out yeuu! In a gentle

breeze they answer faintly, but in a full gale the chorus is gigantic. And when the fierce wind has passed on, then all the hollows are empty again. Have you never seen the tossing and trembling that goes on?"

Tzu-yu said, "By the piping of earth, then, you mean simply [the sound of] these hollows, and by the piping of man [the

sound of] flutes and whistles. But may I ask about the piping of Heaven?"

Tzu-ch'i said, "Blowing on the ten thousand things in a different way, so that each can be itself - all take what they want for themselves, but who does the sounding?"

Great understanding is broad and unhurried; little understanding is cramped and busy. Great words are clear and limpid; 3 little words are shrill and quarrelsome. In sleep, men's spirits go visiting; in waking hours, their bodies hustle. With everything they meet they become entangled. Day after day they use their minds in strife, sometimes grandiose, sometimes sly, sometimes petty. Their little fears are mean and trembly; their great fears are stunned and overwhelming. They bound off like an arrow or a crossbow pellet, certain that they are the arbiters of right and wrong. They cling to their position as though they had sworn before the gods, sure that they are holding on to victory. They fade like fall and winter - such is the way they dwindle day by day. They drown in what they do - you cannot make them turn back. They grow dark, as though sealed with seals - such are the excesses of their old age. And when their minds draw near to death. nothing can restore them to the light.

Joy, anger, grief, delight, worry, regret, fickleness, inflexibility, modesty, willfulness, candor, insolence - music from empty holes, mushrooms springing up in dampness, day and night replacing each other before us, and no one knows where they sprout from. Let it be! Let it be! [It is enough that] morning and evening we have them, and they are the means by which we live. Without them we would not exist; without us they would have nothing to take hold of. This comes close to the matter. But I do not know what makes them the way they are. It would seem as though they have some True Master, and yet I find no trace of him. He can act - that is certain. Yet I cannot see his form. He has identity but no form.

The hundred joints, the nine openings, the six organs, all come together and exist here [as my body]. But which part should I feel closest to? I should delight in all parts, you say? But there must be one I ought to favour more. If not, are they all of them mere servants? But if they are all servants, then how can they keep order among themselves? Or do they take turns being lord and servant? It would seem as though there must be some True Lord among them. But whether I succeed in discovering his identity or not, it neither adds to nor detracts from his Truth.

Once a man receives this fixed bodily form, he holds on to it, waiting for the end. Sometimes clashing with things, sometimes bending before them, he runs his course like a galloping steed, and nothing can stop him. Is he not pathetic? Sweating and laboring to the end of his days and never seeing his accomplishment, utterly exhausting himself and never knowing where to look for rest - can you help pitying him? I am not dead yet! he says, but what good is that? His body decays, his mind follows it - can you deny that this is a great sorrow? Man's life has always been a muddle like this. How could I be the only muddled one, and other men not muddled?

If a man follows the mind given him and makes it his teacher, then who can be without a teacher? Why must you comprehend the process of change and form your mind on that basis before you can have a teacher? Even an idiot has his teacher. But to fail to abide by this mind and still insist upon your rights and wrongs - this is like saying that you set off for Yueh today and got there yesterday. This is to claim that what does not exist exists. If you claim that what does not exist exists, then even the holy sage Yu couldn't understand you, much less a person like me!

Words are not just wind. Words have something to say. But if what they have to say is not fixed, then do they really say something? Or do they say nothing? People suppose that words are different from the peeps of baby birds, but is there any difference, or isn't there? What does the Way rely upon, 5 that we have true and false? What do words rely upon, that we have right and wrong? How can the Way go away and not exist? How can words exist and not be acceptable? When the Way relies on little accomplishments and words rely on vain show, then we have the rights and wrongs of the Confucians and the Mo-ists. What one calls right the other calls wrong; what one calls wrong the other calls right. But if we want to right their wrongs and wrong their rights, then the best thing to use is clarity.

Everything has its "that," everything has its "this." From the point of view of "that" you cannot see it, but through understanding you can know it. So I say, "that" comes out of "this" and "this" depends on "that" - which is to say that "this" and "that" give birth to each other. But where there is birth there must be death; where there is death there must be birth. Where there is acceptability there must be unacceptability; where there is unacceptability there must be acceptability. Where there is recognition of right there must be recognition of wrong; where there is recognition of wrong there must be recognition of right. Therefore the sage does not proceed in such a way, but illuminates all in the light of Heaven.6 He too recognizes a "this," but a "this" which is also "that," a "that" which is also "that," a "that" which is also "that," a "that" which is also "this." His "that" has both a right and a wrong in it; his "this" too has both a right and a

wrong in it. So, in fact, does he still have a "this" and "that"? Or does he in fact no longer have a "this" and "that"? A state in which "this" and "that" no longer find their opposites is called the hinge of the Way. When the hinge is fitted into the socket, it can respond endlessly. Its right then is a single endlessness and its wrong too is a single endlessness. So, I say, the best thing to use is clarity.

To use an attribute to show that attributes are not attributes is not as good as using a non-attribute to show that attributes are not attributes. To use a horse to show that a horse is not a horse is not as good as using a non-horse to show that a horse is not a horse, Heaven and earth are one attribute; the ten thousand things are one horse.

What is acceptable we call acceptable; what is unacceptable we call unacceptable. A road is made by people walking on it; things are so because they are called so. What makes them so? Making them so makes them so. What makes them not so? Making them not so makes them not so. Things all must have that which is so; things all must have that which is acceptable. There is nothing that is not so, nothing that is not acceptable.

For this reason, whether you point to a little stalk or a great pillar, a leper or the beautiful Hsi-shih, things ribald and shady or things grotesque and strange, the Way makes them all into one. Their dividedness is their completeness; their completeness is their impairment. No thing is either complete or impaired, but all are made into one again. Only the man of far reaching vision knows how to make them into one. So he has no use [for categories], but relegates all to the constant. The constant is the useful; the useful is the passable; the passable is the successful; and with success, all is accomplished. He relies upon this alone, relies upon it and does not know he is doing so. This is called the Way.

But to wear out your brain trying to make things into one without realizing that they are all the same - this is called "three in the morning." What do I mean by "three in the morning"? When the monkey trainer was handing out acorns, he said, "You get three in the morning and four at night." This made all the monkeys furious. "Well, then," he said, "you get four in the morning and three at night." The monkeys were all delighted. There was no change in the reality behind the words, and yet the monkeys responded with joy and anger. Let them, if they want to. So the sage harmonises with both right and wrong and rests in Heaven the Equalizer. This is called walking two roads.

The understanding of the men of ancient times went a long way. How far did it go? To the point where some of them believed that things have never existed - so far, to the end, where nothing can be added. Those at the next stage thought that things exist but recognized no boundaries among them. Those at the next stage thought there were boundaries but recognized no right and wrong. Because right and wrong appeared, the Way was injured, and because the Way was injured, love became complete. But do such things as completion and injury really exist, or do they not?

There is such a thing as completion and injury - Mr. Chao playing the lute is an example. There is such a thing as no completion and no injury - Mr. Chao not playing the lute is an example. Chao Wen played the lute; Music Master K'uang waved his baton; Hui Tzu leaned on his desk. The knowledge of these three was close to perfection. All were masters, and therefore their names have been handed down to later ages. Only in their likes they were different from him [the true sage]. What they liked, they tried to make clear. What he is not clear about, they tried to make clear, and so they ended in the foolishness of "hard" and "white." Their sons, too, devoted all their lives to their fathers' theories, but till their death never reached any completion. Can these men be said to have attained completion? If so, then so have all the rest of us. Or can they not be said to have attained completion? If so, then neither we nor anything else have ever attained it.

The torch of chaos and doubt - this is what the sage steers by. So he does not use things but relegates all to the constant. This is what it means to use clarity.

Now I am going to make a statement here. I do not know whether it fits into the category of other people's statements or not. But whether it fits into their category or whether it doesn't, it obviously fits into some category. So in that respect it is no different from their statements. However, let me try making my statement.

There is a beginning. There is a not yet beginning to be a beginning. There is a not yet beginning to be a not yet beginning to be a beginning. There is being. There is nonbeing. There is a not yet beginning to be nonbeing. There is a not yet beginning to be nonbeing. There is a not yet beginning to be nonbeing. Suddenly there is nonbeing. But I do not know, when it comes to nonbeing, which is really being and which is nonbeing. Now I have just said something. But I do not know whether what I have said has really said something or whether it hasn't said something.

There is nothing in the world bigger than the tip of an

There is nothing in the world bigger than the tip of an autumn hair, and Mount Tai is tiny. No one has lived longer than a dead child, and P'eng-tsu died young. Heaven and earth were born at the same time I was, and the ten thousand things are one with me.

We have already become one, so how can I say anything? But I have just said that we are one, so how can I not be saying something? The one and what I said about it make two, and two and the original one make three. If we go on this way, then even the cleverest mathematician cannot tell where we'll end, much less an ordinary man. If by moving from nonbeing to being we get to three, how far will we get if we move from being to being? Better not to move, but to let things be!

The Way has never known boundaries; speech has no constancy. But because of [the recognition of a] "this," there came to be boundaries. Let me tell you what the boundaries are

There is left, there is right, there are theories, there are debates, there are divisions, there are discriminations, there are emulations, and there are contentions. These are called the Eight Virtues. As to what is beyond the Six Realms, the sage admits its existence but does not theorize. As to what is within the Six Realms, he theorizes but does not debate. In the case of the Spring and Autumn, the record of the former kings of past ages, the sage debates but does not discriminate. So [I say] those who divide fail to divide; those who discriminate fail to discriminate among them and parade their discriminations before others. So I say, those who discriminate fail to see.

The Great Way is not named; Great Discriminations are not spoken; Great Benevolence is not benevolent; Great Modesty is not humble; Great Daring does not attack. If the Way is made clear, it is not the Way. If discriminations are put into words, they do not suffice. If benevolence has a constant object, it cannot be universal. If modesty is fastidious, it cannot be trusted. If daring attacks, it cannot be complete. These five are all round, but they tend toward the square.

Therefore understanding that rests in what it does not understand is the finest. Who can understand discriminations that are not spoken, the Way that is not a way? If he can understand this, he may be called the Reservoir of Heaven.

into it and it is never full, dip from it and it never runs dry, and yet it does not know where the supply, comes from. This is called the Shaded Light.

So it is that long ago Yao said to Shun, "I want to attack the rulers of Tsung, K'uai, and Hsu-ao. Even as I sit on my throne, this thought nags at me. Why is this?"

Shun replied, "These three rulers are only little dwellers in the weeds and brush. Why this nagging desire? Long ago, ten suns came out all at once and the ten thousand things were all lighted up. And how much greater is virtue than these suns!"

Nieh Ch'ueh asked Wang Ni, "Do you know what all things agree in calling right?"

"How would I know that?" said Wang Ni.

"Do you know that you don't know it?"

"How would I know that?"

"Then do things know nothing?"

"How would I know that? However, suppose I try saying something. What way do I have of knowing that if I say I know something I do not really not know it? Or what way do I have of knowing that if I say I do not know something I do not really in fact know it? Now let me ask you some questions. If a man sleeps in a damp place, his back aches and he ends up half paralyzed, but is this true of a loach? If he lives in a tree, he is terrified and shakes with fright, but is this true of a

monkey? Of these three creatures, then, which one knows the proper place to live? Men eat the flesh of grass-fed and grain-fed animals, deer eat grass, centipedes find snakes tasty, and hawks and falcons relish mice. Of these four, which knows how food ought to taste? Monkeys pair with monkeys, deer go out with deer, and fish play around with fish. Men claim that Mao-ch'iang and Lady Li were beautiful, but if fish saw them they would dive to the bottom of the stream, if birds saw them they would fly away, and if deer saw them they would break into a run. Of these four, which knows how to fix the standard of beauty for the world? The way I see it, the rules of benevolence and righteousness and the paths of right and wrong are all hopelessly snarled and jumbled. How could I know anything about such discriminations?"

Nieh Ch'ueh said, "If you don't know what is profitable or harmful, then does the Perfect Man likewise know nothing of such things?"

Wang Ni replied, "The Perfect Man is godlike. Though the great swamps blaze, they cannot burn him; though the great rivers freeze, they cannot chill him; though swift lightning splits the hills and howling gales shake the sea, they cannot frighten him. A man like this rides the clouds and mist, straddles the sun and moon, and wanders beyond the four seas. Even life and death have no effect on him, much less the rules of profit and loss!"

Chu Ch'ueh-tzu said to Chang Wu-tzu, "I have heard Confucius say that the sage does not work at anything, does not pursue profit, does not dodge harm, does not enjoy being sought after, does not follow the Way, says nothing yet says something, says something yet says nothing, and wanders beyond the dust and grime. Confucius himself regarded these

as wild and flippant words, though I believe they describe the working of the mysterious Way. What do you think of them?"

Chang Wu-tzu said, "Even the Yellow Emperor would be confused if he heard such words, so how could you expect Confucius to understand them? What's more, you are too hasty in your own appraisal. You see an egg and demand a crowing cock, see a crossbow pellet and demand a roast dove. I am going to try speaking some reckless words and I want you to listen to them recklessly. How will that be? The sage leans on the sun and moon, tucks the universe under his arm, merges himself with things, leaves the confusion and muddle as it is, and looks on slaves as exalted. Ordinary men strain and struggle; the sage is stupid and blockish. He takes part in ten thousand ages and achieves simplicity in oneness. For him, all the ten thousand things are what they are, and thus they enfold each other.

"How do I know that loving life is not a delusion? How do I know that in hating death I am not like a man who, having left home in his youth, has forgot the way back?

"Lady Li was the daughter of the border guard of Ai. When she was first taken captive and brought to the state of Chin, she wept until her tears drenched the collar of her robe. But later, when she went to live in the palace of the ruler, shared his couch with him, and ate the delicious meats of his table, she wondered why she had ever wept. How do I know that the dead do not wonder why they ever longed for life?

"He who dreams of drinking wine may weep when morning comes; he who dreams of weeping may in the morning go off to hunt. While he is dreaming he does not know it is a dream, and in his dream he may even try to interpret a dream. Only after he wakes does he know it was a dream. And someday there will be a great awakening when we know that this is all a great dream. Yet the stupid believe they are awake, busily and brightly assuming they understand things, calling this man ruler, that one herdsman - how dense! Confucius and you are both dreaming! And when I say you are dreaming, I am dreaming, too. Words like these will be labeled the Supreme Swindle. Yet, after ten thousand generations, a great sage may appear who will know their meaning, and it will still be as though he appeared with astonishing speed.

"Suppose you and I have had an argument. If you have beaten me instead of my beating you, then are you necessarily right and am I necessarily wrong? If I have beaten you instead of your beating me, then am I necessarily right and are you necessarily wrong? Is one of us right and the other wrong? Are both of us right or are both of us wrong? If you and I do not know the answer, then other people are bound to be even more in the dark. Whom shall we get to decide what is right? Shall we get someone who agrees with you to decide? But if he already agrees with you, how can he decide fairly? Shall we get someone who agrees with me? But if he already agrees with me, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who disagrees with both of us? But if he already disagrees with both of us, how can he decide? Shall we get someone who agrees with both of us? But if he already agrees with both of us, how can he decide? Obviously, then, neither you nor I nor anyone else can decide for each other. Shall we wait for still another person?

"But waiting for one shifting voice [to pass judgment on] another is the same as waiting for none of them. Harmonise them all with the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out your years. What do I mean by harmonising them with the Heavenly Equality? Right is not right; so is not so. If right were really right, it would differ so clearly from not right that there would be no need for argument. If so were really so, it would differ so clearly from not so that there would be no need for argument. Forget the years; forget distinctions. Leap into the boundless and make it your home!"

Penumbra said to Shadow, "A little while ago you were walking and now you are standing still; a little while ago you were sitting and now you are standing up. Why this lack of independent action?"

Shadow said, "Do I have to wait for something before I can be like this? Does what I wait for also have to wait for something before it can be like this? Am I waiting for the scales of a snake or the wings of a cicada? How do I know why it is so? How do I know why it isn't so?"

Once Chuang Chou dreamt he was a butterfly, a butterfly flitting and fluttering around, happy with himself and doing as he pleased. He did not know he was Chuang Chou. Suddenly he woke up and there he was, solid and unmistakable Chuang Chou. But he did not know if he was Chuang Chou who had dreamt he was a butterfly, or a butterfly dreaming he was Chuang Chou. Between Chuang Chou and a butterfly there must be some distinction! This is called the Transformation of Things.

# ZHUANGZI SECTION 3

The Secret Of Caring For Life.

Your Life Has A Limit but knowledge has none. If you use what is limited to pursue what has no limit, you will be in danger. If you understand this and still strive for knowledge, you will be in danger for certain! If you do good, stay away

from fame. If you do evil, stay away from punishments. Follow the middle; go by what is constant, and you can stay in one piece, keep yourself alive, look after your parents, and live out your years.

Cook Ting was cutting up an ox for Lord Wen-hui. At every touch of his hand, every heave of his shoulder, every move of his feet, every thrust of his knee - zip! zoop! He slithered the knife along with a zing, and all was in perfect rhythm, as though he were performing the dance of the Mulberry Grove or keeping time to the Ching-shou music.

"Ah, this is marvelous!" said Lord Wen-hui. "Imagine skill reaching such heights!"

Cook Ting laid down his knife and replied, "What I care about is the Way, which goes beyond skill. When I first began cutting up oxen, all I could see was the ox itself. After three years I no longer saw the whole ox. And now - now I go at it by spirit and don't look with my eyes. Perception and understanding have come to a stop and spirit moves where it wants. I go along with the natural makeup, strike in the big hollows, guide the knife through the big openings, and follow things as they are. So I never touch the smallest ligament or tendon, much less a main joint.

"A good cook changes his knife once a year-because he cuts. A mediocre cook changes his knife once a month-because he hacks. I've had this knife of mine for nineteen years and I've cut up thousands of oxen with it, and yet the blade is as good as though it had just come from the grindstone. There are spaces between the joints, and the blade of the knife has really no thickness. If you insert what has no thickness into such spaces, then there is plenty of room – more than enough for the blade to play about it. That's why after nineteen years the blade of my knife is still as good as when it first came from the grindstone.

"However, whenever I come to a complicated place, I size up the difficulties, tell myself to watch out and be careful, keep my eyes on what I am doing, work very slowly, and move the knife with the greatest subtlety, until - flop! the whole thing comes apart like a clod of earth crumbling to the ground. I stand there holding the knife and look all around me, completely satisfied and reluctant to move on, and then I wipe off the knife and put it away."

"Excellent!" said Lord Wen-hui. "I have heard the words of Cook Ting and learned how to care for life!"

When Kung-wen Hsuan saw the Commander of the Right, he was startled and said, "What kind of man is this? How did he come to be footless? Was it Heaven? Or was it man?"

"It was Heaven, not man," said the commander. "When Heaven gave me life, it saw to it that I would be one-footed. Men's looks are given to them. So I know this was the work of Heaven and not of man. The swamp pheasant has to walk ten paces for one peck and a hundred paces for one drink, but it does not want to be kept in a cage. Though you treat it like a king, its spirit won't be content."

When  $\dot{L}ao$  Tan6 died, Chin Shih went to mourn for him; but after giving three cries, he left the room.

"Weren't you a friend of the Master?" asked Lao Tzu's disciples.

"Yes."

"And you think it's all right to mourn him this way?"
"Yes," said Chin Shih. "At first I took him for a real man,

"Yes," said Chin Shin. "At first I took him for a real man, but now I know he wasn't. A little while ago, when I went in to mourn, I found old men weeping for him as though they were weeping for a son, and young men weeping for him as though they were weeping for a mother. To have gathered a group like that, he must have done something to make them talk about him, though he did not ask them to talk, or make them weep for him, though he did not ask them to weep. This is to hide from Heaven, turn your back on the true state of affairs, and forget what you were born with. In the old days, this was called the crime of hiding from Heaven. Your master happened to come because it was his time, and he happened to leave because things follow along. If you are content with the time and willing to follow along, then grief and joy have no Way to enter in. In the old days, this was called being freed from the bonds of God.

"Though the grease burns out of the torch, the fire passes on, and no one knows where it ends."

ZHUANGZI SECTION 4

In The World Of Men

Yen Hui Went To See Confucius and asked permission to take a trip.

"Where are you going?"

"I am going to Wei.

"What will you do there?"

"I have heard that the ruler of Wei is very young. He acts in an independent manner, thinks little of how he rules his state, and fails to see his faults. It is nothing to him to lead his people into peril, and his dead are reckoned by swampfuls like so much grass. His people have nowhere to turn. I have heard you say, Master, 'Leave the state that is well ordered and go to the state in chaos! At the doctor's gate are many sick men.' I want to use these words as my standard, in hopes that I can restore his state to health."

"Ah," said Confucius, "you will probably go and get yourself executed, that's all. The Way does not want things mixed in with it. When it becomes a mixture, it becomes many ways; with many ways, there is a lot of bustle; and where there is a lot of bustle, there is trouble - trouble that has no remedy! The Perfect Man of ancient times made sure that he had it in himself before he tried to give it to others. When you are not even sure what you have got in yourself, how do you have time to bother about what some tyrant is doing?

"Do you know what it is that destroys virtue, and where wisdom comes from? Virtue is destroyed by fame, and wisdom comes out of wrangling. Fame is something to beat people down with, and wisdom is a device for wrangling. Both are evil weapons - not the sort of thing to bring you success. Though your virtue may be great and your good faith unassailable, if you do not understand men's spirits, though your fame may be wide and you do not strive with others, if you do not understand men's minds, but instead appear before a tyrant and force him to listen to sermons on benevolence and righteousness, measures and standards - this is simply using other men's bad points to parade your own excellence. You will be called a plaguer of others. He who plagues others will be plagued in turn. You will probably be plagued by this man.

"And suppose he is the kind who actually delights in worthy men and hates the unworthy-then why does he need you to try to make him any different? You had best keep your advice to yourself! Kings and dukes always lord it over others and fight to win the argument. You will find your eyes growing dazed, your colour changing, your mouth working to invent excuses, your attitude becoming more and more humble, until in your mind you end by supporting him. This is to pile fire on fire, to add water to water, and is called 'increasing the excessive.' If you give in at the beginning, there is no place to stop. Since your fervent advice is almost certain not to be believed, you are bound to die if you come into the presence of a tyrant.

"In ancient times Chieh put Kuan Lung-feng to death and Chou put Prince Pi Kan to death. Both Kuan Lung-feng and Prince Pi Kan were scrupulous in their conduct, bent down to comfort and aid the common people, and used their positions as ministers to oppose their superiors. Therefore their rulers, Chieh and Chou, utilized their scrupulous conduct as a means to trap them, for they were too fond of good fame. In ancient times Yao attacked Ts'ung-chih and Hsu-ao, and Yu attacked Yu-hu, and these states were left empty and unpeopled, their rulers cut down. It was because they employed their armies constantly and never ceased their search for gain. All were seekers of fame or gain - have you alone not heard of them? Even the sages cannot cope with men who are after fame or gain. much less a person like you!

"However, you must have some plan in mind. Come, tell me what it is."

Yen Hui said, "If I am grave and empty-hearted, diligent and of one mind, won't that do?"

"Goodness, how could that do? You may put on a fine outward show and seem very impressive, but you cannot avoid having an uncertain look on your face, any more than an ordinary man can.3 And then you try to gauge this man's feelings and seek to influence his mind. But with him, what is called 'the virtue that advances a little each day' would not succeed, much less a great display of virtue! He will stick fast to his position and never be converted. Though he may make outward signs of agreement, inwardly he will not give it a thought! How could such an approach succeed?"

"Well then, suppose I am inwardly direct, outwardly compliant, and do my work through the examples of antiquity? By being inwardly direct, I can be the companion of Heaven. Being a companion of Heaven, I know that the Son of Heaven and I are equally the sons of Heaven. Then why would I use my words to try to get men to praise me, or try to get them not to praise me? A man like this, people call The Child. This is what I mean by being a companion of Heaven.

"By being outwardly compliant, I can be a companion men. Lifting up the tablet, kneeling, bowing, crouching down this is the etiquette of a minister. Everybody does it, so why should I not? If I do what other people do, they can hardly criticize me. This is what I mean by being a companion of men.

"By doing my work through the examples of antiquity, I can be the companion of ancient times. Though my words may in fact be lessons and reproaches, they belong to ancient times and not to me. In this way, though I may be blunt, I cannot he blamed. This is what I mean by being a companion of antiquity. If I go about it in this way, will it do?"

Confucius said, "Goodness, how could that do? You have too many policies and plans and you have not seen what is needed. You will probably get off without incurring any blame, yes. But that will be as far as it goes. How do you think you can actually convert him? You are still making the mind 4 your teacher!"

Yen Hui said, "I have nothing more to offer. May I ask the proper way?"

"You must fast!" said Confucius. "I will tell you what that means. Do you think it is easy to do anything while you have [a mind]? If you do, Bright Heaven will not sanction you."

Yen Hui said, "My family is poor. I have not drunk wine or eaten any strong foods for several months. So can I be considered as having fasted?"

"That is the fasting one does before a sacrifice, not the fasting of the mind."

"May- I ask what the fasting of the mind is?"

Confucius said, "Make your will one! Do not listen with your ears, listen with your mind. No, do not listen with your mind, but listen with your spirit. Listening stops with the ears, the mind stops with recognition, but spirit is empty- and waits on all things. The Way gathers in emptiness alone. Emptiness is the fasting of the mind."

Yen Hui said, "Before I heard this, I was certain that I was Hui. But now that I have heard it, there is no more Hui. Can this be called emptiness?"

"That's all there is to it," said Confucius. "Now I will tell you. You may go and play in his bird cage, but never be moved by fame. If he listens, then sing; if not, keep still. Have no gate, no opening, but make oneness your house and live with what cannot be avoided. Then you will be close to success.

"It is easy to keep from walking; the hard thing is to walk without touching the ground. It is easy to cheat when you work for men, but hard to cheat when you work for Heaven. You have heard of flying with wings, but you have never heard of flying without wings. You have heard of the knowledge that knows, but you have never heard of the knowledge that does not know. Look into that closed room, the empty chamber where brightness is born! Fortune and blessing gather where there is stillness. But if you do not keep still - this is what is called sitting but racing around. Let your ears and eyes communicate with what is inside, and put mind and knowledge on the outside. Then even gods and spirits will come to dwell, not to speak of men! This is the changing of the ten thousand things, the bond of Yu and Shun, the constant practice of Fu Hsi and Chi Ch'u. How much more should it be a rule for lesser men!"

Tzu-kao, duke of She, who was being sent on a mission to Ch'i, consulted Confucius. "The king is sending me on a very important mission. Ch'i will probably treat me with great honour but will be in no hurry to do anything more. Even a commoner cannot be forced to act, much less one of the feudal lords. I am very worried about it. You once said to me, 'In all affairs, whether large or small, there are few men who reach a happy conclusion except through the Way. If you do not succeed, you are bound to suffer from the judgment of men. If you do succeed, you are bound to suffer from the yin and yang.9 To suffer no harm whether you succeed or not - only the man who has virtue can do that ' I am a man who eats plain food that is simply cooked, so that no one ever complains of the heat in my kitchens. 10 Yet this morning I received my orders from the king and by evening I am gulping ice water - do you suppose I have developed some kind of internal fever? I have not even gone to Ch'i to see what the situation is like and already I am suffering from the yin and yang. And if I do not succeed, I am bound to suffer from the judgment of men. I will have both worries. As a minister, I am not capable of carrying out this mission. But perhaps you have some advice you can give me . .

Confucius said, "In the world, there are two great decrees: one is fate and the other is duty." That a son should love his parents is fate-you cannot erase this from his heart. That a subject should serve his ruler is duty - there is no place he can go and be without his ruler, no place he can escape to between heaven and earth. These are called the great decrees. Therefore, to serve your parents and be content to follow them anywhere-this is the perfection of filial piety. To serve your ruler and be content to do anything for him-this is the peak of loyalty. And to serve your own mind so that sadness or joy do not sway or move it: to understand what you can do nothing about and to be content with it as with fate-this is the perfection of virtue. As a subject and a son, you are bound to find things you cannot avoid. If you act in accordance with the state of affairs and forget about yourself, then what lesiure will you have to love life and hate death? Act in this way and you will be all right.

"I want to tell you something else I have learned. In all human relations, if the two parties are living close to each other, they may form a bond through personal trust. But if they are far apart, they must use words to communicate their loyalty, and words must be transmitted by someone. To transmit words that are either pleasing to both parties or infuriating to both parties is one of the most difficult things in the world. Where both parties are pleased, there must be some exaggeration of the good points; and where both parties are angered, there must be some exaggeration of the bad points. Anything that smacks of exaggeration is irresponsible. Where there is irresponsibility, no one will trust what is said, and when that happens, the man who is transmitting the words will be in danger. Therefore the aphorism says, 'Transmit the established facts; do not transmit words of exaggeration.' If you do that, you will probably come out all right.

"When men get together to pit their strength in games of skill, they start off in a light and friendly mood, but usually

end up in a dark and angry one, and if they go on too long they start resorting to various underhanded tricks. When men meet at some ceremony to drink, they start off in an orderly manner, but usually end up in disorder, and if they go on too long they start indulging in various irregular amusements. It is the same with all things. What starts out being sincere usually ends up being deceitful. What was simple in the beginning acquires monstrous proportions in the end.

"Words are like wind and waves; actions are a matter of gain and loss. Wind and waves are easily moved; questions of gain and loss easily lead to danger. Hence anger arises from no other cause than clever words and one-sided speeches. When animals face death, they do not care what cries they make; their breath comes in gasps and a wild fierceness is born in their hearts. [Men, too,] if you press them too hard, are bound to answer you with ill-natured hearts, though they do not know why they do so. If they themselves do not understand why they behave like this, then who knows where it will end?"

"Therefore the aphorism says, 'Do not deviate from your orders; do not press for completion.' To go beyond the limit is excess; to deviate from orders or press for completion is a dangerous thing. A good completion takes a long time; a bad completion cannot be changed later. Can you afford to be careless?

"Just go along with things and let your mind move freely. Resign yourself to what cannot be avoided and nourish what is within you - this is best. What more do you have to do to fulfill your mission? Nothing is as good as following orders (obeying fate) - that's how difficult it is!"

Yen Ho, who had been appointed tutor to the crown prince, son of Duke Ling of Wei, went to consult Ch'u Po-yu. "Here is this man who by nature is lacking in virtue. If I let him go on with his unruliness I will endanger the state. If I try to impose some rule on him, I will endanger myself. He knows enough to recognize the faults of others, but he does not know his own faults. What can I do with a man like this?"

"A very good question," said Ch'u Po-yu. "Be careful, be on your guard, and make sure that you yourself are in the right! In your actions it is best to follow along with him, and in your mind it is best to harmonise with him. However, these two courses involve certain dangers. Though you follow along, you don't want to be pulled into his doings, and though you harmonise, you don't want to be drawn out too far. If in your actions you follow along to the extent of being pulled in with him, then you will be overthrown, destroyed, wiped out, and brought to your knees. If in your mind you harmonise to the extent of being drawn out, then you will be talked about, named, blamed, and condemned. If he wants to be a child, be a child with him. If he wants to follow erratic ways, follow erratic ways with him. If he wants to be reckless, be reckless with him. Understand him thoroughly, and lead him to the point where he is without fault.

"Don't you know about the praying mantis that waved its arms angrily in front of an approaching carriage, unaware that they were incapable of stopping it? Such was the high opinion it had of its talents. Be careful, be on your guard! If you offend him by parading your store of talents, you will be in danger!

"Don't you know how the tiger trainer goes about it? He does not dare give the tiger any living thing to eat for fear it will learn the taste of fury by killing it. He does not dare give it any whole thing to eat for fear it will learn the taste of fury by tearing it apart. He gauges the state of the tiger's appetite and thoroughly understands its fierce disposition. Tigers are a different breed from men, and yet you can train them to be gentle with their keepers by following along with them. The men who get killed are the ones who go against them.

"The horse lover will use a fine box to catch the dung and a giant clam shell to catch the stale. But if a mosquito or a fly lights on the horse and he slaps it at the wrong time, then the horse will break the bit, hurt its head, and bang its chest. The horse lover tries to think of everything, but his affection leads him into error. Can you afford to be careless?"

Carpenter Shih went to Ch'i and, when he got to Crooked Shaft, he saw a serrate oak standing by the village shrine. It was broad enough to shelter several thousand oxen and measured a hundred spans around, towering above the hills. The lowest branches were eighty feet from the ground, and a dozen or so of them could have been made into boats. There were so many sightseers that the place looked like a fair, but the carpenter did not even glance around and went on his way without stopping. His apprentice stood staring for a long time and then ran after Carpenter Shih and said, "Since I first took up my ax and followed you, Master, I have never seen timber as beautiful as this. But you don't even bother to look, and go right on without stopping. Why is that?"

and go right on without stopping. Why is that?"

"Forget it - say no more!" said the carpenter. "It's a worthless tree! Make boats out of it and they'd sink; make coffins and they'd rot in no time; make vessels and they'd break at once. Use it for doors and it would sweat sap like pine; use it for posts and the worms would eat them up. It's not a timber tree - there is nothing it can be used for. That's how it got to be that old!"

After Carpenter Shih had returned home, the oak tree appeared to him in a dream and said, "What are you comparing me with? Are you comparing me with those useful trees? The cherry apple, the pear, the orange, the citron, the rest of those fructiferous trees and shrubs - as soon as their fruit is ripe, they are torn apart and subjected to abuse. Their big limbs are broken off, their little limbs are yanked around. Their utility makes life miserable for them, and so they don't get to finish out the years Heaven gave them, but are cut off in mid-journey. They bring it on themselves - the pulling and tearing of the common mob. And it's the same way with all other things.

"As for me, I've been trying a long time to be of no use, and though I almost died, I've finally got it. This is of great use to me. If I had been of some use, would I ever have grown this large? Moreover you and I are both of us things. What's the point of this - things condemning things? You, a worthless man about to die-how do you know I am a worthless tree?"

When Carpenter Shih woke up, he reported his dream. His apprentice said, "If it's so intent on being of no use, what's it doing there at the village shrine?"

"Shhh! Say no more! It's only resting there. If we carp and criticize, it will merely conclude that we do not understand it. Even if it weren't at the shrine, do you suppose it would be cut down? It protects itself in a different way from ordinary people. If you try to judge it by conventional standards, you'll be way off!"

Tzu-ch'i of Nan-po was wandering around the Hill of Shang when he saw a huge tree there, different from all the rest. A thousand teams of horses could have taken shelter under it and its shade would have covered them all. Tzu-ch'i said, "What tree is this? It must certainly have some extraordinary usefulness!" But, looking up, he saw that the smaller limbs were gnarled and twisted, unfit for beams or rafters, and looking down, he saw that the trunk was pitted and rotten and could not be used for coffins. He licked one of the leaves and it blistered his mouth and made it sore. He sniffed the odour and it was enough to make a man drunk for three days. "It turns out to be a completely unusable tree," said Tzu-ch'i, "and so it has been able to grow this big. Aha! it is this unusableness that the Holy Man makes use of!"

The region of Ching-shih in Sung is fine for growing catalpas, cypresses, and mulberries. But those that are more than one or two arm-lengths around are cut down for people who want monkey perches; those that are three or four spans around are cut down for the ridgepoles of tall roofs;", and those that are seven or eight spans are cut down for the families of nobles or rich merchants who want side boards for coffins. So they never get to live out the years Heaven gave them, but are cut down in mid-journey by axes. This is the danger of being usable. In the Chieh sacrifice," oxen with white foreheads, pigs with turned-up snouts, and men with piles cannot be offered to the river. This is something all the shamans know, and hence they consider them inauspicious creatures. But the Holy Man for the same reason considers them highly auspicious.

There is Crippled Shu - chin stuck down in his navel, shoulders up above his head, pigtail pointing at the sky, his five organs on the top, his two thighs pressing his ribs. By sewing and washing, he gets enough to fill his mouth; by handling a winnow and sifting out the good grain, he makes enough to feed ten people. When the authorities call out the troops, he stands in the crowd waving good-by; when they get up a big work party, they pass him over because he's a chronic invalid. And when they are doling out grain to the ailling, he gets three big measures and ten bundles of firewood. With a crippled body, he's still able to look after himself and finish out the years Heaven gave him. How much better, then, if he had crippled virtue!

When Confucius visited Ch'u, Chieh Yu, the madman of Ch'u, wandered by his gate crying, "Phoenix, phoenix, how his virtue failed! The future you cannot wait for; the past you cannot pursue. When the world has the Way, the sage succeeds; when the world is without the Way, the sage survives. In times like the present, we do well to escape penalty. Good fortune is light as a feather, but nobody knows how to hold it up. Misfortune is heavy as the earth, but nobody knows how to stay out of its way. Leave off, leave off - this teaching men virtue! Dangerous, dangerous - to mark off the ground and run! Fool, fool - don't spoil my walking! I walk a crooked way - don't step on my feet. The mountain trees do

themselves harm; the grease in the torch burns itself up. The cinnamon can be eaten and so it gets cut down; the lacquer tree can be used and so it gets hacked apart. All men know the use of the useful, but nobody knows the use of the useless!"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 5

The Sign Of Virtue Complete

In Lu There Was A Man named Wang Tai who had had his foot cut off.' He had as many followers gathered around him as Confucius

Ch'ang Chi asked Confucius, "This Wang T'ai who's lost a foot - how does he get to divide up Lu with you, Master, and make half of it his disciples? He does not stand up and teach, he does not sit down and discuss, yet they go to him empty and come home full. Does he really have some wordless teaching, some formless way of bringing the mind to completion? What sort of man is he?"

Confucius said, "This gentleman is a sage. It's just that I've been tardy and have not gone to see him yet. But if I go to him as my teacher, how much more should those who are not my equals! Why only the state of Lu? I'll bring the whole world along and we'll all become his followers!"

Ch'ang Chi said, "If he's lost a foot and is still superior to the Master, then how far above the common run of men he must be! A man like that - what unique way does he have of using his mind?"

Confucius said, "Life and death are great affairs, and yet they are no change to him. Though heaven and earth flop over and fall down, it is no loss to him. He sees clearly into what has no falsehood and does not shift with things. He takes it as fate that things should change, and he holds fast to the source."

"What do you mean by that?" asked Ch'ang Chi.

Confucius said, "If you look at them from the point of view of their differences, then there is liver and gall, Ch'u and Yueh. But if you look at them from the point of view of their sameness, then the ten thousand things are all one. A man like this does not know what his ears or eyes should approve - he lets his mind play in the harmony of virtue. As for things, he sees them as one and does not see their loss. He regards the loss of a foot as a lump of earth thrown away."

Ch'ang Chi said, "In the way he goes about it, he uses his knowledge to get at his mind, and uses his mind to get at the constant mind. Why should things gather around him?"

Confucius said, "Men do not mirror themselves in running water - they mirror themselves in still water. Only what is still can still the stillness of other things. Of those that receive life from the earth, the pine and cypress alone are best - they stay as green as ever in winter or summer. Of those that receive life from Heaven, Yao and Shun alone are best - they stand at the head of the ten thousand things. Luckily they were able to order their lives, and thereby order the lives of other things. Proof that a man is holding fast to the beginning lies in the fact of his fearlessness. A brave soldier will plunge alone into the midst of nine armies. He seeks fame and can bring himself to this. How much more, then, is possible for a man who governs Heaven and earth, stores up the ten thousand things, lets the six parts of his body2 be only a dwelling, makes ornaments of his ears and eyes, unifies the knowledge of what he knows, and in his mind never tastes death. He will soon choose the day and ascend far off. Men may become his followers, but how could he be willing to bother himself about things?"

Shen-t'u Chia, who had lost a foot, was studying under Pohun Wu-jen along with Tzu-ch'an of Cheng. Tzu-ch'an said to Shen-t'u Chia, "If I go out first, you stay behind, and if you go out first, I shall stay behind."

Next day the two of them were again sitting on the same mat in the small hall. Tzu-ch'an said to Shen-t'u Chia, "If I go out first, you stay behind, and if you go out first, I shall stay behind! Now I will go out. Are you going to stay behind or are you not? When you see a prime minister, you don't even get out of the way - do you think you are the equal of a prime minister?"

Shen-t'u Chia said, "Within the gates of the Master, is there any such thing as a prime minister? You take delight in being a prime minister and pushing people behind you. But I have heard that if the mirror is bright, no dust settles on it; if dust settles, it isn't really bright. When you live around worthy men a long time, you'll be free of faults. You regard the Master as a great man, and yet you talk like this - it's not right, is it?"

Tzu-ch'an said, "You, a man like this - and still you claim to be better than a Yao! Take a look at your virtue and see if it's not enough to give you cause to reflect!"

Shen-t'u Chia said, "People who excuse their faults and claim they did not deserve to be punished - there are lots of them. But those who don't excuse their faults and who admit they did not deserve to be spared - they are few. To know what you cannot do anything about, and to be content with it as you would with fate - only a man of virtue can do that. If you play around in front of Archer Yi's target, you are right in the way of the arrows, and if you don't get hit, it's a matter of fate. There are lots of men with two feet who laugh at me for having only one. It makes me boil with rage, but I come here to the Master's place and I feel calmed down again and go home. I do not know whether he washes me clean with goodness, or whether I come to understand things by myself. The Master and I have been friends for nineteen years and he's never once let on that he's aware I am missing a foot. Now you and I are supposed to be wandering outside the realm of forms and bodies, and you come looking for me inside it - you are at fault, are you not?"

Tzu-ch'an squirmed, changed his expression, and put a different look on his face. "Say no more about it," he said.

In Lu there was a man named Shu-shan No-Toes who had had his foot cut off. Stumping along, he went to see Confucius.

"You weren't careful enough!" said Confucius. "Since you have already broken the law and gotten yourself into trouble like this, what do you expect to gain by coming to me now?"

No-Toes said, "I just did not understand my duty and was too careless of my body, and so I lost a foot. But I've come now because I still have something that is worth more than a foot and I want to try to hold on to it. There is nothing that heaven does not cover, nothing that earth does not bear up. I supposed, Master, that you would be like heaven and earth. How did I know you would act like this?"

"It was stupid of me," said Confucius. "Please, Sir, won't you come in? I'd like to describe to you what I have learned." But No-Toes went out.

Confucius said, "Be diligent, my disciples! Here is No-Toes, a man who has had his foot cut off, and still he's striving to learn so he can make up for the evil of his former conduct. How much more, then, should men whose virtue is still unimpaired!"

No Toes told the story to Lao Tan. "Confucius certainly hasn't reached the stage of a Perfect Man, has he? What does he mean coming around so obsequiously to study with you? 5 He is after the sham illusion of fame and reputation and does not know that the Perfect Man looks on these as so many handcuffs and fetters!"

Lao Tan said, "Why don't you just make him see that life and death are the same story, that acceptable and unacceptable are on a single string? Wouldn't it be well to free him from his handcuffs and fetters?"

No-Toes said, "When Heaven has punished him, how can you set him free?"

Duke Ai of Lu said to Confucius, "In Wei there was an ugly man named Ai T'ai-t'o. But when men were around him, they thought only of him and couldn't break away, and when women saw him, they ran begging to their fathers and mothers, saying, 'I'd rather be this gentleman's concubine than another man's wife!' - there were more than ten such cases and it hasn't stopped yet. No one ever heard him take the lead - he always just chimed in with other people. He wasn't in the position of a ruler where he could save men's lives, and he had no store of provisions to fill men's bellies. On top of that, he was ugly enough to astound the whole world, chimed in but never led, and knew no more than what went on right around him. And yet men and women flocked to him. He certainly must be different from other men, I thought, and I summoned him so I could have a look. Just as they said - he was ugly enough to astound the world. But he had not been with me more than a month or so when I began to realize what kind of man he was, and before the year was out, I really trusted him. There was no one in the state to act as chief minister, and I wanted to hand the government over to him. He was vague about giving an answer, evasive, as though he hoped to be let off, and I was embarrassed, but in the end I turned the state over to him. Then, before I knew it, he left me and went away. I felt completely crushed, as though I'd suffered a loss and did not have anyone left to enjoy my state with. What kind of man is he anyway?

Confucius said, "I once went on a mission to Ch'u, and as I was going along, I saw some little pigs nursing at the body of their dead mother. After a while, they gave a start and all ran away and left her, because they could no longer see their likeness in her; she was not the same as she had been before. In loving their mother, they loved not her body but the thing that moved her body. When a man has been killed in battle and people come to bury him, he has no use for his medals. When a man has had his feet amputated, he does not care much about shoes. For both, the thing that is basic no longer exists. When women are selected to be consorts of the Son of Heaven, their nails are not pared and their ears are not pierced. When a man has just taken a wife, he is kept in posts outside [the palace] and is no longer sent on [dangerous] missions.6 If so much care is taken to keep the body whole, how much more in the case of a man whose virtue is whole? Now Ai T'ai-t'o says nothing and is trusted, accomplishes nothing and is loved, so that people want to turn over their states to him and are only afraid he won't accept. It must be that his powers are whole, though his virtue takes no form.

"What do you mean when you say his powers are whole?" asked Duke Ai.

Confucius said, "Life, death, preservation, loss, failure, success, poverty, riches, worthiness, unworthiness, slander, fame, hunger, thirst, cold, heat - these are the alternations of the world, the workings of fate. Day and night they change place before us and wisdom cannot spy out their source. Therefore, they should not be enough to destroy your harmony; they should not be allowed to enter the Spirit Storehouse. If you can harmonise and delight in them, master them and never be at a loss for joy, if you can do this day and night without break and make it be spring with everything, mingling with all and creating the moment within your own mind - this is what I call being whole in power."

"What do you mean when you say his virtue takes no form?"

"Among level things, water at rest is the most perfect, and therefore it can serve as a standard. It guards what is inside and shows no movement outside. Virtue is the establishment of perfect harmony. Though virtue takes no form, things cannot break away from it."

Some days later, Duke Ai reported his conversation to Min Tzu." "At first, when I faced south and became ruler of the realm, I tried to look after the regulation of the people and worried that they might die. I really thought I understood things perfectly. But now that I have heard the words of a Perfect Man, I am afraid there was nothing to my understanding - I was thinking too little of my own welfare and ruining the state. Confucius and I are not subject and ruler-we are friends in virtue, that's all."

Mr. Lame-Hunchback-No-Lips talked to Duke Ling of Wei, and Duke Ling was so pleased with him that when he looked at normal men he thought their necks looked too lean and skinny. Mr. Pitcher-Sized-Wen talked to Duke Huan of Ch'i, and Duke Huan was so pleased with him that when he looked at normal men he thought their necks looked too lean and skinny. Therefore, if virtue is preeminent, the body will be forgot. But when men do not forget what can be forgot, but forget what cannot be forgot - that may be called true forgetting.

So the sage has his wanderings. For him, knowledge is an offshoot, promises are glue, favours are a patching up, and skill is a peddler. The sage hatches no schemes, so what use has he for knowledge? He does no carving, so what use has he for glue? He suffers no loss, so what use has he for favours? He hawks no goods, so what use has he for peddling? These four are called Heavenly Gruel. Heavenly Gruel is the food of Heaven, and if he's already gotten food from Heaven, what use does he have for men? He has the form of a man but not the feelings of a man. Since he has the form of a man, he bands together with other men. Since he does not have the feelings of a man, right and wrong cannot get at him. Puny and small, he sticks with the rest of men. Massive and great, he perfects his Heaven alone.

Hui Tzu said to Chuang Tzu, "Can a man really be without feelings?"

Chuang Tzu: "Yes."

Hui Tzu: "But a man who has no feelings-how can you call him a man?"

Chuang Tzu: "The Way gave him a face; Heaven gave him a form - why cannot you call him a man?"

Hui Tzu: "But if you have already called him a man, how can he be without feelings?"

Chuang Tzu: "That's not what I mean by feelings. When I talk about having no feelings, I mean that a man does not allow likes or dislikes to get in and do him harm. He just lets things be the way they are and does not try to help life along."

Hui Tzu: "If he does not try to help life along, then how can he keep himself alive?"

Chuang Tzu: "The Way gave him a face; Heaven gave him a form. He does not let likes or dislikes get in and do him harm. You, now - you treat your spirit like an outsider. You wear out your energy, leaning on a tree and moaning, slumping at your desk and dozing - Heaven picked out a body for you and you use it to gibber about 'hard' and 'white'!"

ZHIJANGZI SECTION 6

The Great And Venerable Teacher

He Who Knows What It Is that Heaven does, and knows what it is that man does, has reached the peak.

Knowing what it is that Heaven does, he lives with Heaven. Knowing what it is that man does, he uses the knowledge of what he knows to help out the knowledge of what he does not know, and lives out the years that Heaven gave him without being cut off midway - this is the perfection of knowledge.

However, there is a difficulty. Knowledge must wait for something before it can be applicable, and that which it waits for is never certain. How, then, can I know that what I call Heaven is not really man, and what I call man is not really Heaven? There must first be a True Man' before there can be true knowledge.

What do I mean by a True Man? The True Man of ancient times did not rebel against want, did not grow proud in plenty, and did not plan his affairs. A man like this could commit an error and not regret it, could meet with success and not make a show. A man like this could climb the high places and not be frightened, could enter the water and not get wet, could enter the fire and not get burned. His knowledge was able to climb all the way up to the Way like this.

The True Man of ancient times slept without dreaming and woke without care; he ate without savoring and his breath came from deep inside. The True Man breathes with his heels; the mass of men breathe with their throats. Crushed and bound down, they gasp out their words as though they were retching. Deep in their passions and desires, they are shallow in the workings of Heaven

The True Man of ancient times knew nothing of loving life, knew nothing of hating death. He emerged without delight; he went back in without a fuss. He came briskly, he went briskly, and that was all. He did not forget where he began; he did not try to find out where he would end. He received

something and took pleasure in it; he forgot about it and handed it back again. This is what I call not using the mind to repel the Way, not using man to help out Heaven. This is what I call the True Man.

Since he is like this, his mind forgets; his face is calm; his forehead is broad. He is chilly like autumn, balmy like spring, and his joy and anger prevail through the four seasons. He goes along with what is right for things and no one knows his limit. Therefore, when the sage calls out the troops, he may overthrow nations but he will not lose the hearts of the people. His bounty enriches ten thousand ages but he has no love for men. Therefore he who delights in bringing success to things is not a sage; he who has affections is not benevolent; he who looks for the right time is not a worthy man; he who cannot encompass both profit and loss is not a gentleman; he who thinks of conduct and fame and misleads himself is not a man of breeding; and he who destroys himself and is without truth is not a user of men. Those like Hu Pu-hsieh, Wu Kuang, Po Yi, Shu Ch'i, Chi Tzu, Hsu Yu, Chi T'o, and Shen-t'u Ti-all of them slaved in the service of other men, took joy in bringing other men joy, but could not find joy in any joy of their own.3

This was the True Man of old: his bearing was lofty and did not crumble; he appeared to lack but accepted nothing; he was dignified in his correctness but not insistent; he was vast in his emptiness but not ostentatious. Mild and cheerful, he seemed to be happy; reluctant, he could not help doing certain things; annoyed, he let it show in his face; relaxed, he rested in his virtue. Tolerant, he seemed to be part of the world; towering alone, he could be checked by nothing; withdrawn, he seemed to prefer to cut himself off; bemused, he forgot what he was going to say.

He regarded penalties as the body, rites as the wings, wisdom as what is timely, virtue as what is reasonable. Because he regarded penalties as the body, he was benign in his killing. Because he regarded rites as the wings, he got along in the world. Because he regarded wisdom as what is timely, there were things that he could not keep from doing. Because he regarded virtue as what is reasonable, he was like a man with two feet who gets to the top of the hill. And yet people really believed that he worked hard to get there.

Therefore his liking was one and his not liking was one. His being one was one and his not being one was one. In being one, he was acting as a companion of Heaven. In not being one, he was acting as a companion of man. When man and Heaven do not defeat each other, then we may be said to have the True Man.

Life and death are fated - constant as the succession of dark and dawn, a matter of Heaven. There are some things which man can do nothing about - all are a matter of the nature of creatures. If a man is willing to regard Heaven as a father and to love it, then how much more should he be willing to do for that which is even greater! If he is willing to regard the ruler as superior to himself and to die for him, then how much more should he be willing to do for the Truth!

When the springs dry up and the fish are left stranded on the ground, they spew each other with moisture and wet each other down with spit - but it would be much better if they could forget each other in the rivers and lakes. Instead of praising Yao and condemning Chieh, it would be better to forget both of them and transform yourself with the Way.

The Great Clod burdens me with form, labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death. So if I think well of my life, for the same reason I must think well of my death.

You hide your boat in the ravine and your fish net in the swamp and tell yourself that they will be safe. But in the middle of the night a strong man shoulders them and carries them off, and in your stupidity you don't know why it happened. You think you do right to hide little things in big ones, and yet they get away from you. But if you were to hide the world in the world, so that nothing could get away, this would be the final reality of the constancy of things.

You have had the audacity to take on human form and you are delighted. But the human form has ten thousand changes that never come to an end. Your joys, then, must be uncountable. Therefore, the sage wanders in the realm where things cannot get away from him, and all are preserved. He delights in early death; he delights in old age; he delights in the beginning; he delights in the end. If he can serve as a model for men, how much more so that which the ten thousand things are tied to and all changes alike wait upon!

The Way has its reality and its signs but is without action or form. You can hand it down but you cannot receive it; you can get it but you cannot see it. It is its own source, its own root. Before Heaven and earth existed it was there, firm from ancient times. It gave spirituality to the spirits and to God; it gave birth to Heaven and to earth. It exists beyond the highest point, and yet you cannot call it lofty; it exists beneath the limit of the six directions, and yet you cannot call it deep. It was born before Heaven and earth, and yet you cannot say it has been there for long; it is earlier than the earliest time, and yet you cannot call it old.

Hsi-wei got it and held up heaven and earth. Fu Hsi got it and entered into the mother of breath. The Big Dipper got it and from ancient times has never wavered. The Sun and Moon

got it and from ancient times have never rested. K'an-p'i got it and entered K'un-lun. P'ing-i got it and wandered in the great river. Chien Wu got it and lived in the great mountain. The Yellow Emperor got it and ascended to the cloudy heavens. Chuan Hsu got it and dwelt in the Dark Palace. Yuch'iang got it and stood at the limit of the north. The Queen Mother of the West got it and took her seat on Shaokuang nobody knows her beginning, nobody knows her end. P'engtugot it and lived from the age of Shun to the age of the Five Dictators. Fu Yueh got it and became minister to Wu-ting, who extended his rule over the whole world; then Fu Yueh climbed up to the Eastern Governor, straddled the Winnowing Basket and the Tail, and took his place among the ranks of stars.

Nan-po Tzu-k'uei said to the Woman Crookback, "You are old in years and yet your complexion is that of a child. Why is this?"

"I have heard the Way!"

"Can the Way be learned?" asked Nan-po Tzu-k'uei.

"Goodness, how could that be? Anyway, you aren't the man to do it. Now there is Pu-liang Yi - he has the talent of a sage but not the Way of a sage, whereas I have the Way of a sage but not the talent of a sage. I thought I would try to teach him and see if I could really get anywhere near to making him a sage. It's easier to explain the Way of a sage to someone who has the talent of a sage, you know. So I began explaining and kept at him for three days, 14 and after that he was able to put the world outside himself. When he had put the world outside himself. I kept at him for seven days more, and after that he was able to put things outside himself. When he had put things outside himself, I kept at him for nine days more, and after that he was able to put life outside himself. After he had put life outside himself, he was able to achieve the brightness of dawn, and when he had achieved the brightness of dawn, he could see his own aloneness. After he had managed to see his own aloneness, he could do away with past and present, and after he had done away with past and present, he was able to enter where there is no life and no death. That which kills life does not die; that which gives life to life does not live. This is the kind of thing it is: there is nothing it does not send off, nothing it does not welcome, nothing it does not destroy nothing it does not complete. Its name is Peace-in-Strife. After the strife, it attains completion."

Nan-po Tzu-k'uei asked, "Where did you happen to hear

"I heard it from the son of Aided-by-Ink, and Aided-by-Ink heard it from the grandson of Repeated-Recitation, and the grandson of Repeated-Recitation heard it from Seeing-Brightly, and Seeing-Brightly heard it from Whispered-Agreement, and Whispered-Agreement heard it from Waiting-for-Use, and Waiting-for-Use heard it from Exclaimed-Wonder, and Exclaimed-Wonder heard it from Dark-Obscurity, and Dark-Obscurity heard it from Participation-in-Mystery, and Participation-in-Mystery heard it from Copy-the-Source!"

Master Ssu, Master Yu, Master Li, and Master Lai were all four talking together. "Who can look upon nonbeing as his head, on life as his back, and on death as his rump?" they said. "Who knows that life and death, existence and annihilation, are all a single body? I will be his friend!"

The four men looked at each other and smiled. There was no disagreement in their hearts and so the four of them became friends.

All at once Master Yu fell ill. Master Ssu went to ask how he was. "Amazing" said Master Yu. "The Creator is making me all crookedy like this! My back sticks up like a hunchback and my vital organs are on top of me. My chin is hidden in my navel, my shoulders are up above my head, and my pigtail points at the sky. It must be some dislocation of the yin and vang!"

Yet he seemed calm at heart and unconcerned. Dragging himself haltingly to the well, he looked at his reflection and said, "My, my! So the Creator is making me all crookedy like this!"

"Do you resent it?" asked Master Ssu.

"Why no, what would I resent? If the process continues, perhaps in time he'll transform my left arm into a rooster. In that case I'll keep watch on the night. Or perhaps in time he'll transform my right arm into a crossbow pellet and I'll shoot down an owl for roasting. Or perhaps in time he'll transform my buttocks into cartwheels. Then, with my spirit for a horse, I'll climb up and go for a ride. What need will I ever have for a carriage again?

"I received life because the time had come; I will lose it because the order of things passes on. Be content with this time and dwell in this order and then neither sorrow nor joy can touch you. In ancient times this was called the 'freeing of the bound.' There are those who cannot free themselves, because they are bound by things. But nothing can ever win against Heaven - that's the way it's always been. What would I have to resent?"

Suddenly Master Lai grew ill. Gasping and wheezing, he lay at the point of death. His wife and children gathered round in a circle and began to cry. Master Li, who had come to ask

how he was, said, "Shoo! Get back! Don't disturb the process of change!"

Then he leaned against the doorway and talked to Master Lai. "How marvelous the Creator is! What is he going to make of you next? Where is he going to send you? Will he make you into a rat's liver? Will he make you into a bug's arra?"

Master Lai said, "A child, obeying his father and mother, goes wherever he is told, east or west, south or north. And the yin and yang - how much more are they to a man than father or mother! Now that they have brought me to the verge of death, if I should refuse to obey them, how perverse I would be! What fault is it of theirs? The Great Clod burdens me with form, labors me with life, eases me in old age, and rests me in death. So if I think well of my life, for the same reason I must think well of my death. When a skilled smith is casting metal, if the metal should leap up and say, 'I insist upon being made into a Mo-yeh!' he would surely regard it as very inauspicious metal indeed. Now, having had the audacity to take on human form once, if I should say, 'I do not want to be anything but a man! Nothing but a man!', the Creator would surely regard me as a most inauspicious sort of person. So now I think of heaven and earth as a great furnace, and the Creator as a skilled smith. Where could he send me that would not be all right? I will go off to sleep peacefully, and then with a start I will wake up.

Master Sang-hu, Meng-tzu Fan, and Master Chin-chang, three friends, said to each other, "Who can join with others without joining with others? Who can do with others without doing with others? Who can climb up to heaven and wander in the mists, roam the infinite, and forget life forever and forever?" The three men looked at each other and smiled. There was no disagreement in their hearts and so they became friends.

After some time had passed without event, Master Sang-hu died. He had not yet been buried when Confucius, hearing of his death, sent Tzu-kung to assist at the funeral. When Tzu-kung arrived, he found one of the dead man's friends weaving frames for silkworms, while the other strummed a lute. Joining their voices, they sang this song:

Ah, Sang-hu!

Ah, Sang-hu!

You have gone back to your true form

While we remain as men, O!

Tzu-kung hastened forward and said, "May I be so bold as to ask what sort of ceremony this is - singing in the very presence of the corpse?"

The two men looked at each other and laughed. "What does this man know of the meaning of ceremony?" they said.

Tzu-kung returned and reported to Confucius what had happened. "What sort of men are they anyway?" he asked. "They pay no attention to proper behavior, disregard their personal appearance and, without so much as changing the expression on their faces, sing in the very presence of the corpse! I can think of no name for them! What sort of men are they?"

"Such men as they," said Confucius, "wander beyond the realm; men like me wander within it. Beyond and within can never meet. It was stupid of me to send you to offer condolences. Even now they have joined with the Creator as men to wander in the single breath of heaven and earth. They look upon life as a swelling tumor, a protruding wen, and upon death as the draining of a sore or the bursting of a boil. To men such as these, how could there be any question of putting life first or death last? They borrow the forms of different creatures and house them in the same body. They forget liver and gall, cast aside ears and eyes, turning and revolving, ending and beginning again, unaware of where they start or finish. Idly they roam beyond the dust and dirt; they wander free and easy in the service of inaction. Why should they fret and fuss about the ceremonies of the vulgar world and make a display for the ears and eyes of the common herd?"

Tzu-kung said, "Well then, Master, what is this 'realm' that you stick to?"

Confucius said, "I am one of those men punished by Heaven. Nevertheless, I will share with you what I have."

"Then may I ask about the realm?" said Tzu-kung.

Confucius said, "Fish thrive in water, man thrives in the Way. For those that thrive in water, dig a pond and they will find nourishment enough. For those that thrive in the Way, don't bother about them and their lives will be secure. So it is said, the fish forget each other in the rivers and lakes, and men forget each other in the arts of the Way."

Tzu-kung said, "May I ask about the singular man?"

"The singular man is singular in comparison to other men, but a companion of Heaven. So it is said, the petty man of Heaven is a gentleman among men; the gentleman among men is the petty man of Heaven."

Yen Hui said to Conflucius, "When Meng-sun Ts'ai's mother died, he wailed without shedding any tears, he did not grieve in his heart, and he conducted the funeral without any look of sorrow. He fell down on these three counts, and yet he is known all over the state of Lu for the excellent way he

managed the funeral. Is it really possible to gain such a reputation when there are no facts to support it? I find it very peculiar indeed!"

Confucius said, "Meng-sun did all there was to do. He was advanced beyond ordinary understanding and he would have simplified things even more, but that wasn't practical. However, there is still a lot that he simplified. Meng-sun does not know why he lives and does not know why he dies. He does not know why he should go ahead; he does not know why he should fall behind. In the process of change, he has become a thing [among other things], and he is merely waiting for some other change that he does not yet know about. Moreover, when he is changing, how does he know that he is really changing? And when he is not changing, how does he know that he hasn't already changed? You and I, now - we are dreaming and have not waked up yet. But in his case, though something may startle his body, it won't injure his mind; though something may alarm the house [his spirit lives in], his emotions will suffer no death. Meng-sun alone has waked up. Men wail and so he wails, too - that's the reason he acts like

"What's more, we go around telling each other, I do this, I do that - but how do we know that this 'I' we talk about has any 'I' to it? You dream you are a bird and soar up into the sky; you dream you are a fish and dive down in the pool. But now when you tell me about it, I do not know whether you are awake or whether you are dreaming. Running around accusing others is not as good as laughing, and enjoying a good laugh is not as good as going along with things. Be content to go along and forget about change and then you can enter the mysterious oneness of Heaven."

Yi Erh-tzu went to see Hsu Yu. Hsu Yu said, "What kind of assistance has Yao been giving you?" Yi Erh-tzu said, "Yao told me, 'You must learn to practice

Yi Erh-tzu said, "Yao told me, 'You must learn to practice benevolence and righteousness and to speak clearly about right and wrong!"

"Then why come to see me?" said Hsu Yu. "Yao has already tattooed you with benevolence and righteousness and cut off your nose with right and wrong.21 Now how do you expect to go wandering in any far-away, carefree, and as-you-like-it naths?"

"That may be," said Yi Erh-tzu. "But I would like if I may to wander in a little corner of them."

"Impossible!" said Hsu Yu. "Eyes that are blind have no way to tell the loveliness of faces and features; eyes with no pupils have no way to tell the beauty of coloured and embroidered silks."

Yi Erh-tzu said, "Yes, but Wu-chuang forgot her beauty, Chu-liang forgot his strength, and the Yellow Emperor forgot his wisdom - all were content to be recast and remoulded. How do you know that the Creator will not wipe away my tattoo, stick my nose back on again, and let me ride on the process of completion and follow after you, Master?"

"Ah - we can never tell," said Hsu Y u. "I will just speak to you about the general outline. This Teacher of mine, this Teacher of mine - he passes judgment on the ten thousand things but he does not think himself righteous; his bounty extends to ten thousand generations but he does not think himself benevolent. He is older than the highest antiquity but he does not think himself long-lived; he covers heaven, bears up the earth, carves and fashions countless forms, but he does not think himself skilled. It is with him alone I wander."

Yen Hui said, "I am improving!"

Confucius said, "What do you mean by that?"

"I've forgot benevolence and righteousness!"

"That's good. But you still have not got it."

Another day, the two met again and Yen Hui said, "I am improving!"

"What do you mean by that?"

"I've forgot rites and music!"

"That's good. But you still have not got it."

Another day, the two met again and Yen Hui said, "I am improving!"

"What do you mean by that?"

"I can sit down and forget everything!"

Confucius looked very startled and said, "What do you mean, sit down and forget everything.'-"

Yen Hui said, "I smash up my limbs and body, drive out perception and intellect, cast off form, do away with understanding, and make myself identical with the Great Thoroughfare. This is what I mean by sitting down and forgetting everything."

Confucius said, "If you are identical with it, you must have no more likes! If you have been transformed, you must have no more constancy! So you really are a worthy man after all! 23 With your permission, I'd like to become your follower."

Master Yu and Master Sang were friends. Once it rained incessantly for ten days. Master Yu said to himself, Master Sang is probably having a bad time, and he wrapped up some rice and took it for his friend to eat. When he got to Master Sang's gate, he heard something like singing or crying, and someone striking a lute and saying:

Father?

Mother?

Heaven? Man?

It was as though the voice would not hold out and the singer were rushing to get through the words.

Master Yu went inside and said, "What do you mean singing a song like that!"

'I was pondering what it is that has brought me to this extremity, but I couldn't find the answer. My father and mother surely wouldn't wish this poverty on me. Heaven covers all without partiality; earth bears up all without partiality - heaven and earth surely wouldn't single me out to make me poor. I try to discover who is doing it, but I cannot get the answer. Still, here I am - at the very extreme. It must he fate '

### ZHUANGZI SECTION 7

Fit For Emperors And Kings

Nieh Ch'ueh Was Questioning Wang Ni. Four times he asked a question and four times Wang Ni said he did not know. Nieh Ch'ueh proceeded to hop around in great glee and went and told Master P'u-i. Master P'u-i said, "Are you just now finding that out? The clansman Yu-vu was no match for the clansman T'ai. The clansman Yu-yu still held on to benevolence and worked to win men over. He won men over all right, but he never got out into [the realm of] 'notman. The clansman T'ai, now - he lay down peaceful and easy; he woke up wide-eyed and blank. Sometimes he thought he was a horse: sometimes he thought he was a cow. His understanding was truly trustworthy; his virtue was perfectly true. He never entered [the realm of] 'not-man.' '

Chien Wu went to see the madman Chieh Yu. Chieh Yu said, "What was Chung Shih telling you the other day?" Chien Wu said. "He told me that the ruler of men should devise his own principles, standards, ceremonies, and regulations, and then there will be no one who will fail to obey him and be transformed by them."

The madman Chieh Yu said, "This is bogus virtue! To try to govern the world like this is like trying to walk the ocean, to drill through a river, or to make a mosquito shoulder a mountain! When the sage governs, does he govern what is on the outside? He makes sure of himself first, and then he acts. He makes absolutely certain that things can do what they are supposed to do, that is all. The bird flies high in the sky where it can escape the danger of stringed arrows. The field mouse burrows deep down under the sacred hill where it won't have to worry about men digging and smoking it out. Have you got less sense than these two little creatures?"

T'ien Ken was wandering on the sunny side of Yin Mountain. When he reached the banks of the Liao River, he happened to meet a Nameless Man. He questioned the man, saying, "Please may I ask how to rule the world?"

The Nameless Man said, "Get away from me, you peasant! What kind of a dreary question is that! I am just about to set off with the Creator. And if I get bored with that, then I'll ride on the Light-and-Lissome Bird out beyond the six directions, wandering in the village of Not-Even-Anything and living in the Broad-and-Borderless field. What business5 do you have coming with this talk of governing the world and disturbing my mind?"

But T'ien Ken repeated his question. The Nameless Man said, "Let your mind wander in simplicity, blend your spirit with the vastness, follow along with things the way they are, and make no room for personal views-then the world will be

Yang Tzu-chu6 went to see Lao Tan and said, "Here is a man swift as an echo, strong as a beam, with a wonderfully clear understanding of the principles of things, studying the Way without ever letting up - a man like this could compare with an enlightened king, couldn't he?"

Lao Tan said, "In comparison to the sage, a man like this is a drudging slave, a craftsman bound to his calling, wearing out his body, grieving his mind. They say it is the beautiful markings of the tiger and the leopard that call out the hunters, the nimbleness of the monkey and the ability of the dog to catch rats' that make them end up chained. A man like this how could he compare to an enlightened king?"
Yang Tzu-chu, much taken aback, said, "May I venture to

ask about the government of the enlightened king?

Lao Tan said, "The government of the enlightened king? His achievements blanket the world but appear not to be his own doing. His transforming influence touches the ten thousand things but the people do not depend on him. With him there is no promotion or praise - he lets everything find its own enjoyment. He takes his stand on what cannot be fathomed and wanders where there is nothing at all.

In Cheng there was a shaman of the gods named Chi Hsien. He could tell whether men would live or die, survive or perish, be fortunate or unfortunate, live a long time or die young. and he would predict the year, month, week, and day as though he were a god himself. When the people of Cheng saw him, they dropped everything and ran out of his way. Lieh Tzu went to see him and was completely intoxicated. Returning, he said to Hu Tzu, "I used to think, Master, that

your Way was perfect. But now I see there is something even higher!'

Hu Tzu said, "I have already showed you all the outward forms, but I have not yet showed you the substance-and do you really think you have mastered this Way of mine? There may be a flock of hens but, if there is no rooster, how can they lay fertile eggs? You take what you know of the Way and wave it in the face of the world, expecting to be believed! This is the reason men can see right through you. Try bringing your shaman along next time and letting him get a look at

The next day Lieh Tzu brought the shaman to see Hu Tzu. When they had left the room, the shaman said, "I am so sorry your master is dying! There is no life left in him - he won't last the week. I saw something very strange-something like wet ashes!"

Lieh Tzu went back into the room, weeping and drenching the collar of his robe with tears, and reported this to Hu. Tzu. Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him with the Pattern of Earth - still and silent, nothing moving, nothing standing up. He probably saw in me the Workings of Virtue Closed Off. 10 Try bringing him around again.

The next day the two came to see Hu Tzu again, and when they had left the room, the shaman said to Lieh Tzu, "It certainly was lucky that your master met me! He's going to get better - he has all the signs of life! I could see the stirring of what had been closed off!"

Lieh Tzu went in and reported this to Hu Tzu.

Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him as Heaven and Earth - no name or substance to it, but still the workings, coming up from the heels. He probably saw in me the Workings of the Good One. Try bringing him again.'

The next day the two came to see Hu Tzu again, and when they had left the room, the shaman said to Lieh Tzu. "Your master is never the same! I have no way to physiognomize him! If he will try to steady himself, then I will come and examine him again.

Lieh Tzu went in and reported this to Hu Tzu.

Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him as the Great Vastness Where Nothing Wins Out. He probably saw in me the Workings of the Balanced Breaths. Where the swirling waves gather there is an abyss: where the still waters gather there is an abyss; where the running waters gather there is an abyss. The abyss has nine names and I have shown him three.13 Try bringing him again."

The next day the two came to see Hu Tzu again, but before the shaman had even come to a halt before Hu Tzu, his wits left him and he fled

"Run after him!" said Hu Tzu, but though Lieh Tzu ran after him, he could not catch up. Returning, he reported to Hu Tzu, "He's vanished! He's disappeared! I couldn't catch up

Hu Tzu said, "Just now I appeared to him as Not Yet Emerged from My Source. I came at him empty, wriggling and turning, not knowing anything about 'who' or 'what,' now dipping and bending, now flowing in waves - that's why he ran away.

After this, Lieh Tzu concluded that he had never really begun to learn anything. He went home and for three years did not go out. He replaced his wife at the stove, fed the pigs as though he were feeding people, and showed no preferences in the things he did. He got rid of the carving and polishing and returned to plainness, letting his body stand alone like a clod. In the midst of entanglement he remained sealed, and in this oneness he ended his life.

Do not be an embodier of fame; do not be a storehouse of schemes; do not be an undertaker of projects; do not be a proprietor of wisdom. Embody to the fullest what has no end and wander where there is no trail. Hold on to all that you have received from Heaven but do not think you have gotten anything. Be empty, that is all. The Perfect Man uses his mind like a mirror - going after nothing, welcoming nothing, responding but not storing. Therefore he can win out over things and not hurt himself

The emperor of the South Sea was called Shu [Briefl, the emperor of the North Sea was called Hu [Sudden], and the emperor of the central region was called Hun-tun [Chaos]. Shu and Hu from time to time came together for a meeting in the territory of Hun-tun, and Hun-tun treated them very generously. Shu and Hu discussed how they could repay his kindness. "All men," they said, "have seven openings so they can see, hear, eat, and breathe. But Hun-tun alone does not have any. Let's trying boring him some!"

Every day they bored another hole, and on the seventh day Hun-tun died.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 8

Webbed Toes

Two Toes Webbed Together a sixth finger forking off these come from the inborn nature but are excretions as far as Virtue is concerned. Swelling tumors and protruding wens these come from the body but are excretions as far as the inborn nature is concerned. Men overnice in the ways of

benevolence and righteousness try to put these into practice, even to line them up with the five vital organs!

This is not the right approach to the Way and its Virtue. Therefore he who has two toes webbed together has grown a flap of useless flesh; he who has a sixth finger forking out of his hand has sprouted a useless digit; and he who imposes overnice ways, webs and forked fingers, upon the original form of the five vital organs will become deluded and perverse in the practice of benevolence and righteousness and overnice in the use of his hearing and sight. Thus he who is web-toed in eyesight will be confused by the five colours, bewitched by patterns and designs, by the dazzling hues of blue and yellow, of embroidery and brocade - am I wrong? So we have Li Chu.

He who is overnice in hearing will be confused by the five notes, bewitched by the six tones, by the sounds of metal and stone, strings and woodwinds, the huang-chung and ta-lu pitch pipes - am I wrong? So we have Music Master K'uang. He who is fork-fingered with benevolence will tear out the Virtue given him and stifle his inborn nature in order to seize fame and reputation, leading the world on with pipe and drum in the service of an unattainable ideal - am I wrong? So we have Tseng and Shih. He who is web-toed in argumentation will pile up bricks, knot the plumb line, apply the curve, letting his mind wander in the realm of "hard" "likeness" and "difference," huffing and puffing away, lauding his useless words - am I wrong? So we have Yang and Mo.' All these men walk a way that is overnice, web-toed, wide of the mark, fork-fingered, not that which is the True Rightness of the world.

He who holds to True Rightness does not lose the original form of his inborn nature. So for him joined things are not webbed toes, things forking off are not superfluous fingers, the long is never too much, the short is never too little. The duck's legs are short, but to stretch them out would worry him; the crane's legs are long, but to cut them down would make him sad. What is long by nature needs no cutting off; what is short by nature needs no stretching. That would be no way to get rid of worry. I wonder, then, if benevolence and righteousness are part of man's true form? Those benevolent men-how much worrying they do!

The man with two toes webbed together would ween if he tried to tear them apart; the man with a sixth finger on his hand would howl if he tried to gnaw it off. Of these two, one has more than the usual number, the other has less, but in worrying about it they are identical. Nowadays the benevolent men of the age lift up weary eyes, worrying over the ills of the world, while the men of no benevolence tear apart the original form of their inborn nature in their greed for eminence and wealth. Therefore I wonder if benevolence and righteousness are really part of man's true form? From the Three Dynasties on down, what a lot of fuss and hubbub they have made in the world!

If we must use curve and plumb line, compass and square to make something right, this means cutting away its inborn nature; if we must use cords and knots, glue and lacquer to make something firm, this means violating its natural Virtue. So the crouchings and bendings of rites and music, the smiles and beaming looks of benevolence and righteousness, which are intended to comfort the hearts of the world, in fact destroy their constant naturalness.

For in the world there can be constant naturalness. Where there is constant naturalness, things are arced not by the use of the curve, straight not by the use of the plumb line, rounded not by compasses, squared not by T squares, joined not by glue and lacquer, bound not by ropes and lines. Then all things in the world, simple and compliant, live and never know how they happen to live; all things, rude and unwitting, get what they need and never know how they happen to get it. Past and present it has been the same; nothing can do injury to this [principle]. Why then come with benevolence and righteousness, that tangle and train of glue and lacquer, ropes and lines, and try to wander in the realm of the Way and its Virtue? You will only confuse the world!

A little confusion can alter the sense of direction: a great confusion can alter the inborn nature. How do I know this is so? Ever since that man of the Yu clan began preaching benevolence and righteousness and stirring up the world, all the men in the world have dashed headlong for benevolence and righteousness. This is because benevolence and righteousness have altered their inborn nature, is it not?

Let me try explaining what I mean. From the Three Dynasties on down, everyone in the world has altered his inborn nature because of some [external] thing. The petty man? - he will risk death for the sake of profit. The knight? - will risk it for the sake of fame. The high official? - he will risk it for family; the sage? - he will risk it for the world. All these various men go about the business in a different way, and are tagged differently when it comes to fame and reputation: but in blighting their inborn nature and risking their lives for something they are the same.

The slave boy and the slave girl were out together herding their sheep, and both of them lost their flocks. Ask the slave boy how it happened: well, he had a bundle of writing slips and was reading a book. Ask the slave girl how it happened:

well, she was playing a game of toss-and-wait-your-turn. They went about the business in different ways, but in losing their sheep they were equal. Po Yi died for reputation at the foot of Shou-yang mountain; Robber Chih died for gain on top of Eastern Mound. The two of them died different deaths, but in destroying their lives and blighting their inborn nature they were equal. Why then must we say that Po Yi was right and Robber Chih wrong?

Everyone in the world risks his life for something. If he risks it for benevolence and righteousness, then custom names him a gentleman; if he risks it for goods and wealth, then custom names him a petty man. The risking is the same, and yet we have a gentleman here, a petty man there. In destroying their lives and blighting their inborn nature, Robber Chih and Po Yi were two of a kind. How then can we pick out the gentleman from the petty man in such a case?

He who applies his nature to benevolence and righteousness may go as far with it as Tseng and Shih, but I would not call him an expert. He who applies his nature to the five flavours may go as far with it as Yu Erh, 16 but I would not call him an expert. He who applies his nature to the five notes may go as far with it as Music Master K'uang, but I would not call this good hearing. He who applies his nature to the five colours may go as far with it as Li Chu, but I would not call this good eyesight. My definition of expertness has nothing to do with benevolence and righteousness; it means being expert in regard to your Virtue, that is all. My definition of expertness has nothing to do with benevolence or righteousness; it means following the true form of your inborn nature, that is all. When I speak of good hearing, I do not mean listening to others; I mean simply listening to yourself. When I speak of good eyesight, I do not mean looking at others; I mean simply looking at yourself. He who does not look at himself but looks at others, who does not get hold of himself but gets hold of others, is getting what other men have got and failing to get what he himself has got. He finds joy in what brings joy to other men, but finds no joy in what would bring joy to himself. And if he finds joy in what brings joy to other men, but finds no joy in what would bring joy to himself, then whether he is a Robber Chih or a Po Yi he is equally deluded and perverse. I have a sense of shame before the Way and its Virtue, and for that reason I do not venture to raise myself up in deeds of benevolence and righteousness, or to lower myself in deluded and perverse practices.

# ZHUANGZI SECTION 9

Horses' Hoofs

Horses' Hoofs Are Made for treading frost and snow, their coats for keeping out wind and cold. To munch grass, drink from the stream, lift up their feet and gallop this is the true nature of horses. Though they might possess great terraces and fine halls, they would have no use for them.

Then along comes Po Lo.1 "I am good at handling horses!" he announces, and proceeds to singe them, shave them, pare them, brand them, bind them with martingale and crupper, tie them up in stable and stall. By this time two or three out of ten horses have died. He goes on to starve them, make them go thirsty, race them, prance them, pull them into line, force them to run side by side, in front of them the worry of bit and rein, behind them the terror of whip and crop. By this time over half the horses have died.

The potter says, "I am good at handling clay! To round it, I apply the compass; to square it, I apply the T square." The carpenter says, "I am good at handling wood! To are it, I apply the curve; to make it straight, I apply the plumb line." But as far as inborn nature is concerned, the clay and the wood surely have no wish to be subjected to compass and square, curve and plumb line. Yet generation after generation sings out in praise, saying, "Po Lo is good at handling horses! The potter and the carpenter are good at handling clay and wood!" And the same fault is committed by the men who handle the affairs of the world!

In my opinion someone who was really good at handling the affairs of the world would not go about it like this. The people have their constant inborn nature. To weave for their clothing, to till for their food - this is the Virtue they share. They are one in it and not partisan, and it is called the Emancipation of Heaven. Therefore in a time of Perfect Virtue the gait of men is slow and ambling; their gaze is steady and mild. In such an age mountains have no paths or trails, lakes no boats or bridges. The ten thousand things live species by species, one group settled close to another. Birds and beasts form their flocks and herds, grass and trees grow to fullest height. So it happens that you can tie a cord to the birds and beasts and lead them about, or bend down the limb and peer into the nest of the crow and the magpie. In this age of Perfect Virtue men live the same as birds and beasts, group themselves side by side with the ten thousand things. Who then knows anything about "gentleman" or "petty man"? Dull and ununwitting,2 men have no wisdom; thus their Virtue does not depart from them. Dull and unwitting, they have no desire; this is called uncarved simplicity. In uncarved simplicity the people attain their true nature.3

Then along comes the sage, huffing and puffing after benevolence, reaching on tiptoe for righteousness, and the world for the first time has doubts; mooning and mouthing over his music, snipping and stitching away at his rites, and the world for the first time is divided. Thus, if the plain unwrought substance had not been blighted, how would there be any sacrificial goblets? If the white jade had not been shattered, how would there be any scepters and batons? If the Way and its Virtue had not been cast aside, how would there be any call for benevolence and righteousness? If the true form of the inborn nature had not been abandoned, how would there be any use for rites and music? If the five colours had not confused men, who would fashion patterns and hues? If the five notes had not confused them, who would try to tune things by the six tones? That the unwrought substance was blighted in order to fashion implements - this was the crime of the artisan. That the Way and its Virtue were destroyed in order to create benevolence and righteousness - this was the fault of the sage

When horses live on the plain, they eat grass and drink from the streams. Pleased, they twine their necks together and rub; angry, they turn back to back and kick. This is all horses know how to do. But if you pile poles and yokes on them and line them up in crossbars and shafts, then they will learn to snap the crossbars, break the yoke, rip the carriage top, champ the bit, and chew the reins. Thus horses learn how to commit the worst kinds of mischief. This is the crime of Po Lo.

In the days of Ho Hsu,6 people stayed home but did not know what they were doing, walked around but did not know where they were going. Their mouths crammed with food, they were merry; drumming on their bellies, they passed the time. This was as much as they were able to do. Then the sage came along with the crouchings and bendings of rites and music, which were intended to reform the bodies of the world; with the reaching-for-a-dangled-prize of benevolence and righteousness, which was intended to comfort the hearts of the world. Then for the first time people learned to stand on tiptoe and covet knowledge, to fight to the death over profit, and there was no stopping them. This in the end was the fault of the sage.

## ZHUANGZI SECTION 10

Rifling Trunks

If One Is To Guard and take precautions against thieves who rifle trunks, ransack bags, and break open boxes, then he must bind with cords and ropes and make fast with locks and hasps. This the ordinary world calls wisdom. But if a great thief comes along, he will shoulder the boxes, hoist up the trunks, sling the bags over his back, and dash off, only worrying that the cords and ropes, the locks and hasps are not fastened tightly enough. In that case, the man who earlier was called wise was in fact only piling up goods for the benefit of a great thief.

Let me try explaining what I mean. What the ordinary world calls a wise man is in fact someone who piles things up for the benefit of a great thief, is he not? And what it calls a sage is in fact someone who stands guard for the benefit of a great thief, is he not? How do I know this is so? In times past there was the state of Ch'i, its neighbouring towns within sight of each other, the cries of their dogs and chickens within hearing of each other. The area where its nets and seines were spread, where its plows and spades dug the earth, measured over two thousand li square, filling all the space within its four borders. And in the way its ancestral temples and its altars of the soil and grain were set up, its towns and villages and hamlets were governed, was there anything that did not accord with the laws of the sages? Yet one morning Viscount T'ien Ch'eng murdered the ruler of Ch'i and stole his state. And was it only the state he stole? Along with it he also stole the laws which the wisdom of the sages had devised. Thus, although Viscount T'ien Ch'eng gained the name of thief and bandit, he was able to rest as peacefully as a Yao or a Shun. The smaller states did not dare condemn him, the larger states did not dare to attack, and for twelve generations his family held possession of the state of Ch'i. Is this not a case in which a man, stealing the state of Ch'i, along with it stole the laws of the sages' wisdom and used them to guard the person of a thief

Let me try explaining it. What the ordinary world calls 'a man of perfect wisdom is in fact someone who piles things up for the benefit of a great thief; what the ordinary world calls a perfect sage is in fact someone who stands guard for the benefit of a great thief. How do I know this is so? In times past, Kuan Lung-feng was cut down, Pi Kan was disemboweled, Ch'ang Hung was torn apart, and Wu Tzu-hsu was left to rot. All four were worthy men, and yet they could not escape destruction.

One of Robber Chih's followers once asked Chih, "Does the thief too have a Way?"

Chih replied, "How could he get anywhere if he did not have a Way? Making shrewd guesses as to how much booty is stashed away in the room is sageliness; being the first one in is bravery; being the last one out is righteousness; knowing whether the job can be pulled off or not is wisdom; dividing

up the loot fairly is benevolence. No one in the world ever succeeded in becoming a great thief if he did not have all five!"

From this we can see that the good man must acquire the Way of the sage before he can distinguish himself, and Robber Chih must acquire the Way of the sage before he can practice his profession. But good men in the world are few and bad men many, so in fact the sage brings little benefit to the world, but much harm. Thus it is said, "When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold; when the wine of Lu is thin, Han-tan is besieged." And when the sage is born, the great thief appears.

Cudgel and cane the sages and let the thieves and bandits go their way; then the world will at last be well ordered! If the stream dries up, the valley will be empty; if the hills wash away, the deep pools will be filled up. And if the sage is dead and gone, then no more great thieves will arise. The world will then be peaceful and free of fuss.

But until the sage is dead, great thieves will never cease to appear, and if you pile on more sages in hopes of bringing the world to order, you will only be piling up more profit for Robber Chih. Fashion pecks and bushels for people to measure by and they will steal by peck and bushel. Fashion scales and balances for people to weigh by and they will steal by scale and balance. Fashion tallies and seals to insure trustworthiness and people will steal with tallies and seals. Fashion benevolence and righteousness to reform people and they will steal with benevolence and righteousness. How do I know this is so? He who steals a belt buckle pays with his life: he who steals a state gets to be a feudal lord-and we all know that benevolence and righteousness are to be found at the gates of the feudal lords. Is this not a case of stealing benevolence and righteousness and the wisdom of the sages? So men go racing in the footsteps of the great thieves, aiming for the rank of feudal lord, stealing benevolence and righteousness, and taking for themselves all the profits of peck and bushel, scale and balance, tally and seal. Though you try to lure them aside with rewards of official carriages and caps of state, you cannot move them; though you threaten them with the executioner's ax, you cannot deter them. This piling up of profits for Robber Chih to the point where nothing can deter him - this is all the fault of the sage!

The saying goes, "The fish should not be taken from the deep pool; the sharp weapons of the state should not be shown to men." The sage is the sharp weapon of the world, and therefore he should not be where the world can see him.

Cut off sageliness, cast away wisdom, and then the great thieves will cease. Break the jades, crush the pearls, and petty thieves will no longer rise up. Burn the tallies, shatter the seals, and the people will be simple and guileless. Hack up the bushels, snap the balances in two, and the people will no longer wrangle. Destroy and wipe out the laws that the sage has made for the world, and at last you will find you can reason with the people.

Discard and confuse the six tones, smash and unstring the pipes and lutes, stop up the ears of the blind musician K'uang, and for the first time the people of the world will be able to hold on to their hearing. Wipe out patterns and designs, scatter the five colours, glue up the eyes of Li Chu, and for the first time the people of the world will be able to hold on to their eyesight. Destroy- and cut to pieces the curve and plumb line, throw away the compass and square, shackle the fingers of Artisan Ch'ui, and for the first time the people of the world will possess real skill. Thus it is said, "Great skill is like clumsiness." Put a stop to the ways of Tseng and Shih, gag the mouths of Yang and Mo, wipe out and reject benevolence and righteousness, and for the first time the Virtue of the world will reach the state of Mysterious Leveling."

When men hold on to their eyesight, the world will no longer be dazzled. When men hold on to their hearing, the world will no longer be wearied. When men hold on to their wisdom, the world will no longer be confused. When men hold on to their Virtue, the world will no longer go awry. Men like Tseng, Shih, Yang, Mo, Musician K'uang, Artisan Ch'ui, or Li Chu all displayed their Virtue on the outside and thereby blinded and misled the world. As methods go, this one is worthless!

Have you alone never heard of that age of Perfect Virtue?

Long ago, in the time of Yung Ch'eng, Ta T'ing, Po Huang, Chung Yang, Li Lu, Li Hsu, Hsien Yuan, Ho Hsu, Tsun Lu, Chu Jung, Fu Hsi, and Shen Nung, the people knotted cords and used them." They relished their food, admired their clothing, enjoyed their customs, and were content with their houses. Though neighbouring states were within sight of each other, and could hear the cries of each other's dogs and chickens, the people grew old and died without ever traveling beyond their own borders. At a time such as this, there was nothing but the most perfect order.

But now something has happened to make people crane their necks and stand on tiptoe. "There is a worthy man in such and such a place!" they cry and, bundling up their provisions, they dash off. At home, they abandon their parents; abroad, they shirk the service of their ruler. Their footprints form an unending trail to the borders of the other feudal lords, their carriage tracks weave back and forth a

thousand li and more. This is the fault of men in high places who covet knowledge.

As long as men in high places covet knowledge and are without the Way, the world will be in great confusion. How do I know this is so? Knowledge enables men to fashion bows, crossbows, nets, stringed arrows, and like contraptions, but when this happens the birds flee in confusion to the sky. Knowledge enables men to fashion fishhooks, lures, seines, dragnets, trawls, and weirs, but when this happens the fish flee in confusion to the depths of the water. Knowledge enables men to fashion pitfalls, snares, cages, traps, and gins, but when this happens the beasts flee in confusion to the swamps. And the flood of rhetoric that enables men to invent wily schemes and poisonous slanders, the glib gabble of "hard" and "white," the foul fustian of "same" and "different" bewilder the understanding of common men. So the world is dulled and darkened by great confusion. The blame lies in this coveting of knowledge.

In the world everyone knows enough to pursue what he does not know, but no one knows enough to pursue what he already knows. Everyone knows enough to condemn what he takes to be no good, but no one knows enough to condemn what he has already taken to be good. This is how the great confusion comes about, blotting out the brightness of sun and moon above, searing the vigor of hills and streams below, overturning the round of the four seasons in between. There is no insect that creeps and crawls, no creature that flutters and flies that has not lost its inborn nature. So great is the confusion of the world that comes from coveting knowledge!

From the Three Dynasties on down, it has been this and nothing else-shoving aside the pure and artless people and delighting in busy, bustling flatterers; abandoning the limpidity and calm of inaction and delighting in jumbled and jangling ideas. And this jumble and jangle has for long confused the world.

#### ZHUANGZI SECTION 11

Let It Be, Leave It Alone

I Have Heard Of Letting the world be, of leaving it alone; I have never heard of governing the world. You let it be for fear of corrupting the inborn nature of the world; you leave it alone for fear of distracting the Virtue of the world. If the nature of the world is not corrupted, if the Virtue of the world is not distracted, why should there be any governing of the world?

Long ago, when the sage Yao governed the world, he made the world bright and gleeful; men delighted in their nature, and there was no calmness anywhere. When the tyrant Chieh governed the world, he made the world weary and vexed; men found bitterness in their nature and there was no contentment anywhere. To lack calmness, to lack contentment is to go against Virtue, and there has never been anyone in the world who could go against Virtue and survive for long.

Are men exceedingly joyful? - they will do damage to the yang element. Are men exceedingly angry? - they will do damage to the yin. And when both yang and yin are damaged, the four seasons will not come as they should, heat and cold will fail to achieve their proper harmony, and this in turn will do harm to the bodies of men. It will make men lose a proper sense of joy and anger, to be constantly shifting from place to place, to think up schemes that gain nothing, to set out on roads that reach no glorious conclusion. Then for the first time the world grows restless and aspiring, and soon afterward appear the ways of Robber Chih, Tseng, and Shih.

Then, although the whole world joins in rewarding good men, there will never be enough reward; though the whole world joins in punishing evil men, there will never be enough punishment. Huge as the world is, it cannot supply sufficient reward or punishment. From the Three Dynasties on down, there has been nothing but bustle and fuss, all over this matter of rewards and punishments. How could people have any leisure to rest in the true form of their inborn nature and fate!

Do men delight in what they see? - they are corrupted by colours. Do they delight in what they hear? - they are corrupted by sounds. Do they delight in benevolence? - they bring confusion to Virtue. Do they delight in righteousness? they turn their backs on reason. Do they delight in rites? they are aiding artificiality. Do they delight in music? - they are aiding dissolution. Do they delight in sageness? - they are assisting artifice. Do they delight in knowledge? - they are assisting the fault-finders. As long as the world rests in the true form of its inborn nature and fate, it makes no difference whether these eight delights exist or not. But if the world does not rest in the true form of its nature and fate, then these eight delights will begin to grow warped and crooked, jumbled and deranged, and will bring confusion to the world. And if on top of that the world begins to honour them and cherish them, then the delusion of the world will be great indeed! You say these are only a fancy that will pass in time? Yet men prepare themselves with fasts and austerities when they come to describe them, kneel solemnly on their mats when they recommend them, beat drums and sing to set them forth in .dance. What's to be done about it I am sure I do not know!

If the gentleman finds he has no other choice than to direct and look after the world, then the best course for him is inaction. As long as there is inaction, he may rest in the true form of his nature and fate. If he values his own body more than the management of the world, then he can be entrusted with the world. If he is more careful of his own body than of the management of the world, then the world can be handed over to him. If the gentleman can in truth keep from rending apart his five vital organs, from tearing out his eyesight and hearing, then he will command corpse-like stillness and dragon vision, the silence of deep pools and the voice of thunder. His spirit will move in the train of Heaven, gentle and easy in inaction, and the ten thousand things will be dust on the wind. "What leisure have I now for governing the world?" he will say.

Ts'ui Chu was questioning Lao Tan. "If you do not govern the world, then how can you improve men's minds?"

Lao Tan said, "Be careful - don't meddle with men's minds! Men's minds can be forced down or boosted up, but this downing and upping imprisons and brings death to the mind. Gentle and shy, the mind can bend the hard and strong; it can chisel and cut away, carve and polish. Its heat is that of burning fire, its coldness that of solid ice, its swiftness such that, in the time it takes to lift and lower the head, it has twice swept over the four seas and beyond. At rest, it is deep-fathomed and still; in movement, it is far-flung as the heavens, racing and galloping out of reach of all bonds. This indeed is the mind of man!"

In ancient times the Yellow Emperor first used benevolence and righteousness to meddle with the minds of men. Yao and Shun followed him and worked till there was no more down on their thighs, no more hair on their shins, trying to nourish the bodies of the men of the world. They grieved their five vital organs in the practice of benevolence and righteousness, taxed their blood and breath in the establishment of laws and standards. But still some men would not submit to their rule, and so they had to exile Huan Tou to Mount Ch'ung, drive away the San-miao tribes to the region of San-wei, and banish Kung to the Dark City.4 This shows that they could not make the world submit.

By the time the kings of the Three Dynasties appeared, the world was in great consternation indeed. On the lowest level there were men like the tyrant Chieh and Robber Chih, on the highest, men like Tseng and Shih, and the Confucianists and Mo-ists rose up all around. Then joy and anger eyed each other with suspicion, stupidity and wisdom duped each other, good and bad called one another names, falsehood and truth slandered one another and the world sank into a decline There was no more unity to the Great Virtue, and the inborn nature and fate shattered and fell apart. The world coveted knowledge and the hundred clans were thrown into turmoil. Then there were axes and saws to shape things, ink and plumb lines to trim them, mallets and gouges to poke holes in them, and the world, muddled and deranged, was in great confusion. The crime lay in this meddling with men's minds. So it was that worthy men crouched in hiding below the great mountains and yawning cliffs, and the lords of ten thousand chariots fretted and trembled above in their ancestral halls.

In the world today, the victims of the death penalty lie heaped together, the bearers of cangues tread on each other's heels, the sufferers of punishment are never out of each other's sight. And now come the Confucianists and Mo-ists, waving their arms, striding into the very midst of the fettered and manacled men. Ah, that then should go this far, that they should be so brazen, so lacking in any sense of shame! Who can convince me that sagely wisdom is not in fact the wedge that fastens the cangue, that benevolence and righteousness are not in fact the loop and lock of these fetters and manacles? How do I know that Tseng and Shih are not the whistling arrows that signal the approach of Chieh and Chih? Therefore I say, cut off sageness, cast away wisdom, and the world will be in perfect order.

The Yellow Emperor had ruled as Son of Heaven for nineteen years and his commands were heeded throughout the world, when he heard that Master Kuang Ch'eng was living on top of the Mountain of Emptiness and Identity. He therefore went to visit him. "I have heard that you, Sir, have mastered the Perfect Way. May I venture to ask about the essence of the Perfect Way?" he said. "I would like to get hold of the essence of Heaven and earth and use it to aid the five grains and to nourish the common people. I would also like to control the yin and yang in order to insure the growth of all living things. How may this be done?"

Master Kuang Ch'eng said, "What you say you want to learn about pertains to the true substance of things, but what you say you want to control pertains to things in their divided state. Ever since you began to govern the world, rain falls before the cloud vapours have even gathered, the plants and trees shed their leaves before they have even turned yellow, and the light of the sun and moon grows more and more sickly. Shallow and vapid, with the mind of a prattling knave - what good would it do to tell you about the Perfect Way!"

The Yellow Emperor withdrew, gave up his throne, built a solitary hut, spread a mat of white rushes, and lived for three

months in retirement. Then he went once more to request an interview. Master Kuang Ch'eng was lying with his face to the south. The Yellow Emperor, approaching in humble manner, crept forward on his knees, bowed his head twice and said, "I have heard that you, Sir, have mastered the Perfect Way. I venture to ask about the governing of the body. What should I do in order to live a long life?"

Master Kuang Ch'eng sat up with a start. "Excellent, this question of yours! Come, I will tell you about the Perfect Way. The essence of the Perfect Way is deep and darkly shrouded; the extreme of the Perfect Way - is mysterious and hushed in silence. Let there be no seeing, no hearing; enfold the spirit in quietude and the body will right itself. Be still, be pure, do not labor your body, do not churn up your essence, and then you can live a long life. When the eye does not see, the ear does not hear, and the mind does not know, then your spirit will protect the body, and the body will enjoy long life. Be cautious of what is within you; block off what is outside you, for much knowledge will do you harm. Then I

will lead you up above the Great Brilliance, to the source of the Perfect Yang; I will guide you through the Dark and Mysterious Gate, to the source of the Perfect Yin. Heaven and earth have their controllers, the yin and yang their storehouses. You have only to take care and guard your own body; these other things will of themselves grow sturdy. As for myself, I guard this unity, abide in this harmony, and therefore I have kept myself alive for twelve hundred years, and never has my body suffered any decay."

The Yellow Emperor bowed twice and said, "Master Kuang Ch'eng, you have been as a Heaven to me!"

Master Kuang Ch'eng said, "Come, I will explain to you. This Thing I have been talking about is inexhaustible, and yet men all suppose that it has an end. This Thing I have been talking about is unfathomable, and yet men all suppose that it has a limit. He who attains my Way will be a Bright One on high,8 and a king in the world below. But he who fails to attain my Way, though he may see the light above him, will remain below as dust. All the hundred creatures that flourish are born out of dust and return to dust. So I will take leave of you, to enter the gate of the inexhaustible and wander in the limitless fields, to form a triad with the light of the sun and moon, to partake in the constancy of Heaven and earth. What stands before me I mingle with, what is far from me I leave in darkness. All other men may die; I alone will survive!"

Cloud Chief was traveling east and had passed the branches of the Fu-yao when he suddenly came upon Big Concealment. Big Concealment at the moment was amusing himself by slapping his thighs and hopping around like a sparrow. When Cloud Chief saw this, he stopped in bewilderment, stood dead still in his tracks, and said, "Old gentleman, who are you? What is this you are doing?"

Big Concealment, without interrupting his thigh-slapping and sparrow-hopping, replied to Cloud Chief, "Amusing myself."

"I would like to ask a question," said Cloud Chief.

"Oh dear!" said Big Concealment, for the first time raising his head and looking at Cloud Chief.

"The breath of heaven is out of harmony, the breath of earth tangles and snarls," said Cloud Chief. "The six breaths do not blend properly," the four seasons do not stay in order. Now I would like to harmonise the essences of the six breaths in order to bring nourishment to all living creatures. How should I go about it?"

Big Concealment, still thigh-slapping and sparrowhopping, shook his head. "I have no idea! I have no idea!"

So Cloud Chief got no answer. Three years later he was again traveling east and, as he passed the fields of Sung, happened upon Big Concealment once more. Cloud Chief, overjoyed, dashed forward and presented himself, saying, "Heavenly Master, have you forgot me? Have you forgot me?" Then he bowed his head twice and begged for some instruction from Big Concealment.

Big Concealment said, "Aimless wandering does not know what it seeks; demented drifting does not know where it goes. A wanderer, idle, unbound, I view the sights of Undeception. What more do I know?"

Cloud Chief said, "I too consider myself a demented drifter, but the people follow me wherever I go and I have no choice but to think of them. It is for their sake now that I beg one word of instruction!"

Big Concealment said, "If you confuse the constant strands of Heaven and violate the true form of things, then Dark Heaven will reach no fulfillment. Instead, the beasts will scatter from their herds, the birds will cry all night, disaster will come to the grass and trees, misfortune will reach even to the insects. Ah, this is the fault of men who 'govern'!"

"Then what should I do?" said Cloud Chief.

"Ah," said Big Concealment, "you are too far gone! Up, up, stir yourself and be off!"

Cloud Chief said, "Heavenly Master, it has been hard indeed for me to meet with you - I beg one word of instruction!"

"Well, then - mind-nourishment!" said Big Concealment. "You have only to rest in inaction and things will transform themselves. Smash your form and body, spit out hearing and

eyesight, forget you are a thing among other things, and you may join in great unity with the deep and boundless. Undo the mind, slough off spirit, be blank and soulless, and the ten thousand things one by one will return to the root - return to the root and not know why. Dark and undifferentiated chaos - to the end of life none will depart from it. But if you try to know it, you have already departed from it. Do not ask what its name is, do not try to observe its form. Things will live naturally and of themselves."

Cloud Chief said, "The Heavenly Master has favoured me with this Virtue, instructed me in this Silence. All my life I have been looking for it, and now at last I have it!" He bowed his head twice, stood up, took his leave, and went away.

The common run of men all welcome those who are like themselves and scorn those who differ from themselves. The reason they favour those who are like themselves and do not distinguishing themselves from the crowd. But if their minds are set on distinguishing themselves from the crowd. But if their minds are set on distinguishing themselves from the crowd, how is this ever going to distinguish them from the crowd? It is better to follow the crowd and be content, for, no matter how much you may know, it can never match the many talents of the crowd combined.

Here is a man who wants to take over the management of another man's state." He thinks thereby to seize all the profits enjoyed by the kings of the Three Dynasties, but fails to take note of their worries. This is to gamble with another man's state, and how long can you expect to gamble with his state and not lose it? Less than one man in ten thousand will succeed in holding on to the state; the odds in favour of losing it are more than ten thousand to one. It is sad indeed that the possessors of states do not realize this!

Now the possessor of a state possesses a great thing. Because he possesses a great thing, he cannot be regarded as a mere thing himself. He is a thing, and yet he is not a mere thing therefore he can treat other things as mere things. He who clearly- understands that, in treating other things as mere things, he himself is no longer a mere thing-how could he be content only to govern the hundred clans of the world and do nothing more? He will move in and out of the Six Realms, wander over the Nine Continents, going alone, coming alone. He may be called a Sole Possessor, and a man who is a Sole Possessor may be said to have reached the peak of eminence.

The Great Man in his teaching is like the shadow that follows a form, the echo that follows a sound. Only when questioned does he answer, and then he pours out all his thoughts, making himself the companion of the world. He dwells in the echoless, moves in the directionless, takes by the hand you who are rushing and bustling back and forth, and proceeds to wander in the beginningless. He passes in and out of the boundless, and is ageless as the sun. His face and form16 blend with the Great Unity, the Great Unity which is selfless. Being selfless, how then can he look upon possession as possession? He who fixed his eyes on possession - he was the "gentleman" of ancient times. He who fixes his eyes on nothingness - he is the true friend of Heaven and earth.

What is lowly and yet must be used - things. What is humble and yet must be relied on - the people. What is irksome and yet must be attended to - affairs. What is sketchy and yet must be proclaimed - laws. What seems to apply only to distant relationships and yet must be observed - righteousness. What seems to apply only to intimate relationships and yet must be broadened - benevolence. What is confining and yet must be repeatedly practiced - ritual. What is already apt and yet must be heightened - Virtue. What is One and yet must be adapted - the Way. What is spiritual and yet must be put into action - Heaven.

Therefore the sage contemplates Heaven but does not assist it. He finds completion in Virtue but piles on nothing more. He goes forth in the Way but does not scheme. He accords with benevolence but does not set great store by it. He draws close to righteousness but does not labor over it. He responds to the demands of ritual and does not shun them. He disposes of affairs and makes no excuses. He brings all to order with laws and allows no confusion. He depends upon the people and does not make light of them. He relies upon things and does not throw them aside. Among things, there are none that are worth using, and yet they must be used.

He who does not clearly understand Heaven will not be pure in Virtue. He who has not mastered the Way will find himself without any acceptable path of approach. He who does not clearly understand the Way is pitiable indeed!

What is this thing called the Way? There is the Way of Heaven, and the way of man. To rest in inaction, and command respect - this is the Way of Heaven. To engage in action and become entangled in it - this is the way of man. The ruler is the Way of Heaven; his subjects are the way of man. The Way of Heaven and the way of man are far apart. This is something to consider carefully!

ZHUANGZI SECTION 12

Heaven And Earth

Heaven And Earth Are Huge, but they are alike in their transformations. The ten thousand things are numerous, but

they are one in their good order. Human beings are many, but they are all subjects of the sovereign. The sovereign finds his source in Virtue, his completion in Heaven. Therefore it is said that the sovereign of dark antiquity ruled the world through inaction, through Heavenly Virtue and nothing more.

Look at words in the light of the Way - then the sovereign of the world will be upright. Look at distinctions in the light of the Way - then the duty2 of sovereign and subject will be clear. Look at abilities in the light of the Way - then the officials of the world will be well ordered. Look everywhere in the light of the Way - then the response of the ten thousand things will be complete.

Pervading Heaven and earth: that is the Way. Moving among the ten thousand things: that is Virtue. Superiors governing the men below them: that is called administration. Ability finding trained expression: that is called skill. Skill is subsumed in administration; administration in duty; duty in Virtue; Virtue in the Way; and the Way in Heaven. Therefore it is said, those who shepherded the world in ancient times were without desire and the world was satisfied, without action and the ten thousand things were transformed. They were deep and silent and the hundred clans were at rest. The Record says: "Stick to the One and the ten thousand tasks will be accomplished; achieve mindlessness and the gods and spirits will bow down."

The Master said: The Way covers and bears up the ten thousand things - vast, vast is its greatness! The gentleman must pluck out his mind! To act through inaction is called Heaven. To speak through inaction is called Virtue. To love men and bring profit to things is called benevolence. To make the unlike alike is called magnitude. To move beyond barrier and distinction is called liberality. To possess the ten thousand unlikes is called wealth. To hold fast to Virtue is called establishment. To follow the Way is called completion. To see that external things do not blunt the will is called perfection. When the gentleman clearly comprehends these ten things, then how huge will be the greatness of his mind setting forth, how endless his ramblings with the ten thousand things!

Such a man will leave the gold hidden in the mountains, the pearls hidden in the depths. He will see no profit in money and goods, no enticement in eminence and wealth, no joy in long life, no grief in early death, no honour in affluence, no shame in poverty. He will not snatch the profits of a whole generation and make them his private hoard; he will not lord it over the world and think that he dwells in glory. His glory is enlightenment, [for he knows that] the ten thousand things belong to one storehouse, that life and death share the same hody

The Master said: The Way - how deep its dwelling, how pure its clearness! Without it, the bells and chiming stones will not sound. The bells and stones have voices but, unless they are struck, they will not sound. The ten thousand things - who can make them he still?

The man of kingly Virtue moves in simplicity and is ashamed to be a master of facts. He takes his stand in the original source and his understanding extends to the spirits. Therefore his Virtue is far-reaching. His mind moves forth only when some external thing has roused it. Without the Way the body can have no life, and without Virtue, life can have no clarity. To preserve the body and live out life, to establish Virtue and make clear the Way - is this not kingly Virtue? Broad and boundless, suddenly he emerges, abruptly he moves, and the ten thousand things follow him - this is what is called the man of kingly Virtue!

He sees in the darkest dark, hears where there is no sound. In the midst of darkness, he alone sees the dawn; in the midst of the soundless, he alone hears harmony. Therefore, in depth piled upon depth he can spy out the thing; in spirituality piled upon spirituality he can discover the essences So in his dealings with the ten thousand things he supplies all their wants out of total nothingness. Racing with the hour, he seeks lodging for a night, in the great, the small, the long, the short, the near, the far. 7

The Yellow Emperor went wandering north of the Red Water, ascended the slopes of K'un-lun, and gazed south. When he got home, he discovered he had lost his Dark Pearl. He sent Knowledge to look for it, but Knowledge couldn't find it. He sent the keen-eyed Li Chu to look for it, but Li Chu couldn't find it. He sent Wrangling Debate to look for it, but Wrangling Debate couldn't find it. At last he tried employing Shapeless, and Shapeless found it.

The Yellow Emperor said, "How odd! - in the end it was Shapeless who was able to find it!"

Yao's teacher was Hsu Yu, Hsu! Yu's teacher was Nieh Ch'ueh, Nieh Ch'ueh's teacher was Wang Ni, and Wang Ni's teacher was P'i-i. Yao asked Hsu Yu, "Would Nieh Ch'ueh do as the counterpart of Heaven? I could get Wang Ni to ask him to take over the throne from me."

Hsu Yu said, "Watch out! You'll put the world in danger! Nieh Ch'ueh is a man of keen intelligence and superb understanding, nimble-wined and sharp. His inborn nature surpasses that of other men, and he knows how to exploit what Heaven has given him through human devices. He would do his best to prevent error, but he does not understand the source from which error arises. Make him the counterpart of Heaven? Watch - he will start leaning on men and forget about Heaven. He will put himself first and relegate others to a class apart. He will worship knowledge and chase after it with the speed of fire. He will become the servant of causes. the victim of things, looking in all four directions to see how things are faring, trying to attend to all wants, changing along with things and possessing no trace of any constancy of his own. How could he possibly do as counterpart of Heaven? However, there are clans and there are clan heads. He might do as the father of one branch, though he would never do as the father of the father of the branch. His kind are the forerunners of disorder, a disaster to the ministers facing north, a peril to the sovereign facing south!'

Yao was seeing the sights at Hua when the border guard of Hua said, "Aha - a sage! I beg to offer up prayers for the sage. They will bring the sage long life!"

Yao said, "No, thanks."

"They - will bring the sage riches!"

Yao said, "No, thanks."

"They will bring the sage many sons!"

Yao said, "No, thanks.

"Long life, riches, many sons - these are what all men desire!" said the border guard. "How is it that you alone do not desire them?"

Yao said, "Many sons mean many fears. Riches mean many troubles. Long life means many shames. These three are of no use in nourishing Virtue - therefore I decline them."

The border guard said, "At first I took you for a sage. Now I see you are a mere gentleman. When Heaven gives birth to the ten thousand people, it is certain to have jobs to assign them. If you have many sons and their jobs are assigned them, what is there to fear? If you share your riches with other men, what troubles will you have? The true sage is a quail at rest, a little fledgling at its meal, a bird in flight who leaves no trail behind. When the world has the Way, he joins in the chorus with all other things. When the world is without the Way, he nurses his Virtue and retires in leisure. And after a thousand years, should he weary of the world, he will leave it and ascend to the immortals, riding on those white clouds all the way up to the village of God. The three worries you have cited never touch him, his body is forever free of peril. How can he suffer any shame?"

The border guard turned and left. Yao followed him, saying, "Please - I would like to ask you  $\dots$ "

"Go away!" said the border guard.

When Yao ruled the world, Po-ch'eng Tzu-kao was enfeoffed as one of his noblemen. But when Yao passed the throne to Shun, and Shun passed it to Yu, Po-ch'eng Tzu-kao relinquished his title and took up farming. Yu went to see him and found him working in the fields. Yu scurried forward in the humblest manner, came to a halt, and said, "In former times when Yao ruled the world, Sir, you served as one of his noblemen. But when Yao passed the throne to Shun, and Shun passed it to me, you relinquished your title and took up farming. May I be so bold as to ask why?"

Tzu-kao said, "In former times when Yao ruled the world, he handed out no rewards and yet the people worked hard; he handed out no punishments and vet the people were cautious. Now you reward and punish, and still the people fail to do good. From now on Virtue will decay, from now on penalties will prevail. The disorder of future ages will have its beginning here! You had better be on your way now - do not interrupt my work!" Busily, busily he proceeded with his farm work, never turning to look back.

In the Great Beginning, there was nonbeing; there was no being, no name. Out of it arose One; there was One, but it had no form. Things got hold of it and came to life, and it was called Virtue. Before things had forms, they had their allotments; these were of many kinds, but not cut off from one another, and they were called fates. Out of the flow and flux, things were born, and as they grew they developed distinctive shapes; these were called forms. The forms and bodies held within them spirits, each with its own characteristics and limitations, and this was called the inborn nature. If the nature is trained, you may return to Virtue, and Virtue at its highest peak is identical with the Beginning. Being identical, you will be empty; being empty, you will be great. You may join in the cheeping and chirping and, when you have joined in the cheeping and chirping, you may join with Heaven and earth. Your joining is wild and confused, as though you were stupid, as though you were demented. This is called Dark Virtue. Rude and unwitting, you take part in the Great Submission.

Confucius said to Lao Tan, "Here's a man who works to master the Way as though he were trying to talk down an opponent making the unacceptable acceptable, the not so, so. As the rhetoricians say, he can separate 'hard' from 'white' as clearly as though they were dangling from the eaves there. Can a man like this be called a sage?"

Lao Tan said, "A man like this is a drudging slave, a craftsman bound to his calling, wearing out his body,

grieving his mind. Because the dog can catch rats, he ends up on a leash.' Because of his nimbleness, the monkey is dragged down from the mountain forest. Ch'iu, I am going to tell you something - something you could never hear for yourself and something you would never know how to speak of. People who have heads and feet but no minds and no ears - there are mobs of them. To think that beings with bodies can all go on existing along with that which is bodiless and formless - it can never happen! A man's stops and starts, his life and death, his rises and falls - none of these can he do anything about. Yet he thinks that the mastery of them lies with man! Forget things, forget Heaven, and be called a forgetter of self. The man who has forgot self may be said to have entered Heaven."

Chiang-lu Mien went to see Chi Ch'e and said, "The ruler of Lu begged me to give him some instruction. I declined, but he wouldn't let me go and so I had no choice but to tell him something. I do not know whether what I said was right or not, but I would like to try repeating it to you. I said to the ruler of Lu, 'You must be courteous and temperate! Pick out and promote those who are loyal and public-spirited, allow no flattery or favouritism, and then who of your people will venture to be unruly?' "

Chi Ch'e heehawed with laughter. "As far as the Virtue of emperors and kings is concerned," he said, "your advice is like the praying mantis that waved its arms angrily in front of an approaching carriage - it just isn't up to the job. If the ruler of Lu went about it that way, he would simply get himself all stirred up,11 place himself on a tower or a terrace. Then things would flock around him and the crowd would turn its steps in his direction!"

Chiang-lu Mien's eyes bugged out in amazement. "I am dumfounded by your words," he said. "Nevertheless, I would like to hear how the Master would speak on this subject."

Chi Ch'e said, "When a great sage rules the world, he makes the minds of his people free and far-wandering. On this basis he fashions teachings and simplifies customs, wiping out all treason from their minds and allowing each to pursue his own will. All is done in accordance with the inborn nature, and yet the people do not know why it is like this. Proceeding in this way, what need has he either to revere the way in which Yao and Shun taught their people, or to look down on it in lofty contempt? His only desire is for unity with Virtue and the repose of the mind."

Tzu-kung traveled south to Ch'u, and on his way back through Chin, as he passed along the south bank of the Han, he saw an old man preparing his fields for planting. He had hollowed out an opening by which he entered the well and from which he emerged, lugging a pitcher, which he carried out to water the fields. Grunting and puffing, he used up a great deal of energy and produced very little result.

"There is a machine for this sort of thing," said Tzu-kung.
"In one day it can water a hundred fields, demanding very
little effort and producing excellent results. Wouldn't you
like one?"

The gardener raised his head and looked at Tzu-kung "How does it work?"

"It's a contraption made by shaping a piece of wood. The back end is heavy and the front end light and it raises the water as though it were pouring it out, so fast that it seems to boil right over! It's called a well sweep."

The gardener flushed with anger and then said with a laugh, "I've heard my teacher say, where there are machines, there are bound to be machine worries; where there are machine worries, there are bound to be machine hearts. With a machine heart in your breast, you have spoiled what was pure and simple; and without the pure and simple, the life of the spirit knows no rest. Where the life of the spirit knows no rest, the Way will cease to buoy you up. It's not that I do not know about your machine. I would be ashamed to use it!"

Tzu-kung blushed with chagrin, looked down, and made no reply. After a while, the gardener said, "Who are you, anyway?"

"A disciple of Kung Ch'iu."

"Oh - then you must be one of those who broaden their learning in order to ape the sages, heaping absurd nonsense on the crowd, plucking the strings and singing sad songs all by yourself in hopes of buying fame in the world! You would do best to forget your spirit and breath, break up your body and limbs - then you might be able to get somewhere. You don't even know how to look after your own body - how do you have any time to think about looking after the world! On your way now! Don't interfere with my work!"

Tzu-kung frowned and the colour drained from his face. Dazed and rattled, he couldn't seem to pull himself together, and it was only after he had walked on for some thirty li that he began to recover.

One of his disciples said, "Who was that man just now? Why did you change your expression and lose your colour like that, Master, so that it took you all day to get back to normal?"

"I used to think there was only one real man in the world," said Tzu-kung. "I did not know there was this other one. I have heard Confucius say that in affairs you aim for what is right, and in undertakings you aim for success. To spend little effort and achieve big results - that is the Way of the sage.

Now it seems that this isn't so. He who holds fast to the Way is complete in Virtue; being complete in Virtue, he is complete in body; being complete in body, he is complete in spirit; and to be complete in spirit is the Way of the sage. He is content to live among the people, to walk by their side, and never know where he is going. Witless, his purity is complete. Achievement, profit, machines, skill - they have no place in this man's mind! A man like this will not go where he has no will to go, will not do what he has no mind to do. Though the world might praise him and say he had really found something, he would look unconcerned and never turn his head; though the world might condemn him and say he had lost something, he would look serene and pay no heed. The praise and blame of the world are no loss or gain to him. He may be called a man of Complete Virtue. I - I am a man of the wind-blown waves."

When Tzu-kung got back to Lu, he reported the incident to Confucius. Confucius said, "He is one of those bogus practitioners of the arts of Mr. Chaos." He knows the first thing but does not understand the second. He looks after what is on the inside but does not look after what is on the outside. A man of true brightness and purity who can enter into simplicity, who can return to the primitive through inaction, give body to his inborn nature, and embrace his spirit, and in this way wander through the everyday world - if you had met one like that, you would have had real cause for astonishment. As for the arts of Mr. Chaos, you and I need not bother to find out about them."

Chun Mang was on his way east to the Great Valley of the sea when he happened to meet Yuan Feng by the shore of the eastern ocean.15 Yuan Feng said, "Where are you going?"

"I am going to the Great Valley."

"What will you do there?"

"The Great Valley is the sort of thing you can pour into and it never gets full, dip from and it never runs dry. I am going to wander there."

Yuan Feng said, "Don't you care about what happens to ordinary men? Please, won't you tell me about the government of the sage?"

"The government of the sage?" said Chun Mang. "Assign offices so that no abilities are overlooked, promote men so that no talents are neglected. Always know the true facts and let men do what they are best at.. When actions and words proceed properly and the world is transformed, then at a wave of the hand or a tilt of the chin all the people of the four directions will come flocking to you. This is called the government of the sage."

"May I ask about the man of Virtue?"

"The man of Virtue rests without thought, moves without plan. He has no use for right and wrong, beautiful and ugly. To share profit with all things within the four seas is his happiness, to look after their needs is his peace. Sad-faced, he's like a little child who has lost his mother. Bewildered, he's like a traveler who has lost his way. He has more than enough wealth and goods, but he does not know where they come from. He gets all he needs to eat and drink, but he does not know how he gets it. This is called the manner of the man of

"May I ask about the man of spirit?"

"He lets his spirit ascend and mount upon the light; with his bodily form he dissolves and is gone. This is called the Illumination of Vastness. He lives out his fate, follows to the end his true form, and rests in the joy of Heaven and earth, while the ten thousand cares melt away. So all things return to their true form. This is called Muddled Darkness."

Men Wu-kuei and Ch'ih-chang Man-chi were watching the troops of King Wu.16 Ch'ih-chang Man-chi said, "He is no match for the man of the Yu clan. That's why he runs into all this trouble!"

Men Wu-kuei said, "Was the world already in good order when the man of the Yu clan came along to order it? Or was it in disorder and later he brought it to order?"

Ch'ih-chang Man-chi said, "Everybody wants to see the world well ordered. If it had been so already, what point would there have been in calling in the man of the Yu clan? The man of the Yu clan was medicine to a sore. But to wait until you go bald and then buy a wig, to wait until you get sick and then call for a doctor,, to prepare the medicine like a true filial son and present it to your loving father, wearing a grim and haggard look - this the true sage would be ashamed to do. In an age of Perfect Virtue the worthy are not honoured, the talented are not employed. Rulers are like the high branches of a tree, the people like the deer of the fields. They do what is right but they do not know that this is righteousness. They love one another but they do not know that this is benevolence. They are truehearted but do not know that this is loyalty. They are trustworthy but do not know that this is good faith. They wriggle around like insects, performing services for one another, but do not know that they are being kind. Therefore they move without leaving any trail behind, act without leaving any memory of their deeds.

When a filial son does not fawn on his parents, when a loyal minister does not flatter his lord, they are the finest of sons and ministers. He who agrees with everything his parents say and approves of everything they do is regarded by popular opinion as an unworthy son; he who agrees with everything his lord says and approves of everything his lord does is regarded by popular opinion as an unworthy minister. But in other cases men do not realize that the same principle should apply. If a man agrees with everything that popular opinion says and regards as good everything that popular opinion regards as good, he is not, as you might expect, called a sycophant and a flatterer. Are we to assume, then, that popular opinion commands more authority than one's parents, or is more to be honoured than one's lord?

Call a man a sycophant and he flushes with anger; call him a flatterer and he turns crimson with rage. Yet all his life he will continue to be a sycophant, all his life he will continue to be a flatterer. See him set forth his analogies and polish his fine phrases to draw a crowd, until the beginning and end, the root and branches of his argument no longer match! See him spread out his robes, display his bright colours, put on a solemn face in hopes of currying favour with the age - and yet he does not recognize himself as a sycophant or a flatterer. See him with his followers laying down the law on right and wrong and yet he does not recognize himself as one of the mob. This is the height of foolishness!

He who knows he is a fool is not the biggest fool; he who knows he is confused is not in the worst confusion. The man in the worst confusion will end his life without ever getting straightened out; the biggest fool will end his life without ever seeing the light. If three men are traveling along and one is confused, they will still get where they are going - because confusion is in the minority. But if two of them are confused, then they can walk until they are exhausted and never get anywhere - because confusion is in the majority. And with all the confusion in the world these days, no matter how often I point the way, it does no good. Sad, is it not?

Great music is lost on the ears of the villagers, but play them "The Breaking of the Willow" or "Bright Flowers" and they grin from ear to car. In the same way, lofty words make no impression on the minds of the mob. Superior words gain no hearing because vulgar words are in the majority. It is like the case of the two travelers tramping along in confusion and never getting where they are going. With all the confusion in the world these days, no matter how often I point the way, what good does it do? And if I know it does no good and still make myself do it, this too is a kind of confusion. So it is best to leave things alone and not force them. If I do not force things, at least I won't cause anyone any worry.

When the leper woman gives birth to a child in the dead of the night, she rushes to fetch a torch and examine it, trembling with terror lest it look like herself.

The hundred-year-old tree is hacked up to make bowls for the sacrificial wine, blue and yellow, with patterns on them, and the chips are thrown into the ditch. Compare the sacrificial bowls with the chips in the ditch and you will find them far apart in beauty and ugliness; yet they are alike in having lost their inborn nature, Robber Chih, Tseng, and Shih are far apart in deeds and righteousness, and yet they are the same in having lost their inborn nature. There are five conditions under which the inborn nature is lost. One: when the five colours confuse the eye and cause the eyesight to be unclear. Two: when the five notes confuse the ear and cause the hearing to be unclear. Three: when the five odours stimulate the nose and produce weariness and congestion in the forehead. Four: when the five flavours dull the mouth, causing the sense of taste to be impaired and lifeless. Five: when likes and dislikes unsettle the mind and cause the inborn nature to become volatile and flighty. These five are all a danger to life. And yet the followers of Yang Tzu and Mo Tzu go striding around, thinking they have really gotten hold of something. This is not what I call getting hold of something.

If what you have gotten has gotten you into trouble, then can you really be said to have gotten something? If so, then the pigeons and doves in their cage have also gotten hold of something. With likes and dislikes, sounds and colours you cripple what is on the inside; with leather caps and snipe-feathered bonnets, batons stuck in belts and sashes trailing, you cramp what is on the outside. The inside hemmed in by pickets and pegs, the outside heaped with wraps and swathes, and still you stand in this tangle of wraps and swathes and declare that you have gotten hold of something? If so, then the condemned men with their chained wrists and manacled fingers, the tiger and the leopard in their pens and prisons have also gotten hold of something!

ZHUANGZI SECTION 13

The Way Of Heaven

It Is The Way Of Heaven to keep moving and to allow no piling up - hence the ten thousand things come to completion. It is the Way of the emperor to keep moving and to allow no piling up - hence the whole world repairs to his court. It is the Way of the sage to keep moving and to allow no piling up - hence all within the seas bow to him. Comprehending Heaven, conversant with the sage, walker in the six avenues and four frontiers of the Virtue of emperors and kings - the actions of such a man come naturally; dreamily, he never lacks stillness.

The sage is still not because he takes stillness to be good and therefore is still. The ten thousand things are insufficient to distract his mind - that is the reason he is still. Water that is still gives back a clear image of beard and eyebrows; reposing in the water level, it offers a measure to the great carpenter. And if water in stillness possesses such clarity, how much more must pure spirit. The sage's mind in stillness is the mirror of Heaven and earth, the glass of the ten thousand things.

Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction - these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue. Therefore the emperor, the king, the sage rest in them. Resting, they may be empty; empty, they may be full; and fullness is completion. Empty, they may be still; still, they may move; moving, they may acquire. Still, they may rest in inaction; resting in inaction, they may demand success from those who are charged with activities. Resting in inaction, they may be merry; being merry, they may shun the place of care and anxiety, and the years of their life will be long.

Emptiness, stillness, limpidity, silence, inaction are the root of the ten thousand things. To understand them and face south is to become a ruler such as Yao was; to understand them and face north is to become a minister such as Shun was. To hold them in high station is the Virtue of emperors and kings, of the Son of Heaven; to hold them in lowly station is the way of the dark sage, the uncrowned king. Retire with them to a life of idle wandering and you will command first place among the recluses of the rivers and seas, the hills and forests. Come forward with them to succor the age and your success will be great, your name renowned, and the world will be united. In stillness you will be a sage, in action a king. Resting in inaction, you will be honoured; of unwrought simplicity, your beauty will be such that no one in the world may vie with you.

He who has a clear understanding of the Virtue of Heaven and earth may be called the Great Source, the Great Ancestor. He harmonises with Heaven; and by doing so he brings equitable accord to the world and harmonises with men as well. To harmonise with men is called human joy; to harmonise with Heaven is called Heavenly joy. Chuang Tzu has said, "This Teacher of mine, this Teacher of mine - he passes judgment on the ten thousand things but he does not think himself severe; his bounty extends to ten thousand generations but he does not think himself benevolent. He is older than the highest antiquity but he does not think himself long-lived; he covers heaven, bears up the earth, carves and fashions countless forms, but he does not think himself stilled." This is what is called Heavenly iov.

skilled." This is what is called Heavenly joy.

So it is said, for him who understands Heavenly joy, life is the working of Heaven; death is the transformation of things. In stillness, he and the yin share a single Virtue; in motion, he and the yang share a single flow. Thus he who understands Heavenly joy incurs no wrath from Heaven, no opposition from man, no entanglement from things, no blame from the spirits. So it is said, his movement is of Heaven, his stillness of earth. With his single mind in repose, he is king of the world; the spirits do not afflict him; his soul knows no weariness. His single mind reposed, the ten thousand things submit - which is to say that his emptiness and stillness reach throughout Heaven and earth and penetrate the ten thousand things. This is what is called Heavenly joy. Heavenly joy is the mind of the sage, by which he shepherds the world.

The Virtue of emperors and kings takes Heaven and earth as its ancestor, the Way and its Virtue as its master, inaction as its constant rule. With inaction, you may make the world work for you and have leisure to spare; with action, you will find yourself working for the world and never will it be enough. Therefore the men of old prized inaction.

If superiors adopt inaction and inferiors adopt inaction as well, then inferior and superior will share the same virtue, and if inferior and superior share the same virtue, there will be none to act as minister. If inferiors adopt action and superiors adopt action as well, then superior and inferior will share the same way, and if superior and inferior share the same way, there will be none to act as lord. Superiors must adopt inaction and make the world work for them; inferiors must adopt action and work for the world. This is an unvarying truth.

Therefore the kings of the world in ancient times, though their knowledge encompassed all Heaven and earth, did not of themselves lay plans; though their power of discrimination embraced the ten thousand things, they did not of themselves expound any theories; though their abilities outshone all within the four seas, they did not of themselves act. Heaven does not give birth, yet the ten thousand things are transformed; earth does not sustain, yet the ten thousand things are nourished. The emperor and the king do not act, yet the world is benefited. So it is said, nothing so spiritual as Heaven, nothing so rich as earth, nothing so great as the emperor and the king. So it is said, the Virtue of the emperor and the king is the counterpart of Heaven and earth. This is the way to mount upon Heaven and earth, to make the ten thousand things gallop, to employ the mass of men.

The source rests with the superior, the trivia with the inferior; the essential resides in the ruler, the details in his

ministers. The blandishments of the three armies and the five weapons - these are the trivia of Virtue. The doling out of rewards and punishments, benefit and loss, the five penalties these are the trivia of public instruction. Rites and laws, weights, measures, the careful comparison of forms and names - these are the trivia of good government. The tones of bell and drum, the posturings of feather and tassel - these are the trivia of music. Lamentation and coarse garments, the mourning periods of varying lengths - these are the trivia of grief. These five trivia must wait for the movement of pure spirit, for the vitality of the mind's art before they can command respect. The study of such trivia was known to antiquity but the men of old gave them no precedence.

The ruler precedes, the minister follows; the father precedes, the son follows; the older brother precedes, the younger brother follows; the senior precedes, the junior follows; the man precedes, the woman follows; the husband precedes, the wife follows. Honour and lowliness, precedence and following are part of the workings of Heaven and earth, and from them the sage draws his model.

Heaven is honourable, earth lowly - such are their ranks in spiritual enlightenment. Spring and summer precede, autumn and winter follow - such is the sequence of the four seasons. The ten thousand things change and grow, their roots and buds, each with its distinctive form, flourishing and decaying by degree, a constant flow of change and transformation. If Heaven and earth, the loftiest in spirituality, have yet their sequence of honourable and lowly, of preceder and follower, how much more must the way of man! In the ancestral temple, honour is determined by degree of kinship; in the court, by degree of nobility; in the village, by degree of seniority; in the administration of affairs, by degree of worth. This is the sequence of the Great Way.

If you speak of the Way and not of its sequence, then it is not a way; and if you speak of a way that is not a way, then how can anyone make his way by it? Therefore the men of ancient times who clearly understood the Great Way first made clear Heaven and then went on to the Way and its Virtue. Having made clear the Way and its Virtue, they went on to benevolence and righteousness. Having made clear benevolence and righteousness, they went on to the observance of duties. Having made clear the observance of duties, they went on to forms and names. Having made clear forms and names, they went on to the assignment of suitable offices. Having made clear the assignment of suitable offices, they went on to the scrutiny of performance. Having made clear the scrutiny of performance, they went on to the judgment of right and wrong. Having made clear the judgment of right and wrong, they went on to rewards and punishments. Having made clear rewards and punishments, they could be certain that stupid and wise were in their proper place, that eminent and lowly were rightly ranked, that good and worthy men as well as unworthy ones showed their true form, that all had duties suited to their abilities, that all acted in accordance with their titles. It was in this way that superiors were served, inferiors were shepherded, external things were ordered, the inner man was trained. Knowledge and scheming were unused, yet all found rest in Heaven. This was called the Great Peace, the Highest Government. Hence the book says, "There are forms and there are names." Forms and names were known to antiquity, but the men of old gave them no precedence.

Those who spoke of the Great Way in ancient times could count to five in the sequence [described above] and pick out "forms and names," or count to nine and discuss "rewards and punishments." But to jump right in and talk about "forms and names" is to lack an understanding of the source; to jump right in and talk about "rewards and punishments" is to lack an understanding of the beginning. Those who stand the Way on its head before describing it, who turn it backwards before expounding it, may be brought to order by others, but how could they be capable of bringing others to order? Those who jump right in and talk about "forms and names," "rewards and punishments," have an understanding of the tools for bringing order, but no understanding of the way to bring order. They may work for the world, but they are not worthy to make the world work for them. They are rhetoricians, scholars cramped in one corner of learning. Rites and laws, weights and measures, the careful comparison of forms and names - the men of old had all these. They are the means by which those below serve those above, not the means by which those above shepherd those below.

Long ago Shun asked Yao, "As Heaven-appointed king, how do you use your mind?"

Yao replied, "I never abuse those who have nowhere to sue, nor reject the poor people. Grieving for the dead, comforting the orphan, pitying the widow - I use my mind in these things alone."

Shun said, "Admirable, as far as admirableness goes. But not yet great."

Yao said, "Then what should I do?"

Shun said, "Heaven raised on high, Earth in peace, Sun and Moon shining, the four seasons marching - if you could be like

the constant succession of day and night, the clouds which move, the rains that fall!"

"And to think I have been going to all this bustle and bother!" said Yao. "You are one who joins with Heaven; I am one who joins with man."

Heaven and earth have been called great since ancient times, have been praised in chorus by the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun. The kings of the world in ancient times - what need had they for action? Heaven and earth was enough for them.

Confucius went west to deposit his works with the royal house of Chou. Tzu-lu advised him, saying, "I have heard that the Keeper of the Royal Archives is one Lao Tan, now retired and living at home. If you wish to deposit your works, you might try going to see him about it."

"Excellent!" said Confucius, and went to see Lao Tan, but Lao Tan would not give permission. Thereupon Confucius unwrapped his Twelve Classics and began expounding them. Halfway through the exposition, Lao Tan said, "This will take forever! Just let me hear the gist of the thing"

"The gist of it," said Confucius, "is benevolence and righteousness."

"May I ask if benevolence and righteousness belong to the inborn nature of man?" said Lao Tan.

"Of course," said Confucius. "If the gentleman lacks benevolence, he will get nowhere; if he lacks righteousness, he cannot even stay alive. Benevolence and righteousness are truly the inborn nature of man. What else could they be?"

Lao Tan said, "May I ask your definition of benevolence and righteousness?"

Confucius said, "To be glad and joyful in mind; to embrace universal love and be without partisanship - this is the true form of benevolence and righteousness."

Lao Tan said, "Hmm - close-except for the last part. 'Universal love' - that is a rather nebulous ideal, is it not? And to be without partisanship is already a kind of partisanship. Do you want to keep the world from losine its simplicity?

Heaven and earth hold fast to their constant ways, the sun and moon to their brightness, the stars and planets to their ranks, the birds and beasts to their flocks, the trees and shrubs to their stands. You have only to go along with Virtue in your actions, to follow the Way in your journey, and already you will be there. Why these flags of benevolence and righteousness so bravely upraised, as though you were beating a drum and searching for a lost child? Ah, you will bring confusion to the nature of man!"

Shih Ch'eng-ch'i went to see Lao Tzu. "I had heard that you were a sage," he said, "and so, without minding how long the road was, I came to beg an interview - a hundred nights along the way, feet covered with calluses, and yet I did not dare to stop and rest. Now that I see you, though, I find you are no sage at all. Rat holes heaped with leftover grain and yet you turn your little sister out of the house, an unkind act indeed! More raw and cooked food in front of you than you can ever get through, and yet you go on endlessly hoarding goods!" Lao Tzu looked blank and made no reply.

The following day, Shih Ch'eng-ch'i came to see him again and said, "Yesterday I was very sharp with you, but now I have no heart for that sort of thing. I wonder why that is?"

Lao Tzu said, "Artful wisdom, the spirit-like sage - I hope I have shuffled off categories of that sort! If you'd called me an ox, I'd have said I was an ox; if you'd called me a horse, I'd have said I was a horse. If the reality is there and you refuse to accept the name men give it, you'll only lay yourself open to double harassment. My submission is a constant submission; I do not submit because I think it time to submit."

Shih Ch'eng-ch'i backed respectfully away so that he would not tread on Lao Tzu's shadow, and then advanced once more in humble manner and asked how he should go about cultivating his person.

Lao Tzu said, "Your face is grim, your eyes are fierce, your forehead is broad, your mouth gaping, your manner overbearing, like a horse held back by a tether, watching for a chance to bolt, bounding off as though shot from a crossbow. Scrutinizing ever so carefully, crafty in wisdom, parading your arrogance - all this invites mistrust. Up in the borderlands a man like you would be taken for a thief!"

The Master said: The Way does not falter before the huge, is not forgetful of the tiny; therefore the ten thousand things are complete in it. Vast and ample, there is nothing it does not receive. Deep and profound, how can it be fathomed? Punishment and favour, benevolence and righteousness - these are trivia to the spirit, and yet who but the Perfect Man can put them in their rightful place?

When the Perfect Man rules the world, he has hold of a huge thing, does he not? - yet it is not enough to snare him in entanglement. He works the handles that control the world, but is not a party to the workings. He sees clearly into what has no falsehood and is unswayed by thoughts of gain. He ferrets out the truth of things and knows how to cling to the source. Therefore he can put Heaven and earth outside himself, forget the ten thousand things, and his spirit has no cause to be wearied. He dismisses benevolence and righteousness, rejects of rites and music, for the mind of the Perfect Man knows where to find repose.

Men of the world who value the Way all turn to books. But books are nothing more than words. Words have value: what is of value in words is meaning. Meaning has something it is pursuing, but the thing that it is pursuing cannot be put into words and handed down. The world values words and hands down books but, though the world values them, I do not think them worth valuing. What the world takes to be value is not real value.

What you can look at and see are forms and colours: what you can listen to and hear are names and sounds. What a pity! - that the men of the world should suppose that form and colour, name and sound are sufficient to convey the truth of a thing. It is because in the end they are not sufficient to convey truth that "those who know do not speak, those who speak do not know." But how can the world understand this!

Duke Huan was in his hall reading a book. The wheelwright P'ien, who was in the yard below chiseling a wheel, laid down his mallet and chisel, stepped up into the hall, and said to Duke Huan, "This book Your Grace is reading - may I venture to ask whose words are in it?"

"The words of the sages," said the duke.
"Are the sages still alive?"

"Dead long ago," said the duke.

"In that case, what you are reading there is nothing but the chaff and dregs of the men of old!"

"Since when does a wheelwright have permission to comment on the books I read?" said Duke Huan. "If you have

some explanation, well and good. If not, it's your life!"
Wheelwright P'ien said, "I look at it from the point of view of my own work. When I chisel a wheel, if the blows of the mallet are too gentle, the chisel slides and won't take hold. But if they are too hard, it bites in and won't budge. Not too gentle, not too hard - you can get it in your hand and feel it in your mind. You cannot put it into words, and yet there is a knack to it somehow. I cannot teach it to my son, and he cannot learn it from me. So I've gone along for seventy years and at my age I am still chiseling wheels. When the men of old died, they took with them the things that couldn't be handed down. So what you are reading there must be nothing but the chaff and dregs of the men of old.'

### ZHUANGZI SECTION 14

The Turning Of Heaven

Does Heaven Turn? Does the earth sit still? Do sun and moon compete for a place to shine? Who masterminds all this? Who pulls the strings? Who, resting inactive himself, gives the push that makes it go this way? I wonder, is there some mechanism that works it and won't let it stop? I wonder if it just rolls and turns and cannot bring itself to a halt? Do the clouds make the rain, or does the rain make the clouds? Who puffs them up, who showers them down like this? Who, resting inactive himself, stirs up all this lascivious joy? The winds rise in the north, blowing now west, now east, whirling up to wander on high. Whose breaths and exhalations are they? Who, resting inactive himself, huffs and puffs them about like

The shaman Hsien beckoned and said, "Come - I will tell you. Heaven has the six directions and the five constants. When emperors and kings go along with these, there is good order; when they move contrary to these, there is disaster. With the instructions of the Nine Lo, order can be made to reign and virtue completed. The ruler will shine mirror-like over the earth below, and the world will bear him up. He may be called an August One on high."

Tang, the prime minister of Shang, asked Chuang Tzu about benevolence.

Chuang Tzu said, "Tigers and wolves - they are benevolent."

"How can you say that?"

Chuang Tzu said, "Sire and cubs warm and affectionate with one another - why do you say they are not benevolent?'

"What I am asking to hear about is perfect benevolence."

"Perfect benevolence knows no affection," said Chuang Tzu. The prime minister said, "I have heard that where affection is lacking, there will be no love, and if there is no love, there will be no filial piety. Can you possibly say that perfect benevolence is unfilial?

"No, no," said Chuang Tzu. "Perfect benevolence is a lofty thing - words like filial piety would never do to describe it And what you are talking about is not something that surpasses filial piety, but something that does not even come up to it. If a traveler to the south turns to look north again when he reaches the city of Ying, he will no longer see the dark northern mountains. Why? Because they are too far away. Thus it is said, to be filial out of respect is easy; to be filial out of love is hard. To be filial out of love is easy; to forget parents is hard. To forget parents is easy; to make parents forget you is hard. To make parents forget you is easy: to forget the whole world is hard. To forget the whole world is easy; to make the whole world forget you is hard. Virtue discards Yao and Shun and rests in inaction. Its bounty enriches ten thousand ages, and yet no one in the world knows this. Why all these deep sighs, this talk of benevolence and filial piety? Filial piety, brotherliness, benevolence,

righteousness, loyalty, trust, honour, integrity - for all of these you must drive yourself and make a slave of Virtue. They are not worth prizing. So it is said, Highest eminence scorns the titles of the kingdom; greatest wealth rejects the riches of the kingdom; loftiest desire ignores fame and reputation. It is the Way alone that never varies.'

Ch'eng of North Gate said to the Yellow Emperor, "When Your Majesty performed the Hsien-ch'ih music in the wilds around Lake Tung-t'ing, I listened, and at first I was afraid, I listened some more and felt weary, and then I listened to the end and felt confused. Overwhelmed, speechless, I couldn't get hold of myself."

"It's not surprising you felt that way," said the emperor. "I performed it through man, tuned it to Heaven, went forward with ritual principle, and established it in Great Purity, Perfect music must first respond to the needs of man, accord with the reason of Heaven, proceed by the Five Virtues, and blend with spontaneity; only then can it bring order to the four seasons and bestow a final harmony upon the ten thousand things. Then the four seasons will rise one after the other, the ten thousand things will take their turn at living. Now flourishing, now decaying, the civil and military strains will keep them in step; now with clear notes, now with dull ones, the yin and the yang will blend all in harmony, the sounds flowing forth like light, like hibernating insects that start to wriggle again, like the crash of thunder with which I awe the world. At the end, no tail; at the beginning, no head; now dead, now alive, now flat on the ground, now up on its feet, its constancy is unending, yet there is nothing that can be counted on. That's why you felt afraid.

"Then I played it with the harmony of yin and yang, lit it with the shining of sun and moon; its notes I was able to make long or short, yielding or strong, modulating about a single unity, but bowing before no rule or constancy. In the valley they filled the valley; in the void they filled the void; plugging up the crevices, holding back the spirit, accepting things on their own terms. Its notes were clear and radiant,8 its fame high and bright. Therefore the ghosts and spirits kept to their darkness and the sun, moon, stars, and constellations marched in their orbits. I made it stop where there is an end to things, made it flow where there is no stopping. You try to fathom it but cannot understand, try to gaze at it but cannot see, try to overtake it but cannot catch up. You stand dazed before the four-directioned emptiness of the Way, or lean on your desk and moan. Your eyes fail before you can see, your strength knuckles under before you can catch up. It was nothing I could do anything about. Your body melted into the empty void, and this brought you to an idle freedom. It was this idle freedom that made you feel weary.

"Then I played it with unwearying notes and tuned it to the command of spontaneity. Therefore there seemed to be a chaos where things grow in thickets together, a maturity where nothing takes form, a universal plucking where nothing gets pulled, a clouded obscurity where there is no sound. It moved in no direction at all, rested in mysterious shadow. Some called it death, some called it life, some called it fruit, some called it flower. It flowed and scattered, and bowed before no constant tone. The world, perplexed by it, went to the sage for instruction, for the sage is the comprehender of true form and the completer of fate. When the Heavenly mechanism is not put into action and yet the five vital organs are all complete this may be called the music of Heaven. Wordless, it delights the mind. Therefore the lord of Yen sang its praises thus: 'Listen - you do not hear its sound; look - you do not see its form. It fills all Heaven and earth, enwraps all the six directions.' You wanted to hear it but had no way to go about it. That was why you felt confused.

"Music begins with fear, and because of this fear there is dread, as of a curse. Then I add the weariness, and because of the weariness there is compliance. I end it all with confusion, and because of the confusion there is stupidity. And because of the stupidity there is the Way, the Way that can be lifted up and carried around wherever you go."

When Confucius was away in the west visiting the state of Wei, Yen Yuan said to the Music Master Chin, "What do you think of my master's trip?'

Music Master Chin said, "A pity! - your master will most likely end up in trouble."

"How so?" asked Yen Yuan.

Music Master Chin said, "Before the straw dogs are presented at the sacrifice, they are stored in bamboo boxes and covered over with patterned embroidery, while the impersonator of the dead and the priest fast and practice austerities in preparation for fetching them. But after they have once been presented, then all that remains for them is to be trampled on, head and back, by passers-by; to be swept up by the grasscutters and burned. And if anyone should come along and put them back in their bamboo boxes, cover them over with patterned embroidery, and linger or lie down to sleep beneath them, he would dream no proper dreams; on the contrary, he would most certainly be visited again and again

Now your master has picked up some old straw dogs that had been presented by the former kings, and has called together his disciples to linger and lie down in sleep beneath them. Therefore the people chopped down the tree on him in Sung, wiped away his footprints in Wei, and made trouble for him in Shang and Chou - such were the dreams he had. They besieged him between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and for seven days he ate no cooked food, till he hovered on the border between life and death - such were the nightmares he had.

"Nothing is as good as a boat for crossing water, nothing as good as a cart for crossing land. But though a boat will get you over water, if you try to push it across land, you may push till your dying day and hardly move it any distance at all. And are the past and present not like the water and the land, and the states of Chou and Lu not like a boat and a cart?

To hope to practice the ways of Chou in the state of Lu is like trying to push a boat over land - a great deal of work, no success, and certain danger to the person who tries it. The man who tries to do so has failed to understand the turning that has no direction, that responds to things and is never at a

"Have you never seen a well sweep? Pull it, and down it comes; let go, and up it swings. It allows itself to be pulled around by men; it does not try to pull them. So it can go up and down and never get blamed by anybody.

"Thus it is that the rituals and regulations of the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors are prized not because they were uniform, but because they were capable of bringing about order. The rituals and regulations of the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors may be compared to the haw, the pear, the orange, and the citron. Their flavours are quite different, yet all are pleasing to the mouth. Rituals and regulations are something that change in response to the times. If you take a monkey and dress him in the robes of the Duke of Chou, he will bite and tear at them, not satisfied until he has divested himself of every stitch. And a glance will show that past and present are no more alike than are a monkey and the Duke of Chou!

"The beautiful Hsi-shih, troubled with heartburn, frowned at her neighbours. An ugly woman of the neighbourhood, seeing that Hsi-shih was beautiful, went home and likewise pounded her breast and frowned at her neighbours. But at the sight of her the rich men of the neighbourhood shut tight their gates and would not venture out, while the poor men grabbed their wives and children by the hand and scampered off. The woman understood that someone frowning could be beautiful, but she did not understand where the beauty of the frown came from. A pity, indeed! Your master is going to end up in trouble!"

Confucius had gone along until he was fifty-one and had still not heard the Way. Finally he went south to P'ei and called on Lao Tan. "Ah, you have come," said Lao Tan. "I've heard that you are a worthy man of the northern region. Have you found the Way?"

'Not yet," said Confucius.

"Where did you look for it?" asked Lao Tan.

"I looked for it in rules and regulations, but five years went by and still I hadn't found it.

"Where else did you look for it?" asked Lao Tan.

"I looked for it in the yin and yang, but twelve years went by and I still hadn't found it."

"It stands to reason!" said Lao Tan. "If the Way could be presented, there is no man who would not present it to his ruler. If the Way could be offered, there is no man who would not offer it to his parents. If the Way could be reported, there is no man who would not report it to his brothers. If the Way could be bequeathed, there is no man who would not bequeath it to his heirs. But it cannot - and for none other than the following reason. If there is no host on the inside to receive it, it will not stay; if there is no mark on the outside to guide it, it will not go. If what is brought forth from the inside is not received on the outside, then the sage will not bring it forth. If what is taken in from the outside is not received by a host on the inside, the sage will not entrust it."

"Fame is a public weapon - don't reach for it too often. Benevolence and righteousness are the grass huts of the former kings; you may stop in them for one night but you mustn't tarry there for long. A lengthy stay would invite many reproaches. The Perfect Man of ancient times used benevolence as a path to be borrowed, righteousness as a lodge to take shelter in. He wandered in the free and easy wastes, ate in the plain and simple fields, and strolled in the garden of no bestowal. Free and easy, he rested in inaction; plain and simple, it was not hard for him to live; bestowing nothing, he did not have to hand things out. The men of old called this the wandering of the Truth-picker.

"He who considers wealth a good thing can never bear to give up his income; he who considers eminence a good thing can never bear to give up his fame. He who has a taste for power can never bear to hand over authority to others. Holding tight to these things, such men shiver with fear; should they let them go, they would pine in sorrow. They never stop for a moment of reflection, never cease to gaze with greedy eyes - they are men punished by Heaven. Resentment and kindness, taking away and giving, reproof and instruction, life and death - these eight things are the weapons

of the corrector. Only he who complies with the Great Change and allows no blockage will be able to use them. Therefore it is said, The corrector must be correct. If the mind cannot accept this fact, then the doors of Heaven will never open!"

Confucius called on Lao Tan and spoke to him about benevolence and righteousness. Lao Tan said, "Chaff from the winnowing fan can so blind the eye that heaven, earth, and the four directions all seem to shift place. A mosquito or a horsefly stinging your skin can keep you awake a whole night. And when benevolence and righteousness in all their fearfulness come to muddle the mind, the confusion is unimaginable. If you want to keep the world from losing its simplicity, you must move with the freedom of the wind, stand in the perfection of Virtue. Why all this huffing and puffing, as though you were carrying a big drum and searching for a lost child! The snow goose needs no daily bath to stay white; the crow needs no daily inking to stay black. Black and white in their simplicity offer no ground for argument; fame and reputation in their clamorousness 19 offer no ground for envy. When the springs dry up and the fish are left stranded on the ground, they spew each other with moisture and wet each other down with spit - but it would be much better if they could forget each other in the rivers and lakes!

When Confucius returned from his visit with Lao Tan, he did not speak for three days. His disciples said, "Master, you have seen Lao Tan - what estimation would you make of him?"

Confucius said, "At last I may say that I have seen a dragon - a dragon that coils to show his body at its best, that sprawls out to display his patterns at their best, riding on the breath of the clouds, feeding on the yin and yang. My mouth fell open and I couldn't close it; my tongue flew up and I couldn't even stammer. How could I possibly make any estimation of Lao Tan!"

Tzu-kung said, "Then is it true that the Perfect Man can command corpse-like stillness and dragon vision, the voice of thunder and the silence of deep pools; that he breaks forth into movement like Heaven and earth? If only I too could get to see him!"

In the end he went with an introduction from Confucius and called on Lao Tan. Lao Tan was about to sit down in the hall and stretch out his legs. In a small voice he said, "I've lived to see a great many years come and go. What advice is it you have for me?"

Tzu-kung said, "The Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world in ways that were not the same, though they were alike in the praise and acclaim they won. I am told, Sir, that you alone do not regard them as sages. May I ask why?"

Lao Tan said, "Young man, come a little closer! Why do you say that they ruled in ways that were not the same?"

"Yao ceded the throne to Shun, and Shun ceded it to Yu. Yu wore himself out over it, and T'ang even resorted to war. King Wen obeyed Chou and did not dare to rebel; but his son King Wu turned against Chou and refused to remain loyal. Therefore I say that they were not the same."

Lao Tan said, "Young man, come a little closer and I will tell you how the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world. In ancient times the Yellow Emperor ruled the world by making the hearts of the people one. Therefore, if there were those among the people who did not wail at the death of their parents, the people saw nothing wrong in this. Yao ruled the world by making the hearts of the people affectionate. Therefore, if there were those among the people who decided to mourn for longer or shorter periods according to the degree of kinship of the deceased, the people saw nothing wrong in this. Shun ruled the world by making the hearts of the people rivalrous. Therefore the wives of the people became pregnant and gave birth in the tenth month as in the past, but their children were not five months old before they were able to talk, and their baby laughter had hardly rung out before they had begun to distinguish one person from another. It was then that premature death first appeared. Yu ruled the world by causing the hearts of the people to change. It was assumed that each man had a heart of his own. that recourse to arms was quite all right. Killing a thief is not a case of murder, they said; every man in the world should look out for his own kind. As a result, there was great consternation in the world, and the Confucians and Mo-ists all came forward, creating for the first time the rules of ethical behavior. But what would they say of those men who nowadays make wives of their daughters?

"I will tell you how the Three August Ones and the Five Emperors ruled the world! They called it 'ruling,' but in fact they were plunging it into the worst confusion. The 'wisdom' of the Three August Ones was such as blotted out the brightness of sun and moon above, sapped the vigor of hills and streams below, and overturned the round of the four seasons in between. Their wisdom was more fearsome than the tail of the scorpion; down to the smallest beast, not a living thing was allowed to rest in the true form of its nature and fate. And yet they considered themselves sages! Was it not shameful - their lack of shame!"

Tzu-kung, stunned and speechless, stood wondering which way to turn.

Confucius said to Lao Tan, "I have been studying the Six Classics - the Odes, the Documents, the Ritual, the Music, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn, for what I would call a long time, and I know their contents through and through. But I have been around to seventy-two different rulers with them, expounding the ways of the former kings and making clear the path trod by the dukes of Chou and Shao, and yet not a single ruler has found anything to excite his interest. How difficult it is to persuade others, how difficult to make clear the Way!"

Lao Tzu said, "It's lucky you did not meet with a ruler who would try to govern the world as you say. The Six Classics are the old worn-out paths of the former kings - they are not the thing which walked the path. What you are expounding are simply these paths. Paths are made by shoes that walk them, they are by no means the shoes themselves!

"The white fish hawk has only to stare unblinking at its mate for fertilization to occur. With insects, the male cries on the wind above, the female cries on the wind below, and there is fertilization. The creature called the lei is both male and female and so it can fertilize itself. Inborn nature cannot be changed, fate cannot be altered, time cannot be stopped, the Way cannot be obstructed. Get hold of the Way and there is nothing that cannot be done; lose it and there is nothing that can be done."

Confucius stayed home for three months and then came to see Lao Tan once again. "I've got it," he said. "The magpie hatches its young, the fish spit out their milt, the slim-waisted wasp has its stages of transformation, and when baby brother is born, big brother howls. For a long time now I have not been taking my place as a man along with the process of change. And if I do not take my own place as a man along with the process of change, how can I hope to change other men?"

Lao Tzu said, "Good, Ch'iu - now you have got it!"

# ZHUANGZI SECTION 15

Constrained In Will

To Be Constrained In Will, lofty in action, aloof from the world, apart from its customs, elevated in discourse, sullen and critical, indignation his whole concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar in his mountain valley, the man who condemns the world, the worn and haggard one who means to end it all with a plunge into the deep. To discourse on benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, and good faith, to be courteous, temperate, modest, and deferential, moral training his whole concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar who seeks to bring the world to order, the man who teaches and instructs, who at home and abroad lives for learning. To talk of great accomplishments, win a great name, define the etiquette of ruler and subject, regulate the position of superior and inferior, the ordering of the state his only concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar of court and council, the man who would honour his sovereign and strengthen his country, the bringer of accomplishment, the annexer of territory. To repair to the thickets and ponds, living idly in the wilderness, angling for fish in solitary places, inaction his only concern - such is the life favoured by the scholar of the rivers and seas, the man who withdraws from the world, the unhurried idler. To pant, to puff, to hail, to sip, to spit out

the old breath and draw in the new, practicing bearhangings and bird-stretchings, longevity his only concern such is the life favoured by the scholar who practices Induction, the man who nourishes his body, who hopes to live to be as old as Peng-tsu.

But to attain loftiness without constraining the will; to achieve moral training without benevolence and righteousness, good order without accomplishments and fame, leisure without rivers and seas, long life without Induction; to lose everything and yet possess everything, at ease in the illimitable, where all good things come to attend - this is the Way of Heaven and earth, the Virtue of the sage. So it is said, Limpidity, silence, emptiness, inaction - these are the level of Heaven and earth, the substance of the Way and its Virtue. So it is said, The sage rests; with rest comes peaceful ease, with peaceful ease comes limpidity, and where there is ease and limpidity, care and worry cannot get at him, noxious airs cannot assault him. Therefore his Virtue is complete and his spirit unimpaired.

So it is said, With the sage, his life is the working of Heaven, his death the transformation of things. In stillness, he and the yin share a single Virtue; in motion, he and the yang share a single flow. He is not the bearer of good fortune, nor the initiator of bad fortune. Roused by something outside himself, only then does he respond; pressed, only then does he move; finding he has no choice, only then does he rise up. He discards knowledge and purpose and follows along with the reasonableness of Heaven. Therefore he incurs no disaster from Heaven, no entanglement from things, no opposition from man, no blame from the spirits. His life is a floating, his death a rest. He does not ponder or scheme, does not plot for

the future. A man of light, he does not shine; of good faith, he keeps no promises. He sleeps without dreaming, wakes without worry. His spirit is pure and clean, his soul never wearied. In emptiness, nonbeing, and limpidity, he joins with the Virtue of Heaven.

So it is said, Grief and happiness are perversions of Virtue; joy and anger are transgressions of the Way; love and hate are offenses against Virtue. When the mind is without care or joy, this is the height of Virtue. When it is unified and unchanging, this is the height of stillness. When it grates against nothing, this is the height of emptiness. When it has no commerce with things, this is the height of limpidity. When it rebels against nothing, this is the height of purity.

So it is said, If the body is made to labor and take no rest, it will wear out; if the spiritual essence is taxed without cessation, it will grow weary, and weariness will bring exhaustion. It is the nature of water that if it is not mixed with other things, it will be clear, and if nothing stirs it, it will be level. But if it is dammed and hemmed in and not allowed to flow, then, too, it will cease to be clear. As such, it is a symbol of Heavenly Virtue. So it is said, To be pure, clean, and mixed with nothing; still, unified, and unchanging; limpid and inactive; moving with the workings of Heaven this is the way to care for the spirit.

The man who owns a sword from Kan or Yueh lays it in a box and stores it away, not daring to use it, for to him it is the greatest of treasures. Pure spirit reaches in the four directions, flows now this way, now that - there is no place it does not extend to. Above, it brushes Heaven; below, it coils on the earth. It transforms and nurses the ten thousand things, but no one can make out its form. Its name is called One-with-Heaven. The way to purity and whiteness is to guard the spirit, this alone; guard it and never lose it, and you will become one with spirit, one with its pure essence, which communicates and mingles with the Heavenly Order. The common saving has it, "The ordinary man prizes gain, the man of integrity prizes name, the worthy man honours ambition, the sage values spiritual essence." Whiteness means there is nothing mixed in; purity means the spirit is never impaired. He who can embody purity and whiteness may be called the True Man.

### ZHUANGZI SECTION 16

Mending The Inborn Nature

Those Who Set About Mending the inborn nature through vulgar learning, hoping thereby to return once more to the Beginning; those who set about muddling their desires through vulgar ways of thought, hoping thereby to attain clarity - they may be called the blind and benighted people.

The men of ancient times who practiced the Way employed tranquility to cultivate knowledge. Knowledge lived in them, yet they did nothing for its sake. So they may be said to have employed knowledge to cultivate tranquility. Knowledge and tranquility took turns cultivating each other, and harmony and order emerged from the inborn nature.

Virtue is harmony, the Way is order. When Virtue embraces all things, we have benevolence. When the Way is in all respects well ordered, we have righteousness. When righteousness is clearly understood and all things cling to it, we have loyalty. When within there is purity, fullness, and a return to true form, we have music. When good faith is expressed in face and body and there is a compliance with elegance, we have rites. But if all emphasis is placed on the conduct of rites and music, then the world will fall into disorder. The ruler, in his efforts to rectify, will draw a cloud over his own virtue, and his virtue will no longer extend to all things. And should he try to force it to extend, then things would invariably lose their inborn nature.

The men of old dwelt in the midst of crudity and chaos; side by side with the rest of the world, they attained simplicity and silence there. At that time the yin and yang were harmonious and still, ghosts and spirits worked no mischief, the four seasons kept to their proper order, the ten thousand things knew no injury, and living creatures were free from premature death. Although men had knowledge, they did not use it. This was called the Perfect Unity. At this time, no one made a move to do anything, and there was unvarying spontaneity.

The time came, however, when Virtue began to dwindle and decline, and then Sui Jen and Fu Hsi stepped forward to take charge of the world. As a result there was compliance, but no longer any unity. Virtue continued to dwindle and decline, and then Shen Nung and the Yellow Emperor stepped forward to take charge of the world. As a result, there was security, but no longer any compliance. Virtue continued to dwindle and decline, and then Yao and Shun stepped forward to take charge of the world.3 They set about in various fashions to order and transform the world, and in doing so defiled purity and shattered simplicity. The Way was pulled apart for the sake of goodness; Virtue was imperiled for the sake of conduct. After this inhorn nature was abandoned and minds were set free to roam, mind joining with mind in understanding; there was knowledge, but it could not bring stability to the world. After this, "culture" was added on, and "breadth" was piled on top. "Culture" destroyed the substantial, "breadth" drowned the mind, and after this the

people began to be confused and disordered. They had no way to revert to the true form of their inborn nature or to return once more to the Beginning.

From this we may see that the world has lost the Way, and the Way has lost the world; the world and the Way have lost each other. What means does a man of the Way have to go forward in the world? What means does the world have to go forward in the Way? The Way cannot go forward in the world, and the world cannot go forward in the Way. So, although the sage does not retire to dwell in the midst of the mountain forest, his Virtue is already hidden. It is already hidden, and therefore he does not need to hide it himself.

The so-called scholars in hiding of ancient times did not conceal their bodies and refuse to let them be seen; they did not shut in their words and refuse to let them out; they did not stow away their knowledge and refuse to share it. But the fate of the times was too much awry. If the fate of the times had been with them and they could have done great deeds in the world, then they would have returned to Unity and left no trace behind. But the fate of the times was against them and brought them only great hardship in the world, and therefore they deepened their roots, rested in perfection, and waited. This was the way they kept themselves alive.

Those in ancient times who wished to keep themselves alive did not use eloquence to ornament their knowledge. They did not use their knowledge to make trouble for the world; they did not use their knowledge to make trouble for Virtue. Loftily they kept to their places and returned to their inborn nature. Having done that, what more was there for them to do? The way has no use for petty conduct; Virtue has no use for petty understanding. Petty understanding injures Virtue; petty conduct injures the Way. Therefore it is said, Rectify yourself, that is all. When joy is complete, this is called the fulfillment of ambition.

When the men of ancient times spoke of the fulfillment of ambition, they did not mean fine carriages and caps. They meant simply that joy was so complete that it could not be made greater. Nowadays, however, when men speak of the fulfillment of ambition, they mean fine carriages and caps. But carriages and caps affect the body alone, not the inborn nature and fate. Such things from time to time may happen to come your way. When they come, you cannot keep them from arriving, but when they depart you cannot stop them from Therefore carriages and caps are no excuse for becoming puffed up with pride, and hardship and poverty are no excuse for fawning on the vulgar. You should find the same joy in one condition as in the other and thereby be free of care, that is all. But now, when the things that happened along take their leave, you cease to be joyful. From this point of view, though you have joy, it will always be fated for destruction. Therefore it is said, Those who destroy themselves in things and lose their inborn nature in the vulgar may be called the upside-down people.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 17

Autumn Floods

The Time Of The Autumn Floods came and the hundred streams poured into the Yellow River. Its racing current swelled to such proportions that, looking from bank to bank or island to island, it was impossible to distinguish a horse from a cow. Then the Lord of the River1 was beside himself with joy, believing that all the beauty in the world belonged to him alone. Following the current, he journeyed east until at last he reached the North Sea. Looking east, he could see no end to the water.

The Lord of the River began to wag his head and roll his eyes. Peering far off in the direction of Jo, he sighed and said, 'The common saying has it, 'He has heard the Way a mere hundred times but he thinks he's better than anyone else.' It applies to me. In the past, I heard men belittling the learning of Confucius and making light of the righteousness of Po Yi, though I never believed them. Now, however, I have seen your unfathomable vastness. If I hadn't come to your gate, I would have been in danger. I would forever have been laughed at by the masters of the Great Method!"

Jo of the North Sea said, "You cannot discuss the ocean with a well frog - he's limited by the space he lives in. You cannot discuss ice with a summer insect - he's bound to a single season. You cannot discuss the Way with a cramped scholar - he's shackled by his doctrines. Now you have come out beyond your banks and borders and have seen the great sea - so vou realize vour own pettiness. From now on it will be possible to talk to you about the Great Principle.

'Of all the waters of the world, none is as great as the sea. Ten thousand streams flow into it - I have never heard of a time when they stopped - and yet it is never full. The water leaks away at Wei-lu - I have never heard of a time when it did not - and yet the sea is never empty. Spring or autumn, it never changes. Flood or drought, it takes no notice. It is so much greater than the streams of the Yangtze or the Yellow River that it is impossible to measure the difference. But I have never for this reason prided myself on it. I take my place with heaven and earth and receive breath from the yin and yang. I sit here between heaven and earth as a little stone or a

little tree sits on a huge mountain. Since I can see my own smallness, what reason would I have to pride myself?

"Compare the area within the four seas with all that is between heaven and earth - is it not like one little anthill in a vast marsh? Compare the Middle Kingdom with the area within the four seas - is it not like one tiny grain in a great storehouse? When we refer to the things of creation, we speak of them as numbering ten thousand - and man is only one of them. We talk of the Nine Provinces where men are most numerous, and yet of the whole area where grain and foods are grown and where boats and carts pass back and forth, man occupies only one fraction.6 Compared to the ten thousand things, is he not like one little hair on the body of a horse? What the Five Emperors passed along, what the Three Kings fought over, what the benevolent man grieves about, what the responsible man labors over - all is no more than this! Po Yi gained a reputation by giving it up; Confucius passed himself off as learned because he talked about it. But in priding themselves in this way, were they not like you a moment ago priding yourself on your flood waters?"

"Well then," said the Lord of the River, "if I recognize the hugeness of heaven and earth and the smallness of the tip of a hair, will that do?"

"No indeed!" said Jo of the North Sea. "There is no end to the weighing of things, no stop to time, no constancy to the division of lots, no fixed rule to beginning and end. Therefore great wisdom observes both far and near, and for that reason recognizes small without considering it paltry, recognizes large without considering it unwieldy, for it knows that there is no end to the weighing of things. It has a clear understanding of past and present, and for that reason it spends a long time without finding it tedious, a short time without fretting at its shortness, for it knows that time has no stop. It perceives the nature of fullness and emptiness, and for that reason it does not delight if it acquires something nor worry if it loses it, for it knows that there is no constancy to the division of lots. It comprehends the Level Road, and for that reason it does not rejoice in life nor look on death as a calamity, for it knows that no fixed rule can be assigned to beginning and end.

"Calculate what man knows and it cannot compare to what he does not know. Calculate the time he is alive and it cannot compare to the time before he was born. Yet man takes something so small and tries to exhaust the dimensions of something so large! Hence he is muddled and confused and can never get anywhere. Looking at it this way, how do we know that the tip of a hair can be singled out as the measure of the smallest thing possible? Or how do we know that heaven and earth can fully encompass the dimensions of the largest thing possible?"

The Lord of the River said, "Men who debate such matters these days all claim that the minutest thing has no form and the largest thing cannot be encompassed. Is this a true statement?'

Jo of the North Sea said, "If from the standpoint of the minute we look at what is large, we cannot see to the end. If from the standpoint of what is large we look at what is minute, we cannot distinguish it clearly. The minute is the smallest of the small, the gigantic is the largest of the large, and it is therefore convenient to distinguish between them. But this is merely a matter of circumstance. Before we can speak of coarse or fine, however, there must be some form. If a thing has no form, then numbers cannot express its dimensions, and if it cannot be encompassed, then numbers cannot express its size. We can use words to talk about the coarseness of things and we can use our minds to visualize the fineness of things. But what words cannot describe and the mind cannot succeed in visualizing - this has nothing to do with coarseness or fineness.

'Therefore the Great Man in his actions will not harm others, but he makes no show of benevolence or charity. He will not move for the sake of profit, but he does not despise the porter at the gate. He will not wrangle for goods or wealth, but he makes no show of refusing or relinquishing them. He will not enlist the help of others in his work, but he makes no show of being self-supporting, and he does not despise the greedy and base. His actions differ from those of the mob, but he makes no show of uniqueness or eccentricity. He is content to stay behind with the crowd, but he does not despise those who run forward to flatter and fawn. All the titles and stipends of the age are not enough to stir him to exertion; all its penalties and censures are not enough to make him feel shame. He knows that no line can be drawn between right and wrong, no border can be fixed between great and small. I have heard it said, 'The Man of the Way wins no fame, the highest virtue8 wins no gain, the Great Man has no self.' To the most perfect degree, he goes along with what has been allotted to him '

The Lord of the River said, "Whether they are external to things or internal, I do not understand how we come to have these distinctions of noble and mean or of great and small.'

Jo of the North Sea said, "From the point of view of the Way, things have no nobility or meanness. From the point of view of things themselves, each regards itself as noble and other things as mean. From the point of view of common opinion, nobility and meanness are not determined by the individual himself.

"From the point of view of differences, if we regard a thing as big because there is a certain bigness to it, then among all the ten thousand things there are none that are not big. If we regard a thing as small because there is a certain smallness to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not small. If we know that heaven and earth are tiny grains and the tip of a hair is a range of mountains, then we have perceived the law of difference.

"From the point of view of function, if we regard a thing as useful because there is a certain usefulness to it, then among all the ten thousand things there are none that are not useful. If we regard a thing as useless because there is a certain uselessness to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not useless. If we know that east and west are mutually opposed but that one cannot do without the other. then we can estimate the degree of function.

"From the point of view of preference, if we regard a thing as right because there is a certain right to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not right. If we regard a thing as wrong because there is a certain wrong to it, then among the ten thousand things there are none that are not wrong. If we know that Yao and Chieh each thought himself right and condemned the other as wrong, then we may understand how there are preferences in behavior.

"In ancient times Yao abdicated in favour of Shun and Shun ruled as emperor; K'uai abdicated in favour of Chih and Chih was destroyed. T'ang and Wu fought and became kings; Duke Po fought and was wiped out. Looking at it this way, we see that struggling or giving way, behaving like a Yao or like a Chieh, may be at one time noble and at another time mean. It is impossible to establish any constant rule.

'A beam or pillar can be used to batter down a city wall. but it is no good for stopping up a little hole - this refers to a difference in function. Thoroughbreds like Ch'i-chi and Hualiu could gallop a thousand li in one day, but when it came to catching rats they were no match for the wildcat or the weasel this refers to a difference in skill. The horned owl catches fleas at night and can spot the tip of a hair, but when daylight comes, no matter how wide it opens its eves, it cannot see a mound or a hill - this refers to a difference in nature. Now do you say, that you are going to make Right your master and do away with Wrong, or make Order your master and do away with Disorder? If you do, then you have not understood the principle of heaven and earth or the nature of the ten thousand things. This is like saying that you are going to make Heaven your master and do away with Earth, or make Yin your master and do away with Yang. Obviously it is impossible. If men persist in talking this way without stop, they must be either fools or deceivers!

'Emperors and kings have different ways of ceding their thrones: the Three Dynasties had different rules of succession. Those who went against the times and flouted custom were called usurpers; those who went with the times and followed custom were called companions of righteousness. Be quiet, be quiet, O Lord of the River! How could you understand anything about the gateway of nobility and meanness or the house of great and small?"

"Well then." said the Lord of the River, "what should I do and what should I not do? How am I to know in the end what to accept and what to reject, what to abide by and what to

Jo of the North Sea said, "From the point of view of the Way, what is noble or what is mean? These are merely what are called endless changes. Do not hobble your will, or you will be departing far from the Way! What is few, or what is many? These are merely what are called boundless turnings.11 Do not strive to unify your actions, or you will be at sixes and sevens with the Way! Be stern like the ruler of a state - he grants no private favour. Be benign and impartial like the god of the soil at the sacrifice - he grants no private blessing. Be broad and expansive like the endlessness of the four directions – they have nothing which bounds or hedges them. Embrace the ten thousand things universally - how could there be one you should give special support to? This is called being without bent. When the ten thousand things are unified and equal, then which is short and which is long?

"The Way is without beginning or end, but things have their life and death - you cannot rely upon their fulfillment. One moment empty, the next moment full - you cannot depend upon their form. The years cannot be held off; time cannot be stopped. Decay, growth, fullness, and emptiness end and then begin again. It is thus that we must describe the plan of the Great Meaning and discuss the principles of the ten thousand things. The life of things is a gallop, a headlong dash - with every movement they alter, with every moment they shift. What should you do and what should you not do? Everything will change of itself, that is certain!"

"If that is so," said the Lord of the River, "then what is there valuable about the Way?"

Jo of the North Sea said, "He who understands the Way is

certain to have command of basic principles. He who has

command of basic principles is certain to know how to deal with circumstances. And, he who knows how to deal with circumstances will not allow things to do him harm. When a man has perfect virtue, fire cannot burn him, water cannot drown him, cold and heat cannot afflict him, birds and beasts cannot injure him. I do not say that he makes light of these things. I mean that he distinguishes between safety and danger, contents himself with fortune or misfortune, and is cautious in his comings and goings. Therefore nothing can harm him.

"Hence it is said: the Heavenly is on the inside, the human is on the outside. Virtue resides in the Heavenly. Understand the actions of Heaven and man, base yourself upon Heaven, take vour stand in virtue, and then, although you hasten or hold back, bend or stretch, you may return to the essential and speak of the ultimate.

"What do you mean by the Heavenly and the human?"

Jo of the North Sea said, "Horses and oxen have four feet this is what I mean by the Heavenly. Putting a halter on the horse's head, piercing the ox's nose - this is what I mean by the human. So I say: do not let what is human wipe out what is Heavenly; do not let what is purposeful wipe out what is fated; do not let [the desire for] gain lead you after fame. Be cautious, guard it, and do not lose it - this is what I mean by returning

The K'uei envies the millepede, the millepede envies the snake, the snake envies the wind, the wind envies the eye, and the eve envies the mind.

The K'uei said to the millepede. "I have this one leg that I hop along on, though I make little progress. Now how in the world do you manage to work all those ten thousand legs of

The millepede said, "You don't understand. Have not you ever watched a man spit? He just gives a hawk and out it comes, some drops as big as pearls, some as fine as mist, raining down in a jumble of countless particles. Now all I do is put in motion the heavenly mechanism in me - I am not aware of how the thing works.

The millepede said to the snake, "I have all these legs that I move along on, but I cannot seem to keep up with you who have no legs. How is that?"

The snake said. "It's just the heavenly mechanism moving me along - how can I change the way I am? What would I do with legs if I had them?"

The snake said to the wind, "I move my backbone and ribs and manage to get along, though I still have some kind of body. But now you come whirling up from the North Sea and go whirling off to the South Sea, and you don't seem to have any body. How is that?"

The wind said, "It's true that I whirl up from the North Sea and whirl off to the South Sea. But if you hold up a finger against me you have defeated me, and if you trample on me you have likewise defeated me. On the other hand, I can break down big trees and blow over great houses - this is a talent that I alone have. So I take all the mass of little defeats and make them into a Great Victory. To make a Great Victory only the sage is capable of that!

When Confucius was passing through K'uang, the men of Sung surrounded him with several encirclements of troops, but he went right on playing his lute and singing without a stop." Tzu Lu went in to see him and said, "Master, how can you be so carefree?"

Confucius said, "Come, I will explain to you. For a long time I have tried to stay out of the way of hardship. That I have not managed to escape it is due to fate. For a long time I have tried to achieve success. That I have not been able to do so is due to the times. If it happens to be the age of a Yao or a Shun, then there are no men in the world who face hardship but this is not because their wisdom saves them. If it happens to be the age of a Chieh or a Chou, then there are no men in the world who achieve success - but this is not because their wisdom fails them. It is time and circumstance that make it so.

"To travel across the water without shrinking from the sea serpent or the dragon - this is the courage of the fisherman. To travel over land without shrinking from the rhinoceros or the tiger - this is the courage of the hunter. To see the bare blades clashing before him and to look upon death as though it were life - this is the courage of the man of ardour.15 To understand that hardship is a matter of fate, that success is a matter of the times, and to face great difficulty without fear this is the courage of the sage. Be content with it, Tzu Lu. My fate has been decided for me.

Shortly afterwards the leader of the armed men came forward and apologized. "We thought you were Yang Huo and that was why we surrounded you. Now that we see you aren't, we beg to take leave and withdraw.'

Kung-sun Lung said to Prince Mou of Wei,16 "When I was young I studied the Way of the former kings, and when I grew older I came to understand the conduct of benevolence and righteousness. I reconciled difference and sameness, distinguished hardness and whiteness, and proved that not so was so, that the unacceptable was acceptable. I confounded the wisdom of the hundred schools and demolished the arguments of a host of speakers. I believed that I had attained the highest degree of accomplishment. But now I have heard

the words of Chuang Tzu and I am bewildered by their strangeness. I do not know whether my arguments are not as good as his, or whether I am no match for him in understanding. I find now that I cannot even open my beak. May I ask what you advise?"

Prince Mou leaned on his armrest and gave a great sigh, and then he looked up at the sky and laughed, saying, "Have not you ever heard about the frog in the caved-in well? He said to the great turtle of the Eastern Sea, 'What fun I have! I come out and hop around the railing of the well, or I go back in and take a rest in the wall where a tile has fallen out. When I dive into the water, I let it hold me up under the armpits and support my chin, and when I slip about in the mud, I bury my feet in it and let it come up over my ankles. I look around at the mosquito larvae and the crabs and polliwogs and I see that none of them can match me. To have complete command of the water of one whole valley and to monopolize all the joys of a caved-in well-this is the best there is! Why don't you come some time and see for yourself?'

"But before the great turtle of the Eastern Sea had even gotten his left foot in the well his right knee was already wedged fast. He backed out and withdrew a little, and then began to describe the sea. 'A distance of a thousand li cannot indicate its greatness; a depth of a thousand fathoms cannot express how deep it is. In the time of Yu there were floods for nine years out of ten, and yet its waters never rose. In the time of T'ang there were droughts for seven years out of eight, and vet its shores never receded. Never to alter or shift, whether for an instant or an eternity: never to advance or recede. whether the quantity of water flowing in is great or small this is the great delight of the Eastern Sea!'

"When the frog in the caved-in well heard this, he was dumfounded with surprise, crestfallen, and completely at a loss. Now your knowledge cannot even define the borders of right and wrong and still you try to use it to see through the words of Chuang Tzu - this is like trying to make a mosquito carry a mountain on its back or a pill bug race across the Yellow River. You will never be up to the task!

"He whose understanding cannot grasp these minute and subtle words, but is only fit to win some temporary gain - is he not like the frog in the caved-in well? Chuang Tzu, now at this very moment he is treading the Yellow Springs17 or leaping up to the vast blue. To him there is no north or south - in utter freedom he dissolves himself in the four directions and drowns himself in the unfathomable. To him there is no east or west - he begins in the Dark Obscurity and returns to the Great Thoroughfare. Now you come niggling along and try to spy him out or fix some name to him but this is like using a tube to scan the sky or an awl to measure the depth of the earth - the instrument is too small, is it not? You'd better be on your way! Or perhaps you have never heard about the young boy of Shou-ling who went to learn the Han-tan Walk. He hadn't mastered what the Han-tan people had to teach him when he forgot his old way of walking, so that he had to crawl all the way back home. Now if you don't get on your way, you are likely to forget what you knew before and be out of a

Kung-sun Lung's mouth fell open and wouldn't stay closed. His tongue stuck to the roof of his mouth and wouldn't come down. In the end he broke into a run and fled.

Once, when Chuang Tzu was fishing in the P'u River, the king of Ch'u sent two officials to go and announce to him: "I would like to trouble you with the administration of my

Chuang Tzu held on to the fishing pole and, without turning his head, said, "I have heard that there is a sacred tortoise in Ch'u that has been dead for three thousand years. The king keeps it wrapped in cloth and boxed, and stores it in the ancestral temple. Now would this tortoise rather be dead and have its bones left behind and honoured? Or would it rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud?"

"It would rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud," said the two officials.
Chuang Tzu said, "Go away! I'll drag my tail in the mud!"

When Hui Tzu was prime minister of Liang, Chuang Tzu set off to visit him. Someone said to Hui Tzu, "Chuang Tzu is coming because he wants to replace you as prime minister!' With this Hui Tzu was filled with alarm and searched all over the state for three days and three nights trying to find Chuang Tzu. Chuang Tzu then came to see him and said, "In the south there is a bird called the Yuan-ch'u - I wonder if you have ever heard of it? The Yuan-ch'u rises up from the South Sea and flies to the North Sea, and it will rest on nothing but the Wut'ung tree, eat nothing but the fruit of the Lien, and drink only from springs of sweet water. Once there was an owl who had gotten hold of a half-rotten old rat, and as the Yuan-ch'u passed by, it raised its head, looked up at the Yuan-ch'u, and said, 'Shoo!' Now that you have this Liang state of yours, are you trying to shoo me?

Chuang Tzu and Hui Tzu were strolling along the dam of the Hao River when Chuang Tzu said, "See how the minnows come out and dart around where they please! That's what fish

Hui Tzu said, "You are not a fish - how do you know what fish enjoy?

Chuang Tzu said, "You are not I, so how do you know I do not know what fish enjoy?'

Hui Tzu said, "I am not you, so I certainly don't know what you know. On the other hand, you are certainly not a fish - so that still proves you don't know what fish enjoy!'

Chuang Tzu said, "Let's go back to your original question, please. You asked me how I know what fish enjoy - so you already knew I knew it when you asked the question. I know it by standing here beside the Hao."

#### ZHUANGZI SECTION 18

Perfect Happiness

Is There Such A Thing as perfect happiness in the world or isn't there? Is there some way to keep yourself alive or isn't there? What to do, what to rely on, what to avoid, what to stick by, what to follow, what to leave alone, what to find happiness in, what to hate?

This is what the world honours: wealth, eminence, long life, a good name. This is what the world finds happiness in: a life of ease, rich food, fine clothes, beautiful sights, sweet sounds, This is what it looks down on: poverty, meanness, early death, a bad name. This is what it finds bitter: a life that knows no rest, a mouth that gets no rich food, no fine clothes for the body, no beautiful sights for the eye, no sweet sounds for the

People who cannot get these things fret a great deal and are afraid - this is a stupid way to treat the body. People who are rich wear themselves out rushing around on business, piling up more wealth than they could ever use - this is a superficial way to treat the body. People who are eminent spend night and day scheming and wondering if they are doing right - this is a shoddy way to treat the body. Man lives his life in company with worry, and if he lives a long while, till he's dull and doddering, then he has spent that much time worrying instead of dying, a bitter lot indeed! This is a callous way to treat the body.

Men of ardour are regarded by the world as good, but their goodness does not succeed in keeping them alive. So I do not know whether their goodness is really good or not. Perhaps I think it is good - but not good enough to save their lives. Perhaps I think it is no good - but still good enough to save the lives of others. So I say, if your loyal advice isn't heeded, give way and do not wrangle. Tzu-hsu wrangled and lost his body. But if he had not wrangled, he would not have made a name. Is there really such a thing as goodness or isn't there?

What ordinary people do and what they find happiness in -I do not know whether such happiness is in the end really happiness or not. I look at what ordinary people find happiness in, what they all make a mad dash for, racing around as though they could not stop - they all say they are happy with it. I am not happy with it and I am not unhappy with it. In the end is there really happiness or is it not there?

I take inaction to be true happiness, but ordinary people think it is a bitter thing. I say: perfect happiness knows no happiness, perfect praise knows no praise. The world cannot decide what is right and what is wrong. And yet inaction can decide this. Perfect happiness, keeping alive - only inaction gets you close to this!

Let me try putting it this way. The inaction of Heaven is its purity, the inaction of earth is its peace. So the two inactions combine and all things are transformed and brought to birth. Wonderfully, mysteriously, there is no place they come out of. Mysteriously, wonderfully, they have no sign. Each thing minds its business and all grow up out of inaction. So I say, Heaven and earth do nothing and there is nothing that is not done. Among men, who can get hold of this inaction? Chuang Tzu's wife died. When Hui Tzu went to convey his

condolences, he found Chuang Tzu sitting with his legs sprawled out, pounding on a tub and singing. "You lived with her, she brought up your children and grew old," said Hui Tzu. "It should be enough simply not to weep at her death. But pounding on a tub and singing - this is going too far, is it not?"

Chuang Tzu said, "You are wrong. When she first died, do you think I did not grieve like anyone else? But I looked back to her beginning and the time before she was born. Not only the time before she was born, but the time before she had a body. Not only the time before she had a body, but the time before she had a spirit. In the midst of the jumble of wonder and mystery a change took place and she had a spirit. Another change and she had a body. Another change and she was born. Now there is been another change and she's dead. It's just like the progression of the four seasons, spring, summer, fall,

"Now she is going to lie down peacefully in a vast room. If I were to follow after her bawling and sobbing, it would show that I do not understand anything about fate. So I stopped.'

Uncle Lack-Limb and Uncle Lame-Gait were seeing the sights at Dark Lord Hill and the wastes of K'un-lun, the place where the Yellow Emperor rested.3. Suddenly a willow sprouted out of Uncle Lame-Gait's left elbow.4 He looked very startled and seemed to be annoyed.

"Do you resent it?" said Uncle Lack-Limb.

"No-what is there to resent?" said Uncle Lame-Gait. "To live is to borrow. And if we borrow to live, then life must be a pile of trash. Life and death are day and night. You and I came to watch the process of change, and now change has caught up with me. Why would I have anything to resent?"

When Chuang Tzu went to Ch'u, he saw an old skull, all dry and parched. He poked it with his carriage whip and then asked, "Sir, were you greedy for life and forgetful of reason, and so came to this? Was your state overthrown and did you bow beneath the ax, and so came to this? Did you do some evil deed and were you ashamed to bring disgrace upon your parents and family, and so came to this? Was it through the pangs of cold and hunger that you came to this? Or did your springs and autumns pile up until they brought you to this?"

When he had finished speaking, he dragged the skull over and, using it for a pillow, lay down to sleep.

In the middle of the night, the skull came to him in a dream and said, "You chatter like a rhetorician and all your words betray the entanglements of a living man. The dead know nothing of these! Would you like to hear a lecture on the dead?"

"Indeed," said Chuang Tzu.

The skull said, "Among the dead there are no rulers above, no subjects below, and no chores of the four seasons. With nothing to do, our springs and autumns are as endless as heaven and earth. A king facing south on his throne could have no more happiness than this!"

Chuang Tzu couldn't believe this and said, "If I got the Arbiter of Fate to give you a body again, make you some bones and flesh, return you to your parents and family and your old home and friends, you would want that, wouldn't you?"

The skull frowned severely, wrinkling up its brow. "Why would I throw away more happiness than that of a king on a throne and take on the troubles of a human being again?" it

When Yen Yuan went east to Ch'i, Confucius had a very worried look on his face.5 Tzu-kung got off his mat and asked, "May I be so bold as to inquire why the Master has such a worried expression now that Hui has gone east to Ch'i?"

"Excellent-this question of yours," said Confucius. "Kuan Tzu6 had a saying that I much approve of: 'Small bags won't hold big things; short well ropes won't dip up deep water.' In the same way I believe that fate has certain forms and the body certain appropriate uses. You cannot add to or take away from these. I am afraid that when Hui gets to Ch'i he will start telling the marquis of Ch'i about the ways of Yao, Shun, and the Yellow Emperor, and then will go on to speak about Sui Jen and Shen Nung. The marquis will then look for similar greatness within himself and fail to find it. Failing to find it, he will become distraught, and when a man becomes distraught, he kills.

"Have not you heard this story? Once a sea bird alighted in the suburbs of the Lu capital. The marquis of Lu escorted it to the ancestral temple, where he entertained it, performing the Nine Shao music for it to listen to and presenting it with the meat of the T'ai-lao sacrifice to feast on. But the bird only looked dazed and forlorn, refusing to eat a single slice of meat or drink a cup of wine, and in three days it was dead. This is to try to nourish a bird with what would nourish you instead of what would nourish a bird. If you want to nourish a bird with what nourishes a bird, then you should let it roost in the deep forest, play among the banks and islands, float on the rivers and lakes, eat mudfish and minnows, follow the rest of the flock in flight and rest, and live any way it chooses. A bird hates to hear even the sound of human voices, much less all that hubbub and to-do. Try performing the Hsien-ch'ih and Nine Shao music in the wilds around Lake Tung-t'ing when the birds hear it they will fly off, when the animals hear it they will run away, when the fish hear it they will dive to the bottom. Only the people who hear it will gather around to listen. Fish live in water and thrive, but if men tried to live in water they would die. Creatures differ because they have different likes and dislikes. Therefore the former sages never required the same ability from all creatures or made them all do the same thing. Names should stop when they have expressed reality, concepts of right should be founded on what is suitable. This is what it means to have command of reason, and good fortune to support you."

Lieh Tzu was on a trip and was eating by the roadside when he saw a hundred-year-old skull. Pulling away the weeds and pointing his finger, he said, "Only you and I know that you have never died and you have never lived. Are you really unhappy? Am I really enjoying myself?"

The seeds of things have mysterious workings. In the water they become Break Vine, on the edges of the water they become Frog's Robe. If they sprout on the slopes they become Hill Slippers. If Hill Slippers get rich soil, they turn into Crow's Feet. The roots of Crow's Feet turn into maggots and their leaves turn into butterflies. Before long the butterflies are transformed and turn into insects that live under the stove; they look like snakes and their name is Ch'u-t'o. After a thousand days, the Ch'u-t'o insects become birds called Dried

Leftover Bones. The saliva of the Dried Leftover Bones becomes Ssu-mi bugs and the Ssu-mi bugs become Vinegar Eaters. I-lo bugs are born from the Vinegar Eaters, and Huang-shuang bugs from Chiu-yu bugs. Chiu-yu bugs are born from Mou-jui bugs and Mou-jui bugs are born from Rot Grubs and Rot Grubs are born from Sheep's Groom couples with bamboo that has not sprouted for a long while and produces Green Peace plants. Green Peace plants produce leopards and leopards produce horses and horses produce men. Men in time return again to the mysterious workings. So all creatures come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 19

Mastering Life

He Who Has Mastered the true nature of life does not labor over what life cannot do. He who has mastered the true nature of fate does not labor over what knowledge cannot change. He who wants to nourish his body must first of all turn to things. And yet it is possible to have more than enough things and for the body still to go unnourished. He who has life must first of all see to it that it does not leave the body. And yet it is possible for life never to leave the body and still fail to be preserved. The coming of life cannot be fended off, its departure cannot be stopped. How pitiful the men of the world, who think that simply nourishing the body is enough to preserve life! But if nourishing the body is in the end not enough to preserve life, then why is what the world does worth doing? It may not be worth doing, and yet it cannot be left undone - this is unavoidable.

He who wants to avoid doing anything for his body had best abandon the world. By abandoning the world, he can be without entanglements. Being without entanglements, he can be upright and calm. Being upright and calm, he can be born again with others. Being born again, he can come close [to the Way].

But why is abandoning the affairs of the world worth while, and why is forgetting life worth while? If you abandon the affairs of the world, your body will be without toil. If you forget life, your vitality will be unimpaired. With your body complete and your vitality made whole again, you may become one with Heaven. Heaven and earth are the father and mother of the ten thousand things. They join to become a body; they part to become a beginning. When the body and vitality are without flaw, this is called being able to shift. Vitality added to vitality, you return to become the Helper of Heaven.

Master Lieh Tzu said to the Barrier Keeper Yin, "The Perfect Man can walk under water without choking, can tread on fire without being burned, and can travel above the ten thousand things without being frightened. May I ask how he manages this?"

The Barrier Keeper Yin replied, "This is because he guards the pure breath - it has nothing to do with wisdom, skill, determination, or courage. Sit down and I will tell you about it. All that have faces, forms, voices, colours - these are all mere things. How could one thing and another thing be far removed from each other? And how could any one of them be worth considering as a predecessor? They are forms, colours nothing more. But things have their creation in what has no form, and their conclusion in what has no change. If a man can get hold of this and exhaust it fully, then how can things stand in his way? He may rest within the bounds that know no excess, hide within the borders that know no source, wander where the ten thousand things have their end and beginning, unify his nature, nourish his breath, unite his virtue, and thereby communicate with that which creates all things. A man like this guards what belongs to Heaven and keeps it whole. His spirit has no flaw, so how can things enter in and get at him?

"When a drunken man falls from a carriage, though the carriage may be going very fast, he won't be killed. He has bones and joints the same as other men, and yet he is not injured as they would be, because his spirit is whole. He did not know he was riding, and he does not know he has fallen out. Life and death, alarm and terror do not enter his breast, and so he can bang against things without fear of injury. If he can keep himself whole like this by means of wine, how much more can he keep himself whole by means of Heaven! The sage hides himself in Heaven - hence there is nothing that can do him harm.

"A man seeking revenge does not go so far as to smash the sword of his enemy; a man, no matter how hot-tempered, does not rail at the tile that happens to fall on him. To know that all things in the world are equal and the same-this is the only way to eliminate the chaos of attack and battle and the harshness of punishment and execution!

"Do not try to develop what is natural to man; develop what is natural to Heaven. He who develops Heaven benefits life; he who develops man injures life. Do not reject what is of Heaven, do not neglect what is of man, and the people will be close to the attainment of Truth."

When Confucius was on his way to Ch'u, he passed through a forest where he saw a hunchback catching cicadas with a

sticky pole as easily as though he were grabbing them with his hand.

Confucius said, "What skill you have! Is there a special way to this?"

"I have a way," said the hunchback. "For the first five or six months I practice balancing two balls on top of each other on the end of the pole and, if they don't fall off, I know I will lose very few cicadas. Then I balance three balls and, if they don't fall off, I know l'll lose only one cicada in ten. Then I balance five balls and, if they don't fall off, I know it will be as easy as grabbing them with my hand. I hold my body like a stiff tree trunk and use my arm like an old dry limb. No matter how huge heaven and earth, or how numerous the ten thousand things, I am aware of nothing but cicada wings. Not wavering, not tipping, not letting any of the other ten thousand things take the place of those cicada wings - how can I help but succeed?"

Confucius turned to his disciples and said, "He keeps his will undivided and concentrates his spirit - that would serve to describe our hunchback gentleman here, would it not?"

Yen Yuan said to Confucius, "I once crossed the gulf at Goblet Deeps and the ferryman handled the boat with supernatural skill. I asked him, 'Can a person learn how to handle a boat?' and he replied, 'Certainly. A good swimmer will in no time get the knack of it. And, if a man can swim under water, he may never have seen a boat before and still he'll know how to handle it!' I asked him what he meant by that, but he wouldn't tell me. May I venture to ask you what it means?'"

Confucius said, "A good swimmer will in no time get the knack of it - that means he's forgot the water. If a man can swim under water, he may never have seen a boat before and still he will know how to handle it - that's because he sees the water as so much dry land, and regards the capsizing of a boat as he would the overturning of a cart. The ten thousand things may all be capsising and backsliding at the same time right in front of him and it cannot get at him and affect what's inside - so where could he go and not be at ease?

"When you are betting for tiles in an archery contest, you shoot with skill. When you are betting for fancy belt buckles, you worry about your aim. And when you are betting for real gold, you are a nervous wreck. Your skill is the same in all three cases - but because one prize means more to you than another, you let outside considerations weigh on your mind. He who looks too hard at the outside gets clumsy on the inside."

T'ien K'ai-chih went to see Duke Wei of Chou. Duke Wei said, "I hear that Chu Hsien is studying how to live. You are a friend of his - what have you heard from him on the subject?"

T'ien K'ai-chih said, "I merely wield a broom and tend his gate and garden - how should I have heard anything from the Master?"

Duke Wei said, "Do not be modest, Master T'ien. I am anxious to hear about it "

T'ien K'ai-chih said, "I have heard the Master say, 'He who is good at nourishing life is like a herder of sheep - he watches for stragglers and whips them up.'"

"What does that mean?" asked Duke Wei.

Tien K'ai-chih said, "In Lu there was Shan Pao - he lived among the cliffs, drank only water, and did not go after gain like other people. He went along like that for seventy years and still had the complexion of a little child. Unfortunately, he met a hungry tiger who killed him and ate him up. Then there was Chang Yi - there wasn't one of the great families and fancy mansions that he did not rush off to visit. He went along like that for forty years, and then he developed an internal fever, fell ill, and died. Shan Pao looked after what was on the inside and the tiger ate up his outside. Chang Yi looked after what was on the outside and the sickness attacked him from the inside. Both these men failed to give a lash to the stragglers."

Confucius has said, "Don't go in and hide; don't come out and shine; stand stock-still in the middle." He who can follow these three rules is sure to be called the finest. When people are setting out on a dangerous road, if they hear that one traveler in a party of ten has been murdered, then fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers will warn each other to be careful and will not venture out until they have a large escort of armed men. That's wise of them, isn't it? But when it comes to what people really ought to be worried about - the time when they are lying in bed or sitting around eating and drinking - then they don't have sense enough to take warning. That's a mistake!"

The Invocator of the Ancestors, dressed in his black, square-cut robes, peered into the pigpen and said, "Why should you object to dying? I am going to fatten you for three months, practice austerities for ten days, fast for three days, spread the white rushes, and lay your shoulders and rump on the carved sacrificial stand - you'll go along with that, won't you? True, if I were planning things from the point of view of a pig, I'd say it would be better to eat chaff and bran and stay right there in the pen. But if I were planning for myself, I'd say that if I could be honoured as a high official while I lived, and get to ride in a fine hearse and lie among the feathers and

trappings when I died, I'd go along with that. Speaking for the pig, I would give such a life a flat refusal, but speaking for myself, I would certainly accept. I wonder why I look at things differently from a pig?"

Duke Huan was hunting in a marsh, with Kuan Chung as his carriage driver, when he saw a ghost. The duke grasped Kuan Chung's hand and said, "Father Chung, what do you see?"

"I do not see anything," replied Kuan Chung.

When the duke returned home, he fell into a stupor, grew ill, and for several days did not go out.

A gentleman of Ch'i named Huang-tzu Kao-ao said, "Your Grace, you are doing this injury to yourself! How could a ghost have the power to injure you! If the vital breath that is stored up in a man becomes dispersed and does not return, then he suffers a deficiency. If it ascends and fails to descend again, it causes him to be chronically irritable. If it descends and does not ascend again, it causes him to be chronically forgetful. And if it neither ascends nor descends, but gathers in the middle of the body in the region of the heart, then he hecomes ill "

Duke Huan said, "But do ghosts really exist?"

"Indeed they do. There is the Li on the hearth and the Chi in the stove. The heap of clutter and trash just inside the gate is where the Lei-t'ing lives. In the northeast corner the Pei-a and Kuei-lung leap about, and the northwest corner is where the I-yang lives. In the water is the Kang-hsiang; on the hills, the Hsin; in the mountains, the K'uei;6 in the meadows, the P'ang-huang; and in the marshes, the Wei-t'o."

The duke said, "May I ask what a Wei-t'o looks like?"

Huang-tzu said, "The Wei-t'o is as big as a wheel hub, as tall as a carriage shaft, has a purple robe and a vermilion hat and, as creatures go, is very ugly. When it hears the sound of thunder or a carriage, it grabs its head and stands up. Any one who sees it will soon become a dictator."

Duke Huan's face lit up and he said with a laugh, "That must have been what I saw!" Then he straightened his robe and hat and sat up on the mat with Huang-tzu, and before the day was over, though he did not notice it, his illness went away.

Chi Hsing-tzu was training gamecocks for the king. After ten days the king asked if they were ready.

"Not yet. They are too haughty and rely on their nerve."

Another ten days and the king asked again.

"Not yet. They still respond to noises and movements."

Another ten days and the king asked again.

"Not yet. They still look around fiercely and are full of spirit."

Another ten days and the king asked again.

"They are close enough. Another cock can crow and they show no sign of change. Look at them from a distance and you'd think they were made of wood. Their virtue is complete. Other cocks won't dare face them, but will turn and run."

Confucius was seeing the sights at Lu-liang, where the water falls from a height of thirty fathoms and races and boils along for forty li, so swift that no fish or other water creature can swim in it. He saw a man dive into the water and, supposing that the man was in some kind of trouble and intended to end his life, he ordered his disciples to line up on the bank and pull the man out. But after the man had gone a couple of hundred paces, he came out of the water and began strolling along the base of the embankment, his hair streaming down, singing a song. Confucius ran after him and said, "At first I thought you were a ghost, but now I see you are a man. May I ask if you have some special way of staying afloat in the water?"

"I have no way. I began with what I was used to, grew up with my nature, and let things come to completion with fate. I go under with the swirls and come out with the eddies, following along the way the water goes and never thinking about myself. That's how I can stay afloat."

Confucius said, "What do you mean by saying that you began with what you were used to, grew up with your nature, and let things come to completion with fate?"

"I was born on the dry land and felt safe on the dry land - that was what I was used to. I grew up with the water and felt safe in the water - that was my nature. I do not know why I do what I do - that's fate."

Woodworker Ch'ing7 carved a piece of wood and made a bell stand, and when it was finished, everyone who saw it marveled, for it seemed to be the work of gods or spirits. When the marquis of Lu saw it, he asked, "What art is it you have?"

Ch'ing replied, "I am only a craftsman - how would I have any art? There is one thing, however. When I am going to make a bell stand, I never let it wear out my energy. I always fast in order to still my mind. When I have fasted for three days, I no longer have any thought of congratulations or rewards, of titles or stipends. When I have fasted for five days, I no longer have any thought of praise or blame, of skill or clumsiness. And when I have fasted for seven days, I am so still that I forget I have four limbs and a form and body. By that time, the ruler and his court no longer exist for me. My skill is concentrated and all outside distractions fade away. After

that, I go into the mountain forest and examine the Heavenly nature of the trees. If I find one of superlative form, and I can see a bell stand there, I put my hand to the job of carving; if not, I let it go. This way I am simply matching up 'Heaven' with 'Heaven.' 8 That's probably the reason that people wonder if the results were not made by spirits."

Tung-yeh Chi was displaying his carriage driving before Duke Chuang. He drove back and forth as straight as a measuring line and wheeled to left and right as neat as a compassdrawn curve. Duke Chuang concluded that even Tsao Fu could do no better, and ordered him to make a hundred circuits and then return to the palace. Yen Ho happened along at the moment and went in to see the duke. "Tung-yeh Chi's horses are going to break down," he said. The duke was silent and gave no answer. In a little while Tung-yeh Chi returned, his horses having in fact broken down. The duke asked Yen Ho, "How did you know that was going to happen?" Yen Ho said, "The strength of the horses was all gone and still he was asking them to go on - that's why I said they would break down."

Artisan Ch'ui could draw as true as a compass or a T square because his fingers changed along with things and he did not let his mind get in the way. Therefore his Spirit Tower remained unified and unobstructed.

You forget your feet when the shoes are comfortable. You forget your waist when the belt is comfortable. Understanding forgets right and wrong when the mind is comfortable. There is no change in what is inside, no following what is outside, when the adjustment to events is comfortable. You begin with what is comfortable and never experience what is uncomfortable when you know the comfort of forgetting what is comfortable.

A certain Sun Hsiu appeared at the gate of Master Pien Ch'ing-tzu to pay him a call. "When I was living in the village," he said, "no one ever said I lacked good conduct. When I faced difficulty, no one ever said I lacked courage. Yet when I worked the fields, it never seemed to be a good year for crops, and when I served the ruler, it never seemed to be a good time for advancement. So I am an outcast from the villages, an exile from the towns. What crime have I committed against Heaven? Why should I meet this fate?"

Master Pien said, "Have you never heard how the Perfect Man conducts himself? He forgets his liver and gall and thinks no more about his eyes and ears. Vague and aimless, he wanders beyond the dirt and dust; free and easy, tending to nothing is his job. This is what is called 'doing but not looking for any thanks, bringing up but not bossing.' Now you show off your wisdom in order to astound the ignorant. work at your good conduct in order to distinguish yourself from the disreputable, going around bright and shining as though you were carrying the sun and moon in your hand! You have managed to keep your body in one piece, you have all the ordinary nine openings, you have not been struck down midway by blindness or deafness, lameness or deformity - compared to a lot of people, you are a lucky man. How do you have any time to go around complaining against Heaven? Be on your way!"

After Master Sun had left, Master Pien went back into the house, sat down for a while, and then looked up to heaven and sighed. One of his disciples asked, "Why does my teacher sigh?"

Master Pien said, "Just now Sun Hsiu came to see me, and I described to him the virtue of the Perfect Man. I am afraid he was very startled and may end up in a complete muddle."

"Surely not," said the disciple. "Was what Master Sun said right and what my teacher said wrong? If so, then wrong can certainly never make a muddle out of right. Or was what Master Sun said wrong and what my teacher said right? If so, then he must already have been in a muddle when he came here, so what's the harm?"

"You don't understand," said Master Pien. "Once long ago a bird alighted in the suburbs of the Lu capital. The ruler of Lu was delighted with it, had a Tai-lao sacrifice prepared for it to feast on, and the Nine Shao music performed for its enjoyment. But the bird immediately began to look unhappy and dazed, and did not dare to eat or drink. This is what is called trying to nourish a bird with what would nourish you. If you want to nourish a bird with what will nourish a bird, you had best let it roost in the deep forest, float on the rivers and lakes, and live on snakes-then it can feel at ease.

"Now Sun Hsiu is a man of ignorance and little learning. For me to describe to him the virtue of the Perfect Man is like taking a mouse for a ride in a carriage or trying to delight a quail with the music of bells and drums. How could he help but be startled?"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 20

The Mountain Tree

Chuang Tzu Was Walking in the mountains when he saw a huge tree, its branches and leaves thick and lush. A woodcutter paused by its side but made no move to cut it down. When Chuang Tzu asked the reason, he replied, "There is nothing it could be used for!" Chuang Tzu said, "Because of

its worthlessness, this tree is able to live out the years Heaven gave it."

Down from the mountain, the Master stopped for a night at the house of an old friend. The friend, delighted, ordered his son to kill a goose and prepare it. "One of the geese can cackle and the other cannot," said the son. "May I ask, please, which I should kill?"

"Kill the one that cannot cackle," said the host.

The next day Chuang Tzu's disciples questioned him. "Yesterday there was a tree on the mountain that gets to live out the years Heaven gave it because of its worthlessness. Now there is our host's goose that gets killed because of its worthlessness. What position would you take in such a case, Master?"

Chuang Tzu laughed and said, "I would probably take a position halfway between worth and worthlessness. But halfway between worth and worthlessness, though it might seem to be a good place, really is not - you will never get away from trouble there. It would be very different, though, if you were to climb up on the Way and its Virtue and go drifting and wandering, neither praised nor damned, now a dragon, now a snake, shifting with the times, never willing to hold to one course only. Now up, now down, taking harmony for your measure, drifting and wandering with the ancestor of the ten thousand things, treating things as things but not letting them treat you as a thing - then how could you get into any trouble? This is the rule, the method of Shen Nung and the Yellow Emperor.

"But now, what with the forms of the ten thousand things and the codes of ethics handed down from man to man, matters don't proceed in this fashion. Things join only to part, reach completion only to crumble. If sharp-edged, they are blunted; if high-stationed, they are overthrown; I if ambitious, they are foiled. Wise, they are schemed against; stupid, they are swindled. What is there, then, that can be counted on? Only one thing, alas! - remember this, my students - only the realm of the Way and its Virtue!"

I-liao from south of the Market called upon the marquis of Lu.2 The marquis had a very worried look on his face. "Why such a worried look?" asked the Master from south of the Market.

The marquis of Lu said, "I study the way of the former kings, I do my best to carry on the achievements of the former rulers, I respect the spirits, honour worthy men, draw close to them, follow their advice, and never for an instant leave their side. And yet I cannot seem to avoid disaster. That's why I am so worried."

The Master from south of the Market said, "Your technique for avoiding disaster is a very superficial one. The sleek-furred fox and the elegantly spotted leopard dwell in the mountain forest and crouch in the cliffside caves - such is

their quietude. They go abroad by night but lurk at home by day - such is their caution. Though hunger, thirst, and hardship press them, they steal forth only one by one to seek food by the rivers and lakes - such is their forethought .3 And yet they cannot seem to escape the disaster of nets and traps. Where is the blame? Their fur is their undoing. And this state of Lu-is it not your coat of fur? So I would ask you to strip away your form, rid yourself of this fur, wash clean your mind, be done with desire, and wander in the peopleless fields.

"In Nan-yueh there is a city and its name is The Land of Virtue Established. Its people are foolish and naive, few in thoughts of self, scant in desires. They know how to make, but not how to lay away; they give, but look for nothing in return. They do not know what accords with right, they do not know what conforms to ritual. Uncouth, uncaring, they move recklessly - and this way they tread the path of the Great Method. Their birth brings rejoicing, their death a fine funeral. So I would ask you to discard your state, break away from its customs, and, with the Way as your helper, journey there."

The ruler of Lu said, "The road there is long and perilous. Moreover, there are rivers and mountains between and I have no boat or carriage. What can I do?"

The Master from south of the Market said, "Be without imperiousness, be without conventionality - let this be your carriage."

But the ruler of Lu said, "The road is dark and long and there are no people there. Who will be my companion on the way? When I have no rations, when I have nothing to eat, how will I be able to reach my destination?"

The Master from south of the Market said, "Make few your needs, lessen your desires, and then you may get along even without rations. You will ford the rivers and drift out upon the sea. Gaze all you may - you cannot see its farther shore; journey on and on - you will never find where it ends. Those who came to see you off will all turn back from the shore and go home, while you move ever farther into the distance.

"He who possesses men will know hardship; he who is possessed by men will know care. Therefore Yao neither possessed men nor allowed himself to be possessed by them. So I ask you to rid yourself of hardship, to cast off your cares, and to wander alone with the Way to the Land of Great Silence.

"If a man, having lashed two hulls together, is crossing a river, and an empty boat happens along and bumps into him, no matter how hot-tempered the man may be, he will not get angry. But if there should be someone in the other boat, then he will shout out to haul this way or veer that. If his first shout is unheeded, he will shout again, and if that is not heard, he will shout a third time, this time with a torrent of curses following. In the first instance, he wasn't angry; now in the second he is. Earlier he faced emptiness, now he faces occupancy. If a man could succeed in making himself empty, and in that way wander through the world, then who could do him harm?"

Pei-kung She was collecting taxes for Duke Ling of Wei in order to make a set of bells. He built a platform outside the gate of the outer wall, and in the space of three months the bells were completed, both the upper and lower tiers. Prince Ch'ing-chi, observing this, asked, "What art is it you wield?"

Pei-kung She replied, "In the midst of Unity, how should I venture to 'wield' anything? I have heard it said, When carving and polishing are done, then return to plainness. Dull, I am without understanding; placid, I dawdle and drift. Mysteriously, wonderfully, I bid farewell to what goes, I greet what comes; for what comes cannot be denied, and what goes cannot be detained. I follow the rude and violent, trail after the meek and bending, letting each come to its own end. So I can collect taxes from morning to night and meet not the slightest rebuff. How much more would this be true, then, of a man who had hold of the Great Road?"

Confucius was besieged between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and for seven days he ate no cooked food. T'ai-kung Jen went to offer his sympathy. "It looks as if you are going to die," he said.

"It does indeed."

"Do you hate the thought of dying?"

"I certainly do!"

Jen said, "Then let me try telling you about a way to keep from dying. In the eastern sea there is a bird and its name is Listless. It flutters and flounces but seems to be quite helpless. It must be boosted and pulled before it can get into the air, pushed and shoved before it can get back to its nest. It never dares to be the first to advance, never dares to be the last to retreat. At feeding time, it never ventures to take the first bite but picks only at the leftovers. So, when it flies in file, it never gets pushed aside, nor do other creatures such as men ever do it any harm. In this way it escapes disaster.

"The straight-trunked tree is the first to be felled; the well of sweet water is the first to run dry. And you, now — you show off your wisdom in order to astound the ignorant, work at your good conduct in order to distinguish yourself from the disreputable, going around bright and shining as though you were carrying the sun and moon in your hand! That's why you cannot escape!

'I have heard the Man of Great Completion say: 'Boasts are a sign of no success; success once won faces overthrow; fame once won faces ruin.' Who can rid himself of success and fame, return and join the common run of men? His Way flows abroad, but he does not rest in brightness; his Virtue' moves, but he does not dwell in fame. Vacant, addled, he seems close to madness. Wiping out his footprints, sloughing off his power, he does not work for success or fame. So he has no cause to blame other men, nor other men to blame him. The Perfect Man wants no repute. Why then do you delight in it so?"

"Excellent!" exclaimed Confucius. Then he said good-bye to his friends and associates, dismissed his disciples, and retired to the great swamp, wearing furs and coarse cloth and living on acorns and chestnuts. He could walk among the animals without alarming their herds, walk among the birds without alarming their flocks. If even the birds and beasts did not resent him, how much less would men!

Confucius said to Master Sang-hu, "Twice I have been driven out of Lu. The people chopped down a tree on me in Sung, wiped away my footprints in Wei, made trouble for me in Shang and Chou, and besieged me between Ch'en and Ts'ai-so many calamities have I encountered. My kinfolk and associates drift farther and farther away, my friends and followers one after the other take leave. Why is this?"

Master Sang-hu said, "Have you never heard about Lin Hui, the man who fled from Chia" He threw away his jade disc worth a thousand measures of gold, strapped his little baby on his back, and hurried off. Someone said to him, 'Did you think of it in terms of money? Surely a little baby isn't worth much money! Or were you thinking of the bother? But a little baby is a great deal of bother! Why then throw away a jade disc worth a thousand measures of gold and hurry off with a little baby on your back?'

"Lin Hui replied, 'The jade disc and I were joined by profit, but the child and I were brought together by Heaven. Things joined by profit, when pressed by misfortune and danger, will cast each other aside; but things brought together by Heaven, when pressed by misfortune and danger, will cling to one another. To cling to each other and to cast each other aside are far apart indeed!"

"The friendship of a gentleman, they say, is insipid as water; that of a petty man, sweet as rich wine. But the insipidity of

the gentleman leads to affection, while the sweetness of the petty man leads to revulsion. Those with no particular reason for joining together will for no particular reason part."

Confucius said, "I will do my best to honour your instructions!" Then, with leisurely steps and a free and easy manner, he returned home. He abandoned his studies, gave away his books, and his disciples no longer came to bow in obeisance before him, but their affection for him was greater than it had ever been before.

Another day Master Sang-hu likewise said, "When Shun was about to die, he carefully8' instructed Yu in these words: 'Mark what I say! In the case of the body, it is best to let it go along with things. In the case of the emotions, it is best to let them follow where they will. By going along with things, you avoid becoming separated from them. By letting the emotions follow as they will, you avoid fatigue. And when there is no separation or fatigue, then you need not seek any outward adornment or depend upon the body. And when you no longer seek outward adornment or depend upon the body, you have in fact ceased to depend upon any material thing.'".

Chuang Tzu put on his robe of coarse cloth with the patches on it, tied his shoes with hemp to keep them from falling apart, and went to call upon the king of Wei. "My goodness, Sir, you certainly are in distress!" said the king of Wei.

Chuang Tzu said, "I am poor, but I am not in distress! When a man possesses the Way and its Virtue but cannot put them into practice, then he is in distress. When his clothes are shabby and his shoes worn through, then he is poor, but he is not in distress. This is what they call being born at the wrong time. Has Your Majesty never observed the bounding monkeys? If they can reach the tall cedars, the catalpas, or the camphor trees, they will swing and sway from their limbs, frolic and lord it in their midst, and even the famous archers Yi or P'eng Meng could not take accurate aim at them. But when they find themselves among prickly mulberries, brambles, hawthorns, or spiny citrons, they must move with caution, glancing from side to side, quivering and quaking with fear. It is not that their bones and sinews have suddenly become stiff and lost their suppleness. It is simply that the monkeys find themselves in a difficult and disadvantageous position where they cannot exercise their abilities to the full. And now if I should live under a benighted ruler and among traitorous ministers and still hope to escape distress, what hope would there be of doing so? Pi Kan had his heart cut out - there is the proof of the matter!"

Confucius was in trouble between Ch'en and Ts'ai, and for seven days he ate no cooked food. His left hand propped against a withered tree, his right beating time on a withered limb, he sang the air of the lord of Yen. The rapping of the limb provided an accompaniment, but it was without any fixed rhythm; there was melody, but none that fitted the usual tonal categories of kung or chueh. The drumming on the tree, the voice of the singer had a pathos to them that would strike a man's heart.

Yen Hui, standing with hands folded respectfully across his chest, turned his eyes and looked inquiringly at Confucius. Confucius, fearful that Yen Hui's respect for him was too great, that his love for him was too tender, said to him, "Hui! It is easy to be indifferent to the afflictions of Heaven, but hard to be indifferent to the benefits of man. No beginning but has its end, and man and Heaven are one. Who is it, then, who sings this song now?"

Hui said, "May I venture to ask what you mean when you say it is easy to be indifferent to the afflictions of Heaven?"

Confucius said, "Hunger, thirst, cold, heat, barriers and blind alleys that will not let you pass - these are the workings of Heaven and earth, the shifts of ever-turning things. This is what is called traveling side by side with the others. He who serves as a minister does not dare to abandon his lord. And if he is thus faithful to the way of a true minister, how much more would he be if he were to attend upon Heaven!"

"And what do you mean when you say that it is hard to be indifferent to the benefits of man?"

Confucius replied, "A man sets out on a career, and soon he is advancing in all four directions at once. Titles and stipends come raining down on him without end, but these are merely material profits and have nothing to do with the man himself. As for me, my fate lies elsewhere. A gentleman will not pilfer, a worthy man will not steal. What business would I have, then, trying to acquire such things? So it is said, There is no bird wiser than the swallow. If its eyes do not light upon a suitable spot, it will not give a second look. If it happens to drop the food it had in its beak, it will let it go and fly on its way. It is wary of men, and yet it lives among them, finding its protection along with men in the village altars of the soil and grain."

"And what do you mean by saying, 'No beginning but has its end'?"

Confucius said, "There is a being who transforms the ten thousand things, yet we do not know how he works these changes. How do we know what is an end? How do we know what is a beginning? The only thing for us to do is just to

"And what do you mean by saving, 'man and Heaven are one'?"

Confucius said, "Man exists because of Heaven, and Heaven too exists because of Heaven. But man cannot cause Heaven to exist; this is because of [the limitations of] his inborn nature. The sage, calm and placid, embodies change and so comes to his end."

Chuang Chou was wandering in the park at Tiao-ling when he saw a peculiar kind of magpie that came flying along from the south. It had a wingspread of seven feet and its eyes were a good inch in diameter. It brushed against Chuang Chou's forehead and then settled down in a grove of chestnut trees. "What kind of bird is that!" exclaimed Chuang Chou. "Its wings are enormous but they get it nowhere; its eyes are huge but it cannot even see where it's going!" Then he hitched up his robe, strode forward, cocked his crossbow and prepared to take aim. As he did so, he spied a cicada that had found a lovely spot of shade and had forgot all about [the possibility of danger to its body. Behind it, a praying mantis, stretching forth its claws, prepared to snatch the cicada, and it too had forgot about its own form as it eyed its prize. The peculiar magpie was close behind, ready to make off with the praying mantis, forgetting its own true self as it fixed its eyes on the prospect of gain. Chuang Chou, shuddering at the sight, said, 'Ah! - things do nothing but make trouble for each other one creature calling down disaster on another!" He threw down his crossbow, turned about, and hurried from the park. but the park keeper [taking him for a poacher] raced after him with shouts of accusation.

Chuang Chou returned home and for three months looked unhappy." Lin Chu in the course of tending to his master's needs, questioned him, saying, "Master, why is it that you are so unhappy these days?"

Chuang Chou said, "In clinging to outward form I have forgot my own body. Staring at muddy water, I have been misled into taking it for a clear pool. Moreover, I have heard my Master say, 'When you go among the vulgar, follow their rules!' I went wandering at Tiao-ling and forgot my body. A peculiar magpie brushed against my forehead, wandered off to the chestnut grove, and there forgot its true self. And the keeper of the chestnut grove, to my great shame, took me for a trespasser! That is why I am unhappy."

Yang Tzu, on his way to Sung, stopped for the night at an inn. The innkeeper had two concubines, one beautiful, the other ugly. But the ugly one was treated as a lady of rank, while the beautiful one was treated as a menial. When Yang Tzu asked the reason, a young boy of the inn replied, "The beautiful one is only too aware of her beauty, and so we do not think of her as beautiful. The ugly one is only too aware of her ugliness, and so we do not think of her as ugly."

Yang Tzu said, "Remember that, my students! If you act worthily but rid yourself of the awareness that you are acting worthily, then where can you go that you will not be loved?"

ZHUANGZI SECTION 21

T'ien Tzu-Fang

T'ien Tzu-Fang Was Sitting in attendance on Marquis Wen of Wei. When he repeatedly praised one Ch'i Kung, Marquis Wen asked, "Is Ch'i Kung your teacher?"

"No," replied Tzu-fang. "He comes from the same neighbourhood as I do. Discussing the Way with him, I've found he often hits the mark - that's why I praise him."

"Have you no teacher then?" asked Marquis Wen.

"I have," said Tzu-fang.

"Who is your teacher?"

"Master Shun from east of the Wall," said Tzu-fang.

"Then why have you never praised him?" asked Marquis Wen.

Tzu-fang said, "He's the kind of man who is True - the face of a human being, the emptiness of Heaven. He follows along and keeps tight hold of the True; pure, he can encompass all things. If men do not have the Way, he has only to put on a straight face and they are enlightened; he causes men's intentions to melt away. But how could any of this be worth praising!"

Tzu-fang retired from the room and Marquis Wen, stupefied, sat for the rest of the day in silence. Then he called to the ministers who stood in attendance on him and said, "How far away he is - the gentleman of Complete Virtue! I used to think that the words of the wisdom of the sages and the practices of benevolence and righteousness were the highest ideal. But now that I have heard about Tzu-fang's teacher, my body has fallen apart and I feel no inclination to move; my mouth is manacled and I feel no inclination to speak. These things that I have been studying are so many clay dolls2 - nothing more! This state of Wei is in truth only a burden to

Wen-po Hsueh-tzu, journeying to Ch'i, stopped along the way in the state of Lu.3 A man of Lu requested an interview with him, but Wen-po Hsueh-tzu said, "No indeed! I have heard of the gentlemen of these middle states - enlightened on the subject of ritual principles but stupid in their understanding of men's hearts. I have no wish to see any such person."

He arrived at his destination in Ch'i, and on his way home had stopped again in Lu when the man once more requested an interview. Wen-po Hsueh-tzu said, "In the past he made an attempt to see me, and now he's trying again. He undoubtedly has some means by which he hopes to 'save' me!"

He went out to receive the visitor and returned to his own rooms with a sigh. The following day, he received the visitor once more, and once more returned with a sigh. His groom said, "Every time you receive this visitor you come back sighing. Why is that?"

"I told you before, did not I? These men of the middle states are enlightened in ritual principles but stupid in the understanding of men's hearts. Yesterday, when this man came to see me, his advancings and retirings were as precise as though marked by compass or T square. In looks and bearing he was now a dragon, now a tiger. He remonstrated with me as though he were my son, offered me guidance as though he were my father! That is why I sighed."

Confucius also went for an interview with Wen-po Hsuehtzu but returned without having spoken a word. Tzu-lu said, "You have been wanting to see 'Yen-po Hsueh-tzu for a long time. Now you had the chance to see him, why did not you say anything?"

Confucius said, "With that kind of man, one glance tells you that the Way is there before you. What room does that leave for any possibility of speech?"

Yen Yuan said to Confucius, "Master, when you walk, I walk; when you trot, I trot; when you gallop, I gallop. But when you break into the kind of dash that leaves even the dust behind, all I can do is stare after you in amazement!"

"Hui, what are you talking about?" asked the Master.

"When you walk, I walk - that is, I can speak just as you speak. When you trot, I trot - that is, I can make discriminations just as you do. When you gallop, I gallop - that is, I can expound the Way just as you do. But when you break into the kind of dash that leaves even the dust behind and all I can do is stare after you in amazement - by that I mean that you do not have to speak to be trusted, that you are catholic and not partisan,' that although you lack the regalia of high office the people still congregate before you, and with all this, you do not know why it is so."

"Ah," said. Confucius, "we had best look into this! There is no grief greater than the death of the mind - beside it, the death of the body is a minor matter. The sun rises out of the east, sets at the end of the west, and each one of the ten thousand things moves side by side with it. Creatures that have eyes and feet must wait for it before their success is complete. Its rising means they may go on living, its setting means they perish. For all the ten thousand things it is thus. They must wait for something before they can die, wait for something before they can live. Having once received this fixed bodily form, I will hold on to it, unchanging, in this way waiting for the end. I move after the model of other things, day and night without break, but I do not know what the end will be. Mild, genial, my bodily form takes shape. I understand my fate but I cannot fathom what has gone before it. This is the way I proceed, day after day.

"I have gone through life linked arm in arm with you, yet now you fail [to understand me]-is this not sad? You see in me, I suppose, the part that can be seen - but that part is already over and gone. For you to come looking for it, thinking it still exists, is like looking for a horse after the horsefair is over.5 I serve you best when I have utterly forgot you, and you likewise serve me best when you have utterly forgot me. But even so, why should you repine? Even if you forget the old me, I will still possess something that will not be forgot!" 6

Confucius went to call on Lao Tan. Lao Tan had just finished washing his hair and had spread it over his shoulders to dry. Utterly motionless, he did not even seem to be human. Confucius, hidden from sight, 7 stood waiting, and then after some time presented himself and exclaimed, "Did my eves play tricks on me, or was that really true? A moment ago, Sir, your form and body seemed stiff as an old dead tree, as though you had forgot things, taken leave of men, and were standing in solitude itself!"

Lao Tan said, "I was letting my mind wander in the Beginning of things."

"What does that mean?" asked Confucius.

"The mind may wear itself out but can never understand it; the mouth may gape but can never describe it. Nevertheless, I will try explaining it to you in rough outline.

"Perfect Yin is stern and frigid; Perfect Yang is bright and glittering. The sternness and frigidity come forth from heaven, the brightness and glitter emerge from the earth; the two mingle, penetrate, come together, harmonise, and all things are born therefrom. Perhaps someone manipulates the cords that draw it all together, but no one has ever seen his form. Decay, growth, fullness, emptiness, now murky, now bright, the sun shifting, the moon changing phase - day after day these things proceed, yet no one has seen him bringing them about. Life has its sproutings, death its destination, end and beginning tail one another in unbroken round, and no one has ever heard of their coming to a stop. If it is not as I have described it, then who else could the Ancestor of all this be?"

Confucius said, "May I ask what it means to wander in such a place?"

Lao Tan said, "It means to attain Perfect Beauty and Perfect Happiness. He who attains Perfect Beauty and wanders in Perfect Happiness may be called the Perfect Man." Confucius said, "I would like to hear by what means this may be accomplished."

"Beasts that feed on grass do not fret over a change of pasture; creatures that live in water do not fret over a change of stream. They accept the minor shift as long as the all-important constant is not lost. [Be like them] and joy, anger, grief, and happiness can never enter your breast. In this world, the ten thousand things come together in One, and if you can find that One and become identical with it, then your four limbs and hundred joints will become dust and sweepings; life and death, beginning and end will be mere day and night, and nothing whatever can confound you - certainly not the trifles of gain or loss, good or bad fortune!

"A man will discard the servants who wait upon him as though they were so much earth or mud, for he knows that his own person is of more worth than the servants who tend it. Worth lies within yourself and no external shift will cause it to be lost. And since the ten thousand transformations continue without even the beginning of an end, how could they be enough to bring anxiety to your mind? He who practices the Way understands all this."

Confucius said, "Your virtue, Sir, is the very counterpart of Heaven and earth, and yet even you must employ these perfect teachings in order to cultivate your mind. Who, then, even among the fine gentlemen of the past, could have avoided such labors?"

"Not so!" said Lao Tan. "The murmuring of the water is its natural talent, not something that it does deliberately. The Perfect Man stands in the same relationship in virtue. Without cultivating it, he possesses it to such an extent that things cannot draw away from him. It is as natural as the height of heaven, the depth of the earth, the brightness of sun and moon. What is there to be cultivated?"

When Confucius emerged from the interview, he reported what had passed to Yen Hui, saying, "As far as the Way is concerned, I was a mere gnat in the vinegar jar! If the Master hadn't taken off the lid for me, I would never have understood the Great Integrity of Heaven and earth!"

Chuang Tzu went to see Duke Ai of Lu. Duke Ai said, "We have a great many Confucians here in the state of Lu, but there seem to be very few men who study your methods, Sir!"

"There are few Confucians in the state of Lu!" said Chuang

"But the whole state of Lu is dressed in Confucian garb!' said Duke Ai. "How can you say they are few?"

"I have heard," said Chuang Tzu, "that the Confucians wear round caps on their heads to show that they understand the cycles of heaven, that they walk about in square shoes to show that they understand the shape of the earth, and that they tie ornaments in the shape of a broken disc at their girdles in order to show that, when the time comes for decisive action, they must 'make the break.' But a gentleman may embrace a doctrine without necessarily wearing the garb that goes with it, and he may wear the garb without necessarily comprehending the doctrine. If Your Grace does not believe this is so, then why not try issuing an order to the state proclaiming: 'All those who wear the garb without practicing the doctrine that goes with it will be sentenced to death!"

Duke Ai did in fact issue such an order, and within five days there was no one in the state of Lu who dared wear Confucian garb. Only one old man came in Confucian dress and stood in front of the duke's gate. The duke at once summoned him and questioned him on affairs of state and, though the discussion took a thousand turnings and ten thousand shifts, the old man was never at a loss for words. Chuang Tzu said, "In the whole state of Lu, then, there is only one man who is a real Confucian. How can you say there are a great many of them?"

Po-li Hsi did not let title and stipend get inside his mind. He fed the cattle and the cattle grew fat, and this fact made Duke Mu of Ch'in forget Po-li Hsi's lowly position and turn over the government to him. Shun, the man of the Yu clan, did not let life and death get inside his mind. So he was able to influence others.

Lord Wan of Sung wanted to have some pictures painted. The crowd of court clerks all gathered in his presence, received their drawing panels, 12 and took their places in line, licking their brushes, mixing their inks, so many of them that there were more outside the room than inside it. There was one clerk who arrived late, sauntering in without the slightest haste. When he received his drawing panel, he did not look for a place in line, but went straight to his own quarters. The ruler sent someone to see what he was doing, and it was found that he had taken off his robes, stretched out his legs, and was sitting there naked. "Very good," said the ruler. "This is a true artist!"

King Wen was seeing the sights at Tsang when he spied an old man fishing. Yet his fishing wasn't really fishing. He did not fish as though he were fishing for anything, but as though it were his constant occupation to fish. King Wen wanted to

summon him and hand over the government to him, but he was afraid that the high officials and his uncles and brothers would be uneasy. He thought perhaps he had better forget the matter and let it rest, and yet he couldn't bear to deprive the hundred clans of such a Heaven-sent opportunity. At dawn the next day he therefore reported to his ministers, saying, "Last night I dreamt I saw a fine man, dark-complexioned and bearded, mounted on a dappled horse that had red hoofs on one side. He commanded me, saying, 'Hand over your rule to the old man of Tsang - then perhaps the ills of the people may he cured!"

The ministers, awe-struck, said, "It was the king, your late father!"

"Then perhaps we should divine to see what ought to be done," said King Wen.

"It is the command of your late father!" said the ministers.
"Your Majesty must have no second thoughts. What need is there for divination?"

In the end, therefore, the king had the old man of Tsang escorted to the capital and handed over the government to him, but the regular precedents and laws remained unchanged, and not a single new order was issued.

At the end of three years, King Wen made an inspection tour of the state. He found that the local officials had smashed their gate bars and disbanded their cliques, that the heads of government bureaus achieved no special distinction, and that persons entering the four borders from other states no longer ventured to bring their own measuring cups and bushels with them. The local officials had smashed their gate bars and disbanded their cliques because they had learned to identify with their superiors. The heads of government bureaus achieved no special distinction because they looked on all tasks as being of equal distinction. Persons entering the four borders from other states no longer ventured to bring their own measuring cups and bushels with them because the feudal lords had ceased to distrust the local measures.

King Wen thereupon concluded that he had found a Great Teacher and, facing north as a sign of respect, he asked, "Could these methods of government be extended to the whole world?"

But the old man of Tsang looked blank and gave no answer, evasively mumbling some excuse; and when orders went out the next morning to make the attempt, the old man ran away the very same night and was never heard of again.

Yen Yuan questioned Confucius about this story, saying, "King Wen did not amount to very much after all, did he! And why did he have to resort to that business about the dream?"

"Quiet!" said Confucius. "No more talk from you! King Wen was perfection itself - how can there be any room for carping and criticism! The dream - that was just a way of getting out of a moment's difficulty."

Lieh Yu-k'ou was demonstrating his archery to Po-hun Wu-jen. He drew the bow as far as it would go, placed a cup of water on his elbow, and let fly. One arrow had no sooner left his thumb ring than a second was resting in readiness beside his arm guard, and all the while he stood like a statue.16 Po-hun Wu-jen said, "This is the archery of an archer, not the archery of a nonarcher! Try climbing up a high mountain with me, scrambling over the steep rocks to the very, brink of an eight-hundred-foot chasm - then we'll see what kind of shooting you can do!"

Accordingly they proceeded to climb a high mountain, scrambling over the steep rocks to the brink of an eight-hundred-foot chasm. There Po-hun Wu-jen, turning his back to the chasm, walked backwards until his feet projected halfway off the edge of the cliff, bowed to Lieh Yu-k'ou, and invited him to come forward and join him. But Lieh Yu-k'ou cowered on the ground, sweat pouring down all the way to his heels. Po-hun Wu-jen said, "The Perfect Man may stare at the blue heavens above, dive into the Yellow Springs below, ramble to the end of the eight directions, yet his spirit and bearing undergo no change. And here you are in this cringing, eye-batting state of mind - if you tried to take aim now, you would be in certain peril!"

Chien Wu said to Sun-shu Ao, "Three times you have become premier, yet you did not seem to glory in it. Three times you were dismissed from the post, but you never looked glum over it. At first I doubted that this was really true, but now I stand before your very nose and see how calm and unconcerned you are. Do you have some unique way of using your mind?"

Sun-shu Ao replied, "How am I any better than other men? I considered that the coming of such an honour could not be fended off, and that its departure could not be prevented. As far as I was concerned, the question of profit or loss did not rest with me, and so I had no reason to put on a glum expression, that was all. How am I any better than other men? Moreover, I am not really certain whether the glory resides in the premiership or in me. If it resides in the premiership, then it means nothing to me. And if it resides in me, then it means nothing to the premiership. Now I am about to go for an idle stroll, to go gawking in the four directions. What leisure do I

have to worry about who holds an eminent position and who a humble one?

Confucius, hearing of the incident, said, "He was a True Man of old, the kind that the wise cannot argue with, the beautiful cannot seduce, the violent cannot intimidate; even Fu Hsi or the Yellow Emperor could not have befriended him. Life and death are great affairs, and yet they are no change to him - how much less to him are things like titles and stipends! With such a man, his spirit may soar over Mount T'ai without hindrance, may plunge into the deepest springs without getting wet, may occupy the meanest, most humble position without distress. He fills all Heaven and earth; and the more he gives to others, the more he has for himself.'

The king of Ch'u was sitting with the lord of Fan. After a little while, three of the king of Ch'u's attendants reported that the state of Fan had been destroyed. The lord of Fan said, "The destruction of Fan is not enough to make me lose what I am intent on preserving. And if the destruction of Fan is not enough to make me lose what I preserve, then the preservation of Ch'u is not enough to make it preserve what it ought to preserve. Looking at it this way, then, Fan has not yet begun to be destroyed, and Ch'u has not yet begun to be preserved!

## ZHUANGZI SECTION 22

Knowledge Wandered North

Knowledge Wandered North to the banks of the Black Waters, climbed the Knoll of Hidden Heights, and there by chance came upon Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing. Knowledge said to Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing, "There are some things I should like to ask you. What sort of pondering, what sort of cogitation does it take to know the Way? What sort of surroundings, what sort of practices does it take to find rest in the Way? What sort of path, what sort of procedure will get me to the Way?'

Three questions he asked, but Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing did not answer. It wasn't that he just did not answer - he did not know how to answer!

Knowledge, failing to get any answer, returned to the White Waters of the south, climbed the summit of Dubiety Dismissed, and there caught sight of Wild-and-Witless Knowledge put the same questions to Wild-and-Witless. "Ah - I know!" said Wild-and-Witless. "And I am going to tell you." But just as he was about to say something, he forgot what it was he was about to say.

Knowledge, failing to get any answer, returned to the imperial palace, where he was received in audience by the Yellow Emperor, and posed his questions. The Yellow Emperor said, "Only when there is no pondering and no cogitation will you get to know the Way. Only when you have no surroundings and follow no practices will you find rest in the Way. Only when there is no path and no procedure can you get to the Way."

Knowledge said to the Yellow Emperor, "You and I know, but those other two that I asked did not know. Which of us is right, I wonder?"

The Yellow Emperor said, "Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing - he's the one who is truly right. Wild-and-Witless appears to be so. But you and I in the end are nowhere near it. Those who know do not speak; those who speak do not know Therefore the sage practices the teaching that has no words.1 The Way cannot be brought to light; its virtue cannot be forced to come. But benevolence - you can put that into practice; you can discourse on righteousness, you can dupe one another with rites. So it is said, When the Way was lost, then there was virtue; when virtue was lost, then there was benevolence; when benevolence was lost, then there was righteousness; when righteousness was lost, then there were rites. Rites are the frills of the Way and the forerunners of disorder. So it is said, He who practices the Way does less every day, does less and goes on doing less, until he reaches the point where he does nothing, does nothing and yet there is nothing that is not done." Now that we've already become 'things,' if we want to return again to the Root, I am afraid we'll have a hard time of it! The Great Man - he's the only one who might find it easy.

"Life is the companion of death, death is the beginning of life. Who understands their workings? Man's life is a comingtogether of breath. If it comes together, there is life; if it scatters, there is death. And if life and death are companions to each other, then what is there for us to be anxious about?

'The ten thousand things are really one. We look on some as beautiful because they are rare or unearthly; we look on others as ugly because they are foul and rotten. But the foul and rotten may turn into the rare and unearthly, and the rare and unearthly may turn into the foul and rotten. So it is said. You have only to comprehend the one breath that is the world The sage never ceases to value oneness.'

Knowledge said to the Yellow Emperor, "I asked Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing and he did not reply to me. It wasn't that he merely did not reply to me - he did not know how to reply to me. I asked Wild-and-Witless and he was about to explain to me, though he did not explain anything. It wasn't that he wouldn't explain to me - but when he was about to explain, he forgot what it was. Now I have asked you and you

know the answer. Why then do you say that you are nowhere near being right?'

The Yellow Emperor said, "Do-Nothing-Say-Nothing is the one who is truly right - because he does not know. Wildand-Witless appears to be so - because he forgets. But you and I in the end are nowhere near it - because we know.

Wild-and-Witless heard of the incident and concluded that the Yellow Emperor knew what he was talking about.

Heaven and earth have their great beauties but do not speak of them; the four seasons have their clear-marked regularity but do not discuss it; the ten thousand things have their principles of growth but do not expound them. The sage seeks out the beauties of Heaven and earth and masters the principles of the ten thousand things. Thus it is that the Perfect Man does not act, the Great Sage does not move - they have perceived [the Way of ] Heaven and earth, we may say. This Way, whose spiritual brightness is of the greatest purity, joins with others in a hundred transformations. Already things are living or dead, round or square; no one can comprehend their source, yet here are the ten thousand things in all their stir and bustle, just as they have been since ancient times. Things as vast as the Six Realms have never passed beyond the border [of the Way]; things as tiny as an autumn hair must wait for it to achieve bodily form. There is nothing in the world that does not bob and sink, to the end of its days lacking fixity. The yin and yang, the four seasons follow one another in succession, each keeping to its proper place. Dark and hidden, [the Way] seems not to exist and yet it is there; lush and unbounded, it possesses no form but only spirit: the ten thousand things are shepherded by it, though they do not understand it - this is what is called the Source, the Root. This is what may be perceived in Heaven.

Nieh Ch'ueh asked P'i-i about the Way. P'i-i said, Straighten up your body, unify your vision, and the harmony of Heaven will come to you. Call in your knowledge, unify your bearing, and the spirits will come to dwell with you. Virtue will be your beauty, the Way will be your home, and, stupid as a newborn calf, you will not try to find out the reason why.

Before he had finished speaking, however, Nieh Ch'ueh fell sound asleep. P'i-i, immensely pleased, left and walked away, singing this song:

Body like a withered corpse, mind like dead ashes, true in the realness of knowledge, not one to go searching for reasons, dim dim, dark dark,

mindless you cannot consult with him:

what kind of man is this

Shun asked Ch'eng, "Is it possible to gain possession of the

"You don't even have possession of your own body - how could you possibly gain possession of the Way!"

"If I do not have possession of my own body, then who does?" said Shun

"It is a form lent you by Heaven and earth. You do not have possession of life - it is a .harmony lent by Heaven and earth. You do not have possession of your inborn nature and fate they are contingencies lent by Heaven and earth. You do not have possession of your sons and grandsons - they are castoff skins lent by Heaven and earth. So it is best to walk without knowing where you are going, stay home without knowing what you are guarding, eat without knowing what you are tasting. All is the work of the Powerful Yang in the world. then could it be possible to gain possession of anything?"

Confucius said to Lao Tan, "Today you seem to have a moment of leisure - may I venture to ask about the Perfect Way?'

Lao Tan said, "You must fast and practice austerities, cleanse and purge your mind, wash and purify your inner spirit, destroy and do away with your knowledge. The Way is abstruse and difficult to describe. But I will try to give you a rough outline of it

"The bright and shining is born out of deep darkness; the ordered is born out of formlessness; pure spirit is born out of the Way. The body is born originally from this purity, and the ten thousand things give bodily form to one another through the process of birth. Therefore those with nine openings in the body are born from the womb; those with eight openings are born from eggs. [In the case of the Way] there is no trace of its coming, no limit to its going. Gateless, room-less, it is airy and open as the highways of the four directions. He who follows along with it will be strong in his four limbs, keen and penetrating in intellect, sharp-eared, bright-eyed, wielding his mind without wearying it, responding to things without prejudice. Heaven cannot help but be high, earth cannot help but be broad, the sun and moon cannot help but revolve, the ten thousand things cannot help but flourish. Is this not the Way?

Breadth of learning does not necessarily mean knowledge; eloquence does not necessarily mean wisdom - therefore the sage rids himself of these things. That which can be increased without showing any sign of increase; that which can be

diminished without suffering any diminution - that is what the sage holds fast to. Deep, unfathomable, it is like the sea; tall and craggy, it ends only, to begin again, transporting and weighing the ten thousand things without ever failing them. The 'Way of the gentleman' [which you preach] is mere superficiality, is it not? But what the ten thousand things all look to for sustenance, what never fails them - is this not the real Way?

"Here is a man of the Middle Kingdom, neither vin nor yang, living between heaven and earth. For a brief time only, he will be a man, and then he will return to the Ancestor. Look at him from the standpoint of the Source and his life is a mere gathering together of breath. And whether he dies young or lives to a great old age, the two fates will scarcely differ - a matter of a few moments, you might say. How, then, is it worth deciding that Yao is good and Chieh is bad?

'The fruits of trees and vines have their patterns and principles. Human relationships too, difficult as they are, have their relative order and precedence. The sage, encountering them, does not go against them; passing beyond, he does not cling to them. To respond to them in a spirit of harmony - this is virtue: to respond to them in a spirit of fellowship - this is the Way. Thus it is that emperors have raised themselves up and kings have climbed to power.

"Man's life between heaven and earth is like the passing of a white colt glimpsed through a crack in the wall-whoosh!-and that's the end. Overflowing, starting forth, there is nothing that does not come out; gliding away, slipping into silence, there is nothing that does not go back in. Having been transformed, things find themselves alive; another transformation and they are dead. Living things grieve over it, mankind mourns. But it is like the untying of the Heaven-lent bow-bag, the unloading of the Heaven-lent satchel - a yielding, a mild mutation, and the soul and spirit are on their way, the body following after, on at last to the Great Return.

The formless moves to the realm of form: the formed moves back to the realm of formlessness. This all men alike understand. But it is not something to be reached by striving. The common run of men all alike debate how to reach it. But those who have reached it do not debate, and those who debate have not reached it. Those who peer with bright eyes will never catch sight of it. Eloquence is not as good as silence. The Way cannot be heard; to listen for it is not as good as plugging up your ears. This is called the Great Acquisition.

Master Tung-kuo8 asked Chuang Tzu, "This thing called the Way - where does it exist?"

Chuang Tzu said, "There is no place it does not exist."
"Come," said Master Tung-kuo, "you must be more specific!"

"It is in the ant."

"As low a thing as that?"

"It is in the panic grass."
"But that's lower still!"

"It is in the tiles and shards '

"How can it be so low?

"It is in the piss and shit!"

Master Tung-kuo made no reply.

Chuang Tzu said, "Sir, your questions simply don't get at the substance of the matter. When Inspector Huo asked the superintendent of the market how to test the fatness of a pig by pressing it with the foot, he was told that the lower down on the pig you press, the nearer you come to the truth. But you must not expect to find the Way in any particular place there is no thing that escapes its presence! Such is the Perfect Way, and so too are the truly great words. 'Complete, 'universal,' 'all-inclusive' - these three are different words with the same meaning. All point to a single reality.

"Why don't you try wandering with me to the Palace of Not-Even-Anything - identity and concord will be the basis of our discussions and they will never come to an end, never reach exhaustion. Why not join with me in inaction, in tranquil quietude, in hushed purity, in harmony and leisure? Already my will is vacant and blank. I go nowhere and don't know how far I've gotten. I go and come and don't know where to stop. I've already been there and back, and I do not know when the journey is done. I ramble and relax in unbordered vastness; Great Knowledge enters in, and I do not know where it will ever end.

"That which treats things as things is not limited by things. Things have their limits - the so-called limits of things. The unlimited moves to the realm of limits: the limited moves to the unlimited realm. We speak of the filling and emptying, the withering and decay of things. [The Way] makes them full and empty without itself filling or emptying; it makes them wither and decay without itself withering or decaying. It establishes root and branch but knows no root and branch itself; it determines when to store up or scatter but knows no storing or scattering itself."

Ah Ho-kan and Shen Nung were studying together under Old Lung Chi. Shen Nung sat leaning on his armrest, the door shut, taking his daily nap, when at midday Ah Ho-kan threw open the door, entered and announced, "Old Lung is

Shen Nung, still leaning on the armrest, reached for his staff and jumped to his feet. Then he dropped the staff with a clatter and began to laugh, saying, "My Heaven-sent Master he knew how cramped and mean, how arrogant and willful I am, and so he abandoned me and died. My Master went off and died without ever giving me any wild words to open up my mind!"

Yen Kang-tiao, hearing of the incident, said, "He who embodies the Way has all the gentlemen of the world flocking to him. As far as the Way goes, Old Lung hadn't gotten hold of a piece as big as the tip of an autumn hair, hadn't found his way into one ten-thousandth of it - but even he knew enough to keep his wild words stored away and to die with them unspoken. How much more so, then, in the case of a man who embodies the Way! Look for it but it has no form, listen but it has no voice. Those who discourse upon it with other men speak of it as dark and mysterious. The Way that is discoursed upon is not the Way at all!"

At this point, Grand Purity asked No-End, "Do you understand the Way?"

"I do not understand it," said No-End.

Then he asked No-Action, and No-Action said, "I understand the Way."

"You say you understand the Way - is there some trick to it. "There is."

"What's the trick?'

No-Action said, "I understand that the Way can exalt things and can humble them; that it can bind them together and can cause them to disperse. This is the trick by which I understand the Way.'

Grand Purity, having received these various answers, went and questioned No-Beginning, saying, "If this is how it is, then between No-End's declaration that he does not understand, and No-Action's declaration that he does, which is right and which is wrong?"

No-Beginning said, "Not to understand is profound; to understand is shallow. Not to understand is to be on the inside; to understand is to be on the outside."

Thereupon Grand Purity gazed up and sighed, saying, "Not to understand is to understand? To understand is not to understand? Who understands the understanding that does not understand?"

No-Beginning said, "The Way cannot be heard; heard, it is not the Way. The Way cannot be seen; seen, it is not the Way. The Way cannot be described; described, it is not the Way. That which gives form to the formed is itself formless - can you understand that? There is no name that fits the Way."

you understand that? There is no name that fits the Way."

No-Beginning continued, "He who, when asked about the Way, gives an answer does not understand the Way; and he who asked about the Way has not really heard the Way explained. The Way is not to be asked about, and even if it is asked about, there can be no answer. To ask about what cannot be asked about is to ask for the sky. To answer what cannot be answered is to try to split hairs. If the hair-splitter waits for the sky-asker, then neither will ever perceive the time and space that surround them on the outside, or understand the Great Beginning that is within. Such men can never trek across the K'un-lun, can never wander in the Great Veid!"

Bright Dazzlement asked Non-Existence, "Sir, do you exist or do you not exist?" Unable to obtain any answer, Bright Dazzlement stared intently at the other's face and form - all was vacuity and blankness. He stared all day but could see nothing, listened but could hear no sound, stretched out his hand but grasped nothing. "Perfect!" exclaimed Bright Dazzlement. "Who can reach such perfection? I can conceive of the existence of nonexistence, but not of the nonexistence of nonexistence. Yet this man has reached the stage of the nonexistence of nonexistence.14 How could I ever reach such perfection!"

The grand marshal's buckle maker was eighty years old, yet he had not lost the tiniest part of his old dexterity. The grand marshal said, "What skill you have! Is there a special way to this?"

"I have a way. From the time I was twenty I have loved to forge buckles. I never look at other things - if it's not a buckle, I do not bother to examine it."

Using this method of deliberately not using other things, he was able over the years to get some use out of it. And how much greater would a man be if, by the same method, he reached the point where there was nothing that he did not use! All things would come to depend on him.

Jan Ch'iu asked Confucius, "Is it possible to know anything about the time before Heaven and earth existed?"

Confucius said, "It is - the past is the present."

Jan Ch'iu, failing to receive any further answer, retired. The following day he went to see Confucius again and said, "Yesterday I asked if it were possible to know anything about the time before Heaven and earth existed, and you, Master, replied, 'It is - the past is the present.' Yesterday that seemed quite clear to me, but today it seems very obscure. May I venture to ask what this means?"

Confucius said, "Yesterday it was clear because your spirit took the lead in receiving my words. Today, if it seems

obscure, it is because you are searching for it with something other than spirit, are you not? There is no past and no present, no beginning and no end. Sons and grandsons existed before sons and grandsons existed - may we make such a statement?"

Jan Ch'iu had not replied when Confucius said, "Stop! -don't answer! Do not use life to give life to death. Do not use death to bring death to life." Do life and death depend upon each other? Both have that in them which makes them a single body. There is that which was born before Heaven and earth, but is it a thing? That which treats things as things is not a thing. Things that come forth can never precede all other things, because there were already things existing then; and before that, too, there were already things existing - so on without end. The sage's love of mankind, which never comes to an end, is modeled on this principle."

Yen Yuan said to Confucius, "Master, I have heard you say that there should be no going after anything, no welcoming anything. May I venture to ask how one may wander in such realms?"

Confucius said, "The men of old changed on the outside but not on the inside. The men of today change on the inside but not on the outside. He who changes along with things is identical with him who does not change. Where is there change? Where is there no change? Where is there any friction with others? Never will he treat others with arrogance. But Hsi-wei had his park, the Yellow Emperor his garden, Shun his palace, T'ang and Wu their halls. 18 And among gentlemen there were those like the Confucians and Mo-ists who became 'teachers.' As a result, people began using their 'rights' and 'wrongs' to push each other around. And how much worse are the men of today!

"The sage lives with things but does no harm to them, and he who does no harm to things cannot in turn be harmed by them. Only he who does no harm is qualified to join with other men in 'going after' or 'welcoming.'

"The mountains and forests, the hills and fields fill us with overflowing delight and we are joyful. Our joy has not ended when grief comes trailing it. We have no way to bar the arrival of grief and joy, no way to prevent them from departing. Alas, the men of this world are no more than travelers, stopping now at this inn, now at that, all of them run by 'things.' They know the things they happen to encounter, but not those that they have never encountered. They know how to do the things they can do, but they cannot do the things they don't know how to do. Not to know, not to be able to do - from these mankind can never escape. And yet there are those who struggle to escape from the inescapable can you help but pity them? Perfect speech is the abandonment of speech; perfect action is the abandonment of action. To be limited to understanding only what is understood - this is shallow indeed!"

## ZHUANGZI SECTION 23

Keng-Sang Ch'u

Among The Attendants of Lao Tan was one Keng-sang Ch'u, who had mastered a portion of the Way of Lao Tan, and with it went north to live among the Mountains of Zigzag. His servants with their bright and knowing looks he discharged; his concubines with their tender and solicitous ways he put far away from him. Instead he shared his house with drabs and dowdies, and employed the idle and indolent to wait on him. He had been living there three years when Zigzag began to enjoy bountiful harvests, and the people of Zigzag said to one another, "When Master Keng-sang first came among us, we were highly suspicious of him. But now, if we figure by the day, there never seems to be enough, but if we figure by the year, there is always some left over! It might just be that he's a sage! Why don't we make him our impersonator of the dead and pray to him, turn over to him our altars of the soil and grain?

When Master Keng-sang heard this, he faced south with a look of displeasure. His disciples thought this strange, but Master Keng-sang said, "Why should you wonder that I am displeased? When the breath of spring comes forth, the hundred grasses begin to grow, and later, when autumn visits them, their ten thousand fruits swell and ripen. Yet how could spring and autumn do other than they do? - the Way of Heaven has already set them in motion. I have heard that the Perfect Man dwells corpse-like in his little four-walled room, leaving the hundred clans to their uncouth and uncaring ways, not knowing where they are going, where they are headed. But now these petty people of Zigzag in their officious and busy-body fashion want to bring their sacrificial stands and platters and make me one of their 'worthies'! Am I to be held up as a model for men? That is why, remembering the words of Lao Tan, I am so displeased!"

"But there is no need for that!" said his disciples. "In a ditch eight or sixteen feet wide the really big fish does not even have room to turn around, yet the minnows and loaches think it ample. On a knoll no more than five or ten paces in height the really big animal does not even have room to hide, yet the wily foxes think it ideal. Moreover, to honour the worthy and assign office to the able, according them precedence and conferring benefits on them - this has been the custom from

the ancient days of the sages Yao and Shun. How much more so, then, should it be the custom among the common people of Zigzag. Why not go ahead and heed their demands, Master?"

Master Keng-sang said, "Come nearer, my little ones! A beast large enough to gulp down a carriage, if he sets off alone and leaves the mountains, cannot escape the perils of net and snare; a fish large enough to swallow a boat, if he is tossed up by the waves and left stranded, is bound to fall victim to ants and crickets. Therefore birds and beasts don't mind how high they climb to escape danger, fish and turtles don't mind how deep they dive. So the man who would preserve his body and life must think only of how to hide himself away, not minding how remote or secluded the spot may be.

"And as for those two you mentioned -Yao and Shun - how are they worthy to be singled out for praise? With their nice distinctions they are like a man who goes around willfully poking holes in people's walls and fences and planting weeds and brambles in them, like a man who picks out which hairs of his head he intends to comb before combing it, who counts the grains of rice before he cooks them. Such bustle and officiousness - how can it be of any use in saving the age? Promote men of worth and the people begin trampling over each other; employ men of knowledge and the people begin filching from each other. Such procedures will do nothing to make the people ingenuous. Instead the people will only grow more diligent in their pursuit of gain, till there are sons who kill their fathers, ministers who kill their lords, men who filch at high noon, who bore holes through walls in broad daylight. I tell you, the source of all great confusion will invariably be found to lie right there with Yao and Shun! And a thousand generations later, it will still be with us. A thousand generations later - mark my word - there will be men who will eat each other up!"

Nan-Jung Chu straightened up on his mat with a perplexed look and said, "A man like myself who's already on in years what sort of studies is he to undertake in order to attain this state you speak of?"

Master Keng-sang said, "Keep the body whole, cling fast to life! Do not fall prey to the fidget and fuss of thoughts and scheming. If you do this for three years, then you can attain the state I have spoken of."

Nan-Jung Chu said, "The eyes are part of the body - I have never thought them anything else - yet the blind man cannot see with his. The ears are part of the body - I have never thought them anything else - yet the deaf man cannot hear with his. The mind is part of the body - I have never thought it anything else - yet the madman cannot comprehend with his. The body too must be part of the body - surely they are intimately connected. Yet - is it because something intervenes? - I try to seek my body, but I cannot find it. Now you tell me, 'Keep the body whole, cling fast to life! Do not fall prey to the fidget and fuss of thoughts and scheming.' As hard as I try to understand your explanation of the Way, I am afraid your words penetrate no farther than my ears."

"I've said all I can say," exclaimed Master Keng-sang. "The saying goes, mud daubers have no power to transform caterpillars.5 The little hens of Yueh cannot hatch goose eggs, though the larger hens of Lu can do it well enough. It isn't that one kind of hen isn't just as henlike as the other. One can and the other cannot because their talents just naturally differ in size. Now I am afraid my talents are not sufficient to bring about any transformation in you. Why don't you go south and visit Lao Tzu?"

Nan-Jung Chu packed up his provisions and journeyed for seven days and seven nights until he came to Lao Tzu's place. Lao Tzu said, "Did you come from Keng-sang Ch'u's place?" "Yes Sir." said Nan-Jung Chu.

"Why did you come with all this crowd of people?" asked Lao Tzu.

Nan-Jung Chu, astonished, turned to look behind him.

"Don't you know what I mean?" asked Lao Tzu.

Nan-Jung Chu hung his head in shame and then, looking up with a sigh, said, "Now I've even forgot the right answer to that, so naturally I cannot ask any questions of my own."

"What does that mean?" asked Lao Tzu.

"If I say I do not know, then people call me an utter fool," said Nan-Jung Chu. "But if I say I do know, then on the contrary I bring worry on myself. If I am not benevolent, I harm others; but if I am benevolent, then on the contrary I make trouble for myself. If I am not righteous, I do injury to others; but if I am righteous, then on the contrary I distress myself. How can I possibly escape from this state of affairs? It is these three dilemmas that are harassing me, and so, through Keng-sang Chu's introduction, I have come to beg an explanation."

Lao Tzu said, "A moment ago, when I looked at the space between your eyebrows and eyelashes, I could tell what kind of person you are. And now what you have said confirms it. You are confused and crestfallen, as though you had lost your father and mother and were setting off with a pole to fish for them in the sea. You are a lost man - hesitant and unsure, you want to return to your true form and inborn nature but you have no way to go about it - a pitiful sight indeed!"

Nan-jung Chu asked to be allowed to repair to his quarters. There he tried to cultivate his good qualities and rid himself of his bad ones; and after ten days of making himself miserable, he went to see Lao Tzu again. Lao Tzu said, "You have been very diligent in your washing and purifying - as I can see from your scrubbed and shining look. But there is still something smoldering away inside you - it would seem that there are bad things there yet. When outside things trip you up and you cannot snare and seize them, then bar the inside gate. When inside things trip you up and you cannot bind and seize them, then bar the outside gate. If both outside and inside things trip you up, then even the Way and its virtue themselves cannot keep you going - much less one who is a mere follower of the Way in his actions."

Nan-Jung Chu said, "When a villager gets sick and his neighbours ask him how he feels, if he is able to describe his illness, it means he can still recognize his illness as an illness and so he isn't all that ill. But now if I were to ask about the Great Way, it would be like drinking medicine that made me sicker than before. What I would like to ask about is simply the basic rule of life-preservation, that is all."

Lao Tzu said, "Ah - the basic rule of life-preservation. Can you embrace the One? Can you keep from losing it? Can you, without tortoise shell or divining stalks, foretell fortune and misfortune? Do you know where to stop, do you know where to leave off? Do you know how to disregard it in others and instead look for it in yourself? Can you be brisk and unflagging? Can you be rude and unwitting? Can you be a little baby? The baby howls all day, yet its throat never gets hoarse - harmony at its height! The baby makes fists all day, yet its fingers never get cramped - virtue is all it holds to. The baby stares all day without blinking its eyes - it has no preferences in the world of externals. To move without knowing where you are going, to sit at home without knowing what you are doing, traipsing and trailing about with other things, riding along with them on the same wave this is the basic rule of life-preservation, this and nothing

Nan-Jung Chu said, "Then is this all there is to the virtue of the Perfect Man?"

"Oh, no! This is merely what is called the freeing of the icebound, the thawing of the frozen. Can you do it? The Perfect Man joins with others in seeking his food from the earth, his pleasures in Heaven. But he does not become embroiled with them in questions of people and things, profit and loss. He does not join them in their shady doings, he does not join them in their plots, he does not join them in their projects. Brisk and unflagging, he goes; rude and unwitting, he comes. This is what is called the basic rule of life-preservation."

"Then is this the highest stage?"

"Not yet! Just a moment ago I said to you, 'Can you be a baby?' The baby acts without knowing what it is doing, moves without knowing where it is going. Its body is like the limb of a withered tree, its mind like dead ashes. Since it is so, no bad fortune will ever touch it, and no good fortune will come to it either. And if it is free from good and bad fortune, then what human suffering can it undergo?"

He whose inner being rests in the Great Serenity will send forth a Heavenly light. But though he sends forth a Heavenly light, men will see him as a man and things will see him as a thing. When a man has trained himself to this degree, then for the first time he achieves constancy. Because he possesses constancy, men will come to lodge with him and Heaven will be his helper. Those whom men come to lodge with may be called the people of Heaven; those whom Heaven aids may be called the sons of Heaven.

Learning means learning what cannot be learned; practicing means practicing what cannot be practiced; discriminating means discriminating what cannot be discriminated. Understanding that rests in what it cannot understand is the finest. If you do not attain this goal, then Heaven the Equalizer will destroy you.

Utilize the bounty of things and let them nourish your body; withdraw into thoughtlessness and in this way give life to your mind; be reverent of what is within and extend this same reverence to others. If you do these things and yet are visited by ten thousand evils, then all are Heaven-sent and not the work of man. They should not be enough to destroy your composure; they must not be allowed to enter the Spirit Tower. The Spirit Tower has its guardian, but unless it understands who its guardian is, it cannot be guarded.

If you do not perceive the sincerity within yourself and yet try to move forth, each movement will miss the mark. If outside concerns enter and are not expelled, each movement will only add failure to failure. He who does what is not good in clear and open view will be seized and punished by men. He who does what is not good in the shadow of darkness will be seized and punished by ghosts. Only he who clearly understands both men and ghosts will be able to walk alone."

He who concentrates upon the internal does deeds that bring no fame. He who concentrates upon the external sets his mind upon the hoarding of goods. He who does deeds that bring no fame is forever the possessor of light. He who sets his mind upon the hoarding of goods is a mere merchant. To other men's eyes he seems to be straining on tiptoe in his greed, yet he thinks himself a splendid fellow. If a man goes along with things to the end, then things will come to him. But if he sets up barriers against things, then he cannot find room enough even for himself, much less for others. He who can find no room for others lacks fellow feeling, and to him who lacks fellow feeling, all men are strangers. There is no weapon more deadly than the will - even Mo-yeh is inferior to it. There are no enemies greater than the yin and yang - because nowhere between heaven and earth can you escape from them. It is not that the yin and yang deliberately do you evil - it is your own mind that makes them act so.

The Way permeates all things. Their dividedness is their completeness, their completeness is their impairment. What is hateful about this state of dividedness is that men take their dividedness and seek to supplement it; and what is hateful about attempts to supplement it is that they are a mere supplementation of what men already have. So they go forth and forget to return - they act as though they had seen a ghost. They go forth and claim to have gotten something - what they have gotten is the thing called death. They are wiped out and choked off - already a kind of ghost themselves. Only when that which has form learns to imitate the formless will it find serenity.

It comes out from no source, it goes back in through no aperture. It has reality yet no place where it resides; it has duration yet no beginning or end. Something emerges, though through no aperture - this refers to the fact that it has reality. It has reality yet there is no place where it resides - this refers to the dimension of space. It has duration but no beginning or end - this refers to the dimension of time. There is life, there is death, there is a coming out, there is a going back in - yet in the coming out and going back its form is never seen. This is called the Heavenly Gate. The Heavenly Gate is nonbeing. The ten thousand things come forth from nonbeing. Being cannot create being out of being; inevitably it must come forth from nonbeing. Nonbeing is absolute nonbeing, and it is here that the sage hides himself.

The understanding of the men of ancient times went a long way. How far did it go? To the point where some of them believed that things have never existed - so far, to the end, where nothing can be added. Those at the next stage thought that things exist. They looked upon life as a loss, upon death as a return - thus they had already entered the state of dividedness. Those at the next stage said, "In the beginning there was nonbeing. Later there was life, and when there was life suddenly there was death. We look upon nonbeing as the head, on life as the body, on death as the rump. Who knows that being and nonbeing, life and death are a single way? I will be his friend!"

These three groups, while differing in their viewpoint, belong to the same royal clan; though, as in the case of the Chao and Ching families, whose names indicate their line of succession, and that of the Ch'i! family, whose name derives from its fief, they are not identical.

Out of the murk, things come to life. With cunning you declare, "We must analyze this!" You try putting your analysis in words, though it is not something to be put into words. You cannot, however, attain understanding. At the winter sacrifice, you can point to the tripe or the hoof of the sacrificial ox, which can be considered separate things, and yet in a sense cannot be considered separate. A man who goes to look at a house will walk all around the chambers and ancestral shrines, but he will also go to inspect the privies. And so for this reason you launch into your analysis.

Let me try describing this analysis of yours. It takes life as its basis and knowledge as its teacher, and from there proceeds to assign "right" and "wrong." So in the end we have "names" and "realities," and accordingly each man considers himself to be their arbiter. In his efforts to make other men appreciate his devotion to duty, for example, he will go so far as to accept death as his reward for devotion. To such men, he who is useful is considered wise, he who is of no use is considered stupid. He who is successful wins renown; he who runs into trouble is heaped with shame. Analyzers - that is what the men of today are! They are like the cicada and the little dove, who agreed because they were two of a kind.

If you step on a stranger's foot in the market place, you apologize at length for your carelessness. If you step on your older brother's foot, you give him an affectionate pat, and if you step on your parent's foot, you know you are already forgiven. So it is said, Perfect ritual makes no distinction of persons; perfect righteousness takes no account of things; perfect knowledge does not scheme; perfect benevolence knows no affection; perfect trust dispenses with gold.

Wipe out the delusions of the will, undo the snares of the heart, rid yourself of the entanglements to virtue; open up the roadblocks in the Way. Eminence and wealth, recognition and authority, fame and profit - these six are the delusions of the will. Appearances and carriage, complexion and features, temperament and attitude - these six are the snares of the heart. Loathing and desire, joy and anger, grief and happiness - these six are the entanglements of virtue. Rejecting and

accepting, taking and giving, knowledge and ability - these six are the roadblocks of the Way. When these four sixes no longer seethe within the breast, then you will achieve uprightness; being upright, you will be still; being still, you will be enlightened; being enlightened, you will be empty; and being empty, you will do nothing, and yet there will be nothing that is not done.

The Way is virtue's idol. Life is virtue's light. The inborn nature is the substance of life. The inborn nature in motion is called action. Action which has become artificial is called loss. Understanding reaches out, understanding plots. But the understanding of that which is not to be understood is a childlike stare. Action which is done because one cannot do otherwise is called virtue. Action in which there is nothing other than self is called good order. In definition the two seem to be opposites but in reality they agree.

Archer Yi was skilled at hitting the smallest target but clumsy in not preventing people from praising him for it. The sage is skilled in what pertains to Heaven but clumsy in what pertains to man. To be skilled in Heavenly affairs and good at human ones as well - only the Complete Man can encompass that. Only bugs can be bugs because only bugs can abide by Heaven. The Complete Man hates Heaven, and hates the Heavenly in man. How much more, then, does he hate the "I" who distinguishes between Heaven and man.

If a single sparrow came within Archer Yi's range, he was sure to bring it down - impressive shooting. But he might have made the whole world into a cage, and then the sparrows would have had no place to flee to. That was the way it was when T'ang caged Yi Yin by making him a cook and Duke Mu caged Po-li Hsi for the price of five ram skins. But if you hope to get a man, you must cage him with what he likes or you will never succeed.

The man who has had his feet cut off in punishment discards his fancy clothes - because praise and blame no longer touch him. The chained convict climbs the highest peak without fear - because he has abandoned all thought of life and death. These two are submissive and unashamed because they have forgot other men, and by forgetting other men they have become men of Heaven. Therefore you may treat such men with respect and they will not be pleased; you may treat them with contumely and they will not be angry. Only because they are one with the Heavenly Harmony can then be like this.

If he who bursts out in anger is not really angry, then his anger is an outburst of nonanger. If he who launches into action is not really acting, then his action is a launching into inaction. He who wishes to be still must calm his energies; he who wishes to be spiritual must compose his mind; he who in his actions wishes to hit the mark must go along with what he cannot help doing. Those things that you cannot help doing they represent the Way of the sage.

## ZHUANGZI SECTION 24

Hsu Wu-Kuei

Through Nu Shang, the recluse Hsu Wu-kuei obtained an interview with Marquis Wu of Wei. Marquis Wu greeted him with words of comfort, saying, "Sir, you are not well. I suppose that the hardships of life in the mountain forests have become too much for you, and so at last you have consented to come and visit me"

"I am the one who should be comforting you!" said Hsu Wu-kuei. "What reason have you to comfort me? If you try to fulfill all your appetites and desires and indulge your likes and dislikes, then you bring affliction to the true form of your inborn nature and fate. And if you try to deny your appetites and desires and forcibly change your likes and dislikes, then you bring affliction to your ears and eyes. It is my place to comfort you - what reason have you to comfort me!"

Marquis Wu, looking very put out, made no reply.

After a little while, Hsu Wu-kuei said, "Let me try telling you about the way I judge dogs. A dog of the lowest quality thinks only of catching its fill of prey - that is, it has the nature of a wildcat. One of middling quality seems always to be looking up at the sun. But one of the highest quality acts as though it had lost its own identity. And I am even better at judging horses than I am at judging dogs. When I judge a horse, if he can gallop as straight as a plumb line, arc as neat as a curve, turn as square as a T square, and round as true as a compass, then I should say he was a horse for the kingdom to boast of. But not a horse for the whole world to boast of. A horse the whole world can boast of - his talents are already complete. He seems dazed, he seems lost, he seems to have become unaware of his own identity, and in this way he overtakes, passes, and leaves the others behind in the dust. You cannot tell where he's gone to!"

Marquis Wu, greatly pleased, burst out laughing.

When Hsu Wu-kuei emerged from the interview, Nu Shang said, "Sir, may I ask what you were talking to our ruler about? When I talk to him, I talk to him back and forth about the Odes and Documents, about ritual and music; and then I talk to him up and down about the Golden Tablets and the Six Bow-cases. I have made proposals that led to outstanding success in more cases than can be counted, and yet he never so much as bared his teeth in a smile. Now what were you talking

to him about that you managed to delight him in this fashion?

Hsu Wu-kuei said, "I was merely explaining to him how I judge dogs and horses, that was all.

"Was that all?" said Nu Shang.

"Have not you ever heard about the men who are exiled to Yueh?" said Hsu Wu-kuei. "A few days after they have left their homelands, they are delighted if they come across an old acquaintance. When a few weeks or a month have passed, they are delighted if they come across someone they had known by sight when they were at home. And by the time a year has passed, they are delighted if they come across someone who even looks as though he might be a countryman. The longer they are away from their countrymen, the more deeply they long for them - isn't that it? A man who has fled into the wilderness, where goosefoot and woodbine tangle the little trails of the polecat and the weasel, and has lived there in emptiness and isolation for a long time, will be delighted if he hears so much as the rustle of a human footfall. And how much more so if he hears his own brothers and kin chattering and laughing at his side! It has been a long time, I think, since one who speaks like a True Man has sat chattering and laughing at our ruler's side."

Hsu Wu-kuei was received in audience by Marquis Wu. "Sir," said Marquis Wu, "for a long time now you have lived in your mountain forest, eating acorns and chestnuts, getting along on wild leeks and scallions, and scorning me completely Now is it old age, or perhaps a longing for the taste of meat and wine, that has brought you here? Or perhaps you have come to bring blessing to my altars of the soil and grain.'

Hsu Wu-kuei said, "I was born to poverty and lowliness and have never ventured to eat or drink any of your wine or meat,

my lord. I have come in order to comfort you."
"What?" said the ruler. "Why should you comfort me?

"I want to bring comfort to your spirit and body." What do you mean by that?" asked Marquis Wu.

Hsi! Wu-kuei said, "Heaven and earth provide nourishment for all things alike. To have ascended to a high position cannot be considered an advantage; to live in lowliness cannot be considered a handicap. Now you, as sole ruler of this land of ten thousand chariots, may tax the resources of the entire populace of your realm in nourishing the appetites of your ears and eyes, your nose and mouth. But the spirit will not permit such a way of life. The spirit loves harmony and hates licentiousness. Licentiousness is a kind of sickness, and that is why I have come to offer my comfort. I just wonder, my lord, how aware you are of your own sickness."

Marquis Wu said, "I have in fact been hoping to see you for

a long time, Sir. I would like to cherish my people, practice righteousness, and lay down the weapons of war - how would

"It won't!" said Hsu Wu-kuei "To cherish the people is to open the way to harming them! To practice righteousness and lay down your weapons is to sow the seeds for more weaponwielding! If you go at it this way, I am afraid you will never succeed. All attempts to create something admirable are the weapons of evil. You may think you are practising benevolence and righteousness, but in effect you will be creating a kind of artificiality. Where a model exists, copies will be made of it; where success has been gained, boasting follows; where debate exists, there will be outbreaks of hostility. On the other hand, it will not do, my lord, to have files of marching soldiers filling the whole area within your fortress towers, or ranks of cavalry drawn up before the Palace of the Black Altar. Do not store in your heart what is contrary to your interests. Do not try to outdo others in skill. Do not try to overcome others by stratagems. Do not try to conquer others in battle. If you kill the officials and people of another ruler and annex his lands, using them to nourish your personal desires and your spirit, then I cannot say which contender is the better fighter, and to which the real victory belongs! If you must do something, cultivate the sincerity which is in your breast and use it to respond without opposition to the true form of Heaven and earth. Then the people will have won their reprieve from death. What need will there be for you to resort to this 'laying down of weapons"

The Yellow Emperor set out to visit Great Clod at Chi!-tz'u Mountain.5 Fang Ming was his carriage driver, while Ch'ang Yu rode at his right side; Chang Jo and Hsi P'eng led the horses and K'un Hun and Ku Chi followed behind the carriage. By the time they reached the wilds of Hsiang-ch'eng, all seven sages had lost their way and could find no one to ask directions from. Just then they happened upon a young boy herding horses, and asked him for directions. "Do you know the way to Chu-tz'u Mountain?" they inquired.

"And do you know where Great Clod is to be found?"

'Yes '

"What an astonishing young man!" said the Yellow Emperor. "You not only know the way to Chu-tz'u Mountain, but you even know where Great Clod is to be found! Do you mind if I ask you about how to govern the empire?'

"Governing the empire just means doing what I am doing here, does not it?" said the young boy. "What is there special about it? When I was little, I used to go wandering within the Six Realms, but in time I contracted a disease that blurred my eyesight. An elderly gentleman advised me to mount on the chariot of the sun and go wandering in the wilds of Hsiangch'eng, and now my illness is getting a little better. Soon I can go wandering once more, this time beyond the Six Realms. Governing the empire just means doing what I am doing - I do not see why it has to be anything special.

"It's true that the governing of the empire is not something that need concern you, Sir," said the Yellow Emperor. 'Nevertheless, I would like to ask you how it should be done.'

The young boy made excuses, but when the Yellow Emperor repeated his request, the boy said, "Governing the empire I suppose is not much different from herding horses. Get rid of whatever is harmful to the horses - that's all."

The Yellow Emperor, addressing the boy as "Heavenly Master," bowed twice, touching his head to the ground, and retired.

The wise man is not happy without the modulations of idea and thought: the rhetorician is not happy without the progression of argument and rebuttal; the examiner is not happy without the tasks of interrogation and intimidation. All are penned in by these things. Men who attract the attention of the age win glory at court; men who hit it off well with the people shine in public office; men of strength and sinew welcome hardship; men of bravery and daring are spurred on by peril: men of arms and armour delight in combat; men of haggard hermit looks reach out for fame; men of laws and regulations long for broader legislation; men of ritual and instruction revere appearances; men of benevolence and righteousness value human relationships. The farmer is not content if he does not have his work in the fields and weed patches; the merchant is not content if he does not have his affairs at the market place and wellside. The common people work hardest when they have their sunup to sundown occupations; the hundred artisans are most vigorous when they are exercising their skills with tools and machines. If his goods and coin do not pile up, the greedy man frets; if his might and authority do not increase, the ambitious man grieves. Servants to circumstance and things, they delight in change, and if the moment comes when they can put their talents to use, then they cannot keep from acting. In this way they all follow along with the turning years, letting themselves be changed by things.6 Driving their bodies and natures on and on, they drown in the ten thousand things, and to the end of their days never turn back. Pitiful, are they

Chuang Tzu said, "If an archer, without taking aim at the mark, just happens to hit it, and we dub him a skilled archer, then everyone in the world can be an Archer Yi - all right?"

"All right," said Hui Tzu.

Chuang Tzu said, "If there is no publicly accepted 'right' in the world, but each person takes right to be what he himself thinks is right, then everyone in the world can be a Yao -all right?'

'All right," said Hui Tzu.

Chuang Tzu said, "Well then, here are the four schools of the Confucians, Mo, Yang, and Ping, and with your own that makes five. Now which of you is in fact right? Or is it perhaps like the case of Lu Chu? His disciple said to him, 'Master, I have grasped your Way. I can build a fire under the caldron in winter and make ice in summer.' 'But that is simply using the yang to attract the yang, and the yin to attract the yin,' said Lu Chu. 'That is not what I call the Way! I will show you my Way!' Thereupon he tuned two lutes, placed one in the hall, and the other in an inner room. When he struck the kung note on one lute, the kung on the other lute sounded; when he struck the chueh note, the other chueh sounded - the pitch of the two instruments was in perfect accord. Then he changed the tuning of one string so that it no longer corresponded to any of the five notes. When he plucked this string, it set all the twenty-five strings of the other instrument to jangling. But he was still using sounds to produce his effect; in this case it just happened to be the note that governs the other notes. Now is this the way it is in your case?

Hui Tzu said, "The followers of Confucius, Mo, Yang, and Ping often engage with me in debate, each of us trying to overwhelm the others with phrases and to silence them with shouts - but so far they have never proved me wrong. So what do you make of that?

Chuang Tzu said, "A man of Ch'i sold his own son into service in Sung, having dubbed him Gatekeeper and maimed him; but when he acquired any bells or chimes, he wrapped them up carefully to prevent breakage. Another man went looking for a lost son, but was unwilling to go any farther than the border in his search - there are men as mixed up as this, you know. Or like the man of Ch'u who had been maimed and sold into service as a gatekeeper and who, in the middle of the night, when no one else was around, picked a fight with the boatman. Though he did not actually arouse any criticism, what he did was enough to create the grounds for a nasty

Chuang Tzu was accompanying a funeral when he passed by the grave of Hui Tzu. Turning to his attendants, he said, There was once a plasterer who, if he got a speck of mud on the tip of his nose no thicker than a fly's wing, would get his friend Carpenter Shih to slice it off for him. Carpenter Shih, whirling his hatchet with a noise like the wind, would accept the assignment and proceed to slice, removing every bit of mud without injury to the nose, while the plasterer just stood there completely unperturbed. Lord Yuan of Sung, hearing of this feat, summoned Carpenter Shih and said, 'Could you try performing it for me?' But Carpenter Shih replied, 'It's true that I was once able to slice like that - but the material I worked on has been dead these many years.' Since you died, Master Hui, I have had no material to work on. There is no one I can talk to any more.

When Kuan Chung fell ill, Duke Huan went to inquire how he was. "Father Chung," he said, "you are very ill. If - can I help but say it? - if your illness should become critical, then to whom could I entrust the affairs of the state?"

Kuan Chung said, "To whom would Your Grace like to entrust them?

"Pao Shu-ya," said the duke.

"That will never do! He is a fine man, a man of honesty and integrity. But he will have nothing to do with those who are not like himself. And if he once hears of someone's error, he won't forget it to the end of his days. If he were given charge of the state, he would be sure to tangle with you on the higher level and rile the people below him. It would be no time at all before he did something you considered unpardonable.

Well then, who will do?" asked the duke.

"If I must give an answer, then I would say that Hsi P'eng will do. He forgets those in high places and does not abandon those in low ones. He is ashamed that he himself is not like the Yellow Emperor, and pities those who are not like himself. He who shares his virtue with others is called a sage; he who shares his talents with others is called a worthy man. If he uses his worth in an attempt to oversee others,. then he will never win their support; but if he uses it to humble himself before others, then he will never fail to win their support. With such a man, there are things within the state that he does not bother to hear about, things within the family that he does not bother to look after. If I must give an answer, I would say that Hsi P'eng will do."

The king of Wu, boating on the Yangtze, stopped to climb a mountain noted for its monkeys. When the pack of monkeys saw him, they dropped what they were doing in terror and scampered off to hide in the deep brush. But there was one monkey who, lounging about nonchalantly, picking at things, scratching, decided to display his skill to the king. When the king shot at him, he snatched hold of the flying arrows with the greatest nimbleness and speed. The king thereupon ordered his attendants to hurry forward and join in the shooting, and the monkey was soon captured and killed. The king turned to his friend Yen Pu-i and said, "This monkey. flouting its skill, trusting to its tricks, deliberately displayed its contempt for me - so it met with this end. Take warning from it! Ah - you must never let your expression show arrogance toward others! "

When Yen Pu-i returned, he put himself under the instruction of Tung Wu, learning to wipe the expression from his face, to discard delight, to excuse himself from renown and at the end of three years everyone in the state was praising

Tzu-ch'i of Nan-po sat leaning on his armrest, staring up at the sky and breathing. Yen Ch'eng-tzu entered and said, "Master, you surpass all other things! Can you really make the body like a withered tree and the mind like dead ashes?

"Once I lived in a mountain cave. At that time, T'ien Ho came to pay me one visit and the people of the state of Ch'i congratulated him three times. I must have had hold of something in order for him to find out who I was; I must have been peddling something in order for him to come and buy. If I had not had hold of something, then how would he have been able to find out who I was? If I had not been peddling something, then how would he have been able to buy? Ah, how I pitied those men who destroy themselves! Then again, I pitied those who pity others; and again, I pitied those who pity those who pity others. But all that was long ago."

When Confucius visited Ch'u, the king of Ch'u ordered a toast. Sun-shu Ao came forward and stood with the wine goblet, while I-liao from south of the Market took some of the wine and poured a libation, saying, "[You have the wisdom of] the men of old, have you not? On this occasion perhaps you would speak to us about it."

Confucius said, "I have heard of the speech that is not spoken, though I have never tried to speak about it. Shall I

take this occasion to speak about it now? I-liao from south of the Market juggled a set of balls and the trouble between the two houses was resolved. Sun-shu Ao rested comfortably waving his feather fan, and the men of Ying put away their arms. I wish I had a beak three feet long!'

These were men who followed what is called the Way that is not a way, and this exchange of theirs is what is called the debate that is not spoken. Therefore, when virtue is resolved

in the unity of the Way and words come to rest at the place where understanding no longer understands, we have perfection. The unity of the Way is something that virtue can never master;18 what understanding does not understand is something that debate can never encompass. To apply names in the manner of the Confucians and Mo-ists is to invite evil. The sea does not refuse the rivers that come flowing eastward into it - it is the perfection of greatness. The sage embraces all heaven and earth, and his bounty extends to the whole world, yet no one knows who he is or what family he belongs to. For this reason, in life he holds no titles, in death he receives no posthumous names. Realities do not gather about him, names do not stick to him - this is what is called the Great Man.

A dog is not considered superior merely because it is good at barking; a man is not considered worthy merely because he is good at speaking. Much less, then, is he to be considered great. That which has become great does not think it worth trying to become great, much less to become virtuous. Nothing possesses a larger measure of greatness than Heaven and earth, yet when have they ever gone in search of greatness? He who understands what it means to possess greatness does not seek, does not lose, does not reject, and does not change himself for the sake of things. He returns to himself and finds the inexhaustible; he follows antiquity and discovers the imperishable - this is the sincerity of the Great Man.

Tzu-ch'i had eight sons and, lining them up in front of him, he summoned Chiu-fang Yin and said, "Please physiognomize my sons for me and tell me which one is destined for good fortune."

Chiu-fang Yin replied, "K'un - he is the one who will be fortunate."

Tzu-ch'i, both astonished and pleased, said, "How so?"

"K'un will eat the same food as the lord of a kingdom, and will continue to do so to the end of his days."

Tears sprang from Tzu-ch'i's eyes, and in great dejection he said, "Why should my boy be brought to this extreme?"

"He who eats the same food as the ruler of a kingdom will bring bounty to all his three sets of relatives, not to mention his own father and mother," said Chiu-fang Yin. "Yet now when you hear of this, Sir, you burst out crying - this will only drive the blessing away! The son is auspicious enough, but the father is decidedly inauspicious!"

Tzu-ch'i said, "Yin, what would you know about this sort of thing! You say K'un will be fortunate - but you are speaking solely of the meat and wine that are to affect his nose and mouth. How could you understand where such things come from! Suppose, although I have never been a shepherd, a flock of ewes were suddenly to appear in the southwest corner of my grounds; or that, although I have no taste for hunting. a covey of quail should suddenly appear in the southeast corner - if this were not to be considered peculiar, then what would be? When my son and I go wandering, we wander through Heaven and earth. He and I seek our delight in Heaven and our food from the earth. He and I do not engage in any undertakings, do not engage in any plots, do not engage in any peculiarities. He and I ride on the sincerity of Heaven and earth and do not allow things to set us at odds with it. He and I stroll and saunter in unity, but never do we try to do what is appropriate to the occasion. Now you tell me of this vulgar and worldly 'reward' that is to come to him. As a rule, where there is some peculiar manifestation, there must invariably have been some peculiar deed to call it forth. But surely this cannot be due to any fault of my son and me it must be inflicted by Heaven. It is for this reason that I weep!

Not long afterwards, Tzu-ch'i sent his son K'un on an errand to the state of Yen, and along the way he was seized by bandits. They considered that he would be difficult to sell as a slave in his present state, but that if they cut off his feet they could dispose of him easily. Accordingly they cut off his feet and sold him in the state of Ch'i. As it happened, he was made gatekeeper of the inner chamber in the palace of Duke K'ang, and so was able to eat meat until the end of his days.

Nieh Ch'ueh happened to meet Hsi! Yu. "Where are you going?" he asked.

"I am running away from Yao."

"Why is that?"

"Because Yao is so earnestly and everlastingly benevolent! I am afraid he'll make himself the laughing stock of the world. In later ages men may even end up eating each other because of him! There is nothing difficult about attracting the people. Love them and they will feel affection for you, benefit them and they will flock to you, praise them and they will do their best, do something they dislike and they will scatter. Love and benefit are the products of benevolence and righteousness There are few men who will renounce benevolence and righteousness, but many who will seek to benefit by them. To practice benevolence and righteousness in such a fashion is at best a form of insincerity, at worst a deliberate lending of weapons to the evil 22 and rapacious. Moreover, to have one man laying down decisions and regulations for the 'benefit' of the world is like trying to take in everything at a single glance. Yao understands that the worthy man can benefit the world, but he does not understand that he can also ruin the world

Only a man who has gotten outside the realm of 'worthiness' can understand that!"

There are the smug-and-satisfied, there are the precariously perched, and there are the bent-with-burdens. What I call the smug-and-satisfied are those who, having learned the words of one master, put on a smug and satisfied look, privately much pleased with themselves, considering that what they've gotten is quite sufficient, and not even realizing that they have not begun to get anything at all. These are what I call the smugand-satisfied.

What I call the precariously perched are like the lice on a pig. They pick out a place where the bristles are long and sparse and call it their spacious mansion, their ample park; or a place in some corner of the hams or hoofs, between the nipples, or down around the haunches, and call it their house of repose, their place of profit. They do not know that one morning the butcher will give a swipe of his arm, spread out the grass, light up the fire, and that they will be roasted to a crisp along with the pig. Their advancement in the world is subject to such limitations as this, and their retirement from it is subject to similar limitations. This is what I call the precariously perched.

What I call the bent-with-burdens are those like Shun. The mutton does not long for the ants; it is the ants who long for the mutton. Mutton has a rank odour, and Shun must have done rank deeds for the hundred clans to have delighted in him so. Therefore, though he changed his residence three times, each place he lived in turned into a city, and by the time he reached the wilderness of Teng, he had a hundred thousand households with him. Yao heard of the worthiness of Shun and raised him up from the barren plains, saying, "May I hope that you will come and bestow your bounty upon us?" When Shun was raised up from the barren plains, he was already well along in years and his hearing and eyesight were failing, and yet he was not able to go home and rest. This is what I call the bent-with-burdens.

Therefore the Holy Man hates to see the crowd arriving, and if it does arrive, he does not try to be friendly with it; not being friendly with it, he naturally does nothing to benefit it. So he makes sure that there is nothing he is very close to, and nothing he is very distant with. Embracing virtue, infused with harmony, he follows along with the world - this is what is called the True Man. He leaves wisdom to the ants, takes his cue from the fishes, leaves willfulness to the mutton.

Use the eye to look at the eye, the ear to listen to the ear, and the mind to restore the mind. Do this and your levelness will be as though measured with the line, your transformations will be a form of compliance. The True Man of ancient times used Heaven to deal with man; he did not use man to work his way into Heaven. The True Man of ancient times got it and lived, lost it and died; got it and died, lost it and lived. Medicines will serve as an example. There are monkshood, balloonflower, cockscomb, and chinaroot; each has a time when it is the sovereign remedy, though the individual cases are too numerous to describe

Kou-chien, with his three thousand men in armour and shield, took up his position at K'uai-chi; at that time Chung alone was able to understand how a perishing state can be saved, but he alone did not understand how the body may be brought to grief. Therefore it is said, The owl's eyes have their special aptness, the stork's legs have their proper proportions; to try to cut away anything would make the creatures sad.

It is said, When the wind passes over it, the river loses something; when the sun passes over it, it loses something. But even if we asked the wind and sun to remain constantly over the river, the river would not regard this as the beginning of any real trouble for itself - it relies upon the springs that feed it and goes on its way. The water sticks close by the land, the shadow sticks close by the form, things stick close by things. Therefore keen sight may be a danger to the eye, sharp hearing may be a danger to the ear, and the pursuit of thought may be a danger to the mind. All the faculties that are stored up in man are a potential source of danger, and if this danger becomes real and is not averted, misfortunes will go on piling up in increasing number. A return to the original condition takes effort, its accomplishment takes time. And yet men look upon these faculties as their treasures - is it not sad? Therefore we have this endless destruction of states and slaughter of the people - because no one knows enough to ask about This!

The foot treads a very small area of the ground, but although the area is small, the foot must rely upon the support of the untrod ground all around before it can go forward in confidence. The understanding of man is paltry, but although it is paltry, it must rely upon all those things that it does not understand before it can understand what is meant by Heaven. To understand the Great Unity, to understand the Great Fyin, to understand the Great Eye, to understand the Great Equality, to understand the Great Method, to understand the Great Trust, to understand the Great Serenity - this is perfection. With the Great Unity you may penetrate it; with the Great Yin, unknot it; with the Great Eye, see it; with the Great Equality, follow it; with the

Great Method, embody it; with the Great Trust, reach it; with the Great Serenity, hold it fast.

End with what is Heavenly, follow what is bright, hide in what is pivotal, begin in what is objective - then your comprehension will seem like noncomprehension, your understanding will seem like no understanding; not understanding it, you will later understand it. Your questions about it cannot have a limit, and yet they cannot not have a limit. Vague and slippery, there is yet some reality there. Past and present, it does not alter - nothing can do it injury. We may say that there is one great goal, may we not? Why not inquire about it? Why act in such perplexity? If we use the unperplexed to dispel perplexity and return to unperplexity, this will be the greatest unperplexity.

### ZHUANGZI SECTION 25

Tse-Yang

When Tse-Yang Was Traveling In Ch'u, Yi Chieh spoke to the king of Ch'u about him, but gave up and went home without having persuaded the king to grant Tse-yang an interview. Tse-yang went to see Wang Kuo and said, "Sir, I wonder if you would mention me to the king."

Wang Kuo replied, "I would not be as good at that as Kung

Tse-yang said, "Kung Yueh-hsiu? What does he do?"

"In winter he spears turtles by the river, in summer he loafs around the mountains, and if anyone comes along and asks him about it, he says, 'This is my house!' Now since Yi Chieh was unable to persuade the king, what could I do? - I am not even a match for Yi Chieh. Yi Chieh is the kind of man who has understanding, though he lacks real virtue. He is not permissive with himself, but puts his whole spirit into pleasing his friends. He has always been dazzled and misled by wealth and eminence - so he is not the kind to help others out with virtue, but instead will help them out with harm. A man who is chilled will think spring has come if he piles on enough clothes; a man suffering from the heat will think winter has returned if he finds a cool breeze. Now the king of Ch'u is the kind of man who is majestic and stern in bearing, and if offended he is as unforgiving as a tiger. No one but a gross flatterer or a man of the most perfect virtue can hope to talk him into anything.

"The true sage, now - living in hardship, he can make his family forget their poverty; living in affluence, he can make kings and dukes forget their titles and stipends and humble themselves before him. His approach to things is to go along with them and be merry; his approach to men is to take pleasure in the progress of others and to hold on to what is his own. So there may be times when, without saying a word, he induces harmony in others; just standing alongside others, he can cause them to change, until the proper relationship between father and son has found its way into every home. He does it all in a spirit of unity and effortlessness - so far is he removed from the hearts of men. This is why I say you should wait for Kung Yueh-hsiu."

The sage penetrates bafflement and complication, rounding all into a single body, yet he does not know why - it is his inborn nature. He returns to fate and acts accordingly, using Heaven as his teacher, and men follow after, pinning labels on him. But if he worried about how much he knew and his actions were never constant for so much as a year or a season then how could he ever find a stopping place?

When people are born with good looks, you may hand them a mirror, but if you don't tell them, they will never know that they are better looking than others. Whether they know it or don't know it, whether they are told of it or are not told of it, however, their delightful good looks remain unchanged to the end, and others can go on endlessly admiring them - it is a matter of inborn nature. The sage loves other men, and men accordingly pin labels on him, but if they do not tell him, then he will never know that he loves other men. Whether he knows it or does not know it, whether he is told of it or is not told of it, however, his love for men remains unchanged to the end, and others can find endless security in it - it is a matter of inborn nature.

The old homeland, the old city - just to gaze at it from afar is to feel a flush of joy. Even when its hills and mounds are a tangle of weeds and brush, and nine out of ten of the ones you knew have gone to lie under them, still you feel joyful. How much more so, then, when you see those you used to see, when you hear the voices you used to hear - they stand out like eighty-foot towers among the crowd.

Mr. Jen-hsiang held on to the empty socket and followed along to completion. Joining with things, he knew no end, no beginning, no year, no season. And because he changed day by day with things, he was one with the man who never changes so why should he ever try to stop doing this? He who tries to make Heaven his teacher will never get Heaven to teach him he will end up following blindly along with all other things, and then no matter how he goes about it, what can he do? The sage has never begun to think of Heaven, has never begun to think of man, has never begun to think of a beginning, has never begun to think of things. He moves in company with the age, never halting; wherever he moves he finds completion and

no impediment. Others try to keep up with him, but what can they do?

T'ang got hold of the groom and guardsman Teng Heng and had him be his tutor. He followed him and treated him as a teacher, but was not confined by him - so he could follow

along to completion, becoming as a result a mere holder of titles. This is called making yourself superfluous, a method by which two manifestations can be attained.8 Confucius' injunction "Be done with schemes!"- you could let that be your tutor as well. Or Mr. Yung-ch'eng's saying, "Be done with days and there will be no more years! No inside, no outside.

King Ying of Wei made a treaty with Marquis T'ien Mou of Ch'i, but Marquis T'ien Mou violated it. King Ying, enraged, was about to send a man to assassinate him. Kung-sun Yen. the minister of war, heard of this and was filled with shame 'You are the ruler of a state of ten thousand chariots," he said to the king, "and yet you would send a commoner to carry out your revenge! I beg to be given command of two hundred thousand armoured troops so that I may attack him for you, make prisoners of his people, and lead away his horses and cattle. I will make him burn with anger so fierce that it will break out on his back. Then I will storm his capital, and when T'ien Chi tries to run away, I will strike him in the back and break his spine!"

Chi Tzu, hearing this, was filled with shame and said, "If one sets out to build an eighty-foot wall, and then, when it is already seven-tenths finished, deliberately pulls it down, the convict laborers who built it will look upon it as a bitter waste. Now for seven years we have not had to call out the troops, and this peace has been the foundation of your sovereignty. Kung-sun Yen is a troublemaker - his advice must not be heeded!'

Hua Tzu, hearing this, was filled with disgust and said, "He who is so quick to say 'Attack Ch'i!' is a troublemaker, and he who is so quick to say 'Don't attack Ch'i!' is a troublemaker! And he who says that those who are for and against the attack are both troublemakers is a troublemaker, too!"

'Then what should I do?" said the ruler.

"Just try to find the Way, that's all."

Hui Tzu, hearing this, introduced Tai Chin-jen to the ruler. Tai Chin-jen said, "There is a creature called the snail - does Your Majesty know it?"

'Yes.'

"On top of its left horn is a kingdom called Buffet, and on top of its right horn is a kingdom called Maul. At times they quarrel over territory and go to war, strewing the field with cornses by the ten thousand, the victor pursuing the vanquished for half a month before returning home.

"Pooh!" said the ruler. "What kind of empty talk is this?"

"But Your Majesty will perhaps allow me to show you the truth in it. Do you believe that there is a limit to the four directions, to up and down?"

'They have no limits," said the ruler.

"And do you know that when the mind has wandered in these limitless reaches and returns to the lands we know and travel, they seem so small it is not certain whether they even exist or not?"

'Yes," said the ruler.

"And among these lands we know and travel is the state of Wei, and within the state of Wei is the city of Liang, and within the city of Liang is Your Majesty. Is there any difference between you and the ruler of Maul?

"No difference," said the king.

After the visitor left, the king sat stupefied, as though lost to the world. The interview over, Hui Tzu appeared before him. "That visitor of ours is a Great Man," said the king.

'The sages themselves are unworthy of comparison with him!" Hui Tzu said, "Blow on a flute and you get a nice shrill note; but blow on the ring of your sword hilt and all you get is a feeble wheeze. People are inclined to praise the sages Yao and Shun, but if you started expounding on Yao and Shun in the presence of Tai Chin-jen, it would sound like one little wheeze!

When Confucius was traveling to the capital of Ch'u, he stopped for the night at a tayern at Ant Knoll. Next door a crowd of husbands and wives, menservants and maidservants had climbed up to the rooftop [to watch]. Tzu-lu said, "Who are all those people milling around?"

"They are the servants of a sage," said Confucius. "He has buried himself among the people, hidden himself among the fields. His reputation fades away but his determination knows no end. Though his mouth speaks, his mind has never spoken. Perhaps he finds himself at odds with the age and in his heart disdains to go along with it. He is one who has 'drowned in the midst of dry land.' I would guess that it is I-liao from south of the Market.'

May I go next door and call him over?" asked Tzu-lu

"Let it be!" said Confucius. "He knows that I am out to make a name for myself, and he knows I am on my way to the capital of Ch'u. .He is sure to assume that I am trying to get the king of Ch'u to give me a position and will accordingly take me for a sycophant. A man like that is ashamed even to hear the words of a sycophant, much less appear in person

before him! What makes you think he is still at home anyway?

Tzu-lu went next door to have a look and found the house deserted.

The border guard of Chang-wu said to Tzu-lao,16 "In running the government you mustn't be slipshod; in ordering the people you mustn't be slapdash! In the past I used to grow grain. I plowed in a slipshod way and got a slipshod crop in return. I weeded in a slapdash way and got a slapdash crop in return. The following year I changed my methods, plowing deeper than before and raking with great care - the grain grew thick and luxuriant, and I had all I wanted to eat for the whole year!'

Chuang Tzu, hearing of this, said, "People of today, when they come to ordering their bodies and regulating their minds. too often do it in a manner like that which the border guard described. They turn their backs on the Heavenly part, deviate from the inborn nature, destroy the true form, and annihilate the spirit, just to be doing what the crowd is doing. So he who is slipshod with his inborn nature will find the evils of desire and hate affecting his inborn nature like weeds and rushes. When they first sprout up, he thinks they will be a comfort to the body, but in time they end by stifling the inborn nature. Side by side they begin to break out and ooze forth, not on just one part of the body but all over. Festering ulcers and boils, internal fevers and pus-filled urine - these are the results!"

Po Chu having studied under Lao Tan, said, "I would like permission to go wandering about the world."
"Let it be!" said Lao Tan. "The world is right here."

When Po Chi! repeated his request, Lao Tan said, "Where will you go first?"

"I will begin with Ch'i." When he arrived in Ch'i, he saw the body of a criminal who had been executed. Pushing and dragging until he had it laid out in proper position, he took off his formal robes and covered it with them, wailing to Heaven and crying out, "Alas, alas! The world is in dire misfortune, and you have been quicker than the rest of us to encounter it. 'Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not murder!' they say. But when glory and disgrace have once been defined, you will see suffering; when goods and wealth have once been gathered together, you will see wrangling. To define something that brings suffering to men, to gather together what sets them to wrangling, inflicting misery and weariness upon them, never granting them a time of rest, and yet to hope somehow that they will not end up like this - how could it be possible?

"The gentlemen of old attributed what success they had to the people and what failure they had to themselves, attributed what was upright to the people and what was askew to themselves. Therefore, if there was something wrong with the body of even a single being, they would retire and take the blame upon themselves. But that is not the way it is done today. They make things obscure and then blame people for not understanding; they enlarge the difficulties and then punish people for not being able to cope with them; they pile on responsibilities and then penalize people for not being able to fulfill them; they make the journey longer and then chastise people for not reaching the end of it. When the knowledge and strength of the people are exhausted, they will begin to piece them out with artifice, and when day by day the amount of artifice in the world increases, how can men keep from resorting to artifice? A lack of strength invites artifice, a lack of knowledge invites deceit, a lack of goods invites theft. But these thefts and robberies - who in fact deserves the blame for

Ch'u Po-yu has been going along for sixty years and has changed sixty times. There was not a single instance in which what he called right in the beginning he did not in the end reject and call wrong. So now there is no telling whether what he calls right at the moment is not in fact what he called wrong during the past fifty-nine years. The ten thousand things have their life, yet no one sees its roots; they have their comings forth, yet no one sees the gate. Men all pay homage to what understanding understands, but no one understands enough to rely upon what understanding does not understand and thereby come to understand. Can we call this anything but great perplexity? Let it be, let it be! There is no place you can escape it. This is what is called saying both "that is so" and "is that so?"

Confucius said to the Grand Historiographers Ta T'ao, Po Ch'ang-ch'ien, and Hsi Wei, "Duke Ling of Wei drank wine and wallowed in pleasure, paying no heed to the government of the state; he went hunting and gaming with nets and stringed arrows, ignoring his obligations to the other feudal lords. How then does he come to be called Duke Ling?

Ta T'ao said, "It fitted the facts."
Po Ch'ang-ch'ien said, "Duke Ling had three wives with whom he would bathe in the same tub. But when Shih Ch'iu appeared in his presence to offer a gift of cloth, the duke would accept it in person and respectfully attend Shih Ch'iu. He was so depraved as to bathe with his wives, and yet so correct in his behavior before a worthy man - this is why he was titled Duke Ling.

Hsi Wei said, "When Duke Ling died, we divined to see if he should be buried in the family graveyard, but the omens were unfavourable. Then we divined to see if he should be buried at Sand Hill and the omens were favourable. Digging down several fathoms, we found a stone coffin and, when we had washed and examined it, we discovered an inscription which said: 'You cannot depend upon your heirs - Duke Ling will seize this plot for his own burial.' So it appears that Duke Ling had already been titled Ling for a long long time. How could these two here know enough to understand this!"

Little Understanding said to Great Impartial Accord, "What is meant by the term 'community words'?"

Great Impartial Accord said, "'Community words' refers to

the combining of ten surnames and a hundred given names into a single social unit.23 Differences are combined into a sameness; samenesses are broken up into differences. Now we may point to each of the hundred parts of a horse's body and never come up with a 'horse' - yet here is the horse, tethered right before our eyes. So we take the hundred parts and set up the term 'horse.' Thus it is that hills and mountains pile up one little layer on another to reach loftiness; the Yangtze and the Yellow River combine stream after stream to achieve magnitude; and the Great Man combines and brings together things to attain generality. Therefore, when things enter his mind from the outside, there is a host to receive them but not to cling to them; and when things come forth from his mind, there is a mark to guide them but not to constrain them. The four seasons each differ in breath, but Heaven shows no partiality among them, and therefore the year comes to completion. The five government bureaus differ in function, but the ruler shows no partiality among them, and therefore the state is well ordered. In both civil and military affairs, the Great Man shows no partiality, and therefore his virtue is complete. The ten thousand things differ in principle, but the Way shows no partiality among them, and therefore they may achieve namelessness. 28 Being nameless, they are without action; without action, yet there is nothing they do not do.

"The seasons have their end and beginning, the ages their changes and transformations. Bad fortune and good, tripping and tumbling, come now with what repels you, now with what you welcome. Set in your own opinion, at odds with others, now you judge things to be upright, now you judge them to be warped. But if you could only be like the great swamp, which finds accommodation for a hundred different timbers, or take your model from the great mountain, whose trees and rocks share a common groundwork! This is what is

meant by the term 'community words.'"
Little Understanding said, "Well, then, if we call these [general concepts] the Way, will that be sufficient?

"Oh, no," said Great Impartial Accord. "If we calculate the number of things that exist, the count certainly does not stop at ten thousand. Yet we set a limit and speak of the 'ten thousand things' - because we select a number that is large and agree to apply it to them. In the same way, heaven and earth are forms which are large, the yin and yang are breaths which are large, and the Way is the generality that embraces them. If from the point of view of largeness we agree to apply [the name 'Way'] to it, then there is no objection. But if, having established this name, we go on and try to compare it to the reality, then it will be like trying to compare a dog to a horse - the distance between them is impossibly far."

Little Understanding said, "Here within the four directions and the six realms, where do the ten thousand things spring from when they come into being?"

Great Impartial Accord said, "The yin and yang shine on

each other, maim each other, heal each other; the four seasons succeed each other, give birth to each other, slaughter each other. Desire and hatred, rejection and acceptance thereupon rise up in succession; the pairing of halves between male and female thereupon becomes a regular occurrence. Security and danger trade places with each other, bad and good fortune give birth to each other, tense times and relaxed ones buffet one another, gathering-together and scattering bring it all to completion. These names and realities can be recorded, their details and minute parts can be noted. The principle of following one another in orderly succession, the property of moving in alternation, turning back when they have reached the limit, beginning again when they have ended - these are inherent in things. But that which words can adequately describe, that which understanding can reach to, extends only as far as the level of 'things,' no farther. The man who looks to the Way does not try to track down what has disappeared. does not try to trace the source of what springs up. This is the point at which debate comes to a stop.

Little Understanding said, "Chi Chen's contention that 'nothing does it' and Chieh Tzu's contention that 'something makes it like this' - of the views of these two schools, which correctly describes the truth of the matter and which is onesided in its understanding of principles?"

Great Impartial Accord said, "Chickens squawk, dogs bark this is something men understand. But no matter how great their understanding, they cannot explain in words how the chicken and the dog have come to be what they are, nor can they imagine in their minds what they will become in the

future. You may pick apart and analyze till you have reached what is so minute that it is without form, what is so large that it cannot be encompassed. But whether you say that 'nothing does it' or that 'something makes it like this,' you have not yet escaped from the realm of 'things,' and so in the end you fall into error. If 'something makes it like this,' then it is real; if 'nothing does it,' then it is unreal. While there are names and realities, you are in the presence of things. When there are no names and realities, you exist in the absence of things. You can talk about it, you can think about it; but the more you talk about it, the farther away you get from it.

"Before they are born, things cannot decline to be born; already dead, they cannot refuse to go. Death and life are not far apart, though the principle that underlies them cannot be seen. 'Nothing does it,' 'something makes it like this' - these are speculations born out of doubt. I look for the roots of the past, but they extend back and back without end. I search for the termination of the future, but it never stops coming at me. Without end, without stop, it is the absence of words, which shares the same principle with things themselves. But 'nothing does it,' 'something makes it like this' - these are the commencement of words and they begin and end along with things.

"The Way cannot be thought of as being, nor can it be thought of as nonbeing. In calling it the Way we are only adopting a temporary expedient. Nothing does it,' something makes it like this' - these occupy a mere corner of the realm of things. What connection could they have with the Great Method? If you talk in a worthy manner, you can talk all day long and all of it will pertain to the Way. But if you talk in an unworthy manner, you can talk all day long and all of it will pertain to mere things. The perfection of the Way and things - neither words nor silence are worthy of expressing it. Not to talk, not to be silent - this is the highest form of debate."

#### ZHUANGZI SECTION 26

External Things

External Things Cannot be counted on. Hence Lung-feng was executed, Pi Kan was sentenced to death, Prince Chi feigned madness, E Lai was killed, and Chieh and Chou were overthrown. There is no ruler who does not want his ministers to be loyal. But loyal ministers are not always trusted. Hence Wu Yun was thrown into the Yangtze and Ch'ang Hung died in Shu, where the people stored away his blood, and after three years it was transformed into green jade. There is no parent who does not want his son to be filial. But filial sons are not always loved. Hence Hsiao-chi grieved and Tseng Shen sorrowed.

When wood rubs against wood, flames spring up. When metal remains by the side of fire, it melts and flows away. When the yin and yang go awry, then heaven and earth see astounding sights. Then we hear the crash and roll of thunder, and fire comes in the midst of rain and burns up the great pagoda tree. Delight and sorrow are there to trap man on either side so that he has no escape. Fearful and trembling, he can reach no completion. His mind is as though trussed and suspended between heaven and earth, bewildered and lost in delusion. Profit and loss rub against each other and light the countless fires that burn up the inner harmony of the mass of men. The moon cannot put out the fire, so that in time all is consumed and the Way comes to an end.

Chuang Chou's family was very poor and so he went to borrow some grain from the marquis of Chien-ho. The marquis said, "Why, of course. I'll soon be getting the tribute money from my fief, and when I do, I'll be glad to lend you three hundred pieces of gold. Will that be all right?"

Chuang Chou flushed with anger and said, "As I was coming here yesterday, I heard someone calling me on the road. I turned around and saw that there was a perch in the carriage rut. I said to him, 'Come, perch - what are you doing here?" He replied, 'I am a Wave Official of the Eastern Sea. Couldn't you give me a dipperful of water, so I can stay alive?' I said to him, 'Why, of course. I am just about to start south to visit the kings of Wu and Yueh. I'll change the course of the West River and send it in your direction. Will that be all right?' The perch flushed with anger and said, 'I've lost my element! I have nowhere to go! If you can get me a dipper of water, I'll be able to stay alive. But if you give me an answer like that, then you'd best look for me in the dried fish store!'

Prince Jen made an enormous fishhook with a huge line, baited it with fifty bullocks, settled himself on top of Mount K'uai-chi, and cast with his pole into the eastern sea. Morning after morning he dropped the hook, but for a whole year he got nothing. At last a huge fish swallowed the bait . and dived down, dragging the enormous hook. It plunged to the bottom in a fierce charge, rose up and shook its dorsal fins, until the white waves were like mountains and the sea waters lashed and churned. The noise was like that of gods and demons and it spread terror for a thousand li. When Prince Jen had landed his fish, he cut it up and dried it, and from Chih-ho east, from Ts'ang-wu north, there was no one who did not get his fill. Since then the men of later generations who have piddling

talents and a penchant for odd stories all astound each other by repeating the tale.

Now if you shoulder your pole and line, march to the ditches and gullies, and watch for minnows and perch, then you'll have a hard time ever landing a big fish. If you parade your little theories and fish for the post of district. magistrate, you will be far from the Great Understanding. So if a man has never heard of the style of Prince Jen, he's a long way from being able to join with the men who run the world.

The Confucians rob graves in accordance with the Odes and ritual. The big Confucian announces to his underlings: "The east grows light! How is the matter proceeding?"

The little Confucians say: "We have not got the graveclothes off him yet but there is a pearl in his mouth! Just as the Ode says:

Green, green the grain

Growing on grave mound slopes;

If in life you gave no alms

In death how do you deserve a pearl?"

They push back his sidelocks, press down his beard, and then one of them pries into his chin with a little metal gimlet and gently pulls apart the jaws so as not to injure the pearl in his mouth.

A disciple of Lao Lai-tzu6 was out gathering firewood when he happened to meet Confucius. He returned and reported, "There is a man over there with a long body and short legs, his back a little humped and his ears set way back, who looks as though he were trying to attend to everything within the four seas. I do not know who it can be."

Lao Lai-tzu said, "That's Kung Ch'iu. Tell him to come over here!"

When Confucius arrived, Lao Lai-tzu said, "Ch'iu, get rid of your proud bearing and that knowing look on your face and you can become a gentleman!"

Confucius bowed and stepped back a little, a startled and changed expression on his face, and then asked, "Do you think I can make any progress in my labors?"

Lao Lai-tzu said, "You cannot bear to watch the sufferings of one age, and so you go and make trouble for ten thousand ages to come! 'Are you just naturally a boor? Or do you not have the sense to understand the situation? You take pride in practicing charity and making people happy - the shame of it will follow you all your days! These are the actions, the 'progress' of mediocre men - men who pull each other around with fame, drag each other into secret schemes, join together to praise Yao and condemn Chieh, when the best thing would be to forget them both and put a stop to praise! What is contrary cannot fail to be injured, what moves [when it should not] cannot fail to be wrong. The sage is hesitant and reluctant to begin an affair, and so he always ends in success. But what good are these actions of yours? They end in nothing but a boast!"

Lord Yuan of Sung one night dreamed he saw a man with disheveled hair who peered in at the side door of his chamber and said, "I come from the Tsai-lu Deeps. I was on my way as envoy from the Clear Yangtze to the court of the Lord of the Yellow River when a fisherman named Yu Chu caught me!"

When Lord Yuan woke up, he ordered his men to divine the meaning, and they replied, "This is a sacred turtle." "Is there a fisherman named Yu Chu?" he asked, and his attendants replied, "There is." "Order Yu Chu to come to court!"

he said.

The next day Yu Chu appeared at court and the ruler said, "What kind of fish have you caught recently?"

Yu Chu replied, "I caught a white turtle in my net. It's five feet around."

"Present your turtle!" ordered the ruler. When the turtle was brought, the ruler could not decide whether to kill it or let it live and, being in doubt, he consulted his diviners, who replied, "Kill the turtle and divine with it - it will bring good luck." Accordingly the turtle was stripped of its shell, and of seventy-two holes drilled in it for prognostication, not one failed to yield a true answer.

Confucius said, "The sacred turtle could appear to Lord

Confucius said, "The sacred turtle could appear to Lord Yuan in a dream but it could not escape from Yu Chu's net. It knew enough to give correct answers to seventy-two queries but it couldn't escape the disaster of having its belly ripped open. So it is that knowledge has its limitations, and spirituality has that which it can do nothing about. Even the most perfect wisdom can be outwitted by ten thousand schemers. Fish do not [know enough to] fear a net, but only to fear pelicans. Discard little wisdom and great wisdom will become clear. Discard goodness and goodness will come of itself. The little child learns to speak, though it has no learned teachers - because it lives with those who know how to speak."

Hui Tzu said to Chuang Tzu, "Your words are useless!"
Chuang Tzu said, "A man has to understand the useless before you can talk to him about the useful. The earth is certainly vast and broad, though a man uses no more of it than the area he puts his feet on. If, however, you were to dig away all the earth from around his feet until you reached the Yellow Springs, then would the man still be able to make use of it?"

"No, it would be useless," said Hui Tzu.

"It is obvious, then," said Chuang Tzu, "that the useless has its use."

Chuang. Tzu said, "If you have the capacity to wander, how can you keep from wandering? But if you do not have the capacity to wander, how can you wander? A will that takes refuge in conformity, behavior that is aloof and eccentricneither of these, alas, is compatible with perfect wisdom and solid virtue. You stumble and fall but fail to turn back; you race on like fire and do not look behind you. But though you may be one time a ruler, another time a subject, this is merely a matter of the times. Such distinctions change with the age and you cannot call either one or the other lowly. Therefore I say, the Perfect Man is never a stickler in his actions.

"To admire antiquity and despise the present - this is the fashion of scholars. And if one is to look at the present age after the fashion of Hsi-wei, then who can be without prejudice? Only the Perfect Man can wander in the world without taking sides, can follow along with men without losing himself. His teachings are not to be learned, and one who understands his meaning has no need for him.

"The eye that is penetrating sees clearly, the ear that is penetrating hears clearly, the nose that is penetrating distinguishes odours, the mouth that is penetrating distinguishes flavours, the mind that is penetrating has understanding, and the understanding that is penetrating has virtue. In all things, the Way does not want to be obstructed, for if there is obstruction, there is choking; if the choking does not cease, there is disorder; and disorder harms the life of all creatures.

"All things that have consciousness depend upon breath. But if they do not get their fill of breath, it is not the fault of Heaven. Heaven opens up the passages and supplies them day and night without stop. But man on the contrary blocks up the holes. The cavity of the body is a many-storied vault; the mind has its Heavenly wanderings. But if the chambers are not large and roomy, then wife and mother-in-law will fall to quarreling. If the mind does not have its Heavenly wanderings, then the six apertures of sensation will defeat each other.

"The great forests, the hills and mountains excel man in the fact that their growth is irrepressible. [In man] virtue spills over into a concern for fame, and a concern for fame spills over into a love of show. Schemes are laid in time of crisis; wisdom is born from contention; obstinacy comes from sticking to a position; government affairs are arranged for the convenience of the mob. In spring, when the seasonable rains and sunshine come, the grass and trees spring to life, and the sickles and hoes are for the first time prepared for use. At that time, over half the grass and trees that had been pushed over begin to grow again, though no one knows why.

"Stillness and silence can benefit the ailing, massage can give relief to the aged, and rest and quiet can put a stop to agitation. But these are remedies which the troubled and weary man has recourse to. The man who is at ease does not need them and has never bothered to ask about them. The Holy Man does not bother to ask what methods the sage uses to reform the world. The sage does not bother to ask what methods the worthy man uses to reform the age. The worthy man does not bother to ask what methods the gentleman uses to reform the state. The gentleman does not bother to ask what methods the petty man uses to get along with the times.

"There was a man of Yen Gate who, on the death of his parents, won praise by starving and disfiguring himself, and was rewarded with the post of Official Teacher. The other people of the village likewise starved and disfigured themselves, and over half of them died. Yao offered the empire to Hsu Yu and Hsu Yu fled from him. T'ang offered it to Wu Kuang and Wu Kuang railed at him. When Chi T'o heard of this, he took his disciples and went off to sit by the K'uan River, where the feudal lords went to console him for three years. Shen-t'u Ti for the same reason jumped into the Yellow River.

"The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you have gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you have gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of meaning; once you have got the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgot words so I can have a word with him?"

# ZHUANGZI SECTION 27

Imputed Words

Imputed Words Make up nine tenths of it; repeated words make up seven tenths of it; goblet words come forth day after day, harmonising things in the Heavenly Equality.

These imputed words which make up nine tenths of it are like persons brought in from outside for the purpose of exposition. A father does not act as go-between for his own son because the praises of the father would not be as effective as the praises of an outsider. It is the fault of other men, not mine [that I must resort to such a device, for if I were to speak in my own words], then men would respond only to what agrees with their own views and reject what does not, would pronounce "right" what agrees with their own views and "wrong" what does not.

These repeated words which make up seven tenths of it are intended to put an end to argument. They can do this because they are the words of the elders. If, however, one is ahead of others in age but does not have a grasp of the warp and woof, the root and branch of things, that is commensurate with his years, then he is not really ahead of others. An old man who is not in some way ahead of others has not grasped the Way of man, and if he has not grasped the Way of man, he deserves to be looked on as a mere stale remnant of the past.

With these goblet words that come forth day after day, I harmonise all things in the Heavenly Equality, leave them to their endless changes, and so live out my years. As long as I do not say anything about them, they are a unity. But the unity and what I say about it have ceased to be a unity. What I say and the unity have ceased to be a unity. Therefore I say, we must have no-words! With words that are no-words, you may speak all your life long and you will never have said anything. Or you may go through your whole life without speaking them, in which case you will never have stopped speaking.

There is that which makes things acceptable, there is that which makes things unacceptable; there is that which makes things so, there is that which makes things so, there is that which makes things not so. What makes them so? Making them so makes them so. What makes them acceptable? Making them acceptable makes them acceptable. What makes them not acceptable makes them not acceptable. Things all must have that which is so; things all must have that which is acceptable. There is nothing that is not acceptable. There is nothing that is not so, nothing that is not acceptable. If there were no goblet words coming forth day after day to harmonise all by the Heavenly Equality, then how could I survive for long?

The ten thousand things all come from the same seed, and with their different forms they give place to one another. Beginning and end are part of a single ring and no one can comprehend its principle. This is called Heaven the Equalizer, which is the same as the Heavenly Equality.

Chuang Tzu said to Hui Tzu, "Confucius has been going along for sixty years and he has changed sixty times. What at the beginning he used to call right he has ended up calling wrong. So now there is no telling whether what he calls right at the moment is not in fact what he called wrong during the past fifty-nine years."

Hui Tzu said, "Confucius keeps working away at it, trying to make knowledge serve him."

"Oh, no-Confucius has given all that up," said Chuang Tzu.
"It's just that he never talks about it. Confucius said, 'We receive our talents from the Great Source and, with the spirit hidden within us,' we live.' [As for you, you] sing on key, you talk by the rules, you line up 'profit' and 'righteousness' before us, but your 'likes' and 'dislikes,' your 'rights' and 'wrongs' are merely something that command lip service from others, that's all. If you could make men pay service with their minds and never dare stand up in defiance - this would settle things for the world so they would stay settled. But let it be, let it be! As for me, what hope have I of ever catching up with Confucius?"

Tseng Tzu twice held office, each time with a change of hearts "The first time, when I was taking care of my parents, I received a salary of only three fu of grain and yet my heart was happy," he said. "The second time I received a salary of three thousand chung, but I no longer had them to take care of and my heart was sad."

One of the disciples asked Confucius, "May we say that someone like Tseng Shen has escaped the crime of entanglement?"

"But he was already entangled! If he hadn't been entangled, how could he have had any cause for sorrow? He would have regarded three fu or three thousand chung as so many sparrows or mosquitoes passing in front of him!"

Yen Ch'eng Tzu-yu said to Tzu-ch'i of East Wall, "When I began listening to your words, the first year I was a bumpkin; the second I followed along; the third I worked into it; the fourth I was just another thing; the fifth it began to come; the sixth the spirits descended to me; the seventh the Heavenly part was complete; the eighth I did not understand death and did not understand life; and with the ninth I reached the Great Mystery.

"When the living start doing things, they are dead. When they strive for public causes because private ones mean death, they are following a path. But what lives in the light is following no path at all.' What is the result then? How can there be any place that is fitting? How can there be any place that is fitting? How can there be any place that isn't fitting? Heaven has its cycles and numbers, earth its flats and slopes8 - yet why should I seek to comprehend them? No one knows when they will end - how then can we say that they are fated to die? No one knows when they began - how then can we say that they are not fated to die? There seems to be something that responds - how then can we say there are no spirits? There seems to be something that does not respond - how then can we say that spirits do exist?"

Penumbra said to Shadow, "A little while ago you were looking down and now you are looking up, a little while ago your hair was bound up and now it's hanging loose, a little while ago you were sitting and now you are standing up, a

little while ago you were walking and now you are still - why is this?"

Shadow said, "Quibble, quibble! Why bother asking about such things? I do them but I do not know why. I am the shell of the cicada, the skin of the snake - something that seems to be but isn't. In firelight or sunlight I draw together, in darkness or night I disappear. But do you suppose I have to wait around for those things? (And how much less so in the case of that which waits for nothing!) If those things come, then I come with them; if they go, then I go with them; if they come with the Powerful Yang, then I come with the Powerful Yang. But this Powerful Yang - why ask questions about it?"

Yang Tzu-chu went south to P'ei, and when he got to Liang, he went out to the edge of the city to greet Lao Tan, who had been traveling west to Chin, and escort him in. Lao Tzu stood in the middle of the road, looked up to heaven, and sighed, saying, "At first I thought that you could be taught, but now I see it's hopeless!"

Yang Tzu-chu made no reply, but when they reached the inn, he fetched a basin of water, a towel, and a comb and, taking off his shoes outside the door of the room, came crawling forward on his knees and said, "Earlier I had hoped to ask you, Sir, what you meant by your remark, but I saw that you were occupied and did not dare to. Now that you have a free moment, may I ask where my fault lies?"

Lao Tzu said, "High and mighty, proud and haughty - who could stand to live with you! The greatest purity looks like shame, abundant virtue seems to be insufficient."

When Yang Tzu-chu first arrived at the inn, the people in the inn came out to greet him. The innkeeper stood ready with a mat, his wife with towel and comb, while the other guests moved politely off their mats and those who had been warming themselves at the stove stepped aside. But when Yang returned from his interview with Lao Tzu, the people at the inn tried to push him right off his own mat.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 28

Giving Away A Throne

Yao Wanted To Cede The Empire to Hsu Yu, but Hsu Yu refused to accept it. Then he tried to give it to Tzu-chou Chih-fu. Tzu-chou Chih-fu said, "Make me the Son of Heaven? - that would be all right, I suppose. But I happen to have a deep-seated and worrisome illness which I am just now trying to put in order. So I have no time to put the empire in order." The empire is a thing of supreme importance, yet he would not allow it to harm his life. How much less, then, any other thing! Only he who has no use for the empire is fit to be entrusted with it

Shun wanted to cede the empire to Tzu-chou Chih-po, but Tzu-chou Chih-po said, "I happen to have a deep-seated and worrisome illness which I am just now trying to put in order. So I have no time to put the empire in order." The empire is a great vessel, yet he would not exchange his life for it. This is how the possessor of the Way differs from the vulgar man.

Shun tried to cede the empire to Shan Ch'uan, but Shan Ch'uan said, "I stand in the midst of space and time. Winter days I dress in skins and furs, summer days, in vine-cloth and hemp. In spring I plow and plant - this gives my body the labor and exercise it needs; in fall I harvest and store away - this gives my form the leisure and sustenance it needs. When the sun comes up, I work; when the sun goes down, I rest. I wander free and easy between heaven and earth, and my mind has found all that it could wish for. What use would I have for the empire? What a pity that you don't understand me!" In the end he would not accept, but went away, entering deep into the mountains, and no one ever knew where he had gone.

Shun wanted to cede the empire to his friend, the farmer of Stone Door. The farmer of Stone Door said, "Such vigor and vitality you have, My Lord! You are a gentleman of perseverance and strength!" Then, surmising that Shun's virtue would hardly amount to very much, he lifted his wife upon his back, took his son by the hand, and disappeared among the islands of the sea, never to return to the end of his days.

When the Great King Tan-fu was living in Pin, the Ti tribes attacked his territory. He offered them skins and silks, but they refused them; he offered them dogs and horses, but they refused them; he offered them pearls and jades, but they refused them. What the men of the Ti tribes were after was his land. The Great King Tan-fu said, "To live among the older brothers and send the younger brothers to their death; to live among the fathers and send the sons to their death; to live among the fathers and send the sons to their death - this I cannot bear! My people, be diligent and remain where you are. What difference does it make whether you are subjects of mine or of the men of Ti? I have heard it said, one must not injure that which he is nourishing for the sake of that by which he nourishes it." 3 Then, using his riding whip as a cane, he departed, but his people, leading one another, followed after him and in time founded a new state at the foot of Mount Chi

The Great King Tan-fu may be said to have known how to respect life. He who knows how to respect life, though he may be rich and honoured, will not allow the means of nourishing life to injure his person. Though he may be poor and humble, he will not allow concerns of profit to entangle his body. The

men of the present age, if they occupy high office and are honoured with titles, all think only of how serious a matter it would be to lose them. Eyes fixed on profit, they make light of the risk to their lives. Are they not deluded indeed?

The men of Yueh three times in succession assassinated their ruler. Prince Sou, fearful for his life, fled to the Cinnabar Cave, and the state of Yueh was left without a ruler. The men of Yueh, searching for Prince Sou and failing to find him, trailed him to the Cinnabar Cave, but he refused to come forth. They smoked him out with mugwort and placed him in the royal carriage. As Prince Sou took hold of the strap and pulled himself up into the carriage, he turned his face to heaven and cried, "To be a ruler! A ruler! Could I alone not have been spared this?" It was not that he hated to become their ruler; he hated the perils that go with being a ruler. Prince Sou, we may say, was the kind who would not allow the state to bring injury to his life. This, in fact, was precisely why the people of Yueh wanted to obtain him for their ruler.

The states of Han and Wei were fighting over a piece of territory. Master Hua Tzu went to see Marquis Chao-hsi, the ruler of Han. Marquis Chao-hsi had a worried look on his face. Master Hua Tzu said, "Suppose the men of the empire were to draw up a written agreement and place it before you, and the inscription read: 'Seize this with your left hand and you will lose your right hand; seize it with your right hand and you will lose your left; yet he who seizes this will invariably gain possession of the empire.' Would you be willing to seize it?"

"I would not!" said Marquis Chao-hsi.

"Very good!" exclaimed Master Hua Tzu. "From this I can see that your two hands are more important to you than the empire. And of course your body as a whole is a great deal more important than your two hands, while the state of Han is a great deal less important than the empire as a whole. Moreover, this piece of territory that you are fighting over is a great deal less important than the state of Han as a whole. And yet you make yourself miserable and endanger your life, worrying and fretting because you cannot get possession of it!"

"Excellent!" said Marquis Chao-hsi. "Many men have given me advice, but I have never been privileged to hear words such as these!" Master Hua Tzu, we may say, understood the difference between important and unimportant things.

The ruler of Lu, having heard that Yen Ho was a man who had attained the Way, sent a messenger with gifts to open up relations with him. Yen Ho was in his humble, back-alley home, wearing a robe of coarse hemp and feeding a cow, when the messenger from the ruler of Lu arrived, and he came to the door in person. "Is this the home of Yen Ho?" asked the messenger. "Yes, this is Ho's house," said Yen Ho. The messenger then presented his gifts, but Yen Ho said, "I am afraid you must have gotten your instructions mixed up. You'll surely be blamed if you give these to the wrong person, so you'd better check once more." The messenger returned, checked his instructions, and then went looking for Yen Ho a second time, but he was never able to find him. Men like Yen Ho truly despise wealth and honour.

Hence it is said, The Truth of the Way lies in looking out for oneself; its fringes and leftovers consist in managing the state and its great families; its offal and weeds consist in governing the empire. The accomplishments of emperors and kings are superfluous affairs as far as the sage is concerned. not the means by which to keep the body whole and to care for life. Yet how many gentlemen of the vulgar world today endanger themselves and throw away their lives in the pursuit of mere things! How can you help pitying them? Whenever the sage makes a move, you may be certain that he has looked carefully to see where he is going and what he is about. Now suppose there were a man here who took the priceless pearl of the Marquis of Sui and used it as a pellet to shoot at a sparrow a thousand yards up in the air - the world would certainly laugh at him. Why? Because that which he is using is of such great value, and that which he is trying to acquire is so trifling. And life - surely it is of greater value than the pearl of the Marquis of Sui!

Master Lieh Tzu was living in poverty and his face had a hungry look. A visitor mentioned this to Tzu-yang, the prime minister of Cheng, saying, "Lieh Yu-k'ou appears to be a gentleman who has attained the Way. Here he is living in Your Excellency's state, and in utter poverty! It would almost seem that Your Excellency has no fondness for such gentlemen, does it not?"

Tzu-yang immediately ordered his officials to dispatch a gift of grain. Master Lieh Tzu received the messenger, bowed twice, and refused the gift. When the messenger had left and Master Lieh Tzu had gone back into his house, his wife, filled with bitterness, beat her breast and said, "I have heard that the wives and children of men who have attained the Way all live in ease and happiness - but here we are with our hungry looks! His Excellency, realizing his error, has sent the Master something to eat, but the Master refuses to accept it - I suppose this is what they call Fate!"

Master Lieh Tzu laughed and said, "His Excellency does not know me personally - he sent me the grain simply because of what someone had told him. And someday he could just as

well condemn me to punishment, again simply because of what someone told him. That's why I refused to accept."

In the end, as it happened, rebellion broke out among the people of Cheng and Tzu-yang was murdered.

When King Chao of Ch'u was driven from his state, the sheep butcher Yueh fled at the same time and followed King Chao into exile.4 When King Chao regained control of the state, he set about rewarding his followers, but when it came the turn of the sheep butcher Yueh, Yueh said, "His Majesty lost control of the state, and I lost my job as sheep butcher. Now His Majesty has regained the state, and I have also gotten back my sheep-butchering job. So my 'title and stipend' have already been restored to me. Why should there be any talk of a reward?"

"Force him to take it!" ordered the king.

But the sheep butcher Yueh said, "The fact that His Majesty lost the kingdom was no fault of mine - therefore I would not venture to accept any punishment for it. And the fact that His Majesty has regained the kingdom is no accomplishment of mine - therefore I would not venture to accept any reward for it."

"Bring him into my presence!" ordered the king.

But the sheep butcher Yueh said, "According to the laws of the state of Ch'u, a man must have received weighty awards and accomplished great deeds before he may be granted an audience with the ruler. Now I was not wise enough to save the state, nor brave enough to die in combat with the invaders. When the armies of Wu entered the city of Ying, I was afraid of the dangers ahead and so I ran away from the invaders. I did not purposely follow after His Majesty. Now His Majesty wishes to disregard the laws and break the precedents by granting me an audience. But, in view of the facts, that would not win me any kind of reputation in the world!"

The king said to Tzu-ch'i, his minister of war, "The sheep butcher Yueh is a man of mean and humble position, and yet his pronouncements on righteousness are lofty indeed! I want you to promote him to one of the 'three banner' offices."

When told of this, the sheep butcher Yueh said, "I am fully aware that the 'three banner' rank is a far more exalted place than a sheep butcher's stall, and that a stipend of ten thousand chung is more wealth than I will ever acquire slaughtering sheep. But how could I, merely out of greed for title and stipend, allow my ruler to gain a reputation for irresponsibly handing out such favours? I dare not accept. Please let me go back to my sheep butcher's stall." And in the end he refused to accept the position.

Yuan Hsien lived in the state of Lu, in a tiny house that was hardly more than four walls. It was thatched with growing weeds, had a broken door made of woven brambles and branches of mulberry for the doorposts; jars with the bottoms out, hung with pieces of coarse cloth for protection from the weather, served as windows for its two rooms.6 The roof leaked and the floor was damp, but Yuan Hsien sat up in dignified manner, played his lute, and sang. Tzu-kung, wearing an inner robe of royal blue and an outer one of white, and riding in a grand carriage whose top was too tall to get through the entrance to the lane, came to call on Yuan Hsien. Yuan Hsien, wearing a bark cap and slippers with no heels, and carrying a goosefoot staff, came to the gate to greet him.

"Goodness!" exclaimed Tzu-kung. "What distress you are in.

Yuan Hsien replied, "I have heard that if one lacks wealth, that is called poverty; and if one studies but cannot put into practice what he has learned, that is called distress. I am poor, but I am not in distress!"

Tzu-kung backed off a few paces with a look of embarrassment. Yuan Hsien laughed and said, "To act out of worldly ambition, to band with others in cliquish friendships, to study in order to show off to others, to teach in order to please one's own pride, to mask one's evil deeds behind benevolence and righteousness, to deck oneself out with carriages and horses -1 could never bear to do such things!"

Tseng Tzu lived in the state of Wei, wearing a robe of quilted hemp with the outside worn through, his face blotchy and swollen, his hands and feet hard and callused. He would go three days without lighting a fire, ten years without making himself a new suit of clothes. If he tried to straighten his cap, the chin strap would break; if he pulled together his lapels, his elbows poked through the sleeves; if he stepped into his shoes, his heels broke out at the back. Yet, shuffling along, he would sing the sacrificial hymns of Shang in a voice that filled heaven and earth, as though it issued from a bell or a chiming stone. The Son of Heaven could not get him for his minister; the feudal lords could not get him for their friend. Hence he who nourishes his will forgets about his bodily form he who nourishes his bodily form forgets about questions of gain; and he who arrives at the Way forgets about his mind.

gain; and he who arrives at the Way forgets about his mind.
Confucius said to Yen Hui, "Come here, Hui. Your family is
poor and your position very lowly. Why don't you become an
official?"

Yen Hui replied, "I have no desire to become an official. I have fifty mou of farmland outside the outer wall," which is enough to provide me with porridge and gruel, and I have ten mou of farmland inside the outer wall, which is enough to

keep me in silk and hemp. Playing my lute gives me enjoyment enough, studying the Way of the Master gives me happiness enough. I have no desire to become an official."

Confucius' face took on a sheepish expression and he said, "Excellent, Hui - this determination of yours! I have heard that he who knows what is enough will not let himself be entangled by thoughts of gain; that he who really understands how to find satisfaction will not be afraid of other kinds of loss; and that he who practices the cultivation of what is within him will not be ashamed because he holds no position in society. I have been preaching these ideas for a long time, but now for the first time I see them realized in you, Hui. This is what I have gained."

Prince Mou of Wei, who was living in Chung-shan, said to Chan Tzu, "My body is here beside these rivers and seas, but my mind is still back there beside the palace towers of Wei. What should I do about it?"

"Attach more importance to life!" said Chan Tzu. "He who regards life as important will think lightly of material gain."

"I know that's what I should do," said Prince Mou. "But I cannot overcome my inclinations."

"If you cannot overcome your inclinations, then follow them!" said Chan Tzu.

"But won't that do harm to the spirit?"

"If you cannot overcome your inclinations and yet you try to force yourself not to follow them, this is to do a double injury to yourself. Men who do such double injury to themselves are never found in the ranks of the long-lived!"

Wei Mou was a prince of a state of ten thousand chariots, and it was more difficult for him to retire and live among the cliffs and caves than for an ordinary person. Although he did not attain the Way, we may say that he had the will to do so.

Confucius was in distress between Ch'en and Ts'ai. For seven days he ate no properly cooked food, but only a soup of greens without any grain in it. His face became drawn with fatigue, but he sat in his room playing the lute and singing. Yen Hui was outside picking vegetables, and Tzu-lu and Tzu-kung were talking with him. "Our Master was twice driven out of Lu," they said. "They wiped out his footprints in Wei, chopped down a tree on him in Sung, made trouble for him in Shang and Chou, and are now besieging him here at Ch'en and Ts'ai. Anyone who kills him will be pardoned of all guilt, and anyone who wishes to abuse him is free to do so. Yet he keeps playing and singing, strumming the lute without ever letting the sound die away. Can a gentleman really be as shameless as all this?"

Yen Hui, having no answer, went in and reported what they had said to Confucius. Confucius pushed aside his lute, heaved a great sigh, and said, "Those two are picayune men! Call them in here - I'll talk to them."

When Tzu-lu and Tzu-kung had entered the room, Tzu-lu said, "I guess you could say that all of us are really blocked in this time."

Confucius said, "What kind of talk is that! When the gentleman gets through to the Way, this is called 'getting through.' When he is blocked off from the Way, this is called being blocked.' Now I embrace the way of benevolence and righteousness, and with it encounter the perils of an age of disorder. Where is there any 'being blocked' about this? So I examine what is within me and am never blocked off from the Way. I face the difficulties ahead and do not lose its Virtue. When the cold days come and the frost and snow have fallen, then I understand how the pine and the cypress flourish. These perils here in Ch'en and Ts'ai are a blessing to me!" Confucius then turned complacently back to his lute and began to play and sing again. Tzu-lu excitedly snatched up a shield and began to dance, while Tzu-kung said, "I did not realize that Heaven is so far above, earth so far below!"

The men of ancient times who had attained the Way were happy if they were blocked in, and happy if they could get through. It was not the fact that they were blocked or not that made them happy. As long as you have really gotten hold of the Way, then being blocked or getting through are no more than the orderly alternation of cold and heat, of wind and rain. Therefore Hsu Yu enjoyed himself on the sunny side of the Ying River, and Kung Po found what he wanted on top

Shun wanted to cede the empire to his friend, a man from the north named Wu-tse. Wu-tse said, "What a peculiar man this ruler of ours is! First he lived among the fields and ditches, then he went wandering about the gate of Yao. Not content to let it rest at that, he now wants to take his disgraceful doings and dump them all over me. I would be ashamed even to see him!" Thereupon he threw himself into the deeps at Ch'ingling.

When T'ang was about to attack Chieh, he went to Pien Sui for help in plotting the strategy. "It's nothing I'd know anything about!" said Pien Sui.

"Who would be good?" asked T'ang.

"I do not know."

T'ang then went to Wu Kuang and asked for help. "It's nothing I'd know anything about!" said Wu Kuang.

"Who would be good?" asked T'ang.

"I do not know."

"How about Yi Yin?" asked T'ang.

"A man of violence and force, willing to put up with disgrace - I know nothing else about him."

In the end T'ang went to Yi Yin and together they plotted the attack. Having overthrown Chieh, T'ang then offered to cede the throne to Pien Sui, Pien Sui refused, saying, "When you were plotting to attack Chieh, you came to me for advice-so you must have thought I was capable of treason. Now you have defeated Chieh and want to cede the throne to me - so you must think I am avaricious. I was born into this world of disorder, and now a man with no understanding of the Way twice comes and tries to slop his disgraceful doings all over me! I cannot bear to go on listening to such proposals again and again!" Thereupon he threw himself into the Ch'ou River and drowned.

T'ang tried to cede the throne to Wu Kuang, saying, "The wise man does the plotting, the military man the seizing, and the benevolent man the occupying - such was the way of antiquity. Now why will you not accept the position?"

But Wu Kuang refused, saying, "To depose your sovereign is no act of righteousness; to slaughter the people is no act of benevolence; to inflict trouble on other men and enjoy the benefits yourself is no act of integrity. I have heard it said, If the man is without righteousness, do not take his money; if the world is without the Way, do not tread its soil. And you expect me to accept such a position of honour? I cannot bear the sight of you any longer!" Thereupon he loaded a stone onto his back and drowned himself in the Lu River.

Long ago, when the Chou dynasty first came to power, there were two gentlemen who lived in Ku-chu named Po Yi and Shu Ch'i. They said to one another, "We hear that in the western region there is a man who seems to possess the Way. Let us try going to look for him." When they reached the sunny side of Mount Ch'i, King Wu, hearing of them, sent his younger brother Tan to meet them. He offered to draw up a pact with them, saying, "You will be granted wealth of the second order and offices of the first rank, the pact to be sealed in blood and buried."

The two men looked at each other and laughed, saying, "Hah - how peculiar! This is certainly not what we would call the Way! In ancient times, when Shen Nung held possession of the empire, he performed the seasonal sacrifices with the utmost reverence, but he did not pray for blessings. In his dealings with men, he was loyal and trustworthy and observed perfect order, but he did not seek anything from them. He delighted in ruling for the sake of ruling, he delighted in bringing order for the sake of order. He did not use other men's failures to bring about his own success; he did not use other men's degradation to lift himself up. Just because he happened along at a lucky time, he did not try to turn it to his own profit. Now the Chou, observing that the Yin has fallen into disorder, suddenly makes a show of its rule, honouring those who know how to scheme, handing out bribes,17 relying on weapons to maintain its might, offering sacrifices and drawing up pacts to impress men with its good faith, lauding its achievements in order to seize gain - this is simply to push aside disorder and replace it with violence!

"We have heard that the gentlemen of old, if they happened upon a well-ordered age, did not run away from public office; but if they encountered an age of disorder, they did not try to hold on to office at any cost. Now the world is in darkness and the virtue of the Chou in decline.18 Rather than remain side by side with the Chou and defile our bodies, it would be better to run away and thus protect the purity of our conduct!" The two gentlemen thereupon went north as far as Mount Shouyang, where they eventually died of starvation.

Men such as Po Yi and Shu Ch'i will have nothing to do with wealth and eminence if they can possibly avoid it. To be lofty in principle and meticulous in conduct, delighting in one's will alone without stooping to serve the world-such was the ideal of these two gentlemen.

ZHUANGZI SECTION 29 Robber Chih

Robber Chih

Confucius Was A Friend of Liu-hsia Chi, who had a younger brother known as Robber Chih. Robber Chih, with a band of nine thousand followers, rampaged back and forth across the empire, assaulting and terrorizing the feudal lords, tunneling into houses, prying open doors, I herding off men's horses and cattle, seizing their wives and daughters. Greedy for gain, he forgot his kin, gave not a look to father or mother, elder or younger brother, and performed no sacrifices to his ancestors. Whenever he approached a city, if it was that of a great state, the inhabitants manned their walls; if that of a small state, they fled into their strongholds. The ten thousand people all lived in dread of him.

Confucius said to Liu-hsia Chi, "One who is a father must be able to lay down the law to his son, and one who is an elder brother must be able to teach his younger brother. If a father cannot lay down the law to his son and an elder brother cannot teach his younger brother, then the relationship between father and son and elder and younger brother loses all value. Now here you are, Sir, one of the most talented gentlemen of the age, and your younger brother is Robber

Chih, a menace to the world, and you seem unable to teach him any better! If I may say so, I blush for you. I would therefore like to go on your behalf and try to persuade him to change his ways."

Liu-hsia Chi said, "You have remarked, Sir, that a father must be able to lay down the law to his son, and an elder brother must be able to teach his younger brother. But if the son will not listen when his father lays down the law, or if the younger brother refuses to heed his elder brother's teachings, then even with eloquence such as yours, what is there to be done? Moreover, Chih is a man with a mind like a jetting fountain, a will like a blast of wind, with strength enough to fend off any enemy, and cunning enough to gloss over any evil. If you go against him, he becomes furious, and it is nothing to him to curse people in the vilest language. You must not go near him!"

But Confucius paid no attention, and with Yen Hui as his carriage driver, and Tzu-kung on his right, he went off to visit Robber Chih. Robber Chih was just at that time resting with his band of followers on the sunny side of Mount T'ai and enjoying a late afternoon snack of minced human livers Confucius stepped down from the carriage and went forward till he saw the officer in charge of receiving guests. "I am Kung Ch'iu, a native of Lu, and I have heard that your General is a man of lofty principles," he said, respectfully bowing twice to the officer. The officer then entered and relayed the message. When Robber Chih heard this, he flew into a great rage. His eyes blazed like shining stars and his hair stood on end and bristled beneath his cap. "This must be none other than that crafty hypocrite Kung Ch'iu from the state of Lu! Well, tell him this for me. You make up your stories, invent your phrases, babbling absurd eulogies of kings Wen and Wu. Topped with a cap like a branching tree, wearing a girdle made from the ribs of a dead cow, you pour out your flood of words, your fallacious theories. You eat without ever plowing, clothe yourself without ever weaving. Wagging your lips, clacking your tongue, you invent any kind of 'right' or 'wrong' that suits you, leading astray the rulers of the world, keeping the scholars of the world from returning to the Source, capriciously setting up ideals of 'filial piety' and 'brotherliness,' all the time hoping to worm your way into favour with the lords of the fiefs or the rich and eminent! Your crimes are huge, your offenses grave. You had better run home as fast as you can, because if you don't, I will take your liver and add it to this afternoon's menu!"

Confucius sent in word again, saying, "I have the good fortune to know your brother Chi, and therefore I beg to be allowed to gaze from a distance at your feet beneath the curtain."

When the officer relayed this message, Robber Chih said, "Let him come forward." Confucius came scurrying forward, declined the mat that was set out for him, stepped back a few paces, and bowed twice to Robber Chih. Robber Chih, still in a great rage, sat with both legs sprawled out, leaning on his sword, his eyes glaring. In a voice like the roar of a nursing tigress, he said, "Ch'iu, come forward! If what you have to say pleases my fancy, you live. If it rubs me the wrong way, you die!"

Confucius said, "I have heard that in all the world there are three kinds of virtue. To grow up to be big and tall, with matchless good looks, so that everyone, young or old, eminent or humble, delights in you - this is the highest kind of virtue. To have wisdom that encompasses heaven and earth, to be able to speak eloquently on all subjects - this is middling virtue. To be brave and fierce, resolute and determined gathering a band of followers around you - this is the lowest kind of virtue. Any man who possesses even one of these virtues is worthy to face south and call himself the Lonely One.4 And now here you are, General, with all three of them! You tower eight feet two inches in height, radiance streams from your face and eyes, your lips are like gleaming cinnabar, your teeth like ranged seashells, your voice attuned to the huang-chung pitch pipe - and yet your only title is 'Robber Chih.' If I may say so, General, this. is disgraceful - a real pity indeed! But if you have a mind to listen to my proposal, then l beg to be allowed to go as your envoy south to Wu and Yueh, north to Ch'i and Lu, east to Sung and Wei, and west to Chin and Ch'u, persuading them to create for you a great walled state several hundred li in size, to establish a town of several hundred thousand households, and to honour you as one of the feudal lords. Then you may make a new beginning with the world, lay down your weapons and disperse your followers, gather together and cherish your brothers and kinsmen, and join with them in sacrifices to your ancestors. This would be the act of a sage, a gentleman of true talent, and the fondest wish of the world."

Robber Chih, furious as ever, said, "Ch'iu, come forward! Those who can be swayed with offers of gain or reformed by a babble of words are mere idiots, simpletons, the commonest sort of men! The fact that I am big and tall, and so handsome that everyone delights to look at me - this is a virtue inherited from my father and mother. Even without your praises, do you think I would be unaware of it? Moreover, I have heard

that those who are fond of praising men to their faces are also fond of damning them behind their backs.

"Now you tell me about this great walled state, this multitude of people, trying to sway me with offers of gain, to lead me by the nose like any common fool. But how long do you think I could keep possession of it? There is no walled state larger than the empire itself, and yet, though Yao and Shun possessed the empire, their heirs were left with less land than it takes to stick the point of an awl into. Tang and Wu set themselves up as Son of Heaven, yet in ages after, their dynasties were cut off and wiped out. Was this not because the gains they had acquired were so great?

"Moreover, I have heard that in ancient times the birds and beasts were many and the people few. Therefore the people all nested in the trees in order to escape danger, during the day gathering acorns and chestnuts, at sundown climbing backup to sleep in their trees. Hence they were called the people of the Nest-builder. In ancient times the people knew nothing about wearing clothes. In summer they heaped up great piles of firewood, in winter they burned them to keep warm. Hence they were called 'the people who know how to stay alive.' In the age of Shen Nung, the people lay down peaceful and easy, woke up wide-eyed and blank. They knew their mothers but not their fathers, and lived side by side with the elk and the deer. They plowed for their food, wove for their clothing, and had no thought in their hearts of harming one another. This was Perfect Virtue at its height!

"But the Yellow Emperor could not attain such virtue. He fought with Ch'ih Yu in the field of Cho-lu, until the blood flowed for a hundred li.' Yao and Shun came to the throne, setting up a host of officials; T'ang banished his sovereign Chieh; King Wu murdered his sovereign Chou; and from this time on the strong oppressed the weak, the many abused the few. From T'ang and Wu until the present, all have been no more than a pack of rebels and wrongdoers. And now you come cultivating the ways of kings Wen and Wu, utilizing all the eloquence in the world in order to teach these things to later generations! In your flowing robes and loose-tied sash, you speak your deceits and act out your hypocrisies, confusing and leading astray the rulers of the world, hoping thereby to lay your hands on wealth and eminence. There is no worse robber than you! I do not know why, if the world calls me Robber Chih, it does not call you Robber Ch'iu!

"With your honeyed words you persuaded Tzu-lu to become your follower, to doff his jaunty cap, unbuckle his long sword, and receive instruction from you, so that all the world said, Wung Ch'iu knows how to suppress violence and put a stop to evil.' But in the end Tzu-lu tried to kill the ruler of Wei, bungled the job, and they pickled his corpse and hung it up on the eastern gate of Wei. This was how little effect your teachings had on him! 6 You call yourself a gentleman of talent, a sage? Twice they drove you out of Lu; they wiped out your footprints in Wei, made trouble for you in Ch'i, and besieged you at Ch'en and Ts'ai - no place in the empire will have you around! You gave instruction to Tzu-lu and pickling was the disaster it brought him. You cannot look out for yourself to begin with, or for others either - so how can this 'Way' of yours be worth anything?

"There is no one, more highly esteemed by the world than the Yellow Emperor, and yet even the Yellow Emperor could not preserve his virtue intact, but fought on the field of Cholu until the blood flowed for a hundred li. Yao was a merciless father, Shun was an unfilial son, Yu was half paralyzed, T'ang banished his sovereign Choi, King Wu attacked his sovereign Chou, and King Wen was imprisoned at Yu-li.7 All these seven men8 are held in high esteem by the world, and yet a close look shows that all of them for the sake of gain brought confusion to the Truth within them, that they forcibly turned against their true form and inborn nature. For doing so, they deserve the greatest shame!

"When the world talks of worthy gentlemen, we hear 'Po Yi and Shu Ch'i.' Yet Po Yi and Shu Ch'i declined the rulership of the state of Ku-chu and instead went and starved to death on Shou-yang Mountain, with no one to bury their bones and flesh. Pao Chiao made a great show of his conduct and condemned the world; he wrapped his arms around a tree and stood there till he died. Shen-t'u Ti offered a remonstrance that was unheeded; he loaded a stone onto his back and threw himself into a river, where the fish and turtles feasted on him. Chieh Tzu-t'ui was a model of fealty, going so far as to cut a piece of flesh from his thigh to feed his lord, Duke Wen. But later, when Duke Wen overlooked him, he went off in a rage, wrapped his arms around a tree, and burned to death.9 Wei Sheng made an engagement to meet a girl under a bridge. The girl failed to appear and the water began to rise, but, instead of leaving, he wrapped his arms around the pillar of the bridge and died. These six men were no different from a flayed dog, a pig sacrificed to the flood, a beggar with his almsgourd in his hand. All were ensnared by thoughts of reputation and looked lightly on death, failing to remember the Source or to cherish the years that fate had given them.

"When the world talks about loyal ministers, we are told that there were none to surpass Prince Pi Kan and Wu Tzuhsu. Yet Wu Tzu-hsu sank into the river and Pi Kan had his heart cut out. These two men are called loyal ministers by the world, and yet they ended up as the laughingstock of the empire. Looking at all these men, from the first I mentioned down to Wu Tzu-hsu and Pi Kan, it is obvious that none is worth respecting.

"Now in this sermon of yours, Ch'iu, if you tell me about the affairs of ghosts, then I have no way of judging what you say. But if you tell me about the affairs of men - and it is no more than what you have said so far - then I've heard it all already!

"And now I am going to tell you something - about man's true form. His eyes yearn to see colours, his ears to hear sound, his mouth to taste flavours, his will and spirit to achieve fulfillment. A man of the greatest longevity will live a hundred years; one of middling longevity, eighty years; and one of the least longevity, sixty years. Take away the time lost in nursing illnesses, mourning the dead, worry and anxiety, and in this life there are no more than four or five days in a month when a man can open his mouth and laugh. Heaven and earth are unending, but man has his time of death. Take this time-bound toy, put it down in these unending spaces, and whoosh! - it is over as quickly as the passing of a swift horse glimpsed through a crack in the wall! No man who is incapable of gratifying his desires and cherishing the years fate has given him can be called a master of the Way. What you have been telling me - I reject every bit of it! Quick, now be on your way. I want no more of your talk. This 'Way' you tell me about is inane and inadequate, a fraudulent, crafty, vain, hypocritical affair, not the sort of thing that is capable of preserving the Truth within. How can it be worth

Confucius bowed twice and scurried away. Outside the gate, he climbed into his carriage and fumbled three times in an attempt to grasp the reins, his eyes blank and unseeing, his face the colour of dead ashes. Leaning on the crossbar, head bent down, he could not seem to summon up any spirit at all.

Returning to Lu, he had arrived just outside the eastern gate of the capital when he happened to meet Liu-hsia Chi. "I have not so much as caught sight of you for the past several days," said Liu-hsia Chi, "and your carriage and horses look as though they've been out on the road - it couldn't be that you went to see my brother Chih, could it?"

Confucius looked up to heaven, sighed, and said, "I did."

"And he was enraged by your views, just as I said he would be?" said Liu-hsia Chi.

"He was," said Confucius. "You might say that I gave myself the burning moxa treatment when I wasn't even sick. I went rushing off to pat the tiger's head and plait its whiskers and very nearly did not manage to escape from its jaws!"

Tzu-chang said to Man Kou-te, "Why don't you think more about your conduct? 11 No distinguished conduct means no trust; no trust means no official position; no official position means no gain. So if it's reputation you have your eye on or gain you are scheming for, then righteous conduct is the real key. And if you set aside considerations of reputation and gain and return to the true nature of the heart, then, too, I would say that you ought not to let a single day pass without taking thought for your conduct."

Man Kou-te said, "Those who are shameless get rich, those who are widely trusted become famous. The really big reputation and gain seem to go to men who are shameless and trusted. So if your eyes are set on reputation and you scheme for gain, then trust is the real key. And if you set aside considerations of reputation and gain and return to the heart, then in your conduct I think you ought to hold fast to the Heaven within you." 12

Tzu-chang said, "In ancient times the tyrants Chieh and

Tzu-chang said, "In ancient times the tyrants Chieh and Chou enjoyed the honour of being Son of Heaven and possessed all the wealth of the empire. Yet now if you say to a mere slave or groom, 'Your conduct is like that of a Chieh or Chou,' he will look shamefaced and in his heart will not acquiesce to such charges, for even a petty man despises the names of Chieh and Chou. Confucius and Mo Ti, on the other hand, were impoverished commoners. Yet now if you say to the highest minister of state, 'Your conduct is like that of Confucius or Mo Ti,' he will flush and alter his expression and protest that he is not worthy of such praise, for a gentleman sincerely honours their names. Therefore, to wield the power of a Son of Heaven does not necessarily mean to be honoured, and to be poor and a commoner does not necessarily mean to be despised. The difference between being honoured and being despised lies in the goodness or badness of one's conduct."

Man Kou-te said, "The petty thief is imprisoned but the big thief becomes a feudal lord, and we all know that righteous gentlemen are to be found at the gates of the feudal lords. In ancient times, Hsiao-po, Duke Huan of Ch'i, murdered his elder brother and took his sister-in-law for a wife, and yet Kuan Chung was willing to become his minister. Ch'ang, Viscount T'ien Ch'eng, murdered his sovereign and stole his state, and yet Confucius was willing to receive gifts from him.13 In pronouncement they condemned them, but in practice they bowed before them. Think how this contradiction between the facts of word and deed must have troubled their breasts! Could the two help but clash? So the

book says, Who is bad? Who is good? The successful man becomes the head, the unsuccessful man becomes the tail."

"But," said Tzú-chang, "if you take no thought for conduct, then there cease to be any ethical ties between near and distant kin, any fitting distinctions between noble and humble, any proper order between elder and younger. How is one to maintain the distinctions decreed by the five moral principles and the six social relationships?"

Man Kou-te said, "Yao killed his eldest son, Shun exiled his mother's younger brother - does this indicate any ethical ties between near and distant kin? T'ang banished his sovereign Chieh, King Wu killed his sovereign Chou - does this indicate any fitting distinctions between noble and humble? King Chi received the inheritance, the Duke of Chou killed his elder brother - does this indicate any proper order between elder and younger? 14 The Confucians with their hypocritical speeches, the Mo-ists with their talk of universal love - do these indicate any attempt to maintain the distinctions decreed by the five moral principles and the six social relationships? Now your thoughts are all for reputation, mine all for gain, but neither reputation nor gain, in actual fact, accord with reason or reflect any true understanding of the Way. The other day, when we referred the matter to Wu Yueh for arbitration, he gave this answer: 15

'The petty man will die for riches, the gentleman will die for reputation. In the manner in which they alter their true form and change their inborn nature, they differ. But in so far as they throw away what is already theirs and are willing to die for something that is not theirs, they are identical. So it is said, Do not be a petty man - return to and obey the Heaven within you; do not be a gentleman - follow the reason of Heaven. Crooked or straight, pursue to the limit the Heaven in you. Turn your face to the four directions, ebb and flow with the seasons. Right or wrong, hold fast to the round centre upon which all turns, in solitude bring your will to completion, ramble in the company of the Way. Do not strive to make your conduct consistent, 16 do not try to perfect your righteousness, or you will lose what you already have. Do not race after riches, do not risk your life for success, or you will let slip the Heaven within you. Pi Kan's heart was cut out, Wu Tzu-hsu's eves were plucked from their sockets - loyalty brought them this misfortune. Honest Kung informed on his father, Wei Sheng died by drowning - trustworthiness was their curse. Pao Chiao stood there till he dried up; Shen Tzu would not defend himself - integrity did them this injury. Confucius did not see his mother, K'uang Tzu did not see his father - righteousness was their mistake." These are the tales handed down from ages past, retold by the ages that follow. They show us that the gentleman who is determined to be upright in word and consistent in conduct will as a result bow before disaster, will encounter affliction.'

Never-Enough said to Sense-of-Harmony, "After all, there are no men who do not strive for reputation and seek gain. If you are rich, people flock to you; flocking to you, they bow and scrape; and when they bow and scrape, this shows they honour you. To have men bowing and scraping, offering you honour - this is the way to insure length of years, ease to the body, joy to the will. And now you alone have no mind for these things. Is it lack of understanding? Or is it that you know their worth but just have not the strength to work for them? Are you, then, deliberately striving 'to be upright and never forgetfull?"

Sense-of-Harmony said, "You and your type look at those who were born at the same time and who dwell in the same community and you decide that you are gentlemen who are far removed from the common lot, who are superior to the times This shows that you have no guiding principle by which to survey the ages of past and present, the distinctions between right and wrong. Instead you join with the vulgar in changing as the world changes, setting aside what is most valuable, discarding what is most worthy of honour, thinking that there is something that has to be done, declaring that this is the way to insure length of years, ease to the body, joy to the will - but you are far from the mark indeed! The agitation of grief and sorrow, the solace of contentment and joy - these bring no enlightenment to the body. The shock of fear and terror, the elation of happiness and delight - these bring no enlightenment to the mind. You know you are doing what there is to do, but you don't know why there should be things to do. This way, you might possess all the honour of the Son of Heaven, all the wealth of the empire, and yet never escape from disaster.

"But," said Never-Enough, "there is no advantage which riches cannot bring to a man - the ultimate in beauty, the heights of power, things that the Perfect Man cannot attain to, that the worthy man can never acquire. They buy the strength and daring of other men that make one awesome and powerful; they purchase the knowledge and schemes of other men that make one wise and well-informed; they borrow the virtue of other men that make one a man of worth and goodness. With no kingdom to reign over, the rich man commands as much respect as a ruler or a father. Beautiful sounds and colours, rich flavours, power and authority - a man need not send his mind to school before it will delight in them, need not train

his body before it will find peace in them. What to desire, what to hate, what to seek, what to avoid - no one needs a teacher in these matters; they pertain to the inborn nature of man. Don't think this applies only to me. Where is there a man in the whole world who would be willing to give them up?"

Sense-of-Harmony said, "When the wise man goes about doing something, he always moves for the sake of the hundred clans and does not violate the rules. Thus, if there is enough, he does not scramble for more. Having no reason to, he seeks nothing. But if there is not enough, he seeks, scrambling in all four directions, yet he does not think of himself as greedy. If there is a surplus, he gives it away. He can discard the whole empire and vet not think of himself as high-minded. Greed or high-mindedness in fact have nothing to do with standards imposed from the outside - they represent a turning within to observe the rules that are found there. So a man may wield all the power of a Son of Heaven and yet not use his high position to lord it over others; he may possess all the wealth in the empire and yet not exploit his riches to make a mock of others. He calculates the risk. thinks of what may be contrary and harmful to his inborn nature. Therefore he may decline what is offered him, but not because he hopes for reputation and praise. Yao and Shun ruled as emperors and there was harmony - but not because they sought to bring benevolence to the world; they would not have let 'goodness' injure their lives. Shan Ch'uan and Hsu Yu had the opportunity to become emperors and declined, but not because they wished to make an empty gesture of refusal: they would not have let such matters bring harm to themselves. All these men sought what was to their advantage and declined what was harmful. The world praises them as worthies, and it is all right if they enjoy such repute - but they were not striving for any reputation or praise.

"But in order to maintain a reputation like theirs," said Never-Enough, "one must punish the body and give up everything sweet, skimp and save merely to keep life going - in which case one is no different from a man who goes on year after year in sickness and trouble, never allowed to die!"

Sense-of-Harmony said, "A just measure brings fortune, an excess brings harm - this is so of all things, but much more so in the case of wealth. The ears of the rich man are regaled with sounds of bell and drum, flute and pipe; his mouth is treated to the flavour of grass- and grain-fed animals, of rich wine, until his desires are aroused and he has forgot all about his proper business - this may be called disorder. Mired and drowned by swelling passions, he is like a man who carries a heavy load up the slope of a hill - this may be called suffering Greedy for riches, he brings illness on himself: greedy for power, he drives himself to exhaustion. In the quietude of his home, he sinks into languor; body sleek and well-nourished, he is puffed up with passion - this may be called disease. In his desire for wealth, his search for gain, he crams his rooms to overflowing, as it were, and does not know how to escape, yet he lusts for more and cannot desist - this may be called shame. More wealth piled up than he could ever use, vet he is covetous and will not leave off, crowding his mind with care and fatigue, grasping for more and more with never a stop this may be called worry. At home he is suspicious of the inroads of pilferers and inordinate demanders; abroad he is terrified of the attacks of bandits and robbers. At home he surrounds himself with towers and moats; abroad he dares not walk alone - this may be called terror. These six - disorder, suffering, disease, shame, worry, and terror - are the greatest evils in the world. Yet all are forgot and he does not know enough to keep watch out for them. And once disaster has come, then, though he seeks with all his inborn nature and exhausts all his wealth in hopes of returning even for one day to the untroubled times, he can never do so.

"Therefore he who sets his eyes on reputation will find that it is nowhere to be seen; he who seeks for gain will find that it is not to be gotten. To entrap the mind and the body in a scramble for such things - is this not delusion indeed?"

# ZHUANGZI SECTION 30

Discoursing On Swords

In Ancient Times King Wen of Chao was fond of swords. Expert swordsmen flocked to his gate, and over three thousand of them were supported as guests in his household, day and night engaging in bouts in his presence till the dead and wounded numbered more than a hundred men a year. Yet the king's delight never seemed to wane and things went on in this way for three years, while the state sank into decline and the other feudal lords conspired against it.

The crown prince K'uei, distressed at this, summoned his retainers about him and said, "I will bestow a thousand pieces of gold upon any man who can reason with the king and make him give up these sword fights!"

"Chuang Tzu is the one who can do it," said his retainers.

The crown prince thereupon sent an envoy with a thousand pieces of gold to present to Chuang Tzu, but Chuang Tzu refused to accept the gift. Instead he accompanied the envoy on his return and went to call on the crown prince. "What

instructions do you have for me, that you present me with a thousand pieces of gold?" he asked.

"I had heard, Sir," said the crown prince, "that you are an enlightened sage, and I wished in all due respect to offer this thousand in gold as a gift to your attendants. But if you refuse to accept it, then I dare say no more about the matter."

Chuang Tzu said, "I have heard that the crown prince wishes to employ me because he hopes I can rid the king of this passion of his. Now if, in attempting to persuade His Majesty, I should arouse his anger and fail to satisfy your hopes, then I would be sentenced to execution. In that case, what use could I make of the gold? And if I should be able to persuade His Majesty and satisfy your hopes, then what could I ask for in the whole kingdom of Chao that would not be granted me?"
"The trouble is," said the crown prince. "that my father, the

"The trouble is," said the crown prince, "that my father, the king, refuses to see anyone but swordsmen."

"Fine!" said Chuang Tzu. "I am quite able to handle a

"But the kind of swordsmen my father receives," said the crown prince, "all have tousled heads and bristling beards, wear slouching caps tied with plain, coarse tassels, and robes that are cut short behind; they glare fiercely and have difficulty getting out their words. Men like that he is delighted with! Now, Sir, if you should insist upon going to see him in scholarly garb, the whole affair would go completely wrong from the start."

"Then allow me to get together the garb of a swordsman," said Chuang Tzu. After three days, he had his swordsman's costume ready and went to call on the crown prince. The crown prince and he then went to see the king. The king, drawing his sword, waited with bare blade in hand. Chuang Tzu entered the door of the hall with unhurried steps, looked at the king but made no bow.

The king said, "Now that you have gotten the crown prince to prepare the way for you, what kind of instruction is it you intend to give me?"

"I have heard that Your Majesty is fond of swords, and so I have come with my sword to present myself before you."

"And what sort of authority does your sword command?" asked the king.

"My sword cuts down one man every ten paces, and for a thousand li it never ceases its flailing!"

The king, greatly pleased, exclaimed, "You must have no rival in the whole world!"

Chuang Tzu said, "The wielder of the sword makes a display of emptiness, draws one out with hopes of advantage, is behind-time in setting out, but beforehand in arriving. May I be allowed to try what I can do?"

The king said, "You may leave now, Sir, and go to your quarters to await my command. When I am ready to hold the bout, I will request your presence again."

The king then spent seven days testing the skill of his swordsmen. Over sixty were wounded or died in the process, leaving five or six survivors who were ordered to present themselves with their swords outside the king's hall. Then the king sent for Chuang Tzu, saying, "Today let us see what happens when you cross swords with these gentlemen."

Chuang Tzu said, "It is what I have long wished for."

"What weapon will you use, Sir," asked the king, "a long sword or a short one?"

"I am prepared to use any type at all. It happens that I have three swords - Your Majesty has only to indicate which you wish me to use. If I may, I will first explain them, and then put them to the test."

"Let me hear about your three swords," said the king.

"There is the sword of the Son of Heaven, the sword of the feudal lord, and the sword of the commoner."

"What is the sword of the Son of Heaven like?" asked the king.

The sword of the Son of Heaven? The Valley of Yen and the Stone Wall are its point, Ch'i and Tai its blade, Chin and Wey its spine, Chou and Sung its sword guard, Han and Wei its hilt.' The four barbarian tribes enwrap it, the four seasons enfold it, the seas of Po surround it, the mountains of Ch'ang girdle it. The five elements govern it, the demands of punishment and favour direct it. It is brought forth in accordance with the yin and yang, held in readiness in spring and summer, wielded in autumn and winter. Thrust it forward and there is nothing that will stand before it; raise it on high and there is nothing above it; press it down and there is nothing beneath it; whirl it about and there is nothing surrounding it. Above, it cleaves the drifting clouds; below, it severs the sinews of the earth. When this sword is once put to use, the feudal lords return to their former obedience and the whole world submits. This is the sword of the Son of Heaven.

King Wen, dumfounded, appeared to be at an utter loss. Then he said, "What is the sword of the feudal lord like?"

"The sword of the feudal lord? It has wise and brave men for its point, men of purity and integrity for its blade, men of worth and goodness for its spine, men of loyalty and sageliness for its swordguard, heroes and prodigies for its hilt. This sword too, thrust forward, meets nothing before it; raised, it encounters nothing above; pressed down, it encounters nothing beneath it; whirled about, it meets

nothing surrounding it. Above, it takes its model from the roundness of heaven, following along with the three luminous bodies of the sky. Below, it takes its model from the squareness of earth, following along with the four seasons. In the middle realm, it brings harmony to the wills of the people and peace to the four directions. This sword, once put into use, is like the crash of a thunderbolt: none within the four borders of the state will fail to bow down in submission, none will fail to heed and obey the commands of the ruler. This is the sword of the feudal lord."

The king said, "What is the sword of the commoner like?"

"The sword of the commoner? It is used by men with tousled heads and bristling beards, with slouching caps tied with plain, coarse tassels and robes cut short behind, who glare fiercely and speak with great difficulty, who slash at one another in Your Majesty's presence. Above, it lops off heads and necks; below, it splits open livers and lungs. Those who wield this sword of the commoner are no different from fighting cocks - any morning their lives may be cut off. They are of no use in the administration of the state.

"Now Your Majesty occupies the position of a Son of Heaven, and yet you show this fondness for the sword of the commoner. If I may be so bold, I think it rather unworthy of you!

The king thereupon led Chuang Tzu up into his hall, where the royal butler came forward with trays of food, but the king merely paced round and round the room.

"Your Majesty should seat yourself at ease and calm your spirits," said Chuang Tzu., "The affair of the sword is all over and finished!"

After this, King Wen did not emerge from his palace for three months, and his swordsmen all committed suicide in their quarters.

#### ZHUANGZI SECTION 31

#### The Old Fisherman

Confucius, After Strolling through the Black Curtain Forest, sat down to rest on the Apricot Altar. While his disciples turned to their books, he strummed his lute and sang. He had not gotten halfway through the piece he was playing when an old fisherman appeared, stepped out of his boat, and came forward. His beard and eyebrows were pure white, his hair hung down over his shoulders, and his sleeves flapped at his sides. He walked up the embankment, stopped when he reached the higher ground, rested his left hand on his knee, propped his chin with his right, and listened until the piece was ended. Then he beckoned to Tzu-kung and Tzu-lu, both of whom came forward at his call. The stranger pointed to Confucius and said, "What does he do?"

"He is a gentleman of Lu," replied Tzu-lu.

The stranger then asked what family he belonged to, and

Tzu-lu replied, "The K'ung family."

"This man of the K'ung family," said the stranger, "what's his occupation?"

Tzu-lu was still framing his reply when Tzu-kung answered, "This man of the K'ung family in his inborn nature adheres to loyalty and good faith, in his person practices benevolence and righteousness; he brings a beautiful order to rites and music and selects what is proper in human relationships. Above, he pays allegiance to the sovereign of the age; below, he transforms the ordinary people through education, and in this way brings profit to the world. Such is the occupation of this man of the Kung family!"

"Does he have any territory that he rules over?" asked the stranger, pursuing the inquiry.

"No," said Tzu-kung. "Is he the counselor to some king or feudal lord?"

"No," said Tzu-kung.

The stranger then laughed and turned to go, saying as he walked away, "As far as benevolence goes, he is benevolent all right. But I am afraid he will not escape unharmed. To weary the mind and wear out the body, putting the Truth in peril like this - alas, I am afraid he is separated from the Great Way by a vast distance indeed!"

Tzu-kung returned and reported to Confucius what had happened. Confucius pushed aside his lute, rose to his feet and said, "Perhaps this man is a sage!" Then he started down the embankment after him, reaching the edge of the lake just as the fisherman was about to take up his punting pole and drag his boat into the water. Glancing back and catching sight of Confucius, he turned and stood facing him. Confucius hastily stepped back a few paces, bowed twice, and then came forward

"What do you want?" asked the stranger.

"A moment ago, Sir," said Confucius, "you made a few cryptic remarks and then left. Unworthy as I am, I am afraid I do not understand what they mean. If I might be permitted to wait upon you with all due humility and be favoured with the sound of your august words, my ignorance might in time be remedied."

"Goodness!" exclaimed the stranger. "Your love of learning is great indeed!" 2

Confucius bowed twice and then, straightening up, said, "Ever since childhood I have cultivated learning, until at last I have reached the age of sixty-nine. But I have never yet

succeeded in hearing the Perfect Teaching. Dare I do anything, then, but wait with an open mind?"

"Creatures follow their own kind, a voice will answer to the voice that is like itself," said the stranger; "this has been the rule of Heaven since time began. With your permission, therefore, I will set aside for the moment my own ways and try applying myself to the things that you are concerned about.3 What you are concerned about are the affairs of men. The Son of Heaven, the feudal lords, the high ministers, the common people - when these four are of themselves upright, this is the most admirable state of order. But if they depart from their proper stations, there is no greater disorder. When officials attend to their duties and men worry about their undertakings, there is no overstepping of the mark.

"Fields gone to waste, rooms unroofed, clothing and food that are not enough, taxes and labor services that you cannot keep up with, wives and concubines never in harmony, senior and junior out of order - these are the worries of the common man. Ability that does not suffice for the task, official business that does not go right, conduct that is not spotless and pure, underlings who are lazy and slipshod, success and praise that never come your way, titles and stipends that you cannot hold on to - these are the worries of the high minister. A court lacking in loyal ministers, a state and its great families in darkness and disorder, craftsmen and artisans who have no skill, articles of tribute that won't pass the test, inferior ranking at the spring and autumn levees at court, failure to ingratiate himself with the Son of Heaven - these are the worries of a feudal lord.

The yin and rang out of harmony, cold and heat so untimely that they bring injury to all things, feudal lords violent and unruly, wantonly attacking one another till they all but destroy the common people, rites and music improperly performed, funds and resources that are forever giving out, human relationships that are not ordered as they should be, the hundred clans contumacious and depraved - these are the worries of the Son of Heaven and his chancellors. Now on the higher level you do not hold the position of a ruler, a feudal lord, or a chancellor, and on the lower level you have not been assigned to the office of a high minister with its tasks and duties. Yet you presume to 'bring a beautiful order to rites and music, to select what is proper in human relationships,' and in this way to 'transform the ordinary people.' This is undertaking rather a lot, is it not?

"Moreover, there are eight faults that men may possess, and four evils that beset their undertakings - you must not fail to examine these carefully. To do what it is not your business to do is called officiousness. To rush forward when no one has nodded in your direction is called obsequiousness. To echo a man's opinions and try to draw him out in speech is called sycophancy. To speak without regard for what is right or wrong is called flattery. To delight in talking about other men's failings is called calumny. To break up friendships and set kinfolk at odds is called maliciousness. To praise falsely and hypocritically so as to cause injury and evil to others is called wickedness. Without thought for right or wrong, to try to face in two directions at once so as to steal a glimpse of the other party's wishes is called treachery. These eight faults inflict chaos on others and injury on the possessor. A gentleman will not befriend the man who possesses them, an enlightened ruler will not have him for his minister.

"As for the four evils which I spoke of, to be fond of plunging into great undertakings, altering and departing from the old accepted ways, hoping thereby to enhance your merit and fame - this is called avidity. To insist that you know it all, that everything be done your way, snatching from others and appropriating for your own use - this is called avarice. To see your errors but refuse to change, to listen to remonstrance but go on behaving worse than before - this is called obstinacy. When men agree with you, to commend them; when they disagree with you, to refuse to see any goodness in them even when it is there - this is called bigotry. These are the four evils. If you do away with the eight faults and avoid committing the four evils, then and only then will you become capable of being taught!"

Confucius looked chagrined and gave a sigh. Then he bowed twice, straightened up, and said, "Twice I have been exiled from Lu; they wiped away my footprints in Wei, chopped down a tree on me in Sung, and besieged me between Ch'en and Ts'ai. I am aware of no error of my own, and yet why did I fall victim to these four persecutions?"

A pained expression came over the stranger's face and he said, "How hard it is to make you understand! Once there was a man who was afraid of his shadow and who hated his footprints, and so he tried to get way from them by running. But the more he lifted his feet and put them down again, the more footprints he made. And no matter how fast he ran, his shadow never left him, and so, thinking that he was still going too slowly, he ran faster and faster without a stop until his strength gave out and he fell down dead. He did not understand that by lolling in the shade he could have gotten rid of his shadow and by resting in quietude he could have put an end to his footprints. How could he have been so stupid!

"Now you scrutinize the realm of benevolence and righteousness, examine the borders of sameness and difference, observe the alternations of stillness and movement, lay down the rules for giving and receiving, regulate the emotions of love and hate, harmonise the seasons of joy and anger - and yet you barely manage to escape harm. If you were diligent in improving yourself, careful to hold fast to the Truth, and would hand over external things to other men, you could avoid these entanglements. But now, without improving yourself, you make demands on others - that is surely no way to go about the thing, is it?"

Confucius looked shamefaced and said, "Please, may I ask what you mean by 'the Truth'?"

The stranger said, "By 'the Truth' I mean purity and sincerity in their highest degree. He who lacks purity and sincerity cannot move others. Therefore he who forces himself to lament, though he may sound sad, will awaken no grief. He who forces himself to be angry, though he may sound fierce, will arouse no awe. And he who forces himself to be affectionate, though he may smile, will create no air of harmony. True sadness need make no sound to awaken grief; true anger need not show itself to arouse awe; true affection need not smile to create harmony. When a man has the Truth within himself, his spirit may move among external things. That is why the Truth is to be prized!

"It may be applied to human relationships in the following ways. In the service of parents, it is love and filial piety; in the service of the ruler, it is loyalty and integrity; in festive wine drinking, it is merriment and joy; in periods of mourning, it is sadness and grief. In loyalty and integrity, service is the important thing; in festive drinking, merriment is the important thing; in periods of mourning, grief is the important thing; in the service of parents, their comfort is the important thing. In seeking to perform the finest kind of service, one does not always try to go about it in the same way. In assuring comfort in the serving of one's parents, one does not question the means to be employed. In seeking the merriment that comes with festive drinking, one does not fuss over what cups and dishes are to be selected. In expressing the grief that is appropriate to periods of mourning, one does not quibble over the exact ritual to be followed.

"Rites are something created by the vulgar men of the world; the Truth is that which is received from Heaven. By nature it is the way it is and cannot be changed. Therefore the sage patterns himself on Heaven, prizes the Truth, and does not allow himself to be cramped by the vulgar. The stupid man does the opposite of this. He is unable to pattern himself on Heaven and instead frets over human concerns. He does not know enough to prize the Truth but instead, plodding along with the crowd, he allows himself to be changed by vulgar ways, and so is never content. Alas, that you fell into the slough of human hypocrisy at such an early age, and have been so late in hearing of the Great Way!"

Confucius once more bowed twice, straightened up, and said, "Now that I have succeeded in meeting you, it would seem as though Heaven has blessed me. If, Master, you would not consider it a disgrace for one like myself to enter the ranks of those who wait upon you, and to be taught by you in person, then may I be so bold as to inquire where your lodgings are? I would like to be allowed to go there, receive instruction, and at last learn the Great Way!"

The stranger replied, "I have heard it said, If it is someone you can go with, then go with him to the very end of the mysterious Way; but if it is someone you cannot go with, someone who does not understand the Way, then take care and have nothing to do with him - only then may you avoid danger to yourself. Keep working at it! Now I will leave you, I will leave you." So saying, he poled away in his boat, threading a path through the reeds.

Yen Yuan brought the carriage around, Tzu-lu held out the strap for pulling oneself up, but Confucius, without turning in their direction, waited until the ripples on the water were stilled and he could no longer hear the sound of the pole before he ventured to mount.

Tzu-lu, following by the side of the carriage, said, "I have been permitted to serve you for a long time, Master, but I have never seen you encounter anyone who filled you with such awe. The rulers of ten thousand chariots, the lords of a thousand chariots, when they receive you, invariably seat you on the same level as themselves and treat you with the etiquette due to an equal, and still you maintain a stiff and haughty air. But now this old fisherman, pole in hand, presents himself in front of you, and you double up at the waist, as bent as a chiming-stone,4 and bow every time you reply to his words - this is going too far, isn't it? Your disciples all are wondering about it. Why should a fisherman deserve such treatment?"

Confucius leaned forward on the crossbar, sighed, and said, "You certainly are hard to change! All this time you have been immersed in the study of ritual principles and you still have not gotten rid of your mean and servile ways of thinking. Come closer and I will explain to you. To meet an elder and fail to treat him with respect is a breach of etiquette. To see a worthy man and fail to honour him is to lack benevolence. If

the fisherman were not a Perfect Man, he would not be able to make other men humble themselves before him. And if men, in humbling themselves before him, lack purity of intention, then they will never attain the Truth. As a result, they will go on forever bringing injury upon themselves. Alas! There is no greater misfortune than for a man to lack benevolence. And yet you alone dare to invite such misfortune!

"Moreover, the Way is the path by which the ten thousand things proceed. All things that lose it, die; all that get it, live. To go against it in one's undertakings is to fail; to comply with it is to succeed. Hence, wherever the Way is to be found, the sage will pay homage there. As far as the Way is concerned, this old fisherman may certainly be said to possess it. How, then, would I dare fail to show respect to him!"

### ZHUANGZI SECTION 32

Lieh Yu-K'ou

Lieh Yu-K'ou Was Going to Ch'i, but halfway there he turned around and came home. By chance he met Po-hun Wujen. "What made you turn around and come back?" asked Po-hun Wu-ien.

"I was scared."

"Why were you scared?"

"I stopped to eat at ten soup stalls along the way, and at five of them they served me soup ahead of everybody else!"

"What was so scary about that?" said Po-hun Wu-jen.

"If you cannot dispel the sincerity inside you, it oozes out of the body and forms a radiance that, once outside, overpowers men's minds and makes them careless of how they treat their own superiors and old people. And it's from this kind of confusion that trouble comes. The soup sellers have nothing but their broths to peddle and their margin of gain cannot be very large. If people with such skimpy profits and so little power still treat me like this, then what would it be like with the ruler of Ch'i, the lord of a state of ten thousand chariots? Body wearied by the burden of such a state, wisdom exhausted in its administration, he would want to shift his affairs onto me and make me work out some solution - that was what scared me!"

"You sized it up very well," said Po-hun Wu-jen. "But even if you stay at home, people are going to flock around you."

Not long afterwards, Po-hun Wu-jen went to Lieh Tzu's house and found the area outside his door littered with shoes. He stood gazing north, staff held straight up, chin wrinkled where it rested on it. After standing there a while, he went away without a word. The servant in charge of receiving guests went in and reported this to Lieh Tzu. Lieh Tzu snatched up his shoes and ran barefoot after him, overtaking him at the gate. "Now that you have come all this way, don't you have any 'medicine' to give me?"

"It's no use. I told you from the beginning that people would come flocking around you, and here they are flocking around you. It's not that you are able to make them come to you - it's that you are unable to keep them from coming. But what good is it to you? If you move other people and make them happy, you must be showing them something unusual in yourself. And if you move others, you invariably upset your own basic nature, in which case there is nothing more to be said. These men you wander around with - none will give you any good advice. All they have are petty words, the kind that poison a man. No one understands, no one comprehends - so who can give any help to anyone else? The clever man wears himself out, the wise man worries. But the man of no ability has nothing he seeks. He eats his fill and wanders idly about. Drifting like an unmoored boat, emptily and idly he wanders along."

There was a man from Cheng named Huan who, after three years of reciting and memorizing texts at a place called Ch'iushih, finally became a Confucian scholar. As the Yellow River spreads its moisture for nine li along its banks, so Huan's affluence spread to his three sets of relatives. He saw to it that his younger brother Ti became a Mo-ist, and the Confucian and the Mo-ist debated with each other, but their father always took sides with the younger brother. Ten years of this, and Huan committed suicide. Appearing to his father in a dream, he said, "It was I who made it possible for your son to become a Mo-ist. Why don't you try taking a look at my grave - I have become the berries on the catalpa and the cypress

When the Creator rewards a man, he does not reward what is man-made in the man but what is Heaven-made. It was what was in the younger brother that made him a Mo-ist. Yet there are those like Huan who think they are different from others and even despise their own kin. Like men from Ch'i drinking at a well, they try to elbow each other away.6 So it is said, In the world today, we have nothing but Huans - they all think that they alone are right. But the man who truly possesses Virtue is not even aware of it, much less the man who possesses the Way. In ancient times it was said of men like Huan that they had committed the crime of hiding from Heaven.

The sage rests where there is rest and does not try to rest where there is no rest. The common run of men try to rest where there is no rest and do not rest where rest is to be found. Chuang Tzu said, To know the Way is easy; to keep from speaking about it is hard. To know and not to speak - this gets you to the Heavenly part. To know and to speak - this gets you to the human part. Men in the old days looked out for the Heavenly, not the human.

Chu-p'ing Man studied the art of butchering dragons under Crippled Yi. It cost him all the thousand pieces of gold he had in his house, and after three years he'd mastered the art, but there was no one who could use his services.

The sage looks at the inevitable and decides that it is not inevitable - therefore he has no recourse to arms. The common man looks at what is not inevitable and decides that it is inevitable - therefore he has frequent recourse to arms. He who turns to arms is always seeking something. He who trusts to arms is lost.

The understanding of the little man never gets beyond gifts and wrappings, letters and calling cards. He wastes his spirit on the shallow and trivial, and yet wants to be the savior of both the world and the Way, to blend both form and emptiness in the Great Unity. Such a man will blunder and go astray in time and space; his body entangled, he will never come to know the Great Beginning. But he who is a Perfect Man lets his spirit return to the Beginningless, to lie down in pleasant slumber in the Village of Not-Anything-At-All; like water he flows through the Formless, or trickles forth from the Great Purity. How pitiful - you whose understanding can be encompassed in a hair-tip, who know nothing of the Great Tranquility!

A man of Sung, one Ts'ao Shang, was sent by the king of Sung as envoy to the state of Ch'in. On his departure, he was assigned no more than four or five carriages, but the king of Ch'in, greatly taken with him, bestowed on him an additional hundred carriages. When he returned to Sung, he went to see Chuang Tzu and said, "Living in poor alleyways and cramped lanes, skimping, starving, weaving one's own sandals, with withered neck and sallow face - that sort of thing I am no good at. But winning instant recognition from the ruler of a state of ten thousand chariots and returning with a hundred of them in one's retinue - that's where I exce!"

Chuang Tzu said, "When the king of Ch'in falls ill, he calls for his doctors. The doctor who lances a boil or drains an abscess receives one carriage in payment, but the one who licks his piles for him gets five carriages. The lower down the area to be treated, the larger the number of carriages. From the large number of carriages you have got, I take it you must have been treating his piles. Get out!"

Duke AI of Lu said to Yen Ho, "If I were to make Confucius my pillar and stanchion, do you think it would improve the health of the state?"

"Beware - that way lies danger! Confucius will deck things out in feathers and paint, and conduct his affairs with flowery phrases, mistaking side issues for the crux. He is willing to distort his inborn nature in order to make himself a model for the people, not even realizing that he is acting in bad faith. He takes everything to heart, submits all to the judgment of the spirit - how could such a man be worth putting in charge of the people? Does he meet with your approval? Would you like to provide for his support? It would be a mistake, but you may do it if you like. Yet one who would induce the people turn their backs on reality and study hypocrisy is hardly fit to be made a model for the people. If we are to take thought for later ages, it would be best to drop the scheme.

"Governing is a difficult thing. To dispense favours to men without ever forgetting that you are doing so - this is not Heaven's way of giving. Even merchants and peddlers are unwilling to be ranked with such a person; and although their occupations may seem to rank them with him, in their hearts they will never acquiesce to such a ranking. External punishments are administered by implements of metal and wood; internal punishments are inflicted by frenzy and excess. When the petty man meets with external punishments, the implements of metal and wood bear down on him; when he incurs internal punishment, the yin and yang eat him up.8 To escape both external and internal punishment - only the True Man is capable of this."

Confucius said, "The mind of man is more perilous than mountains or rivers, harder to understand than Heaven. Heaven at least has its fixed times of spring and fall, winter and summer, daybreak and dusk. But man is thick-skinned and hides his true form deep within. Thus he may have an earnest face and yet be supercilious; he may seem to have superior qualities and yet be worthless. He may appear to be going about things in a scatter-brained way and yet know exactly what he is doing. Seeming to be firm, he may in fact be lax; seeming to be mild, he may in fact be ruthless. Therefore those who flock to righteousness like thirsty men to water may later flee from it as though from fire.

"For this reason the gentleman will employ a man on a distant mission and observe his degree of loyalty, will employ him close at hand and observe his degree of respect. He will hand him troublesome affairs and observe how well he manages them, will suddenly ask his advice and observe how wisely he answers. He will exact some difficult promise from him and see how well he keeps it, turn over funds to him and

see with what benevolence he dispenses them, inform him of the danger he is in and note how faithful he is to his duties. He will get him drunk with wine and observe how well he handles himself, place him in mixed company and see what effect beauty has upon him. By applying these nine tests, you may determine who is the unworthy man."

Cheng K'ao-fu - when he received his first appointment to office, he bowed his head; when he received his second appointment, he bent his back; when he received his third appointment, he hunched far over; hugging the wall, he scurried along. Who would dare to ignore his example? But the ordinary man - on receiving his first appointment, he begins to strut; on receiving his second appointment, he does a dance in his carriage; on receiving his third appointment, he addresses his father's brothers by their personal names. What a difference from the ways of Yao and Hsu Yu!

There is no greater evil than for the mind to be aware of virtue, and to act as though it were a pair of eyes. For when it starts acting like a pair of eyes, it will peer out from within, and when it peers out from within, it is ruined. There are five types of dangerous virtue, of which inner virtue is the worst.10 What do I mean by inner virtue? He who possesses inner virtue will think himself always in the right, and denigrate those who do not do as he does. There are eight extremes that bring a man trouble, three conditions necessary for advancement, and six respositories of punishment.11 Beauty, a fine beard, a tall stature, brawn, strength, style, bravery, decisiveness - when a man has all these to a degree that surpasses others, they will bring him trouble. Tagging along with things, bobbing and weaving, cringing and fawning - if a man can do all three of these in a way that others do not, then he will succeed in advancing. Wisdom and knowledge, and the outward recognition they involve; bravery and decisiveness, and the numerous resentments they arouse; benevolence and righteousness, and all the responsibilities they involve - these six are what will bring you punishment. He who has mastered the true form of life is a giant; he who has mastered understanding is petty. He who has mastered the Great Fate follows along; he who has mastered the little fates must take what happens to come his

There was a man who had an audience with the king of Sung and received from him a gift of ten carriages. With his ten carriages, he went bragging and strutting to Chuang Tzu. Chuang Tzu said, "There is a poor family down by the river who make their living by weaving articles out of mugwort. The son was diving in the deepest part of the river and came upon a pearl worth a thousand pieces of gold. His father said to him. 'Bring a rock and smash it to bits! A pearl worth a thousand in gold could only have come from under the chin of the Black Dragon who lives at the bottom of the ninefold deeps. To be able to get the pearl, you must have happened along when he was asleep. If the Black Dragon had been awake, do you think there'd have been so much as a shred of you left?' Now the state of Sung is deeper than the ninefold deeps, and the king of Sung more truculent than the Black Dragon. In order to get these carriages, you must have happened along when he was asleep. If the king of Sung had been awake, you'd have ended up in little pieces!

Someone sent gifts to Chuang Tzu with an invitation to office. Chuang Tzu replied to the messenger in these words: "Have you ever seen a sacrificial ox? They deck him out in embroidery and trimmings, gorge him on grass and beanstalks. But when at last they lead him off into the great ancestral temple, then, although he might wish he could become a lonely calf once more, is it possible?"

When Chuang Tzu was about to die, his disciples expressed a desire to give him a sumptuous burial. Chuang Tzu said, "I will have heaven and earth for my coffin and coffin shell, the sun and moon for my pair of jade discs, the stars and constellations for my pearls and beads, and the ten thousand things for my parting gifts. The furnishings for my funeral are already prepared - what is there to add?"

"But we're afraid the crows and kites will eat you, Master!" said his disciples.

Chuang Tzu said, "Above ground I shall be eaten by crows and kites, below ground I shall be eaten by mole crickets and ants. Would it not be rather bigoted to deprive one group in order to supply the other?

"If you use unfairness to achieve fairness, your fairness will be unfair. If you use a lack of proof to establish proofs, your proofs will be proofless. The bright-eyed man is no more than the servant of things, but the man of spirit knows how to find real proofs. The bright-eyed is no match for the man of spirit-from long ago this has been the case. Yet the fool trusts to what he can see and immerses himself in the human. All his accomplishments are beside the point - pitiful, isn't it!"

## ZHUANGZI SECTION 33

The World

Many Are The Men in the world who apply themselves to doctrines and policies, and each believes he has something that cannot be improved upon. What in ancient times was called the "art of the Way' - where does it exist? I say, there is no

place it does not exist. But, you ask, where does holiness descend from, where does enlightenment emerge from? The sage gives them birth, the king completes them, and all have their source in the One. He who does not depart from the Ancestor is called the Heavenly Man; he who does not depart from the Pure is called the Holy Man; he who does not depart from the True is called the Perfect Man.

To make Heaven his source, Virtue his root, and the Way his gate, revealing himself through change and transformation - one who does this is called a Sage.

To make benevolence his standard of kindness, righteousness his model of reason, ritual his guide to conduct, and music his source of harmony, serene in mercy and benevolence - one who does this is called a gentleman.

To employ laws to determine functions, names to indicate rank, comparisons to discover actual performance, investigations to arrive at decisions, checking them off, one, two, three, four, and in this way to assign the hundred officials to their ranks; to keep a constant eye on administrative affairs, give first thought to food and clothing, keep in mind the need to produce and grow, to shepherd and store away, to provide for the old and the weak, the orphan and the widow, so that all are properly nourished - these are the principles whereby the people are ordered.

How thorough were the men of ancient times!-companions of holiness and enlightenment, pure as Heaven and earth, caretakers of the ten thousand things, harmonisers of the world, their bounty extended to the hundred clans. They had a clear understanding of basic policies and paid attention even to petty regulations - in the six avenues and the four frontiers, in what was great or small, coarse or fine, there was no place they did not move.

The wisdom that was embodied in their policies and regulations is in many cases still reflected in the old laws and records of the historiographers handed down over the ages. As to that which is recorded in the Book of Odes and Book of Documents, the Ritual and the Music, there are many gentlemen of Tsou and Lu, scholars of sash and official rank, who have an understanding of it. The Book of Odes describes the will; the Book of Documents describes events; the Ritual speaks of conduct; the Music speaks of harmony; the Book of Changes describes the yin and yang; the Spring and Autumn Annals describes titles and functions.

These various policies are scattered throughout the world and are propounded in the Middle Kingdom, the scholars of the hundred schools from time to time taking up one or the other in their praises and preachings. But the world is in great disorder, the worthies and sages lack clarity of vision, and the Way and its Virtue are no longer One. So the world too often seizes upon one of its aspects, examines it, and pronounces it good. But it is like the case of the ear, the eye, the nose, and the mouth: each has its own kind of understanding, but their functions are not interchangeable. In the same way, the various skills of the hundred schools all have their strong points, and at times each may be of use. But none is wholly sufficient, none is universal. The scholar cramped in one corner of learning tries to judge the beauty of Heaven and earth, to pry into the principles of the ten thousand things, to scrutinize the perfection of the ancients, but seldom is he able to encompass the true beauty of Heaven and earth, to describe the true face of holy brightness. Therefore the Way that is sagely within and kingly without has fallen into darkness and is no longer clearly perceived, has become shrouded and no longer shines forth. The men of the world all follow their own desires and make these their "doctrine." How sad! - the hundred schools going on and on instead of turning back, fated never to join again. The scholars of later ages have unfortunately never perceived the purity of Heaven and earth, the great body of the ancients, and "the art of the Way" in time comes to be rent and torn apart by the world.

To teach no extravagance to later ages, to leave the ten thousand things unadorned, to shun any glorification of rules and regulations, instead applying ink and measuring line to the correction of one's own conduct, thus aiding the world in time of crisis - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. Mo Ti and Ch'in Hua-li heard of their views and delighted in them, but they followed them to excess and were too assiduous in applying them to themselves.

Mo Tzu wrote a piece "Against Music," and another entitled "Moderation in Expenditure," declaring there was to be no singing in life, no mourning in death.3 With a boundless love and a desire to insure universal benefit, he condemned warfare, and there was no place in his teachings for anger. Again, he was fond of learning and broad in knowledge, and in this respect did not differ from others. His views, however, were not always in accordance with those of the former kings, for he denounced the rites and music of antiquity. The Yellow Emperor had his Hsien-ch'ih music, Yao his Ta-chung, Shun his Ta-shao, Yu his Ta-shai, T'ang his Ta-huo, and King Wen the music of the Pi-yung, while King Wu and the Duke of Chou fashioned the Wu music. The mourning rites of antiquity prescribed the ceremonies appropriate for eminent and humble, the different regulations

for superior and inferior. The inner and outer coffins of the Son of Heaven were to consist of seven layers: those of the feudal lords, five layers; those of the high ministers, three layers; those of the officials, two layers. Yet Mo Tzu alone declares there is to be no singing in life, no mourning in death. A coffin of paulownia wood three inches thick, with no outer shell - this is his rule, his ideal. If he teaches men in this fashion, then I fear he has no love for them; and if he adopts such practices for his own burial, then he surely has no love for himself! I do not mean to discredit his teachings entirely; and yet men want to sing and he says, "No singing!"; they want to wail and he says, "No wailing!" - one wonders if he is in fact human at all. A life that is all toil, a death shoddily disposed of - it is a way that goes too much against us. To make men anxious, to make them sorrowful - such practices are hard to carry out, and I fear they cannot be regarded as the Way of the Sage. They are contrary to the hearts of the world, and the world cannot endure them. Though Mo Tzu himself may be capable of such endurance, how can the rest of the world do likewise? Departing so far from the ways of the world, they must be far removed indeed from those of the true

Mo Tzu defends his teachings by saying, "In ancient times, when Yu dammed the flood waters and opened up the courses of the Yangtze and the Yellow River so that they flowed through the lands of the four barbarians and the nine provinces, joining with the three hundred famous rivers,4 their three thousand tributaries, and the little streams too numerous to count - at that time Yu in person carried the basket and wielded the spade, gathering together and mingling the rivers of the world, till there was no down left on his calves, no hair on his shins; the drenching rains washed his locks, the sharp winds combed them, while he worked to establish the ten thousand states. Yu was a great sage, yet with his own body he labored for the world in such fashion! So it is that many of the Mo-ists of later ages dress in skins and coarse cloth, wear wooden clogs or hempen sandals, never resting day or night, driving themselves on to the bitterest exertions. "If we cannot do the same," they say, "then we are not following the way of Yu, and are unworthy to be called Mo-ists!"

The disciples of Hsiang-li Ch'in, the followers of Wu Hou, and the Mo-ists of the south such as K'u Huo, Chi Ch'ih, Teng Ling-tzu, and their like all recite the Mo-ist canon, and yet they quarrel and disagree in their interpretations, calling each other "Mo-ist factionalists." In their discussions of "hard" and "white," "difference" and "sameness," they attack back and forth; in their disquisitions on the incompatibility of "odd" and "even" they exchange volleys of refutation. They regard the Grand Master of their sect as a sage, each sect trying to make its Grand Master the recognised head of the school in hopes that his authority will be acknowledged by later ages, but down to the present the dispute remains unresolved.

Mo Ti and Ch'in Ku-li were all right in their ideas but wrong in their practices, with the result that the Mo-ists of later ages have felt obliged to subject themselves to hardship "till there is no down left on their calves, no hair on their shins" - their only thought being to outdo one another. Such efforts represent the height of confusion, the lowest degree of order. Nevertheless, Mo Tzu was one who had a true love for the world. He failed to achieve all he aimed for, yet, wasted and worn with exhaustion, he never ceased trying. He was indeed a gentleman of ability!

To be unsnared by vulgar ways, to make no vain show of material things, to bring no hardship on others, to avoid offending the mob, to seek peace and security for the world, preservation of the people's lives, full provender for others as well as oneself, and to rest content when these aims are fulfilled, in this way bringing purity to the heart - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. Sung Chien' and Yin Wen heard of their views and delighted in them. They fashioned caps in the shape of Mount Hua to be their mark of distinction. In dealing with the ten thousand things, they took the "defining of boundaries" to be their starting point;10 they preached liberality of mind," which they called "the mind's activity," hoping thereby to bring men together in the joy of harmony, to insure concord within the four seas. Their chief task lay, they felt, in the effort to establish these ideals. They regarded it as no shame to suffer insult, but sought to put an end to strife among the people, to outlaw aggression, to abolish the use of arms, and to rescue the world from warfare. With these aims they walked the whole world over, trying to persuade those above them and to teach those below, and though the world refused to listen, they clamored all the louder and would not give up, until men said, "High and low are sick of the sight of them, and still they demand to be seen!

Nevertheless, they took too much thought for others and too little for themselves. "Just give us five pints of rice and that will be enough," they said, though at that rate I fear these teachers did not get their fill. Though their own disciples went hungry, however, they never forgot the rest of the world, but continued day and night without stop, saying,

"We are determined to make certain that all men can live!" How lofty their aims, these saviors of the world! Again they said, "The gentleman does not examine others with too harsh an eye; he does not need material things in which to dress himself." If a particular line of inquiry seemed to bring no benefit to the world, they thought it better to abandon it than to seek an understanding of it. To outlaw aggression and abolish the use of arms - these were their external aims. To lessen the desires and weaken the emotions - these were their internal aims. Whether their approach was large-scaled or small, detailed or gross, these were the goals they sought - these and nothing more.

Public-spirited and not partisan, even-minded and not given to favouritism, vacant-eyed, with none for a master, trailing after things without a second thought, giving not a glance to schemes, not a moment of speculation to knowledge, choosing neither this thing nor that, but going along with all of them - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in such things. P'eng Meng, T'ien P'ien, and Shen Tao heard of their views and delighted in them. The Way, they believed, lay in making the ten thousand things equal. "Heaven is capable of sheltering but not of bearing up," they said. "Earth is capable of bearing up but not of sheltering. The Great Way is capable of embracing all things but not of discriminating among them." From this they deduced that each of the ten thousand things has that which is acceptable in it and that which is not acceptable. Therefore they, said, "To choose is to forgo universality; to compare things is to fail to reach the goal. The Way has nothing that is left out of it.'

For this reason Shen Tao discarded knowledge, did away with self, followed what he could not help but follow, acquiescent and unmeddling where things were concerned, taking this to be the principle of the Way. "To know is not to taking this to be the principle of the Way. know," he said, and so he despised knowledge and worked to destroy and slough it off. Listless and lackadaisical, he accepted no responsibilities, but laughed at the world for honouring worthy men. Casual and uninhibited, he did nothing to distinguish himself, but disparaged the great sages of the world. Lopping off corners, chiseling away the rough places, he went tumbling and turning along with things. He put aside both right and wrong and somehow managed to stay out of trouble. With nothing to learn from knowledge or scheming, no comprehension of what comes before or after, he merely rested where he was and that was all. Pushed, he would finally begin to move; dragged, he would at last start on his way. He revolved like a whirlwind, spun like a feather, went round and round like a grindstone, keeping himself whole and free from condemnation. Without error, whether in motion or at rest, never once was he guilty of any fault. Why was this? Because a creature that is without knowledge does not face the perils that come from trying to set oneself up, the entanglements that come from relying upon knowledge. In motion or in stillness, he never departs from reason - in this way he lives out his years without winning praise. Therefore Shen Tao said, "Let me become like those creatures without knowledge, that is enough. Such creatures have no use for the worthies or the sages. Clod-like, they never lose the Way." The great and eminent men would get together and laugh at him, saying, "The teachings of Shen Tao are not rules for the living but ideals for a dead man. No wonder he is looked on as peculiar!

T'ien P'ien was a similar case. He studied under P'eng Meng and learned what it means not to compare things. P'eng Meng's teacher used to say, "In ancient times the men of the Way reached the point where they regarded nothing as right and nothing as wrong - that was all." But such ways are mute and muffled - how can they be captured in words? P'eng Meng and T'ien P'ien always went contrary to other men and were seldom heeded. They could not seem to avoid lopping away at the corners. What they called the Way was not the true Way, and, when they said a thing was right, they could not avoid raising the possibility that it might be wrong.18' P'eng Meng, T'ien P'ien, and Shen Tao did not really understand the Way, though all had at one time heard something of what it was like

To regard the source as pure and the things that emerge from it as coarse, to look upon accumulation as insufficiency; dwelling alone, peaceful and placid, in spiritual brightness there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. The Barrier Keeper Yin and Lao Tan heard of their views and delighted in them.19 They expounded them in terms of constant nonbeing and being, and headed their doctrine with the concept of the Great Unity. Gentle weakness and humble self-effacement are its outer marks; emptiness, void, and the noninjury of the ten thousand things are its essence.

The Barrier Keeper Yin said, "When a man does not dwell in self, then things will of themselves reveal their forms to him. His movement is like that of water, his stillness like that of a mirror, his responses like those of an echo. Blank-eyed, he seems to be lost; motionless, he has the limpidity of water. Because he is one with it, he achieves harmony; should he

reach out for it, he would lose it. Never does he go ahead of other men, but always follows in their wake.

Lao Tan said, "Know the male but cling to the female; become the ravine of the world. Know the pure but cling to dishonour; become the valley of the world." Others all grasp what is in front; he alone grasped what is behind. He said, "Take to yourself the filth of the world." Others all grasp what is full; he alone grasped what is empty. He never stored away - therefore he had more than enough; he had heaps and heaps of more than enough! In his movement he was easygoing and did not wear himself out. Dwelling in inaction, he scoffed at skill. Others all seek good fortune; he alone kept himself whole by becoming twisted. He said, "Let us somehow or other avoid incurring blame!" He took profundity to be the root and frugality to be the guideline. He said, "What is brittle will be broken, what is sharp will be blunted." He was always generous and permissive with things and inflicted no pain on others - this may be called the highest achievement.

The Barrier Keeper Yin and Lao Tan - with their breadth and stature, they indeed were the True Men of old!

Blank, boundless, and without form; transforming, changing, never constant: are we dead? are we alive? do we stand side by side with Heaven and earth? do we move in the company of spiritual brightness? absent-minded, where are we going? forgetful, where are we headed for? The ten thousand things ranged all around us, not one of them is worthy to be singled out as our destination - there were those in ancient times who believed that the "art of the Way" lay in these things. Chuang Chou heard of their views and delighted in them. He expounded them in odd and outlandish terms, in brash and bombastic language, in unbound and unbordered phrases, abandoning himself to the times without partisanship, not looking at things from one angle only. He believed that the world was drowned in turbidness and that it was impossible to address it in sober language. So he used "goblet words" to pour out endless changes, "repeated words" to give a ring of truth, and "imputed words" to impart greater breadth. He came and went alone with the pure spirit of Heaven and earth, yet he did not view the ten thousand things with arrogant eyes. He did not scold over "right" and "wrong," but lived with the age and its vulgarity. Though his writings are a string of queer beads and baubles, they roll and rattle and do no one any harm. Though his words seem to be at sixes and sevens, yet among the sham and waggery there are things worth observing, for they are crammed with truths that never come to an end

Above he wandered with the Creator, below he made friends with those who have gotten outside of life and death, who know nothing of beginning or end. As for the Source, his grasp of it was broad, expansive, and penetrating; profound, liberal, and unimpeded. As for the Ancestor, he may be said to have tuned and accommodated himself to it and to have risen on it to the greatest heights. Nevertheless, in responding to change and expounding on the world of things, he set forth principles that will never cease to be valid, an approach that can never be shuffled off. Veiled and arcane, he is one who has never been completely comprehended.

Hui Shih was a man of many devices and his writings would fill five carriages. But his doctrines were jumbled and perverse and his words wide of the mark. His way of dealing with things may be seen from these sayings:

The largest thing has nothing beyond it; it is called the One of largeness. The smallest thing has nothing within it; it is called the One of smallness.

That which has no thickness cannot be piled up; yet it is a thousand li in dimension.

Heaven is as low as earth: mountains and marshes are on the same level.

The sun at noon is the sun setting. The thing born is the thing dying.

Great similarities are different from little similarities; these are called the little similarities and differences. The ten thousand things are all similar and are all different; these are called the great similarities and differences

The southern region has no limit and yet has a limit.

I set off for Yueh today and came there vesterday.

Linked rings can be separated.

I know the centre of the world: it is north of Yen and south

Let love embrace the ten thousand things; Heaven and earth are a single body.

With savings such as these, Hui Shih tried to introduce a more magnanimous view of the world and to enlighten the rhetoricians. The rhetoricians of the world happily joined in with the following sayings:

An egg has feathers. A chicken has three legs.

Ying contains the whole world.

A dog can be considered a sheen

Horses lay eggs. Toads have tails.

Fire is not hot.

Mountains come out of the mouth.

Wheels never touch the ground.

Eves do not see.

Pointing to it never gets to it; if it got to it, there would be no separation.

The tortoise is longer than the snake.

T squares are not right-angled; compasses cannot make

Holes for chisel handles do not surround the handles.

The flying bird's shadow never moves

No matter how swift the barbed arrow, there are times when it is neither moving nor at rest.

A dog is not a canine.

A yellow horse and a black cow make three.

White dogs are black.

The orphan colt never had a mother.

Take a pole one foot long, cut away half of it every day, and at the end of ten thousand generations there will still be some

Such were the sayings which the rhetoricians used in answer to Hui Shih, rambling on without stop till the end of their days. Huan Tuan and Kung-sun Lung were among such rhetoricians. Dazzling men's minds, unsettling their views, they could outdo others in talking, but could not make them submit in their minds - such were the limitations of the

Hui Shih day after day used all the knowledge he had in his debates with others, deliberately thinking up ways to astonish the rhetoricians of the world - the examples above will illustrate this. Nevertheless, Hui Shih's manner of speaking showed that he considered himself the ablest man alive. "Heaven and earth - perhaps they are greater!" he used to declare. All he knew how to do was play the hero; he had no

In the south there was an eccentric named Huang Liao who asked why Heaven and earth do not collapse and crumble, or what makes the wind and rain, the thunder and lightning. Hui Shih, undaunted, undertook to answer him; without stopping to think, he began to reply, touching upon every one of the ten thousand things in his peroration, expounding on and on without stop in multitudes of words that never ended. But still it was not enough, and so he began to add on his astonishing assertions. Whatever contradicted other men's views he declared to be the truth, hoping to win a reputation for outwitting others. This was why he never got along with ordinary people. Weak in inner virtue, strong in his concern for external things, he walked a road that was crooked indeed! If we examine Hui Shih's accomplishments from the point of view of the Way of Heaven and earth, they seem like the exertions of a mosquito or a gnat - of what use are they to other things? True, he still deserves to be regarded as the founder of one school, though I say, if he had only shown greater respect for the Way, he would have come nearer being right. Hui Shih, however, could not seem to find any tranquillity for himself in such an approach. Instead he went on tirelessly separating and analyzing the ten thousand things, and in the end was known only for his skill in exposition. What a pity - that Hui Shih abused and dissipated his talents without ever really achieving anything! Chasing after the ten thousand things, never turning back, he was like one who tries to shout an echo into silence or to prove that form can outrun shadow. How sad!

### CONFUCIAN WORKS

#### THE LUN YU

The Analects Of Confucius (The Selected Sayings) Literary Collections of Confucius (of Kongfuzi) Romanisation: Wade-Giles Translation: James Legge, 1899
Estimated Range of Dating: 5th - 4th centuries B.C.

(The Analects (Chinese: Lunyu; "Selected Sayings"), also known as the Analects of Confucius, is an ancient Chinese book composed of a large collection of sayings and ideas attributed to the Chinese philosopher Confucius and his contemporaries, traditionally believed to have been compiled and written by Confucius's followers. It is believed to have been written during the Warring States period (475-221 BC), and it achieved its final form during the mid-Han dynasty (206 BC-220 AD). By the early Han dynasty the Analects was considered merely a "commentary" on the Five Classics, but the status of the Analects grew to be one of the central texts of Confucianism by the end of that dynasty. During the late Song dynasty (960–1279 AD) the importance of the Analects as a philosophy work was raised above that of the older Five Classics, and it was recognized as one of the "Four Books". The Analects has been one of the most widely-read and studied books in China for the last 2,000 years, and continues to have a substantial influence on Chinese and East Asian thought and values today.

The Analects as the embodiment of Confucian ideas (from Confucianism) the way of life propagated by Confucius in the 6th-5th century BC and followed by the Chinese people for more than two millennia. Although transformed over time, it is still the substance of learning, the source of values, and the social code of the Chinese. Its influence has also extended to other countries, particularly Korea, Japan, and Vietnam.

Confucianism, a Western term that has no counterpart in Chinese, is a worldview, a social ethic, a political ideology, a scholarly tradition, and a way of life. Sometimes viewed as a philosophy and sometimes as a religion, Confucianism may be understood as an all-encompassing way of thinking and living that entails ancestor reverence and a profound human-centred religiousness. East Asians may profess themselves to be Shintoists, Daoists, Buddhists, Muslims, or Christians, but, by announcing their religious affiliations, seldom do they cease to be Confucians.

Although often grouped with the major historical religions, Confucianism differs from them by not being an organised religion. Nonetheless, it spread to other East Asian countries under the influence of Chinese literate culture and has exerted a profound influence on spiritual and political life. Both the theory and practice of Confucianism have indelibly marked the patterns of government, society, education, and family of East Asia. Although it is an exaggeration to characterize traditional Chinese life and culture as Confucian, Confucian ethical values have for well over 2,000 years served as the source of inspiration as well as the court of appeal for human interaction between individuals, communities, and nations in

## Confucius' Strong Emphasis on Ethics

Confucius believed that the welfare of a country depended on the moral cultivation of its people, beginning from the nation's leadership. He believed that individuals could begin to cultivate an all-encompassing sense of virtue through ren, and that the most basic step to cultivating ren was devotion to one's parents and older siblings. He taught that one's individual desires do not need to be suppressed, but that people should be educated to reconcile their desires via rituals and forms of propriety, through which people could demonstrate their respect for others and their responsible roles in society. Confucius taught that a ruler's sense of virtue was his primary prerequisite for leadership. His primary goal in educating his students was to produce ethically wellcultivated men who would carry themselves with gravity, speak correctly, and demonstrate consummate integrity in all things.

One of the deepest teachings of Confucius may have been the superiority of personal exemplification over explicit rules of behaviour. His moral teachings emphasised self-cultivation, emulation of moral exemplars, and the attainment of skilled judgment rather than knowledge of rules. Confucian ethics may, therefore, be considered a type of virtue ethics. His teachings rarely rely on reasoned argument, and ethical ideals and methods are conveyed indirectly, through allusion, innuendo, and even tautology. His teachings require examination and context to be understood. One of his teachings was a variant of the Golden Rule, sometimes called the "Silver Rule" owing to its negative form: "What you do not wish for vourself, do not do to others."

Zi Gong [a disciple] asked: "Is there any one word that could guide a person throughout life?" The Master replied: "How about 'reciprocity'! Never impose on others what you would not choose for yourself." Analects 15:24, tr. David Hinton

Often overlooked in Confucian ethics are the virtues to the self: sincerity and the cultivation of knowledge. Virtuous action towards others begins with virtuous and sincere thought, which begins with knowledge. A virtuous disposition without knowledge is susceptible to corruption, and virtuous action without sincerity is not true righteousness. Cultivating knowledge and sincerity is also important for one's own sake; the superior person loves learning for the sake of learning and righteousness for the sake of righteousness.

The Confucian theory of ethics (as exemplified in Ii) is based on three important conceptual aspects of life: I. ceremonies associated with sacrifice to ancestors and deities of various types, 2. social and political institutions, and 3. the etiquette of daily behaviour. Confucius stressed the development of li through the actions of sage leaders in human history. His discussions of li seem to redefine the term to refer to all actions committed by a person to build the ideal society, rather than those simply conforming with canonical standards of ceremony.

In the early Confucian tradition, li was doing the proper thing at the proper time; balancing between maintaining existing norms to perpetuate an ethical social fabric, and violating them in order to accomplish ethical good. Training in the li of past sages, cultivates in people virtues that include ethical judgment about when li must be adapted in light of situational contexts. In Confucianism, the concept of li is closely related to yi, which is based upon the idea of reciprocity. Yi can be translated as righteousness, though it may simply mean what is ethically best to do in a certain context. The term contrasts with action done out of self-interest. While pursuing one's own self-interest is not necessarily bad, one would be a better, more righteous person if one's life was based upon following a path designed to enhance the greater good. Thus an outcome of yi is doing the right thing for the right reason.

Just as action according to li should be adapted to conform to the aspiration of adhering to yi, so yi is linked to the core value of ren. Ren consists of five basic virtues: seriousness, generosity, sincerity, diligence and kindness. Ren is the virtue of perfectly fulfilling one's responsibilities toward others, most often translated as "benevolence," "Goodness," or "humaneness"; other translations that have been put forth include "authoritativeness" and "selflessness." Confucius's moral system was based upon empathy and understanding others, rather than divinely ordained rules. To develop one's spontaneous responses of ren so that these could guide action intuitively was even better than living by the rules of yi. Confucius asserts that virtue is a mean between extremes. For example, the properly generous person gives the right amount—not too much and not too little.

## Social Morality and Ethics

The order coming from Heaven preserves the world, and has to be followed by humanity finding a "middle way" between yin and yang, the forces in each new configuration of reality. Social harmony or morality is identified as patriarchy, which is expressed in the worship of ancestors and deified progenitors in the male line, at ancestral shrines.

Confucian ethical codes are described as humanistic and it is no surprise that they sound like in Platonism and Stoicism. They may be practiced by all the members of a society. Confucian ethics is characterised by the promotion of virtues. encompassed by the "Five Constants" (Wuchang) which are: 1. Benevolence (Ren), humaneness); 2. Righteousness and Justice (Yi); 3. Proper Rite (Li); 4. Knowledge (Zhi); 5. Integrity (Xin). These are accompanied by the classical Four Virtues (Sizi, of which one of them is part of the Five Constants): 1. Righteousness (Yi); 2. Loyalty (Zhong); 3. Continence Fidelity (Jie): 4 Filial Piety (Xiào). However there are still many other virtues, such as Honesty (cheng), Kindness and Forgiveness (shù), Honesty and Cleanness (lian), Shame, Sense of Right and Wrong (chi), Bravery (yong), Kindness / Gentleness (wen), Goodness / Kind-heartedness (liang), Respect / Reverence (gong), Economy (jian), Modesty (ràng). All of these virtues were practised in ancient Greece and Rome

## The Concept of God

Tian, a key concept in Chinese thought, refers to the God of Heaven, the Pole Star and the skies and stars orbiting around it, all nature and its laws (that is, "all things") which come from God in Heaven. Confucius used the term in a mystical way. He wrote in the Analects (7:23) that Tian gave him life, and that Tian watched and judged (6:28; 9:12). In 9:5 Confucius says that a person may know the movements of the Tian, and this provides with the sense of having a special place in the universe. To a Hebrew or Christian, it all may sound familiar. In 17:19 Confucius says that Tian spoke to him, though not in words. Tian is similar to what Daoists meant by Dao: "the way things are" or "the laws of the world." God may be understood as Creator and personal god or it may not. Chinese have thought about God just as others did but with a significant difference: they were never that dogmatic. A Chinese therefore may well be a believer in Confucian

principles and doctrines, and they also can be a follower of Dao, Buddha, and Christ at the same time; however, they do not likely follow Mohammed as Islam is, through its violent doctrines, considered unharmonious and therefore incompatible with Chinese principles and virtues.

#### Confucius and Education

The story of Confucianism does not begin with Confucius. Nor was Confucius the founder of Confucianism in the sense that Buddha was the founder of Buddhism and Christ the founder of Christianity. Rather Confucius considered himself a transmitter who consciously tried to reanimate the old in order to attain the new. He proposed revitalising the meaning of the past by advocating a ritualised life. Confucius' love of antiquity was motivated by his strong desire to understand why certain life forms and institutions, such as reverence for ancestors, human-centred religious practices, and mourning ceremonies, had survived for centuries. His journey into the past was a search for roots, which he perceived as grounded in humanity's deepest needs for belonging and communicating. He had faith in the cumulative power of culture. The fact that traditional ways had lost vitality did not, for him, diminish their potential for regeneration in the future. In fact, Confucius' sense of history was so strong that he saw himself as a conservationist responsible for the continuity of the cultural values and the social norms that had worked so well for the idealised civilisation of the Western Zhou dynasty.

Kongfuzi, or Kongzi, c. 551-479 BC (in Latin called Confucius) was China's most famous teacher, philosopher, and political theorist, whose ideas have influenced the civilisation of East Asia. In the old-fashioned Wade-Giles romanisation the name is rendered as K'ung-fu-tzu, or K'ung-tzu. His original name was Kongqiu, his literary name Zhongni. Confucius was born in Qufu in the small feudal state of Lu in what is now Shandong province, which was noted for its preservation of the traditions of ritual and music of the Zhou civilisation. His family name was Kong and his personal name Qiu, but he is referred to as either Kongzi or Kongfuzi (Master Kong) throughout Chinese history. The adjectival "Confucian," derived from the Latin Confucius, is not a meaningful term in Chinese, nor is the term Confucianism, which is a European word from the 17th century

Confucius's ancestors were probably members of the aristocracy who had become virtual poverty-stricken commoners by the time of his birth. His father died when Confucius was only three years old. Instructed first by his mother, Confucius then distinguished himself as an indefatigable learner in his teens. He recalled toward the end of his life that at age 15 his heart was set upon learning. A historical account notes that, even though he was already known as an informed young scholar, he felt it appropriate to inquire about everything while visiting the Grand Temple.

Confucius's life, in contrast to his tremendous importance, seems starkly undramatic, or, as a Chinese expression has it, it seems "plain and real." The plainness and reality of Confucius's life, however, underlines that his humanity was not revealed truth but an expression of self-cultivation, of the ability of human effort to shape its own destiny. The faith in the possibility of ordinary human beings to become aweinspiring sages and worthies is deeply rooted in the Confucian heritage, and the insistence that human beings are teachable, improvable, and perfectible through personal and communal endeavour is typically Confucian.

Confucius had served in minor government posts managing stables and keeping books for granaries before he married a woman of similar background when he was 19. It is not known who Confucius's teachers were, but he made a conscientious effort to find the right masters to teach him, among other things, ritual and music. His mastery of the six arts—ritual, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy, and arithmetic—and his familiarity with the classical traditions, notably poetry and history, enabled him to start a brilliant teaching career in his 30s.

Confucius is known as the first teacher in China who wanted to make education broadly available and who was instrumental in establishing the art of teaching as a vocation, indeed as a way of life. Before Confucius, aristocratic families had hired tutors to educate their sons in specific arts, and government officials had instructed their subordinates in the necessary techniques, but he was the first person to devote his whole life to learning and teaching for the purpose of transforming and improving society. He believed that all human beings could benefit from self-cultivation. He inaugurated a humanities program for potential leaders, opened the doors of education to all, and defined learning not merely as the acquisition of knowledge but also as character building.

For Confucius the primary function of education was to provide the proper way of training exemplary persons (junzi), a process that involved constant self-improvement and continuous social interaction. Although he emphatically noted that learning was "for the sake of the self" (the end of which was self-knowledge and self-realization), he found public service integral to true education. Confucius

confronted learned hermits who challenged the validity of his desire to serve the world; he resisted the temptation to "herd with birds and animals," to live apart from the human community, and opted to try to transform the world from within. For decades Confucus tried to be actively involved in politics, wishing to put his humanist ideas into practice through governmental channels.

In his late 40s and early 50s Confucius served first as a magistrate, then as an assistant minister of public works, and eventually as minister of justice in the state of Lu. It is likely that he accompanied King Lu as his chief minister on one of the diplomatic missions. Confucius's political career was, however, short-lived. His loyalty to the king alienated him from the power holders of the time, the large Ji families, and his moral rectitude did not sit well with the king's inner circle. who enraptured the king with sensuous delight. At 56, when he realized that his superiors were uninterested in his policies, Confucius left the country in an attempt to find another feudal state to which he could render his service. Despite his political frustration he was accompanied by an expanding circle of students during this self-imposed exile of almost 12 vears. His reputation as a man of vision and mission spread. A guardian of a border post once characterized him as the wooden tongue for a bell" of the age, sounding heaven's prophetic note to awaken the people (Analects, 3:24). Indeed, Confucius was perceived as the heroic conscience who knew realistically that he might not succeed but, fired by a righteous passion, continuously did the best he could. At the age of 67 he returned home to teach and to preserve his cherished classical traditions by writing and editing. He died in 479 BC, at the age of 73. According to the Records of the Historian, 72 of his students mastered the "six arts," and those who claimed to be his followers numbered 3,000.

#### The Four Sages

The Four Sages, Assessors, or Correlates (Chinese: Si Pei) are four eminent Chinese philosophers in the Confucian tradition. They are traditionally accorded a kind of sainthood and their spirit tablets are prominently placed in Confucian temples, two upon the east and two upon the west side of the Hall of the Great Completion (Dacheng Dian). The Four Sages are: 1. Yan Hui. Confucius's favourité disciple: 2. Zengzi or Zeng Shen, another disciple of Confucius and author of the Great Learning; 3. Zisi or Kong Ji, Confucius's grandson, student of Zengzi, and author of the Doctrine of the Mean; 4. Mencius or Master Meng, student of Zisi and author of the Mencius. Within a traditional Confucian temple, Yan Hui's tablet is placed first to the east of Confucius. The families of the descendants of the Four Sages still hold hereditary offices in the Republic of China (Taiwan) such as the Sacrificial Official to Confucius, "Sacrificial Official to Mencius", "Sacrificial Official to Zengzi", and "Sacrificial Official to Yan Hui". They use generation poems for their names given to them by the Ming and Qing Emperors. The members of the Kong family are also alive and well.

## The Twelve Philosophers or Wise Ones

The Twelve Philosophers or Wise Ones (Chinese: Shi'er Zhe) are 12 eminent philosophers in the Chinese Confucian tradition. They are traditionally accounted a kind of sainthood and their spirit tablets are prominently placed in Confucian temples, six upon the east and six upon the west side of the Hall of the Great Completion (Dacheng Dian). The Twelve Philosophers are Min Sun (Ziqian), Ran Yong (Zhonggong), Duanmu Ci (Zigong), Zhong You (Zilu), Bu Shang (Zixia), You Ruo (Ziruo), Zai Yu (Ziwo), Ran Geng (Boniu), Ran Qiu (Ziyou), Yan Yan (Ziyou), Zhuansun Shi (Zizhang) — all disciples of Confucius — and Zhu Xi, who established Neo-Confucianism during the Song dynasty. Sacrifices to the philosophers were first offered in the 6th year of the Kaiyuan era of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang dynasty, 720 AD

## Confucius' Disciples

According to Sima Qian (c. 145-86 BC), the famous Han historian and author of the Records of the Grand Historian, Confucius said: "The disciples who received my instructions, and could themselves comprehend them, were seventy-seven individuals. They were all scholars of extraordinary ability." It was traditionally believed that Confucius had three thousand students, but that only 72 mastered what he taught. The following is a list of students who have been identified as Confucius's Students, but some of them are mentioned in the Analects of Confucius. Many of their biographies are recorded in the Sima Qian's Shiji. The Six Arts were practiced by the 72 disciples.

Here a list of all known disciples; most of them were famous teachers or authors in their own right:

1. Yan Hui (Ziyuan); 2. Min Sun (Ziqian); 3. Ran Geng (Bonin):

4. Kan Yong (Zhonggong); 5. Ran Qiu (Ziyou); 6. Zhong You (Zilu); 7. Zai Yu (Ziwo); 8. Duanmu Ci (Zigong); 9. Yan Yan (Ziyou); 10. Bu Shang (Zixia); 11. Zeng Shen (Ziyu); 13.

Tantai Mieming (Ziyu); 14. Fu Buqi (Zijian); 15. Yuan Xian (Zisi); 16. Gongye Chang (Zichang); 17. Nangong Kuo (Zirong); 18. Gongxi Ai (Jici); 19. Zeng Dian (Xi); 20. Yan Wuyou (Lu); 21. Shang Qu (Zimu); 22. Gao Chai (Zigao); 23. Qidiao Kai (Zikai); 24. Gongbo Liao (Zizhou); 25. Sima Geng (Niu); 26. Fan Xu (Zichi); 27. You Ruo (Ziruo); 28. Gongxi Chi (Zihua); 29. Wuma Shi (Ziqi); 30. Liang Zhan (Shuyu); 31. Yan Xing (Ziliu); 32. Ran Ru (Zilu); 33. Cao Xu (Zixun); 34. Bo Qian (Zixi); 35. Gongsun Long (Zishi).

#### Less known disciples

Sima Qian here observes: 'Of the 35 disciples which precede, we have some details. Their age and other particulars are found in the Books and Records. It is not so, however, in regard to the 52 which follow.' List: 36. Ran Ji (Zi-chan: Jichan; Zi-da); 37. Gongzu Gouzi (Zi; Zi-zhi); 38. Qin Zu (Zinan); 39. Qidiao Chi (Zi-lian); 40. Yan Gao (Zi-jiao); 41. Qidiao Dufu (Cong; Zi-you; Zi-qi; Zi-wen); 42. Zeng Sichi (Zi-tu: Zi-cong); 43. Shang Zhai (Zi-ji; Zi-xiu); 44. Shi Zuo (Zhi; Zi; Zi-shu; Zi-ming); 45. Ren Buji (Xuan); 46. Gongliang Ru (Zi-zheng); 47. Hou (Shi; Chu; Qian; Zi-li; Lichi); 48. Qin Ran (Kai); 49. Gongxia Shou (Sheng; Zi-sheng); 50. Xi Yongdian (Dian; Zi-xi; Zi-jie; Zi-qie); 51. Gong Jianding (Gong Yu; Zi-zhong); 52. Yan Zu (Xiang; Zi-xiang); 53. Jiao (Wu; Wudan; Zi-jia); 54. Zhu (Gou; Jing-qiang; Jing; Zi-qiang; Zi-jie; Zi-mang); 55. Han (Zai; Zai-fu Hei; Zi-hei; Zi-suo; Zi-su); 56. Qin Shang (Zi-pei; Pei-zi; Bu-zi); 57. Shen Dang (Zhou); 58. Yan Zhipo (Zi-shu; Shu);

- 59. Yong Qi (Zi-qi; Zi-yan); 60. Xian Chang (Zi-qi; Zihong);
- 61. Zuo Renying (Ying]; Xing; Zi-xing); 62. Yan Zhi (En;
- 63: Zhang Guo (Zi-tu); 64. Qin Fei; (Zi-zhi); 65. Shi Zhichang (Zi-hang; Chang); 66. Yan Kuai (Zi-sheng); 67. Bu Shusheng (Zi-che); 68. Yuan Kang (Zi-ji; Yuan Kang-ji); 69. Yue Ke (Xin; Zi-sheng); 70. Lian Jie (Yong; Zi-yung; Zi-cao); 71. Shuzhung Hui (Kuai; Zi-qi); 72. Yan He; (Ran); 73. Di Hei (Zhe; Zi-zhe; Zhe-zhi); 74. Kui (Bang; Sun; Zi-lian; Ziyin); 75. Kong Zhong (Zi-mie); 76. Gongxi Yuru (Yu; Zishang); 77. Gongxi Dian (Zi-shang); 78. Qin Zhang (Lao; Zikai); 79. Chan Kang (Zi-kang; Zi-qin); 80. Xian Dan (Dan-fu; Fang: Zi-xiang)

The three preceding names are given in the 'Narratives of the School.' The research of scholars has added about 20 others:

81. Lin Fang (Zi-qiu), 82. Zhu Yuan (Bo-yu); 83. Shen Chang; 84. Shen Tang (See No. 57.); 85. Mu Pi; 86. Zuo Qiuming (Zuoqiu Ming).

## The Historical Context

The scholarly tradition envisioned by Confucius can be traced to the sage-kings of antiquity. Although the earliest dynasty confirmed by archaeology is the Shang dynasty (18th–12th century BC), the historical period that Confucius claimed as relevant was much earlier. Confucius may have initiated a cultural process known in the West as Confucianism, but he and those who followed him considered themselves part of a tradition, later identified by Chinese historians as the rujia, "scholarly tradition," that had its origins two millennia previously, when the legendary sages Yao and Shun created a civilised world through moral persuasion.

Confucius' hero was Zhougong, or the Duke of Zhou (d. 1094 BC), who was said to have helped consolidate, expand, and refine the "feudal" ritual system. This elaborate system of mutual dependence was based on blood ties, marriage alliances, and old covenants as well as on newly negotiated contracts. The appeal to cultural values and social norms for the maintenance of interstate as well as domestic order was predicated on a shared political vision, namely, that authority lies in universal kingship, heavily invested with ethical and religious power by the "mandate of heaven" (tianming), and that social solidarity is achieved not by legal constraint but by ritual observance. Its implementation enabled the Western Zhou dynasty to survive in relative peace and prosperity for more than five centuries.

Inspired by the statesmanship of Zhougong, Confucius harboured a lifelong dream to be in a position to emulate the duke by putting into practice the political ideas that he had learned from the ancient sages and worthies. Although Confucius never realised his political dream, his conception of politics as moral persuasion became more and more influential.

The concept of "heaven" (tian), unique in Zhou cosmology, was compatible with that of the Lord on High (Shangdi) in the Shang dynasty. Lord on High may have referred to the ancestral progenitor of the Shang royal lineage, but heaven to the Zhou kings, although also ancestral, was a more generalised anthropomorphic god. The Zhou belief in the mandate of heaven (the functional equivalent of the will of the Lord on High) differed from the divine right of kings in that there was no guarantee that the descendants of the Zhou royal house would be entrusted with kingship, for, as written in the

Shujing ("Classic of History"), "heaven sees as the people see [and] hears as the people hear"; thus the virtues of the kings were essential for the maintenance of their power and authority. This emphasis on benevolent rulership, expressed in numerous bronze inscriptions, was both a reaction to the collapse of the Shang dynasty and an affirmation of a deeprooted worldview

Partly because of the vitality of the feudal ritual system and partly because of the strength of the royal household itself, the Zhou kings were able to control their kingdom for several centuries. In 771 BC, however, they were forced to move their capital eastward to present-day Luoyang to avoid barbarian attacks from Central Asia. Real power thereafter passed into the hands of feudal lords. Since the surviving line of the Zhou kings continued to be recognized in name, they still managed to exercise some measure of symbolic control. By Confucius' time, however, the feudal ritual system had been so fundamentally undermined that the political crises also precipitated a profound sense of moral decline: the centre of symbolic control could no longer hold the kingdom, which had devolved from centuries of civil war into 14 feudal states

Confucius' response was to address himself to the issue of learning to be human. In so doing he attempted to redefine and revitalize the institutions that for centuries had been vital to political stability and social order: the family, the school, the local community, the state, and the kingdom. Confucius did not accept the status quo, which held that wealth and power spoke the loudest. He felt that virtue, both as a personal quality and as a requirement for leadership, was essential for individual dignity, communal solidarity, and

#### The Analects as the embodiment of Confucian ideas

The Lunyu (Analects), the most revered sacred scripture in the Confucian tradition, was probably compiled by the succeeding generations of Confucius' disciples. Based primarily on the Master's sayings, preserved in both oral and written transmissions, it captures the Confucian spirit in form and content in the same way that the Platonic dialogues embody Socratic pedagogy.

The Analects has often been viewed by the critical modern reader as a collection of unrelated reflections randomly put together. This impression may have resulted from the unfortunate perception of Confucius as a mere commonsense moralizer who gave practical advice to students in everyday situations. If readers approach the Analects as a communal memory, a literary device on the part of those who considered themselves beneficiaries of the Confucian Way to continue the Master's memory and to transmit his form of life as a living tradition, they come close to why it has been so revered in China for centuries. Interchanges with various historical figures and his disciples are used to show Confucius in thought and action, not as an isolated individual but as the centre of relationships. Actually the sayings of the Analects reveal Confucius' personality—his ambitions, his fears, his joys, his commitments, and above all his self-knowledge.

The purpose, then, in compiling these distilled statements centring on Confucius seems not to have been to present an argument or to record an event but to offer an invitation to readers to take part in an ongoing conversation. Through the Analects Confucians for centuries learned to reenact the aweinspiring ritual of participating in a conversation with Confucius 1

## ANALECTS CHAPTER 1. HSIO R.

- 1 The Master said, "Is it not pleasant to learn with a constant perseverance and application?
- "Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant
- "Is he not a man of complete virtue, who feels no discomposure though men may take no note of him?"
- 2 The philosopher Yu said, "They are few who, being filial and fraternal, are fond of offending against their superiors. There have been none, who, not liking to offend against their superiors, have been fond of stirring up confusion.

The superior man bends his attention to what is radical. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission!-are they not the

- root of all benevolent actions?"

  3 The Master said, "Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue.
- 4 The philosopher Tsang said, "I daily examine myself on three points:-whether, in transacting business for others, I may have been not faithful; -- whether, in intercourse with friends, I may have been not sincere; --- whether I may have not mastered and practised the instructions of my teacher.
- 5 The Master said. To rule a country of a thousand chariots. there must be reverent attention to business and sincerity. economy in expenditure, and love for men; and the employment of the people at the proper seasons."
- 6 The Master said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and, abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be earnest and truthful. He should overflow in love to all, and cultivate the

friendship of the good. When he has time and opportunity, after the performance of these things, he should employ them in polite studies."

- 7 Tsze-hsia said, "If a man withdraws his mind from the love of beauty, and applies it as sincerely to the love of the virtuous; if, in serving his parents, he can exert his utmost strength; if, in serving his prince, he can devote his life; if, in his intercourse with his friends, his words are sincere:although men say that he has not learned. I will certainly say
- 8 The Master said, "If the scholar be not grave, he will not call forth any veneration, and his learning will not be solid.

"Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles.

"Have no friends not equal to yourself.

When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them."

9 The philosopher Tsang said, "Let there be a careful attention to perform the funeral rites to parents, and let them be followed when long gone with the ceremonies of sacrifice;—then the virtue of the people will resume its proper excellence."

10 Tsze-ch'in asked Tsze-kung, saying, "When our master comes to any country, he does not fail to learn all about its government. Does he ask his information? or is it given to

Tsze-kung said, "Our master is benign, upright, courteous, temperate, and complaisant, and thus he gets his information. The master's mode of asking information!—is it not different from that of other men?'

- 11 The Master said, "While a man's father is alive, look at the bent of his will; when his father is dead, look at his conduct. If for three years he does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial."
- 12 The philosopher Yu said, "In practising the rules of propriety, a natural ease is to be prized. In the ways prescribed by the ancient kings, this is the excellent quality, and in things small and great we follow them.
- "Yet it is not to be observed in all cases. If one, knowing how such ease should be prized, manifests it, without regulating it by the rules of propriety, this likewise is not to be done
- 13 The philosopher Yu said, "When agreements are made according to what is right, what is spoken can be made good. When respect is shown according to what is proper, one keeps far from shame and disgrace. When the parties upon whom a man leans are proper persons to be intimate with, he can make them his guides and masters.'
- 14 The Master said. "He who aims to be a man of complete virtue in his food does not seek to gratify his appetite, nor in his dwelling place does he seek the appliances of ease; he is earnest in what he is doing, and careful in his speech; he frequents the company of men of principle that he may be rectified:-such a person may be said indeed to love to learn."
- 15 Tsze-kung said, "What do you pronounce concerning the poor man who yet does not flatter, and the rich man who is not proud?" The Master replied, "They will do; but they are not equal to him, who, though poor, is yet cheerful, and to him, who, though rich, loves the rules of propriety."

Tsze-kung replied, "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'As you cut and then file, as you carve and then polish.'-The meaning is the same, I apprehend, as that which you have just expressed "

The Master said, "With one like Ts'ze, I can begin to talk about the odes. I told him one point, and he knew its proper sequence."

16 The Master said, "I will not be afflicted at men's not knowing me; I will be afflicted that I do not know men."

# ANALECTS CHAPTER 2. WEI CHANG.

- 1 The Master said, "He who exercises government by means of his virtue may be compared to the north polar star, which keeps its place and all the stars turn towards it."
- The Master said, "In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in
- one sentence—'Having no depraved thoughts.'"

  3 The Master said, "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame.
- "If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good."
- 4 The Master said, "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning
  - "At thirty, I stood firm.
- "At forty, I had no doubts.
- "At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven.
- "At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of
- "At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without
- transgressing what was right."
  5 Mang I asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "It is not being disobedient.
- Soon after, as Fan Ch'ih was driving him, the Master told him, saying, "Mang-sun asked me what filial piety was, and I answered him,-'not being disobedient."

Fan Ch'ih said, "What did you mean?" The Master replied, "That parents, when alive, be served according to propriety; that, when dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and that they should be sacrificed to according to propriety."

6 Mang Wu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "Parents are anxious lest their children should be sick."

7 Tsze-yu asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "The filial piety of now-a-days means the support of one's parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support;—without reverence, what is there to distinguish the one support given from the other?"

8 Tsze-hsia asked what filial piety was. The Master said, "The difficulty is with the countenance. If, when their elders have any troublesome affairs, the young take the toil of them, and if, when the young have wine and food, they set them before their elders, is this to be considered filial piety?"

9 The Master said, "I have talked with Hui for a whole day, and he has not made any objection to anything I said;—as if he were stupid. He has retired, and I have examined his conduct when away from me, and found him able to illustrate my teachings. Hui!—He is not stupid."

10 The Master said, "See what a man does.

"Mark his motives.

"Examine in what things he rests.

"How can a man conceal his character?

How can a man conceal his character?"

11 The Master said, "If a man keeps cherishing his old knowledge, so as continually to be acquiring new, he may be a teacher of others."

12 The Master said, "The accomplished scholar is not a utensil."

13 Tsze-kung asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, "He acts before he speaks, and afterwards speaks according to his actions."

according to his actions."

14 The Master said, "The superior man is catholic and no partisan. The mean man is partisan and not catholic."

15 The Master said, "Learning without thought is labour lost; thought without learning is perilous."

16 The Master said, "The study of strange doctrines is injurious indeed!"

17 The Master said, "Yu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it;—this is knowledge."

18 Tsze-chang was learning with a view to official emolument.

The Master said, "Hear much and put aside the points of which you stand in doubt, while you speak cautiously at the same time of the others:—then you will afford few occasions for blame. See much and put aside the things which seem perilous, while you are cautious at the same time in carrying the others into practice:—then you will have few occasions for repentance. When one gives few occasions for blame in his words, and few occasions for repentance in his conduct, he is in the way to get emolument."

19 The Duke Ai asked, saying, "What should be done in order to secure the submission of the people?" Confucius replied, "Advance the upright and set aside the crooked, then the people will submit. Advance the crooked and set aside the upright, then the people will not submit."

20 Chi K'ang asked how to cause the people to reverence their ruler, to be faithful to him, and to go on to nerve themselves to virtue. The Master said, "Let him preside over them with gravity;—then they will reverence him. Let him be filial and kind to all;—then they will be faithful to him. Let him advance the good and teach the incompetent;—then they will eagerly seek to be virtuous."

21 Some one addressed Confucius, saying, "Sir, why are you not engaged in the government?"

The Master said, "What does the Shu-ching say of filial piety?—'You are filial, you discharge your brotherly duties. These qualities are displayed in government.' This then also constitutes the exercise of government. Why must there be that—making one be in the government?"

22 The Master said, "I do not know how a man without truthfulness is to get on. How can a large carriage be made to go without the cross-bar for yoking the oxen to, or a small carriage without the arrangement for yoking the horses?"

23 Tsze-chang asked whether the affairs of ten ages after could be known.

Confucius said, "The Yin dynasty followed the regulations of the Hsia: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. The Chau dynasty has followed the regulations of Yin: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. Some other may follow the Chau, but though it should be at the distance of a hundred ages, its affairs may be known."

24 The Master said, "For a man to sacrifice to a spirit which does not belong to him is flattery.

"To see what is right and not to do it is want of courage."

# ANALECTS CHAPTER 3. PA YIH.

1 Confucius said of the head of the Chi family, who had eight rows of pantomimes in his area, "If he can bear to do this, what may he not bear to do?"

2 The three families used the yung ode, while the vessels were being removed, at the conclusion of the sacrifice. The Master said, "'Assisting are the princes;—the son of heaven looks profound and grave:'—what application can these words have in the hall of the three families?"

3 The Master said, "If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with the rites of propriety? If a man be without the virtues proper to humanity, what has he to do with music?"

4 Lin Fang asked what was the first thing to be attended to in ceremonies.

The Master said, "A great question indeed!

"In festive ceremonies, it is better to be sparing than extravagant. In the ceremonies of mourning, it is better that there be deep sorrow than a minute attention to observances."

5 The Master said, "The rude tribes of the east and north have their princes, and are not like the States of our great land which are without them."

6 The chief of the Chi family was about to sacrifice to the Tai mountain. The Master said to Zan Yu, "Can you not save him from this?" He answered, "I cannot." Confucius said, "Alas! will you say that the Tai mountain is not so discerning as Lin Fane?"

7 The Master said, "The student of virtue has no contentions. If it be said he cannot avoid them, shall this be in archery? But he bows complaisantly to his competitors; thus he ascends the hall, descends, and exacts the forfeit of drinking. In his contention, he is still the Chun-tsze."

8 Tsze-hsia asked, saying, "What is the meaning of the passage—'The pretty dimples of her artful smile! The well-defined black and white of her eye! The plain ground for the colours?"

The Master said, "The business of laying on the colours follows (the preparation of) the plain ground."

"Ceremonies then are a subsequent thing?" The Master said, "It is Shang who can bring out my meaning. Now I can begin to talk about the odes with him."

9 The Master said, "I could describe the ceremonies of the Hsia dynasty, but Chi cannot sufficiently attest my words. I could describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, but Sung cannot sufficiently attest my words. (They cannot do so) because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men. If those were sufficient, I could adduce them in support of my words."

10 The Master said, "At the great sacrifice, after the pouring out of the libation, I have no wish to look on."

11 Some one asked the meaning of the great sacrifice. The Master said, "I do not know. He who knew its meaning would find it as easy to govern the kingdom as to look on this;—pointing to his palm.

12 He sacrificed to the dead, as if they were present. He sacrificed to the spirits, as if the spirits were present.

sacrificed to the spirits, as if the spirits were present.

The Master said, "I consider my not being present at the sacrifice as if I did not sacrifice."

13 Wang-sun Chia asked, saying, "What is the meaning of the saying, 'It is better to pay court to the furnace than to the south-west corner?"

The Master said, "Not so. He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray."

14 The Master said, "Chau had the advantage of viewing

14 The Master said, "Chau had the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties. How complete and elegant are its regulations! I follow Chau."

15 The Master, when he entered the grand temple, asked about everything. Some one said, "Who will say that the son of the man of Tsau knows the rules of propriety! He has entered the grand temple and asks about everything." The Master heard the remark, and said, "This is a rule of propriety."

16 The Master said, "In archery it is not going through the leather which is the principal thing;—because people's strength is not equal. This was the old way."

17 Tsze-kung wished to do away with the offering of a sheep connected with the inauguration of the first day of each month

The Master said, "Ts'ze, you love the sheep; I love the ceremony."

18 The Master said, "The full observance of the rules of propriety in serving one's prince is accounted by people to be flattery."

19 The Duke Ting asked how a prince should employ his ministers, and how ministers should serve their prince. Confucius replied, "A prince should employ his minister according to according to the rules of propriety; ministers should serve their prince with faithfulness."

20 The Master said, "The Kwan Tsu is expressive of enjoyment without being licentious, and of grief without being hurtfully excessive."

21 The Duke Ai asked Tsai Wo about the altars of the spirits of the land. Tsai Wo replied, "The Hsia sovereign planted the pine tree about them; the men of the Yin planted the cypress; and the men of the Chau planted the chestnut tree, meaning thereby to cause the people to be in awe."

When the Master heard it, he said, "Things that are done, it is needless to speak about; things that have had their course, it

is needless to remonstrate about; things that are past, it is needless to blame."

22 The Master said, "Small indeed was the capacity of Kwan Chung!"

Some one said, "Was Kwan Chung parsimonious?"
"Kwan," was the reply, "had the San Kwei, and his officers
performed no double duties; how can he be considered
parsimonious?"

"Then, did Kwan Chung know the rules of propriety?" The Master said, "The princes of States have a screen intercepting the view at their gates. Kwan had likewise a screen at his gate. The princes of States on any friendly meeting between two of them, had a stand on which to place their inverted cups. Kwan had also such a stand. If Kwan knew the rules of propriety, who does not know them?"

23 The Master instructing the grand music-master of Lu said, "How to play music may be known. At the commencement of the piece, all the parts should sound together. As it proceeds, they should be in harmony while severally distinct and flowing without break, and thus on to the conclusion."

24 The border warden at Yi requested to be introduced to the Master, saying, "When men of superior virtue have come to this, I have never been denied the privilege of seeing them." The followers of the sage introduced him, and when he came out from the interview, he said, "My friends, why are you distressed by your master's loss of office? The kingdom has long been without the principles of truth and right; Heaven is going to use your master as a bell with its wooden tongue."

25 The Master said of the Shao that it was perfectly beautiful and also perfectly good. He said of the Wu that it was perfectly beautiful but not perfectly good.

26 The Master said, "High station filled without indulgent generosity; ceremonies performed without reverence; mourning conducted without sorrow;—wherewith should I contemplate such wavs?"

### ANALECTS CHAPTER 4. LE JIN.

1 The Master said, "It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighbourhood. If a man in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?"

2 The Master said, "Those who are without virtue cannot abide long either in a condition of poverty and hardship, or in a condition of enjoyment. The virtuous rest in virtue; the wise desire virtue."

3 The Master said, "It is only the (truly) virtuous man, who can love, or who can hate, others."

4 The Master said, "If the will be set on virtue, there will be no practice of wickedness."

5 The Master said, "Riches and honours are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held. Poverty and meanness are what men dislike. If it cannot be avoided in the proper way, they should not be avoided

"If a superior man abandon virtue, how can he fulfil the requirements of that name?

"The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste, he cleaves to it. In seasons of danger, he cleaves to it."

6 The Master said, "I have not seen a person who loved virtue, or one who hated what was not virtuous. He who loved virtue, would esteem nothing above it. He who hated what is not virtuous, would practise virtue in such a way that he would not allow anything that is not virtuous to approach his person.

"Is any one able for one day to apply his strength to virtue? I have not seen the case in which his strength would be insufficient.

"Should there possibly be any such case, I have not seen it."

7 The Master said, "The faults of men are characteristic of the class to which they belong. By observing a man's faults, it may be known that he is virtuous."

8 The Master said, "If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret."

9 The Master said, "A scholar, whose mind is set on truth, and who is ashamed of bad clothes and bad food, is not fit to be discoursed with."

10 The Master said, "The superior man, in the world, does not set his mind either for anything, or against anything; what is right he will follow."

11 The Master said, "The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. The superior man thinks of the sanctions of law; the small man thinks of favours which he may receive."

12 The Master said: "He who acts with a constant view to his own advantage will be much murmured against."

13 The Master said, "Is a prince is able to govern his

13 The Master said, "Is a prince is able to govern his kingdom with the complaisance proper to the rules of propriety, what difficulty will he have? If he cannot govern it with that complaisance, what has he to do with the rules of propriety?"

14 The Master said, "A man should say, I am not concerned that I have no place, I am concerned how I may fit myself for

one. I am not concerned that I am not known, I seek to be worthy to be known.

15 The Master said, "Shan, my doctrine is that of an allpervading unity." The disciple Tsang replied, "Yes.

The Master went out, and the other disciples asked, saying, "What do his words mean?" Tsang said, "The doctrine of our master is to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them to others,-this and nothing more.

16 The Master said, "The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain.'

17 The Master said, "When we see men of worth, we should think of equalling them; when we see men of a contrary character, we should turn inwards and examine ourselves.'

18 The Master said, "In serving his parents, a son may remonstrate with them, but gently; when he sees that they do not incline to follow his advice, he shows an increased degree of reverence, but does not abandon his purpose; and should they punish him, he does not allow himself to murmur.'

19 The Master said, "While his parents are alive, the son may not go abroad to a distance. If he does go abroad, he must have a fixed place to which he goes."

20 The Master said, "If the son for three years does not alter from the way of his father, he may be called filial."

21 The Master said, "The years of parents may by no means not be kept in the memory, as an occasion at once for joy and for fear.

22 The Master said, "The reason why the ancients did not readily give utterance to their words, was that they feared lest their actions should not come up to them."

23 The Master said, "The cautious seldom err."
24 The Master said, "The superior man wishes to be slow in his speech and earnest in his conduct."

25 The Master said. "Virtue is not left to stand alone. He who practises it will have neighbours.'

Tsze-yu said, "In serving a prince, frequent remonstrances lead to disgrace. Between friends, frequent reproofs make the friendship distant.'

#### ANALECTS CHAPTER 5, KUNG-YE CH'ANG,

1 The Master said of Kung-ye Ch'ang that he might be wived; although he was put in bonds, he had not been guilty of any crime. Accordingly, he gave him his own daughter to

Of Nan Yung he said that if the country were well governed he would not be out of office, and if it were ill-governed, he would escape punishment and disgrace. He gave him the daughter of his own elder brother to wife.

2 The Master said of Tsze-chien, "Of superior virtue indeed is such a man! If there were not virtuous men in Lu, how could this man have acquired this character?"

3 Tsze-kung asked, "What do you say of me, Ts'ze? The Master said, "You are a utensil." "What utensil?" "A gemmed sacrificial utensil "

4 Some one said, "Yung is truly virtuous, but he is not ready with his tongue."

The Master said, "What is the good of being ready with the tongue? They who encounter men with smartnesses of speech for the most part procure themselves hatred. I know not whether he be truly virtuous, but why should he show readiness of the tongue?"

5 The Master was wishing Ch'i-tiao K'ai to enter on official employment. He replied, "I am not yet able to rest in the assurance of THIS." The Master was pleased.

6 The Master said, "My doctrines make no way. I will get upon a raft, and float about on the sea. He that will accompany me will be Yu, I dare say." Tsze-lu hearing this was glad, upon which the Master said, "Yu is fonder of daring than I am. He does not exercise his judgement upon matters.

7 Mang Wu asked about Tsze-lu, whether he was perfectly virtuous. The Master said, "I do not know."

He asked again, when the Master replied, "In a kingdom of a thousand chariots. Yu might be employed to manage the military levies, but I do not know whether he be perfectly virtuous

"And what do you say of Ch'iu?" The Master replied, "In a city of a thousand families, or a clan of a hundred chariots, Ch'iu might be employed as governor, but I do not know

whether he is perfectly virtuous."
"What do you say of Ch'ih?" The Master replied, "With his sash girt and standing in a court, Ch'ih might be employed to converse with the visitors and guests, but I do not know whether he is perfectly virtuous.

8 The Master said to Tsze-kung, "Which do you consider superior, yourself or Hui?"

Tsze-kung replied, "How dare I compare myself with Hui? Hui hears one point and knows all about a subject; I hear one point, and know a second."

The Master said, "You are not equal to him. I grant you, you are not equal to him.'

9 Tsai Yu being asleep during the daytime, the Master said "Rotten wood cannot be carved; a wall of dirty earth will not receive the trowel. This Yu!—what is the use of my reproving him?'

The Master said, "At first, my way with men was to hear their words, and give them credit for their conduct. Now my way is to hear their words, and look at their conduct. It is from Yu that I have learned to make this change.

10 The Master said. "I have not seen a firm and unbending man." Some one replied, "There is Shan Ch'ang." "Ch'ang, said the Master, "is under the influence of his passions; how can he be pronounced firm and unbending?"

11 Tsze-kung said, "What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men." The Master said, "Ts'ze, you have not attained to that.'

12 Tsze-kung said, "The Master's personal displays of his principles and ordinary descriptions of them may be heard. His discourses about man's nature, and the way of Heaven, cannot be heard."

13 When Tsze-lu heard anything, if he had not yet succeeded in carrying it into practice, he was only afraid lest he should hear something else.

14 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "On what ground did Kung-wan get that title of Wan?" The Master said, "He was of an active nature and yet fond of learning, and he was not ashamed to ask and learn of his inferiors!—On these grounds he has been styled Wan."

15 The Master said of Tsze-ch'an that he had four of the characteristics of a superior man:-in his conduct of himself, he was humble; in serving his superiors, he was respectful; in nourishing the people, he was kind; in ordering the people, he was just.

16 The Master said, "Yen P'ing knew well how to maintain friendly intercourse. The acquaintance might be long, but he

showed the same respect as at first."

17 The Master said, "Tsang Wan kept a large tortoise in a house, on the capitals of the pillars of which he had hills made, and with representations of duckweed on the small pillars above the beams supporting the rafters.-Of what sort was his wisdom?"

18 Tsze-chang asked, saying, "The minister Tsze-wan thrice took office, and manifested no joy in his countenance. Thrice he retired from office, and manifested no displeasure. He made it a point to inform the new minister of the way in which he had conducted the government; -what do you say of him?" The Master replied. "He was loyal." "Was he perfectly virtuous?" "I do not know. How can he be pronounced perfectly virtuous?"

Tsze-chang proceeded, "When the officer Ch'ui killed the prince of Ch'i Ch'an Wan, though he was the owner of forty horses, abandoned them and left the country. Coming to another State, he said, 'They are here like our great officer, Ch'ui,' and left it. He came to a second State, and with the same observation left it also;—what do you say of him?" The Master replied, "He was pure." "Was he perfectly virtuous?" "I do not know. How can he be pronounced perfectly virtuous?'

19 Chi Wan thought thrice, and then acted. When the Master was informed of it, he said, "Twice may do."

20 The Master said, "When good order prevailed in his country, Ning Wu acted the part of a wise man. When his country was in disorder, he acted the part of a stupid man. Others may equal his wisdom, but they cannot equal his

21 When the Master was in Ch'an, he said, "Let me return! Let me return! The little children of my school are ambitious and too hasty. They are accomplished and complete so far, but they do not know how to restrict and shape themselves."

22 The Master said, "Po-i and Shu-ch'i did not keep the

former wickednesses of men in mind, and hence the resentments directed towards them were few.

23 The Master said, "Who says of Wei-shang Kao that he is upright? One begged some vinegar of him, and he begged it of a neighbour and gave it to the man."

24 The Master said, "Fine words, an insinuating appearance, and excessive respect;-Tso Ch'iu-ming was ashamed of them. I also am ashamed of them. To conceal resentment against a person, and appear friendly with him:-Tso Ch'iu-ming was ashamed of such conduct. I also am ashamed of it.'

25 Yen Yuan and Chi Lu being by his side, the Master said to them, "Come, let each of you tell his wishes."

Tsze-lu said, "I should like, having chariots and horses, and light fur dresses, to share them with my friends, and though they should spoil them, I would not be displeased.'

Yen Yuan said, "I should like not to boast of my excellence, nor to make a display of my meritorious deeds.

Tsze-lu then said, "I should like, sir, to hear your wishes." The Master said, "They are, in regard to the aged, to give them rest; in regard to friends, to show them sincerity; in regard to the young, to treat them tenderly."

26 The Master said, "It is all over! I have not yet seen one who could perceive his faults, and inwardly accuse himself.

27 The Master said, "In a hamlet of ten families, there may be found one honourable and sincere as I am, but not so fond of learning.

ANALECTS CHAPTER 6, YUNG YEY.

1 The Master said, "There is Yung!—He might occupy the place of a prince.

Chung-kung asked about Tsze-sang Po-tsze. The Master said, "He may pass. He does not mind small matters."

Chung-kung said, "If a man cherish in himself a reverential feeling of the necessity of attention to business, though he may be easy in small matters in his government of the people, that may be allowed. But if he cherish in himself that easy feeling. and also carry it out in his practice, is not such an easy mode of procedure excessive?"

The Master said, "Yung's words are right."

2 The Duke Ai asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him, "There was Yen Hui; he loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault. Unfortunately, his appointed time was short and he died; and now there is not such another. I have not yet heard of any one who loves to learn as he did."

3 Tsze-hwa being employed on a mission to Ch'i, the disciple Zan requested grain for his mother. The Master said, "Give her a fu." Yen requested more, "Give her an vu." said the Master. Yen gave her five ping.

The Master said, "When Ch'ih was proceeding to Ch'i, he had fat horses to his carriage, and wore light furs. I have heard that a superior man helps the distressed, but does not add to the wealth of the rich."

Yuan Sze being made governor of his town by the Master, he gave him nine hundred measures of grain, but Sze declined them.

The Master said, "Do not decline them. May you not give them away in the neighbourhoods, hamlets, towns, and villages?'

4 The Master, speaking of Chung-kung, said, "If the calf of a brindled cow be red and horned, although men may not wish to use it, would the spirits of the mountains and rivers put it aside?"

5 The Master said, "Such was Hui that for three months there would be nothing in his mind contrary to perfect virtue. The others may attain to this on some days or in some months, but nothing more."

6 Chi K'ang asked about Chung-yu, whether he was fit to be employed as an officer of government. The Master said, "Yu is a man of decision; what difficulty would he find in being an officer of government?" K'ang asked, "Is Ts'ze fit to be employed as an officer of government?" and was answered, 'Ts'ze is a man of intelligence; what difficulty would he find in being an officer of government?" And to the same question about Ch'iu the Master gave the same reply, saying, "Ch'iu is a man of various ability.

7 The chief of the Chi family sent to ask Min Tsze-ch'ien to be governor of Pi. Min Tsze-ch'ien said, "Decline the offer for me politely. If any one come again to me with a second invitation, I shall be obliged to go and live on the banks of the Wan '

8 Po-niu being ill, the Master went to ask for him. He took hold of his hand through the window, and said, "It is killing him. It is the appointment of Heaven, alas! That such a man should have such a sickness! That such a man should have such a sickness!"

9 The Master said, "Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui! With a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and living in his mean narrow lane, while others could not have endured the distress, he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui!

10 Yen Ch'iu said, "It is not that I do not delight in your doctrines, but my strength is insufficient." The Master said, "Those whose strength is insufficient give over in the middle of the way but now you limit yourself.'

11 The Master said to Tsze-hsia. "Do you be a scholar after the style of the superior man, and not after that of the mean

12 Tsze-yu being governor of Wu-ch'ang, the Master said to him, "Have you got good men there?" He answered, "There is Tan-t'ai Mieh-ming, who never in walking takes a short cut, and never comes to my office, excepting on public business.

13 The Master said, "Mang Chih-fan does not boast of his merit. Being in the rear on an occasion of flight, when they were about to enter the gate, he whipped up his horse, saying, 'It is not that I dare to be last. My horse would not advance.

14 The Master said, "Without the specious speech of the litanist T'o and the beauty of the prince Chao of Sung, it is difficult to escape in the present age."
15 The Master said, "Who can go out but by the door? How

is it that men will not walk according to these ways?

16 The Master said, "Where the solid qualities are in excess of accomplishments, we have rusticity; where the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk. When the accomplishments and solid qualities are equally blended, we then have the man of virtue.

17 The Master said, "Man is born for uprightness. If a man lose his uprightness, and yet live, his escape from death is the effect of mere good fortune."

- 18 The Master said, "They who know the truth are not equal to those who love it, and they who love it are not equal to those who delight in it."

  19 The Master said, "To those whose talents are above
- mediocrity, the highest subjects may be announced. To those who are below mediocrity, the highest subjects may not be announced '
- 20 Fan Ch'ih asked what constituted wisdom. The Master said. "To give one's self earnestly to the duties due to men. and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom." He asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "The man of virtue makes the difficulty to be overcome his first business, and success only a subsequent
- consideration;—this may be called perfect virtue."
  21 The Master said, "The wise find pleasure in water; the virtuous find pleasure in hills. The wise are active; the virtuous are tranquil. The wise are joyful; the virtuous are
- 22 The Master said, "Ch'i, by one change, would come to the State of Lu. Lu, by one change, would come to a State where true principles predominated."
  23 The Master said, "A cornered vessel without corners.-
- A strange cornered vessel! A strange cornered vessel!
- 24 Tsai Wo asked, saying, "A benevolent man, though it be told him,-"There is a man in the well" will go in after him, I suppose." Confucius said, "Why should he do so?" A superior man may be made to go to the well, but he cannot be made to go down into it. He may be imposed upon, but he cannot be fooled."
- 25 The Master said, "The superior man, extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, may thus likewise not overstep what is right.'
- 26 The Master having visited Nan-tsze, Tsze-lu was displeased, on which the Master swore, saying, "Wherein I have done improperly, may Heaven reject me, may Heaven reject me!"
- 27 The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Constant Mean! Rare for a long time has
- been its practise among the people."
  28 Tsze-kung said, "Suppose the case of a man extensively conferring benefits on the people, and able to assist all, what would you say of him? Might he be called perfectly virtuous?" The Master said, "Why speak only of virtue in connexion with him? Must he not have the qualities of a sage? Even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this.
- "Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others.
- 'To be able to judge of others by what is nigh in ourselves;-this may be called the art of virtue.'

# ANALECTS CHAPTER 7. SHU R.

- 1 The Master said, "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients. I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang.
- 2 The Master said, "The silent treasuring up of knowledge; learning without satiety; and instructing others without being wearied:—which one of these things belongs to me?"

  3 The Master said, "The leaving virtue without proper
- cultivation; the not thoroughly discussing what is learned; not being able to move towards righteousness of which a knowledge is gained; and not being able to change what is not good:—these are the things which occasion me solicitude."
- 4 When the Master was unoccupied with business, his manner was easy, and he looked pleased.
- 5 The Master said, "Extreme is my decay. For a long time, I have not dreamed, as I was wont to do, that I saw the duke of Chau.
  - 6 The Master said, "Let the will be set on the path of duty.
  - "Let every attainment in what is good be firmly grasped.
- "Let perfect virtue be accorded with.
- "Let relaxation and enjoyment be found in the polite arts."
- 7 The Master said, "From the man bringing his bundle of dried flesh for my teaching upwards, I have never refused instruction to any one.
- 8 The Master said, "I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager to get knowledge, nor help out any one who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to any one, and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson.'
- 9 When the Master was eating by the side of a mourner, he never ate to the full.
- He did not sing on the same day in which he had been weeping.
- 10 The Master said to Yen Yuan, "When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not so called, to lie retired; -it is only Land you who have attained to this
- Tsze-lu said "If you had the conduct of the armies of a great State, whom would you have to act with you?"
- The Master said, "I would not have him to act with me, who will unarmed attack a tiger, or cross a river without a boat, dying without any regret. My associate must be the man who

- proceeds to action full of solicitude, who is fond of adjusting his plans, and then carries them into execution.
- 11 The Master said, "If the search for riches is sure to be successful, though I should become a groom with whip in hand to get them, I will do so. As the search may not be successful. I will follow after that which I love."
- 12 The things in reference to which the Master exercised the greatest caution were -fasting, war, and sickness
- 13 When the Master was in Ch'i, he heard the Shao, and for three months did not know the taste of flesh. "I did not think" he said, "that music could have been made so excellent as
- 14 Yen Yu said, "Is our Master for the ruler of Wei?" Tszekung said, "Oh! I will ask him."
- He went in accordingly, and said, "What sort of men were Po-i and Shu-ch'i?" "They were ancient worthies," said the Master. "Did they have any repinings because of their course?" The Master again replied, "They sought to act virtuously, and they did so; what was there for them to repine about?" On this, Tsze-kung went out and said, "Our Master is not for him
- 15 The Master said, "With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow;-I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honours acquired by unrighteousness, are to me as a floating cloud."
- 16 The Master said, "If some years were added to my life, I would give fifty to the study of the Yi, and then I might come to be without great faults."
- 17 The Master's frequent themes of discourse were—the Odes, the History, and the maintenance of the Rules of Propriety. On all these he frequently discoursed.
- 18 The Duke of Sheh asked Tsze-lu about Confucius, and
- Tsze-lu did not answer him.

  The Master said, "Why did you not say to him,—He is simply a man, who in his eager pursuit (of knowledge) forgets his food, who in the joy of its attainment forgets his sorrows, and who does not perceive that old age is coming on?'
- 19 The Master said, "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it there.'
- 20 The subjects on which the Master did not talk, wereextraordinary things, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings.
- 21 The Master said, "When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid
- 22 The Master said, "Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Hwan T'ui-what can he do to me?
- 23 The Master said, "Do you think, my disciples, that I have any concealments? I conceal nothing from you. There is nothing which I do that is not shown to you, my disciples; that is my way."
- 24 There were four things which the Master taught. letters ethics devotion of soul, and truthfulness
- 25 The Master said, "A sage it is not mine to see; could I see a man of real talent and virtue, that would satisfy me.
- The Master said, "A good man it is not mine to see; could I see a man possessed of constancy, that would satisfy me.
- "Having not and yet affecting to have, empty and yet affecting to be full, straitened and yet affecting to be at ease:-it is difficult with such characteristics to have constancy
- 26 The Master angled,-but did not use a net. He shot,but not at birds perching.
- 27 The Master said, "There may be those who act without knowing why. I do not do so. Hearing much and selecting what is good and following it; seeing much and keeping it in memory:—this is the second style of knowledge.
- 28 It was difficult to talk (profitably and reputably) with the people of Hu-hsiang, and a lad of that place having had an interview with the Master, the disciples doubted.
- The Master said, "I admit people's approach to me without committing myself as to what they may do when they have retired. Why must one be so severe? If a man purify himself to wait upon me. I receive him so purified, without guaranteeing his past conduct.'
- 29 The Master said, "Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand."
- 30 The minister of crime of Ch'an asked whether the duke Chao knew propriety, and Confucius said, "He knew propriety.'
- Confucius having retired, the minister bowed to Wu-ma Ch'i to come forward, and said, "I have heard that the superior man is not a partisan. May the superior man be a partisan also? The prince married a daughter of the house of Wu, of the same surname with himself, and called her,-'The elder Tsze of Wu.' If the prince knew propriety, who does not know it?

Wu-ma Ch'i reported these remarks, and the Master said, "I am fortunate! If I have any errors, people are sure to know

- 31 When the Master was in company with a person who was singing, if he sang well, he would make him repeat the song, while he accompanied it with his own voice.
- 32 The Master said, "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men, but the character of the superior man, carrying out in his conduct what he professes, is what I have not yet attained
- 33 The Master said, "The sage and the man of perfect virtue;—how dare I rank myself with them? It may simply be said of me, that I strive to become such without satiety, and teach others without weariness." Kung-hsi Hwa said, "This is just what we, the disciples, cannot imitate you in.'
- 34 The Master being very sick, Tsze-lu asked leave to pray for him. He said, "May such a thing be done?" Tsze-lu replied, "It may. In the Eulogies it is said, 'Prayer has been made for thee to the spirits of the upper and lower worlds." The Master said, "My praying has been for a long time."
- Master said, "Extravagance leads The insubordination, and parsimony to meanness. It is better to be mean than to be insubordinate."
- 36 The Master said, "The superior man is satisfied and composed; the mean man is always full of distress."
- 37 The Master was mild, and yet dignified; majestic, and yet not fierce; respectful, and yet easy.

#### ANALECTS CHAPTER 8. T'AI-PO.

- 1 The Master said, "T'ai-po may be said to have reached the highest point of virtuous action. Thrice he declined the kingdom, and the people in ignorance of his motives could not express their approbation of his conduct."
- 2 The Master said, "Respectfulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes laborious bustle; carefulness, without the rules of propriety, becomes timidity; boldness, without the rules of propriety, becomes insubordination: straightforwardness, without the rules of propriety, becomes rudeness.
- "When those who are in high stations perform well all their duties to their relations, the people are aroused to virtue. When old friends are not neglected by them, the people are preserved from meanness.
- 3 The philosopher Tsang being ill, he called to him the disciples of his school, and said, "Uncover my feet, uncover my hands. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'We should be apprehensive and cautious, as if on the brink of a deep gulf, as if treading on thin ice,' and so have I been. Now and hereafter, I know my escape from all injury to my person, O ye, my little children
- 4 The philosopher Tsang being ill, Meng Chang went to ask how he was.
- Tsang said to him, "When a bird is about to die, its notes are mournful; when a man is about to die, his words are good.
- "There are three principles of conduct which the man of high rank should consider specially important:-that in his deportment and manner he keep from violence and heedlessness; that in regulating his countenance he keep near to sincerity; and that in his words and tones he keep far from lowness and impropriety. As to such matters as attending to the sacrificial vessels, there are the proper officers for them.
- 5 The philosopher Tsang said, "Gifted with ability, and yet putting questions to those who were not so; possessed of much, and yet putting questions to those possessed of little; having, as though he had not; full, and yet counting himself as empty; offended against, and yet entering into no altercation; formerly I had a friend who pursued this style of conduct."
- 6 The philosopher Tsang said, "Suppose that there is an individual who can be entrusted with the charge of a young orphan prince, and can be commissioned with authority over a state of a hundred li, and whom no emergency however great can drive from his principles:—is such a man a superior man? He is a superior man indeed."
- 7 The philosopher Tsang said, "The officer may not be without breadth of mind and vigorous endurance. His burden is heavy and his course is long.
- "Perfect virtue is the burden which he considers it is his to sustain;-is it not heavy? Only with death does his course stop:—is it not long?
- 8 The Master said, "It is by the Odes that the mind is aroused.
- "It is by the Rules of Propriety that the character is established.
- "It is from Music that the finish is received."

  9 The Master said, "The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it.'
- 10 The Master said, "The man who is fond of daring and is dissatisfied with poverty, will proceed to insubordination. So will the man who is not virtuous, when you carry your dislike of him to an extreme."
- 11 The Master said, "Though a man have abilities as admirable as those of the Duke of Chau, yet if he be proud and niggardly, those other things are really not worth being
- 12 The Master said, "It is not easy to find a man who has learned for three years without coming to be good."

13 The Master said, "With sincere faith he unites the love of learning; holding firm to death, he is perfecting the excellence of his course.

"Such an one will not enter a tottering State, nor dwell in a disorganized one. When right principles of government prevail in the kingdom, he will show himself; when they are prostrated, he will keep concealed.

"When a country is well-governed, poverty and a mean condition are things to be ashamed of. When a country is illgoverned, riches and honour are things to be ashamed of."

- 14 The Master said, "He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties."
- 15 The Master said, "When the music master Chih first entered on his office, the finish of the Kwan Tsu was magnificent;—how it filled the ears!"
- 16 The Master said, "Ardent and yet not upright; stupid and yet not attentive; simple and yet not sincere:—such persons I do not understand."
- 17 The Master said, "Learn as if you could not reach you object, and were always fearing also lest you should lose it."
- 18 The Master said, "How majestic was the manner in which Shun and Yu held possession of the empire, as if it were nothing to them!"
- 19 The Master said, "Great indeed was Yao as a sovereign! How majestic was he! It is only Heaven that is grand, and only Yao corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it.

"How majestic was he in the works which he accomplished! How glorious in the elegant regulations which he instituted!"

20 Shun had five ministers, and the empire was well-governed.

King Wu said, "I have ten able ministers."

Confucius said, "Is not the saying that talents are difficult to find, true? Only when the dynasties of Tang and Yu met, were they more abundant than in this of Chau, yet there was a woman among them. The able ministers were no more than nine men.

"King Wan possessed two of the three parts of the empire, and with those he served the dynasty of Yin. The virtue of the house of Chau may be said to have reached the highest point indeed."

21 The Master said, "I can find no flaw in the character of Yu. He used himself coarse food and drink, but displayed the utmost filial piety towards the spirits. His ordinary garments were poor, but he displayed the utmost elegance in his sacrificial cap and apron. He lived in a low mean house, but expended all his strength on the ditches and water-channels. I can find nothing like a flaw in Yu."

### ANALECTS CHAPTER 9. TSZE HAN.

1 The subjects of which the Master seldom spoke were profitableness, and also the appointments of Heaven, and perfect virtue.

2 A man of the village of Ta-hsiang said, "Great indeed is the philosopher K'ung! His learning is extensive, and yet he does not render his name famous by any particular thing."

The Master heard the observation, and said to his disciples, "What shall I practise? Shall I practise charioteering, or shall I practise archery? I will practise charioteering."

3 The Master said, "The linen cap is that prescribed by the rules of ceremony, but now a silk one is worn. It is economical, and I follow the common practice.

"The rules of ceremony prescribe the bowing below the hall, but now the practice is to bow only after ascending it. That is arrogant. I continue to bow below the hall, though I oppose the common practice."

4 There were four things from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism.

5 The Master was put in fear in K'wang.

He said, "After the death of King Wan, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me?

"If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me?"

6 A high officer asked Tsze-kung, saying, "May we not say that your Master is a sage? How various is his ability!"

Tsze-kung said, "Certainly Heaven has endowed him unlimitedly. He is about a sage. And, moreover, his ability is various."

The Master heard of the conversation and said, "Does the high officer know me? When I was young, my condition was low, and therefore I acquired my ability in many things, but they were mean matters. Must the superior man have such variety of ability? He does not need variety of ability."

Lao said, "The Master said, 'Having no official employment,

Lao said, "The Master said, 'Having no official employment I acquired many arts.'"

7 The Master said, "Am I indeed possessed of knowledge? I am not knowing. But if a mean person, who appears quite empty-like, ask anything of me, I set it forth from one end to the other, and exhaust it."

8 The Master said, "The fang bird does not come; the river sends forth no map:—it is all over with me!"

9 When the Master saw a person in a mourning dress, or any one with the cap and upper and lower garments of full dress, or a blind person, on observing them approaching, though they were younger than himself, he would rise up, and if he had to pass by them, he would do so hastily.

10 Yen Yuan, in admiration of the Master's doctrines, sighed and said, "I looked up to them, and they seemed to become more high; I tried to penetrate them, and they seemed to become more firm; I looked at them before me, and suddenly they seemed to be behind.

"The Master, by orderly method, skilfully leads men on. He enlarged my mind with learning, and taught me the restraints of propriety.

"When I wish to give over the study of his doctrines, I cannot do so, and having exerted all my ability, there seems something to stand right up before me; but though I wish to follow and lay hold of it, I really find no way to do so."

11 The Master being very ill, Tsze-lu wished the disciples to act as ministers to him.

During a remission of his illness, he said, "Long has the conduct of Yu been deceitful! By pretending to have ministers when I have them not, whom should I impose upon? Should I impose upon Heaven?

"Moreover, than that I should die in the hands of ministers, is it not better that I should die in the hands of you, my disciples? And though I may not get a great burial, shall I die upon the road?"

12 Tsze-kung said, "There is a beautiful gem here. Should I lay it up in a case and keep it? or should I seek for a good price and sell it?" The Master said, "Sell it! Sell it! But I would wait for one to offer the price."

13 The Master was wishing to go and live among the nine wild tribes of the east.

Some one said, "They are rude. How can you do such a thing?" The Master said, "If a superior man dwelt among them, what rudeness would there be?"

14 The Master said, "I returned from Wei to Lu, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in the Royal songs and Praise songs all found their proper places."

15 The Master said, "Abroad, to serve the high ministers and nobles; at home, to serve one's father and elder brothers; in all duties to the dead, not to dare not to exert one's self; and not to be overcome of wine:—which one of these things do lattain to?"

16 The Master standing by a stream, said, "It passes on just like this, not ceasing day or night!"

17 The Master said, "I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

18 The Master said, "The prosecution of learning may be compared to what may happen in raising a mound. If there want but one basket of earth to complete the work, and I stop, the stopping is my own work. It may be compared to throwing down the earth on the level ground. Though but one basketful is thrown at a time, the advancing with it is my own going forward."

19 The Master said, "Never flagging when I set forth anything to him;—ah! that is Hui."

20 The Master said of Yen Yuan, "Alas! I saw his constant advance. I never saw him stop in his progress."
21 The Master said, "There are cases in which the blade

21 The Master said, "There are cases in which the blade springs, but the plant does not go on to flower! There are cases where it flowers, but no fruit is subsequently produced!"

22 The Master said, "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present? If he reach the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect."

23 The Master said, "Can men refuse to assent to the words of strict admonition? But it is reforming the conduct because of them which is valuable. Can men refuse to be pleased with words of gentle advice? But it is unfolding their aim which is valuable. If a man be pleased with these words, but does not unfold their aim, and assents to those, but does not reform his conduct, I can really do nothing with him."

24 The Master said, "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles. Have no friends not equal to yourself. When you have faults, do not fear to abandon them."

25 The Master said, "The commander of the forces of a large state may be carried off, but the will of even a common man cannot be taken from him."

26 The Master said, "Dressed himself in a tattered robe quilted with hemp, yet standing by the side of men dressed in furs, and not ashamed;—ah! it is Yu who is equal to this!

"'He dislikes none, he covets nothing;—what can he do but what is good!"

Tsze-lu kept continually repeating these words of the ode, when the Master said, "Those things are by no means sufficient to constitute (perfect) excellence."

27 The Master said, "When the year becomes cold, then we

27 The Master said, "When the year becomes cold, then we know how the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves."

28 The Master said, "The wise are free from perplexities; the virtuous from anxiety: and the bold from fear."

29 The Master said, "There are some with whom we may study in common, but we shall find them unable to go along with us to principles. Perhaps we may go on with them to principles, but we shall find them unable to get established in those along with us. Or if we may get so established along with them, we shall find them unable to weigh occurring events along with us."

30 How the flowers of the aspen-plum flutter and turn! Do I not think of you? But your house is distant.

The Master said, "It is the want of thought about it. How is it distant?"

#### ANALECTS CHAPTER 10. HEANG TANG.

1 Confucius, in his village, looked simple and sincere, and as if he were not able to speak.

When he was in the prince's ancestorial temple, or in the court, he spoke minutely on every point, but cautiously.

2 When he was waiting at court, in speaking with the great officers of the lower grade, he spake freely, but in a straightforward manner; in speaking with those of the higher grade, he did so blandly, but precisely.

When the ruler was present, his manner displayed respectful uneasiness; it was grave, but self-possessed.

3 When the prince called him to employ him in the reception of a visitor, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to move forward with difficulty.

He inclined himself to the other officers among whom he stood, moving his left or right arm, as their position required, but keeping the skirts of his robe before and behind evenly adjusted.

He hastened forward, with his arms like the wings of a bird.
When the guest had retired, he would report to the prince,
"The visitor is not turning round any more."

4 When he entered the palace gate, he seemed to bend his body, as if it were not sufficient to admit him.

When he was standing, he did not occupy the middle of the gate-way; when he passed in or out, he did not tread upon the threshold.

When he was passing the vacant place of the prince, his countenance appeared to change, and his legs to bend under him, and his words came as if he hardly had breath to utter them

He ascended the reception hall, holding up his robe with both his hands, and his body bent; holding in his breath also, as if he dared not breathe.

When he came out from the audience, as soon as he had descended one step, he began to relax his countenance, and had a satisfied look. When he had got to the bottom of the steps, he advanced rapidly to his place, with his arms like wings, and on occupying it, his manner still showed respectful uneasiness.

5 When he was carrying the scepter of his ruler, he seemed to bend his body, as if he were not able to bear its weight. He did not hold it higher than the position of the hands in making a bow, nor lower than their position in giving anything to another. His countenance seemed to change, and look apprehensive, and he dragged his feet along as if they were held by something to the ground.

In presenting the presents with which he was charged, he wore a placid appearance.

At his private audience, he looked highly pleased.

6 The superior man did not use a deep purple, or a puce colour, in the ornaments of his dress.

Even in his undress, he did not wear anything of a red or reddish colour.

In warm weather, he had a single garment either of coarse or fine texture, but he wore it displayed over an inner garment. Over lamb's fur he wore a garment of black; over fawn's fur one of white; and over fox's fur one of vellow.

The fur robe of his undress was long, with the right sleeve short.

He required his sleeping dress to be half as long again as his body.

When staving at home, he used thick furs of the fox or the

badger.

When he put off mourning, he wore all the appendages of

the girdle.

His under-garment, except when it was required to be of the curtain shape, was made of silk cut narrow above and wide

below.

He did not wear lamb's fur or a black cap, on a visit of condolence.

On the first day of the month he put on his court robes, and presented himself at court.

7 When fasting, he thought it necessary to have his clothes brightly clean and made of linen cloth.

When fasting, he thought it necessary to change his food, and also to change the place where he commonly sat in the anartment

8 He did not dislike to have his rice finely cleaned, nor to have his minced meat cut quite small.

He did not eat rice which had been injured by heat or damp and turned sour, nor fish or flesh which was gone. He did not eat what was discoloured, or what was of a bad flavour, nor anything which was ill-cooked, or was not in season.

He did not eat meat which was not cut properly, nor what was served without its proper sauce.

Though there might be a large quantity of meat, he would not allow what he took to exceed the due proportion for the rice. It was only in wine that he laid down no limit for himself, but he did not allow himself to be confused by it.

He did not partake of wine and dried meat bought in the market.

He was never without ginger when he ate.

He did not eat much.

When he had been assisting at the prince's sacrifice, he did not keep the flesh which he received overnight. The flesh of his family sacrifice he did not keep over three days. If kept over three days, people could not eat it.

When eating, he did not converse. When in bed, he did not speak

Although his food might be coarse rice and vegetable soup, he would offer a little of it in sacrifice with a grave, respectful air.

9 If his mat was not straight, he did not sit on it.

10 When the villagers were drinking together, on those who carried staffs going out, he went out immediately after.

When the villagers were going through their ceremonies to drive away pestilential influences, he put on his court robes and stood on the eastern steps.

11 When he was sending complimentary inquiries to any one in another State, he bowed twice as he escorted the messenger away.

Chi K'ang having sent him a present of physic, he bowed and received it, saying, "I do not know it. I dare not taste it."

12 The stable being burned down, when he was at court, on his return he said, "Has any man been hurt?" He did not ask about the horses.

13 When the prince sent him a gift of cooked meat, he would adjust his mat, first taste it, and then give it away to others. When the prince sent him a gift of undressed meat, he would have it cooked, and offer it to the spirits of his ancestors. When the prince sent him a gift of a living animal, he would keep it alive.

When he was in attendance on the prince and joining in the entertainment, the prince only sacrificed. He first tasted everything.

When he was ill and the prince came to visit him, he had his head to the east, made his court robes be spread over him, and drew his girdle across them.

When the prince's order called him, without waiting for his carriage to be yoked, he went at once.

14 When he entered the ancestral temple of the State, he asked about everything.

15 When any of his friends died, if he had no relations who could be depended on for the necessary offices, he would say, "I will bury him."

When a friend sent him a present, though it might be a carriage and horses, he did not bow.

The only present for which he bowed was that of the flesh of sacrifice.

16 In bed, he did not lie like a corpse. At home, he did not put on any formal deportment.

When he saw any one in a mourning dress, though it might be an acquaintance, he would change countenance; when he saw any one wearing the cap of full dress, or a blind person, though he might be in his undress, he would salute them in a ceremonious manner.

To any person in mourning he bowed forward to the crossbar of his carriage; he bowed in the same way to any one bearing the tables of population.

When he was at an entertainment where there was an abundance of provisions set before him, he would change countenance and rise up.

countenance and rise up.

On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change countenance.

17 When he was about to mount his carriage, he would stand straight, holding the cord.

When he was in the carriage, he did not turn his head quite round, he did not talk hastily, he did not point with his hands.

18 Seeing the countenance, it instantly rises. It flies round, and by and by settles.

The Master said, "There is the hen-pheasant on the hill

The Master said, "There is the hen-pheasant on the hill bridge. At its season! At its season!" Tsze-lu made a motion to it. Thrice it smelt him and then rose..

# ANALECTS CHAPTER 11. HSIEN TSIN.

1 The Master said, "The men of former times, in the matters of ceremonies and music were rustics, it is said, while the men of these latter times, in ceremonies and music, are accomplished gentlemen.

"If I have occasion to use those things, I follow the men of former times."

2 The Master said, "Of those who were with me in Ch'an and Ts'ai, there are none to be found to enter my door."

Distinguished for their virtuous principles and practice, there were Yen Yuan, Min Tsze-ch'ien, Zan Po-niu, and Chung-kung; for their ability in speech, Tsai Wo and Tsze-kung; for their administrative talents, Zan Yu and Chi Lu; for their literary acquirements, Tsze-yu and Tsze-hsia.

3 The Master said, "Hui gives me no assistance. There is nothing that I say in which he does not delight."

4 The Master said, "Filial indeed is Min Tsze-ch'ien! Other people say nothing of him different from the report of his parents and brothers."

5 Nan Yung was frequently repeating the lines about a white scepter stone. Confucius gave him the daughter of his elder brother to wife.

6 Chi K'ang asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him, "There was Yen Hui; he loved to learn. Unfortunately his appointed time was short, and he died. Now there is no one who loves to learn, as he did."

7 When Yen Yuan died, Yen Lu begged the carriage of the Master to sell and get an outer shell for his son's coffin.

The Master said, "Every one calls his son his son, whether he has talents or has not talents. There was Li; when he died, he had a coffin but no outer shell. I would not walk on foot to get a shell for him, because, having followed in the rear of the great officers, it was not proper that I should walk on foot."

8 When Yen Yuan died, the Master said, "Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!"

9 When Yen Yuan died, the Master bewailed him exceedingly, and the disciples who were with him said, "Master, your grief is excessive?"

"Is it excessive?" said he.

"If I am not to mourn bitterly for this man, for whom should I mourn?"  $\,$ 

10 When Yen Yuan died, the disciples wished to give him a great funeral, and the Master said, "You may not do so."

The disciples did bury him in great style.

The Master said, "Hui behaved towards me as his father. I have not been able to treat him as my son. The fault is not mine; it belongs to you, O disciples."

11 Chi Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" Chi Lu added, "I venture to ask about death?" He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"

12 The disciple Min was standing by his side, looking bland and precise; Tsze-lu, looking bold and soldierly; Zan Yu and Tsze-kung, with a free and straightforward manner. The Master was pleased

Master was pleased.

He said, "Yu, there!—he will not die a natural death."

13 Some parties in Lu were going to take down and rebuild the Long Treasury.

Min Tsze-ch'ien said, "Suppose it were to be repaired after its old style;—why must it be altered and made anew?"

The Master said, "This man seldom speaks; when he does, he is sure to hit the point."

14 The Master said, "What has the lute of Yu to do in my

14 The Master said, "What has the lute of Yu to do in my door?"

The other disciples began not to respect Tsze-lu. The Master said, "Yu has ascended to the hall, though he has not yet passed into the inner apartments."

15 Tsze-kung asked which of the two, Shih or Shang, was the superior. The Master said, "Shih goes beyond the due mean, and Shang does not come up to it."

"Then," said Tsze-kung, "the superiority is with Shih, I suppose."

The Master said, "To go beyond is as wrong as to fall short"

16 The head of the Chi family was richer than the duke of Chau had been, and yet Ch'iu collected his imposts for him, and increased his wealth.

The Master said, "He is no disciple of mine. My little children, beat the drum and assail him."

17 Ch'ai is simple.

Shan is dull. Shih is specious.

Yu is coarse.

18 The Master said, "There is Hui! He has nearly attained to perfect virtue. He is often in want.

"Ts'ze does not acquiesce in the appointments of Heaven, and his goods are increased by him. Yet his judgements are often correct."

19 Tsze-chang asked what were the characteristics of the good man. The Master said, "He does not tread in the footsteps of others, but moreover, he does not enter the chamber of the sage."

20 The Master said, "If, because a man's discourse appears solid and sincere, we allow him to be a good man, is he really a superior man? or is his gravity only in appearance?"

21 Tsze-lu asked whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard. The Master said, "There are your father and elder brothers to be consulted;—why should you act on that principle of immediately carrying into practice what you hear?" Zan Yu asked the same, whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard, and the Master answered, "Immediately carry into practice what you hear."

Kung-hsi Hwa said, "Yu asked whether he should carry immediately into practice what he heard, and you said, 'There are your father and elder brothers to be consulted.' Ch'iu asked whether he should immediately carry into practice what he heard, and you said, 'Carry it immediately into practice.' I, Ch'ih, am perplexed, and venture to ask you for an explanation." The Master said, "Ch'iu is retiring and slow; therefore, I urged him forward. Yu has more than his own share of energy: therefore I kept him back."

22 The Master was put in fear in K'wang and Yen Yuan fell behind. The Master, on his rejoining him, said, "I thought you had died." Hui replied, "While you were alive, how should I presume to die?"

23 Chi Tsze-zan asked whether Chung Yu and Zan Ch'iu could be called great ministers.

The Master said, "I thought you would ask about some extraordinary individuals, and you only ask about Yu and Chin!

"What is called a great minister, is one who serves his prince according to what is right, and when he finds he cannot do so, retires

"Now, as to Yu and Ch'iu, they may be called ordinary ministers."

Tsze-zan said, "Then they will always follow their chief;—will they?"

The Master said, "In an act of parricide or regicide, they would not follow him."

24 Tsze-lu got Tsze-kao appointed governor of Pi.

The Master said, "You are injuring a man's son."

Tsze-lu said, "There are (there) common people and officers; there are the altars of the spirits of the land and grain. Why must one read books before he can be considered to have learned?"

The Master said, "It is on this account that I hate your glib-tongued people."

25 Tsze-lu, Tsang Hsi, Zan Yu, and Kung-hsi Hwa were sitting by the Master.

He said to them, "Though I am a day or so older than you, do not think of that.

"From day to day you are saying, 'We are not known.' If some ruler were to know you, what would you like to do?"

Tsze-lu hastily and lightly replied, "Suppose the case of a State of ten thousand chariots; let it be straitened between other large States; let it be suffering from invading armies; and to this let there be added a famine in corn and in all vegetables:—if I were intrusted with the government of it, in three years" time I could make the people to be bold, and to recognise the rules of righteous conduct." The Master smiled at him.

Turning to Yen Yu, he said, "Ch'iu, what are your wishes?" Ch'iu replied, "Suppose a state of sixty or seventy li square, or one of fifty or sixty, and let me have the government of it;—in three years" time, I could make plenty to abound among the people. As to teaching them the principles of propriety, and music, I must wait for the rise of a superior man to do that."

"What are your wishes, Ch'ih," said the Master next to

"What are your wishes, Ch'ih," said the Master next to Kung-hsi Hwa. Ch'ih replied, "I do not say that my ability extends to these things, but I should wish to learn them. At the services of the ancestral temple, and at the audiences of the princes with the sovereign, I should like, dressed in the dark square-made robe and the black linen cap, to act as a small assistant."

Last of all, the Master asked Tsang Hsi, "Tien, what are your wishes?" Tien, pausing as he was playing on his lute, while it was yet twanging, laid the instrument aside, and rose. "My wishes," he said, "are different from the cherished purposes of these three gentlemen." "What harm is there in that?" said the Master; "do you also, as well as they, speak out your wishes." Tien then said, "In this, the last month of spring, with the dress of the season all complete, along with five or six young men who have assumed the cap, and six or seven boys, I would wash in the I, enjoy the breeze among the rain altars, and return home singing." The Master heaved a sigh and said, "I give my approval to Tien."

The three others having gone out, Tsang Hsi remained behind, and said, "What do you think of the words of these three friends?" The Master replied, "They simply told each one his wishes."

Hsi pursued, "Master, why did you smile at Yu?"

He was answered, "The management of a State demands the rules of propriety. His words were not humble; therefore I smiled at him."

Hsi again said, "But was it not a State which Ch'iu proposed for himself?" The reply was, "Yes; did you ever see a territory of sixty or seventy li or one of fifty or sixty, which was not a State?"

Once more, Hsi inquired, "And was it not a State which Ch'ih proposed for himself?" The Master again replied, "Yes; who but princes have to do with ancestral temples, and with audiences but the sovereign? If Ch'ih were to be a small assistant in these services, who could be a great one?

### ANALECTS CHAPTER 12. YEN YUAN.

1 Yen Yuan asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him. Is the practice of perfect virtue from a man himself, or is it from others?"

Yen Yuan said, "I beg to ask the steps of that process." The Master replied, "Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety." Yen Yuan then said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practise this lesson."

2 Chung-kung asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, when you go abroad, to behave to every one as if you were receiving a great guest; to employ the people as if you were assisting at a great sacrifice; not to do to others as you would not wish done to yourself; to have no murmuring against you in the country, and none in the family." Chung-kung said, "Though I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will make it my business to practise this lesson."

3 Sze-ma Niu asked about perfect virtue.

The Master said, "The man of perfect virtue is cautious and slow in his speech."

"Cautious and slow in his speech!" said Niu;—"is this what is meant by perfect virtue?" The Master said, "When a man feels the difficulty of doing, can he be other than cautious and slow in speaking?"

4 Sze-ma Niu asked about the superior man. The Master said, "The superior man has neither anxiety nor fear."

"Being without anxiety or fear!" said Nui;—"does this constitute what we call the superior man?"

The Master said, "When internal examination discovers

The Master said, "When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"

5 Sze-ma Niu, full of anxiety, said, "Other men all have their brothers, I only have not."

Tsze-hsia said to him, "There is the following saying which I have heard:—

"Death and life have their determined appointment; riches and honours depend upon Heaven."

"Let the superior man never fail reverentially to order his own conduct, and let him be respectful to others and observant of propriety:—then all within the four seas will be his brothers. What has the superior man to do with being distressed because he has no brothers?"

6 Tsze-chang asked what constituted intelligence. The Master said, "He with whom neither slander that gradually soaks into the mind, nor statements that startle like a wound in the flesh, are successful, may be called intelligent indeed. Yea, he with whom neither soaking slander, nor startling statements, are successful, may be called farseeing."

7 Tsze-kung asked about government. The Master said, "The requisites of government are that there be sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

Tsze-kung said, "If it cannot be helped, and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be foregone first?" "The military equipment," said the Master.

Tsze-kung again asked, "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be foregone?" The Master answered, "Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of all men; but if the people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state."

8 Chi Tsze-ch'ang said, "In a superior man it is only the substantial qualities which are wanted;—why should we seek for ornamental accomplishments?"

Tsze-kung said, "Alas! Your words, sir, show you to be a superior man, but four horses cannot overtake the tongue.

Ornament is as substance; substance is as ornament. The hide of a tiger or a leopard stripped of its hair, is like the hide of a dog or a goat stripped of its hair."

9 The Duke Ai inquired of Yu Zo, saying, "The year is one of scarcity, and the returns for expenditure are not sufficient;—what is to be done?"

Yu Zo replied to him, "Why not simply tithe the people?"

"With two tenths, said the duke, "I find it not enough;—how could I do with that system of one tenth?"

Yu Zo answered, "If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their prince cannot enjoy plenty alone."

10 Tsze-chang having asked how virtue was to be exalted, and delusions to be discovered, the Master said, "Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles, and be moving continually to what is right;—this is the way to exalt one's virtue.

"You love a man and wish him to live; you hate him and wish him to die. Having wished him to live, you also wish him to die. This is a case of delusion.

"'It may not be on account of her being rich, yet you come to make a difference."'

11 The Duke Ching, of Ch'i, asked Confucius about government.

Confucius replied, "There is government, when the prince is prince, and the minister is minister; when the father is father, and the son is son."

"Good!" said the duke; "if, indeed; the prince be not prince, the minister not minister, the father not father, and the son not son, although I have my revenue, can I enjoy it?"

12 The Master said, "Ah! it is Yu, who could with half a word settle litigations!"

Tsze-lu never slept over a promise.

13 The Master said, "In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigations."

14 Tsze-chang asked about government. The Master said, "The art of governing is to keep its affairs before the mind without weariness, and to practise them with undeviating consistency."

15 The Master said, "By extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, one may thus likewise not err from what is right."

16 The Master said, "The superior man seeks to perfect the admirable qualities of men, and does not seek to perfect their bad qualities. The mean man does the opposite of this."

17 Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, "To govern means to rectify. If you lead on the people with correctness, who will dare not to be correct?"

18 Chi K'ang, distressed about the number of thieves in the state, inquired of Confucius how to do away with them. Confucius said, "If you, sir, were not covetous, although you should reward them to do it, they would not steal."

19 Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying, "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied, "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good. The relation between superiors and inferiors, is like that between the wind and the grass. The grass must bend, when the wind blows across it."

20 Tsze-chang asked, "What must the officer be, who may be said to be distinguished?"

The Master said, "What is it you call being distinguished?"

The Master said, "What is it you call being distinguished?"
Tsze-chang replied, "It is to be heard of through the State,
to be heard of throughout his clan."

The Master said, "That is notoriety, not distinction.

"Now the man of distinction is solid and straightforward, and loves righteousness. He examines people's words, and looks at their countenances. He is anxious to humble himself to others. Such a man will be distinguished in the country; he will be distinguished in his clan.

"As to the man of notoriety, he assumes the appearance of virtue, but his actions are opposed to it, and he rests in this character without any doubts about himself. Such a man will be heard of in the country; he will be heard of in the clan."

21 Fan Ch'ih rambling with the Master under the trees about the rain altars, said, "I venture to ask how to exalt virtue, to correct cherished evil, and to discover delusions."

The Master said, "Truly a good question!

"If doing what is to be done be made the first business, and success a secondary consideration;—is not this the way to exalt virtue? To assail one's own wickedness and not assail that of others;—is not this the way to correct cherished evil? For a morning's anger to disregard one's own life, and involve that of his parents;—is not this a case of delusion?"

22 Fan Ch'ih asked about benevolence. The Master said, "It is to love all men." He asked about knowledge. The Master said, "It is to know all men."

Fan Ch'ih did not immediately understand these answers.

The Master said, "Employ the upright and put aside all the crooked;—in this way the crooked can be made to be upright."

Fan Ch'ih retired, and, seeing Tsze-hsia, he said to him, "A Little while ago, I had an interview with our Master, and asked him about knowledge. He said, "Employ the upright, and put aside all the crooked;—in this way, the crooked will be made to be upright." What did he mean?"

Tsze-hsia said, "Truly rich is his saying!

"Shun, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed Kao-yao, on which all who were devoid of virtue disappeared. T'ang, being in possession of the kingdom, selected from among all the people, and employed I Yin, and all who were devoid of virtue disappeared."

23 Tsze-kung asked about friendship. The Master said, "Faithfully admonish your friend, and skillfully lead him on. If you find him impracticable, stop. Do not disgrace yourself."

24 The philosopher Tsang said, "The superior man on grounds of culture meets with his friends, and by their friendship helps his virtue."

ANALECTS CHAPTER 13. TSZE-LU.

1 Tsze-lu asked about government. The Master said, "Go before the people with your example, and be laborious in their affairs"

He requested further instruction, and was answered, "Be not weary (in these things)."

2 Chung-kung, being chief minister to the Head of the Chi family, asked about government. The Master said, "Employ first the services of your various officers, pardon small faults, and raise to office men of virtue and talents."

Chung-kung said, "How shall I know the men of virtue and talent, so that I may raise them to office?" He was answered, "Raise to office those whom you know. As to those whom you do not know, will others neglect them?"

3 Tsze-lu said, "The ruler of Wei has been waiting for you, in order with you to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done?"

The Master replied, "What is necessary is to rectify names."
"So, indeed!" said Tsze-lu. "You are wide of the mark! Why
must there be such rectification?"

The Master said, "How uncultivated you are, Yu! A superior man, in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve.

"If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success.

"When affairs cannot be carried on to success, proprieties and music will not flourish. When proprieties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. When punishments are not properly awarded, the people do not know how to move hand or foot.

"Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires, is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect."

4 Fan Ch'ih requested to be taught husbandry. The Master said, "I am not so good for that as an old husbandman." He requested also to be taught gardening, and was answered, "I am not so good for that as an old gardener."

Fan Ch'ih having gone out, the Master said, "A small man, indeed, is Fan Hsu!

If a superior love propriety, the people will not dare not to be reverent. If he love righteousness, the people will not dare not to submit to his example. If he love good faith, the people will not dare not to be sincere. Now, when these things obtain, the people from all quarters will come to him, bearing their children on their backs;—what need has he of a knowledge of husbandry?"

5 The Master said, "Though a man may be able to recite the three hundred odes, yet if, when intrusted with a governmental charge, he knows not how to act, or if, when sent to any quarter on a mission, he cannot give his replies unassisted, notwithstanding the extent of his learning, of what practical use is it?"

6 The Master said, "When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed."

7 The Master said, "The governments of Lu and Wei are brothers"

8 The Master said of Ching, a scion of the ducal family of Wei, that he knew the economy of a family well. When he began to have means, he said, "Ha! here is a collection!" When they were a little increased, he said, "Ha! this is complete!" When he had become rich, he said, "Ha! this is admirable!"

9 When the Master went to Wei, Zan Yu acted as driver of his carriage.

The Master observed, "How numerous are the people!"

Yu said, "Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?" "Enrich them," was the reply.

"And when they have been enriched, what more shall be done?" The Master said, "Teach them."

10 The Master said, "If there were (any of the princes) who

10 The Master said, "If there were (any of the princes) who would employ me, in the course of twelve months, I should have done something considerable. In three years, the government would be perfected."

11 The Master said, ""If good men were to govern a country in succession for a hundred years, they would be able to transform the violently bad, and dispense with capital punishments.' True indeed is this saying!"

12 The Master said, "If a truly royal ruler were to arise, it would still require a generation, and then virtue would prevail."

13 The Master said, "If a minister make his own conduct correct, what difficulty will he have in assisting in government? If he cannot rectify himself, what has he to do with rectifying others?"

14 The disciple Zan returning from the court, the Master said to him, "How are you so late?" He replied, "We had government business." The Master said, "It must have been family affairs. If there had been government business, though I am not now in office, I should have been consulted about it."

15 The Duke Ting asked whether there was a single sentence which could make a country prosperous. Confucius replied, 'Such an effect cannot be expected from one sentence.

"There is a saying, however, which people haveprince is difficult; to be a minister is not easy.'

"If a ruler knows this,-the difficulty of being a prince may there not be expected from this one sentence the

prosperity of his country?"

The duke then said, "Is there a single sentence which can ruin a country?" Confucius replied, "Such an effect as that cannot be expected from one sentence. There is, however, the saying which people have-'I have no pleasure in being a prince, but only in that no one can offer any opposition to what I say!'

"If a ruler's words be good, is it not also good that no one oppose them? But if they are not good, and no one opposes them, may there not be expected from this one sentence the ruin of his country?

16 The Duke of Sheh asked about government.

The Master said, "Good government obtains, when those who are near are made happy, and those who are far off are attracted."

17 Tsze-hsia, being governor of Chu-fu, asked about government. The Master said, "Do not be desirous to have things done quickly; do not look at small advantages. Desire to have things done quickly prevents their being done thoroughly. Looking at small advantages prevents great affairs from being accomplished."

18 The Duke of Sheh informed Confucius, saving, "Among us here there are those who may be styled upright in their conduct. If their father have stolen a sheep, they will bear witness to the fact."

Confucius said, "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this.

19 Fan Ch'ih asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "It is, in retirement, to be sedately grave; in the management of business, to be reverently attentive; in intercourse with others, to be strictly sincere. Though a man go among rude, uncultivated tribes, these qualities may not be neglected.

20 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called an officer? The Master said, 'He who in his conduct of himself maintains a sense of shame, and when sent to any quarter will not disgrace his prince's commission, deserves to be called an officer.

Tsze-kung pursued, "I venture to ask who may be placed in the next lower rank?" And he was told, "He whom the circle of his relatives pronounce to be filial, whom his fellowvillagers and neighbours pronounce to be fraternal.'

Again the disciple asked, "I venture to ask about the class still next in order." The Master said, "They are determined to be sincere in what they say, and to carry out what they do. They are obstinate little men. Yet perhaps they may make the next class '

Tsze-kung finally inquired, "Of what sort are those of the present day, who engage in government?" The Master said 'Pooh! they are so many pecks and hampers, not worth being taken into account."

21 The Master said, "Since I cannot get men pursuing the due medium, to whom I might communicate my instructions, I must find the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent will advance and lay hold of truth; the cautiously-decided will keep themselves from what is wrong."

2 The Master said, "The people of the south have a saying-'A man without constancy cannot be either a wizard or a doctor ' Good!

"Inconstant in his virtue, he will be visited with disgrace."

The Master said, "This arises simply from not attending to the prognostication.'

23 The Master said, "The superior man is affable, but not adulatory; the mean man is adulatory, but not affable.

24 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "What do you say of a man who is loved by all the people of his neighbourhood?" The Master replied, "We may not for that accord our approval of him." "And what do you say of him who is hated by all the people of his neighbourhood?" The Master said, "We may not for that conclude that he is bad. It is better than either of these cases that the good in the neighbourhood love him, and the had hate him.'

25 The Master said, "The superior man is easy to serve and difficult to please. If you try to please him in any way which is not accordant with right, he will not be pleased. But in his employment of men, he uses them according to their capacity. The mean man is difficult to serve, and easy to please. If you try to please him, though it be in a way which is not accordant with right, he may be pleased. But in his employment of men, he wishes them to be equal to everything.

26 The Master said, "The superior man has a dignified ease without pride. The mean man has pride without a dignified

27 The Master said, "The firm, the enduring, the simple, and the modest are near to virtue.'

28 Tsze-lu asked, saying, "What qualities must a man possess to entitle him to be called a scholar?" The Master said, He must be thus,—earnest, urgent, and bland:—among his friends, earnest and urgent; among his brethren, bland.

29 The Master said, "Let a good man teach the people seven

years, and they may then likewise be employed in war."

30 The Master said, "To lead an uninstructed people to war, is to throw them away."

#### ANALECTS CHAPTER 14. HSIEN WAN.

1 Hsien asked what was shameful. The Master said, "When good government prevails in a state, to be thinking only of salary; and, when bad government prevails, to be thinking, in the same way, only of salary; - this is shameful.'

2 "When the love of superiority, boasting, resentments, and covetousness are repressed, this may be deemed perfect

The Master said, "This may be regarded as the achievement of what is difficult. But I do not know that it is to be deemed perfect virtue."

3 The Master said "The scholar who cherishes the love of comfort is not fit to be deemed a scholar.

4 The Master said, "When good government prevails in a state, language may be lofty and bold, and actions the same. When bad government prevails, the actions may be lofty and bold, but the language may be with some reserve."

5 The Master said, "The virtuous will be sure to speak

correctly, but those whose speech is good may not always be virtuous. Men of principle are sure to be bold, but those who are bold may not always be men of principle.'

6 Nan-kung Kwo, submitting an inquiry to Confucius, said, "I was skillful at archery, and Ao could move a boat along upon the land, but neither of them died a natural death. Yu and Chi personally wrought at the toils of husbandry, and they became possessors of the kingdom." The Master made no reply: but when Nan-kung Kwo went out, he said, "A superior man indeed is this! An esteemer of virtue indeed is

7 The Master said, "Superior men, and yet not always virtuous, there have been, alas! But there never has been a mean man, and, at the same time, virtuous,

8 The Master said, "Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object? Can there be loyalty which does not lead to the instruction of its object?"

9 The Master said, "In preparing the governmental notifications, P'i Shan first made the rough draught; Shi-shu examined and discussed its contents; Tsze-yu, the manager of Foreign intercourse, then polished the style; and, finally, Tsze-ch'an of Tung-li gave it the proper elegance and finish.

10 Some one asked about Tsze-ch'an. The Master said, "He

He asked about Tsze-hsi. The Master said, "That man! That man!'

He asked about Kwan Chung. "For him," said the Master, 'the city of Pien, with three hundred families, was taken from the chief of the Po family, who did not utter a murmuring word, though, to the end of his life, he had only coarse rice to

11 The Master said, "To be poor without murmuring is difficult. To be rich without being proud is easy.

12 The Master said, "Mang Kung-ch'o is more than fit to be chief officer in the families of Chao and Wei, but he is not fit to be great officer to either of the States Tang or Hsieh.

13 Tsze-lu asked what constituted a complete man. The Master said, "Suppose a man with the knowledge of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kung-ch'o, the bravery of Chwang of Pien, and the varied talents of Zan Ch'iu; add to these the accomplishments of the rules of propriety and music:—such a one might be reckoned a complete man.

He then added, "But what is the necessity for a complete man of the present day to have all these things? The man, who in the view of gain, thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; and who does not forget an old agreement however far back it extends:-such a man may be reckoned a complete man.'

14 The Master asked Kung-ming Chia about Kung-shu Wan, saying, "Is it true that your master speaks not, laughs not, and takes not?'

Kung-ming Chia replied, "This has arisen from the reporters going beyond the truth.-My master speaks when it is the time to speak, and so men do not get tired of his speaking. He laughs when there is occasion to be joyful, and so men do not get tired of his laughing. He takes when it is consistent with righteousness to do so, and so men do not get tired of his taking." The Master said, "So! But is it so with

15 The Master said, "Tsang Wu-chung, keeping possession of Fang, asked of the duke of Lu to appoint a successor to him in his family. Although it may be said that he was not using force with his sovereign, I believe he was.

16 The Master said, "The duke Wan of Tsin was crafty and not upright. The duke Hwan of Ch'i was upright and not

17 Tsze-lu said. "The Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, when Shao Hu died with his master, but Kwan Chung did not die. May not I say that he was wanting in

The Master said, "The Duke Hwan assembled all the princes together, and that not with weapons of war and chariots:-it was all through the influence of Kwan Chung. Whose beneficence was like his? Whose beneficence was like his?"

18 Tsze-kung said, "Kwan Chung, I apprehend, was wanting in virtue. When the Duke Hwan caused his brother Chiu to be killed, Kwan Chung was not able to die with him. Moreover, he became prime minister to Hwan.'

The Master said, "Kwan Chung acted as prime minister to the Duke Hwan, made him leader of all the princes, and united and rectified the whole kingdom. Down to the present day, the people enjoy the gifts which he conferred. But for Kwan Chung, we should now be wearing our hair unbound, and the lappets of our coats buttoning on the left side.

"Will you require from him the small fidelity of common men and common women, who would commit suicide in a stream or ditch, no one knowing anything about them?'

19 The great officer. Hsien, who had been family-minister to Kung-shu Wan, ascended to the prince's court in company

The Master, having heard of it, said, "He deserved to be considered wan (the accomplished)."

20 The Master was speaking about the unprincipled course of the duke Ling of Wei, when Ch'i K'ang said, "Since he is of such a character, how is it he does not lose his State?'

Confucius said, "The Chung-shu Yu superintendence of his guests and of strangers; the litanist, T'o, has the management of his ancestral temple; and Wang-sun Chia has the direction of the army and forces:-with such officers as these, how should he lose his State?'

21 The Master said. "He who speaks without modesty will find it difficult to make his words good.

22 Chan Ch'ang murdered the Duke Chien of Ch'i.

Confucius bathed, went to court, and informed the duke Ai, saying, "Chan Hang has slain his sovereign. I beg that you will undertake to punish him."

The duke said, "Inform the chiefs of the three families of it."

Confucius retired, and said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter, and my prince says, 'Inform the chiefs of the three families of

He went to the chiefs, and informed them, but they would not act. Confucius then said, "Following in the rear of the great officers, I did not dare not to represent such a matter.

23 Tsze-lu asked how a ruler should be served. The Master said, "Do not impose on him, and, moreover, withstand him to his face.

24 The Master said, "The progress of the superior man is upwards; the progress of the mean man is downwards.

25 The Master said, "In ancient times, men learned with a view to their own improvement. Now-a-days, men learn with a view to the approbation of others.

26 Chu Po-yu sent a messenger with friendly inquiries to

Confucius sat with him, and questioned him. "What," said he, "is your master engaged in?" The messenger replied, "My master is anxious to make his faults few, but he has not yet succeeded." He then went out, and the Master said, "A messenger indeed! A messenger indeed!'

27 The Master said, "He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its

28 The philosopher Tsang said, "The superior man, in his thoughts, does not go out of his place.'

29 The Master said, "The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions.

30 The Master said, "The way of the superior man is threefold, but I am not equal to it. Virtuous, he is free from anxieties; wise, he is free from perplexities; bold, he is free from fear

Tsze-kung said, "Master, that is what you yourself say,"

31 Tsze-kung was in the habit of comparing men together. The Master said, "Tsze must have reached a high pitch of excellence! Now, I have not leisure for this."

32 The Master said, "I will not be concerned at men's not knowing me; I will be concerned at my own want of ability.'

33 The Master said, "He who does not anticipate attempts to deceive him, nor think beforehand of his not being believed. and yet apprehends these things readily (when they occur);is he not a man of superior worth?"

34 Wei-shang Mau said to Confucius, "Ch'iu, how is it that you keep roosting about? Is it not that you are an insinuating talker?

Confucius said, "I do not dare to play the part of such a talker but I hate obstinacy '

35 The Master said, "A horse is called a ch'i, not because of its strength, but because of its other good qualities."

36 Some one said, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?"

The Master said, "With what then will you recompense kindness?

"Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness.'

37 The Master said, "Alas! there is no one that knows me." Tsze-kung said, "What do you mean by thus saying-that no one knows you?" The Master replied, "I do not murmur against

Heaven, I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low. and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven;-that

38 The Kung-po Liao, having slandered Tsze-lu to Chi-sun, Tsze-fu Ching-po informed Confucius of it, saying, "Our master is certainly being led astray by the Kung-po Liao, but I have still power enough left to cut Liao off, and expose his corpse in the market and in the court."

The Master said, "If my principles are to advance, it is so ordered. If they are to fall to the ground, it is so ordered. What can the Kung-po Liao do where such ordering is concerned?"

39 The Master said. "Some men of worth retire from the world.

Some retire from particular states.

Some retire because of disrespectful looks.

Some retire because of contradictory language."

40 The Master said, "Those who have done this are seven men

41 Tsze-lu happening to pass the night in Shih-man, the gatekeeper said to him, "Whom do you come from?" Tsze-lu said, "From Mr. K'ung." "It is he,—is it not?"other, "who knows the impracticable nature of the times and yet will be doing in them.

42 The Master was playing, one day, on a musical stone in Wei, when a man, carrying a straw basket, passed the door of the house where Confucius was, and said, "His heart is full who so beats the musical stone."

A little while after, he added, "How contemptible is the one-ideaed obstinacy those sounds display! When one is taken no notice of, he has simply at once to give over his wish for public employment. 'Deep water must be crossed with the clothes on; shallow water may be crossed with the clothes held up.

The Master said, "How determined is he in his purpose! But this is not difficult!"

43 Tsze-chang said, "What is meant when the Shu says that Kao-tsung, while observing the usual imperial mourning, was

for three years without speaking?"

The Master said, "Why must Kao-tsung be referred to as an example of this? The ancients all did so. When the sovereign died, the officers all attended to their several duties, taking instructions from the prime minister for three years.

44 The Master said, "When rulers love to observe the rules of propriety, the people respond readily to the calls on them for service

45 Tsze-lu asked what constituted the superior man. The Master said, "The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness." "And is this all?" said Tsze-lu. "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others," was the reply. "And is this all?" again asked Tsze-lu. The Master said, "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people. He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people:-even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this.

46 Yuan Zang was squatting on his heels, and so waited the approach of the Master, who said to him, "In youth not humble as befits a junior; in manhood, doing nothing worthy of being handed down; and living on to old age:—this is to be With this he hit him on the shank with his staff.

47 A youth of the village of Ch'ueh was employed by Confucius to carry the messages between him and his visitors. Some one asked about him, saying, "I suppose he has made great progress."

The Master said, "I observe that he is fond of occupying the seat of a full-grown man; I observe that he walks shoulder to shoulder with his elders. He is not one who is seeking to make progress in learning. He wishes quickly to become a man.'

# ANALECTS CHAPTER 15. WEI LING KUNG.

1 The Duke Ling of Wei asked Confucius about tactics. Confucius replied, "I have heard all about sacrificial vessels, but I have not learned military matters." On this, he took his departure the next day.

When he was in Chan, their provisions were exhausted, and his followers became so ill that they were unable to rise.

Tsze-lu, with evident dissatisfaction, said, "Has the superior man likewise to endure in this way?" The Master said, "The superior man may indeed have to endure want, but the mean man, when he is in want, gives way to unbridled license."

2 The Master said, "Ts'ze, you think, I suppose, that I am

one who learns many things and keeps them in memory?

Tsze-kung replied, "Yes,—but perhaps it is not so?

'No," was the answer; "I seek a unity all-pervading."

3 The Master said, "Yu, those who know virtue are few."

4 The Master said, "May not Shun be instanced as having governed efficiently without exertion? What did he do? He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat.

5 Tsze-chang asked how a man should conduct himself, so as

to be everywhere appreciated.

The Master said, "Let his words be sincere and truthful, and his actions honourable and careful;—such conduct may be practised among the rude tribes of the South or the North. If his words be not sincere and truthful and his actions not honourable and careful, will he, with such conduct, be appreciated, even in his neighbourhood?

When he is standing, let him see those two things, as it were, fronting him. When he is in a carriage, let him see them attached to the yoke. Then may he subsequently carry them into practice.

Tsze-chang wrote these counsels on the end of his sash.

6 The Master said, "Truly straightforward was the historiographer Yu. When good government prevailed in his State, he was like an arrow. When bad government prevailed, he was like an arrow.

A superior man indeed is Chu Po-yu! When good government prevails in his state, he is to be found in office. When bad government prevails, he can roll his principles up, and keep them in his breast."

7 The Master said, "When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken with, to speak to him is to err in reference to our words. The wise err neither in regard to their man nor to their words."

8 The Master said, "The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete."

9 Tsze-kung asked about the practice of virtue. The Master said, "The mechanic, who wishes to do his work well, must first sharpen his tools. When you are living in any state, take service with the most worthy among its great officers, and make friends of the most virtuous among its scholars."

10 Yen Yuan asked how the government of a country should be administered.

The Master said. "Follow the seasons of Hsia.

'Ride in the state carriage of Yin.

"Wear the ceremonial cap of Chau.

"Let the music be the Shao with its pantomimes.

Banish the songs of Chang, and keep far from specious talkers. The songs of Chang are licentious; specious talkers are dangerous."

11 The Master said, "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand.'

12 The Master said, "It is all over! I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."

13 The Master said, "Was not Tsang Wan like one who had stolen his situation? He knew the virtue and the talents of Hui of Liu-hsia, and yet did not procure that he should stand with him in court "

14 The Master said, "He who requires much from himself and little from others, will keep himself from being the object of resentment."

15 The Master said, "When a man is not in the habit of saying-'What shall I think of this? What shall I think of this?' I can indeed do nothing with him!"

16 The Master said, "When a number of people are together, for a whole day, without their conversation turning on righteousness, and when they are fond of carrying out the suggestions of a small shrewdness;-theirs is indeed a hard

17 The Master said, "The superior man in everything considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it according to the rules of propriety. He brings it forth in humility. He completes it with sincerity. This is indeed a superior man.

18 The Master said, "The superior man is distressed by his want of ability. He is not distressed by men's not knowing him

19 The Master said, "The superior man dislikes the thought of his name not being mentioned after his death.

20 The Master said, "What the superior man seeks, is in himself. What the mean man seeks, is in others."

21 The Master said, "The superior man is dignified, but does not wrangle. He is sociable, but not a partizan."
22 The Master said, "The superior man does not promote a

man simply on account of his words, nor does he put aside good words because of the man."

23 Tsze-kung asked, saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others."

24 The Master said, "In my dealings with men, whose evil do I blame, whose goodness do I praise, beyond what is proper? If I do sometimes exceed in praise, there must be ground for it in my examination of the individual.

"This people supplied the ground why the three dynasties pursued the path of straightforwardness.

25 The Master said, "Even in my early days, a historiographer would leave a blank in his text, and he who had a horse would lend him to another to ride. Now, alas! there are no such things.'

26 The Master said, "Specious words confound virtue.

Want of forbearance in small matters confounds great plans."
27 The Master said, "When the multitude hate a man, it is necessary to examine into the case. When the multitude like a man, it is necessary to examine into the case.

28 The Master said, "A man can enlarge the principles which he follows; those principles do not enlarge the man.

29 The Master said, "To have faults and not to reform them,-this, indeed, should be pronounced having faults.'

30 The Master said, "I have been the whole day without eating, and the whole night without sleeping:—occupied with thinking. It was of no use. The better plan is to learn.

31 The Master said, "The object of the superior man is truth. Food is not his object. There is plowing; even in that there is sometimes want. So with learning; -emolument may be found in it. The superior man is anxious lest he should not get truth; he is not anxious lest poverty should come upon him.

32 The Master said, "When a man's knowledge is sufficient to attain, and his virtue is not sufficient to enable him to hold, whatever he may have gained, he will lose again.

"When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast, if he cannot govern with dignity, the people will not respect him.

When his knowledge is sufficient to attain, and he has virtue enough to hold fast; when he governs also with dignity, yet if he try to move the people contrary to the rules of propriety:-full excellence is not reached."

33 The Master said, "The superior man cannot be known in little matters; but he may be intrusted with great concerns. The small man may not be intrusted with great concerns, but he may be known in little matters.

34 The Master said, "Virtue is more to man than either water or fire. I have seen men die from treading on water and fire, but I have never seen a man die from treading the course of virtue.'

35 The Master said, "Let every man consider virtue as what devolves on himself. He may not yield the performance of it even to his teacher.

36 The Master said, "The superior man is correctly firm, and not firm merely.'

37 The Master said, "A minister, in serving his prince, reverently discharges his duties, and makes his emolument a secondary consideration."

38 The Master said. "In teaching there should be no distinction of classes.

39 The Master said, "Those whose courses are different cannot lay plans for one another.

40 The Master said, "In language it is simply required that it convey the meaning.

41 The Music-master, Mien, having called upon him, when they came to the steps, the Master said, "Here are the steps," When they came to the mat for the guest to sit upon, he said, "Here is the mat." When all were seated, the Master informed him, saying, "So and so is here; so and so is here."

The Music-master, Mien, having gone out, Tsze-chang asked, saying. "Is it the rule to tell those things to the Musicmaster?

The Master said, "Yes. This is certainly the rule for those who lead the blind."

# ANALECTS CHAPTER 16. KE SHE.

1 The head of the Chi family was going to attack Chwan-yu. Zan Yu and Chi-lu had an interview with Confucius and said, "Our chief, Chi, is going to commence operations against Chwan-yu."

Confucius said, "Ch'iu, is it not you who are in fault here?

"Now, in regard to Chwan-yu, long ago, a former king appointed its ruler to preside over the sacrifices to the eastern Mang; moreover, it is in the midst of the territory of our State; and its ruler is a minister in direct connexion with the sovereign:-What has your chief to do with attacking it?'

Zan Yu said, "Our master wishes the thing; neither of us two ministers wishes it."

Confucius said, "Ch'iu, there are the words of Chau Zan, 'When he can put forth his ability, he takes his place in the ranks of office; when he finds himself unable to do so, he retires from it. How can he be used as a guide to a blind man, who does not support him when tottering, nor raise him up when fallen?

'And further, you speak wrongly. When a tiger or rhinoceros escapes from his cage; when a tortoise or piece of jade is injured in its repository:—whose is the fault?"

Zan Yu said, "But at present, Chwan-yu is strong and near to Pi: if our chief do not now take it, it will hereafter be a sorrow to his descendants "

Confucius said. "Ch'iu, the superior man hates that declining to say-'I want such and such a thing,' and framing explanations for the conduct.

'I have heard that rulers of States and chiefs of families are not troubled lest their people should be few, but are troubled lest they should not keep their several places; that they are not troubled with fears of poverty, but are troubled with fears of a want of contented repose among the people in their several places. For when the people keep their several places, there will be no poverty; when harmony prevails, there will be no scarcity of people; and when there is such a contented repose, there will be no rebellious upsettings.

"So it is.—Therefore, if remoter people are not submissive, all the influences of civil culture and virtue are to be cultivated to attract them to be so; and when they have been so attracted, they must be made contented and tranquil.

"Now, here are you, Yu and Ch'iu, assisting your chief. Remoter people are not submissive, and, with your help, he cannot attract them to him. In his own territory there are divisions and downfalls, leavings and separations, and, with your help, he cannot preserve it.

"And yet he is planning these hostile movements within the State.—I am afraid that the sorrow of the Chi-sun family will not be on account of Chwan-yu, but will be found within the screen of their own court."

screen of their own court."

2. Confucius said, "When good government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the son of Heaven. When bad government prevails in the empire, ceremonies, music, and punitive military expeditions proceed from the princes. When these things proceed from the princes, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in ten generations. When they proceed from the Great officers of the princes, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in five generations. When the subsidiary ministers of the great officers hold in their grasp the orders of the state, as a rule, the cases will be few in which they do not lose their power in three generations.

"When right principles prevail in the kingdom, government will not be in the hands of the Great officers.

"When right principles prevail in the kingdom, there will be no discussions among the common people."

- 3 Confucius said, "The revenue of the state has left the ducal House now for five generations. The government has been in the hands of the Great officers for four generations. On this account, the descendants of the three Hwan are much reduced."
- 4 Confucius said, "There are three friendships which are advantageous, and three which are injurious. Friendship with the upright; friendship with the sincere; and friendship with the man of much observation:—these are advantageous. Friendship with the man of specious airs; friendship with the insinuatingly soft; and friendship with the glib-tongued:—these are injurious."
- 5 Confucius said, "There are three things men find enjoyment in which are advantageous, and three things they find enjoyment in which are injurious. To find enjoyment in the discriminating study of ceremonies and music; to find enjoyment in speaking of the goodness of others; to find enjoyment in having many worthy friends:—these are advantageous. To find enjoyment in extravagant pleasures; to find enjoyment in idleness and sauntering; to find enjoyment in the pleasures of feasting:—these are injurious."
- 6 Confucius said, "There are three errors to which they who stand in the presence of a man of virtue and station are liable. They may speak when it does not come to them to speak;—this is called rashness. They may not speak when it comes to them to speak;—this is called concealment. They may speak without looking at the countenance of their superior;—this is called blindness."
- 7 Confucius said, "There are three things which the superior man guards against. In youth, when the physical powers are not yet settled, he guards against lust. When he is strong and the physical powers are full of vigor, he guards against quarrelsomeness. When he is old, and the animal powers are decayed, he guards against covetousness."
- 8 Confucius said, "There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages.

"The mean man does not know the ordinances of Heaven, and consequently does not stand in awe of them. He is disrespectful to great men. He makes sport of the words of sages."

9 Confucius said, "Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn, and so, readily, get possession of knowledge, are the next.

Those who are dull and stupid, and yet compass the learning, are another class next to these. As to those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn;—they are the lowest of the people."

10 Confucius said, "The superior man has nine things which are subjects with him of thoughtful consideration. In regard to the use of his eyes, he is anxious to see clearly. In regard to the use of his ears, he is anxious to hear distinctly. In regard to his countenance, he is anxious that it should be benign. In regard to his demeanor, he is anxious that it should be respectful. In regard to his speech, he is anxious that it should be sincere. In regard to his doing of business, he is anxious

that it should be reverently careful. In regard to what he doubts about, he is anxious to question others. When he is angry, he thinks of the difficulties (his anger may involve him in). When he sees gain to be got, he thinks of righteousness."

11 Confucius said, "Contemplating good, and pursuing it, as if they could not reach it; contemplating evil, and shrinking from it, as they would from thrusting the hand into boiling water:—I have seen such men, as I have heard such

"Living in retirement to study their aims, and practising righteousness to carry out their principles:—I have heard

righteousness to carry out their principles:—I have heard these words, but I have not seen such men." 12 The duke Ching of Ch'i had a thousand teams, each of

12 Ine duke Ching of Ch'i had a thousand teams, each of four horses, but on the day of his death, the people did not praise him for a single virtue. Po-i and Shu-ch'i died of hunger at the foot of the Shau-yang mountain, and the people, down to the present time, praise them.

"Is not that saying illustrated by this?"

words.

13 Ch'an K'ang asked Po-yu, saying, "Have you heard any lessons from your father different from what we have all heard?"

Po-yu replied, "No. He was standing alone once, when I passed below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, 'Have you learned the Odes?' On my replying 'Not yet,' he added, 'If you do not learn the Odes, you will not be fit to converse with.' I retired and studied the Odes.

"Another day, he was in the same way standing alone, when I passed by below the hall with hasty steps, and said to me, "Have you learned the rules of Propriety?" On my replying "Not yet," he added, "If you do not learn the rules of Propriety, your character cannot be established." I then retired, and learned the rules of Propriety.

"I have heard only these two things from him."

Ch'ang K'ang retired, and, quite delighted, said, "I asked one thing, and I have got three things. I have heard about the Odes. I have heard about the rules of Propriety. I have also heard that the superior man maintains a distant reserve towards his son."

14 The wife of the prince of a state is called by him fu zan. She calls herself hsiao t'ung. The people of the State call her chun fu zan, and, to the people of other States, they call her k'wa hsiao chun. The people of other states also call her chun fu zan

#### ANALECTS CHAPTER 17, YANG HO.

I Yang Ho wished to see Confucius, but Confucius would not go to see him. On this, he sent a present of a pig to Confucius, who, having chosen a time when Ho was not at home, went to pay his respects for the gift. He met him, however, on the way.

Ho said to Confucius, "Come, let me speak with you." He then asked, "Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his bosom, and leaves his country to confusion?" Confucius replied, "No." "Can he be called wise, who is anxious to be engaged in public employment, and yet is constantly losing the opportunity of being so?" Confucius again said, "No." "The days and months are passing away; the years do not wait for us." Confucius said, "Right; I will go into office."

2 The Master said, "By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart."

3 The Master said, "There are only the wise of the highest class, and the stupid of the lowest class, who cannot be changed."

4 The Master, having come to Wu-ch'ang, heard there the sound of stringed instruments and singing.

Well pleased and smiling, he said, "Why use an ox knife to kill a fowl?"

Tsze-yu replied, "Formerly, Master, I heard you say,— 'When the man of high station is well instructed, he loves men; when the man of low station is well instructed, he is easily ruled."

The Master said, "My disciples, Yen's words are right. What I said was only in sport."

5 Kung-shan Fu-zao, when he was holding Pi, and in an attitude of rebellion, invited the Master to visit him, who was rather inclined to go.

Tsze-lu was displeased, and said, "Indeed, you cannot go! Why must you think of going to see Kung-shan?"

The Master said, "Can it be without some reason that he has invited me? If any one employ me, may I not make an eastern Chau?"

6 Tsze-chang asked Confucius about perfect virtue. Confucius said, "To be able to practise five things everywhere under heaven constitutes perfect virtue." He begged to ask what they were, and was told, "Gravity, generosity of soul, sincerity, earnestness, and kindness. If you are grave, you will not be treated with disrespect. If you are generous, you will win all. If you are sincere, people will repose trust in you. If you are earnest, you will accomplish much. If you are kind, this will enable you to employ the services of others.

7 Pi Hsi inviting him to visit him, the Master was inclined to go.

Tsze-lu said, "Master, formerly I have heard you say, 'When a man in his own person is guilty of doing evil, a superior man

will not associate with him.' Pi Hsi is in rebellion, holding possession of Chung-mau; if you go to him, what shall be said?"

The Master said, "Yes, I did use these words. But is it not said, that, if a thing be really hard, it may be ground without being made thin? Is it not said, that, if a thing be really white, it may be steeped in a dark fluid without being made black?

"Am I a bitter gourd! How can I be hung up out of the way of being eaten?"

8 The Master said, "Yu, have you heard the six words to which are attached six becloudings?" Yu replied, "I have not." "Sit down, and I will tell them to you.

"There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to a foolish simplicity. There is the love of knowing without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to dissipation of mind. There is the love of being sincere without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to an injurious disregard of consequences. There is the love of straightforwardness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to rudeness. There is the love of boldness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning;—the beclouding here leads to extravagant conduct."

9 The Master said, "My children, why do you not study the Book of Poetry?

"The Odes serve to stimulate the mind.

"They may be used for purposes of self-contemplation.

"They teach the art of sociability.

"They show how to regulate feelings of resentment.

"From them you learn the more immediate duty of serving one's father, and the remoter one of serving one's prince.

"From them we become largely acquainted with the names of birds, beasts, and plants."

10 The Master said to Po-yu, "Do you give yourself to the Chau-nan and the Shao-nan. The man who has not studied the Chau-nan and the Shao-nan, is like one who stands with his face right against a wall. Is he not so?"

11 The Master said, ""It is according to the rules of propriety,' they say.—'It is according to the rules of propriety,' they say. Are gems and silk all that is meant by propriety? 'It is music,' they say.—'It is music,' they say. Are bells and drums all that is meant by music?"

12 The Master said, "He who puts on an appearance of stern firmness, while inwardly he is weak, is like one of the small, mean people;—yea, is he not like the thief who breaks through, or climbs over, a wall?"

through, or climbs over, a wall?"
13 The Master said, "Your good, careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue."

14 The Master said, "To tell, as we go along, what we have heard on the way, is to cast away our virtue."

15 The Master said, "There are those mean creatures! How impossible it is along with them to serve one's prince!

"While they have not got their aims, their anxiety is how to get them. When they have got them, their anxiety is lest they should lose them.

"When they are anxious lest such things should be lost, there is nothing to which they will not proceed."

16 The Master said, "Anciently, men had three failings, which now perhaps are not to be found.

"The high-mindedness of antiquity showed itself in a disregard of small things; the high-mindedness of the present day shows itself in wild license. The stern dignity of antiquity showed itself in grave reserve; the stern dignity of the present day shows itself in quarrelsome perverseness. The stupidity of antiquity showed itself in straightforwardness; the stupidity of the present day shows itself in straightforwardness; the stupidity of the present day shows itself in sheer deceit."

17 The Master said, "Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with virtue."

18 The Master said, "I hate the manner in which purple takes away the luster of vermilion. I hate the way in which the songs of Chang confound the music of the Ya. I hate those who with their sharp mouths overthrow kingdoms and families."

19 The Master said, "I would prefer not speaking."

Tsze-kung said, "If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?"

The Master said, "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?"

20 Zu Pei wished to see Confucius, but Confucius declined, on the ground of being sick, to see him. When the bearer of this message went out at the door, (the Master) took his lute and sang to it, in order that Pei might hear him.

21 Tsai Wo asked about the three years" mourning for parents, saying that one year was long enough.

"If the superior man," said he, "abstains for three years from the observances of propriety, those observances will be quite lost. If for three years he abstains from music, music will be ruined.

"Within a year the old grain is exhausted, and the new grain has sprung up, and, in procuring fire by friction, we go through all the changes of wood for that purpose. After a complete year, the mourning may stop."

The Master said, "If you were, after a year, to eat good rice, and wear embroidered clothes, would you feel at ease?' should," replied Wo.

The Master said, "If you can feel at ease, do it. But a superior man, during the whole period of mourning, does not enjoy pleasant food which he may eat, nor derive pleasure from music which he may hear. He also does not feel at ease, if he is comfortably lodged. Therefore he does not do what you propose. But now you feel at ease and may do it.

Tsai Wo then went out, and the Master said, "This shows Yu's want of virtue. It is not till a child is three years old that it is allowed to leave the arms of its parents. And the three years" mourning is universally observed throughout the empire. Did Yu enjoy the three years" love of his parents?"

22 The Master said, "Hard is it to deal with him, who will stuff himself with food the whole day, without applying his mind to anything good! Are there not gamesters and chess players? To be one of these would still be better than doing nothing at all.

23 Tsze-lu said, "Does the superior man esteem valour?"
The Master said, "The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance. A man in a superior situation, having valour without righteousness, will be guilty of insubordination; one of the lower people having valour without righteousness, will commit robbery."

24 Tsze-kung said, "Has the superior man his hatreds also?" The Master said. "He has his hatreds. He hates those who proclaim the evil of others. He hates the man who, being in a low station, slanders his superiors. He hates those who have valour merely, and are unobservant of propriety. He hates those who are forward and determined, and, at the same time, of contracted understanding."

The Master then inquired, "Ts'ze, have you also your hatreds?" Tsze-kung replied, "I hate those who pry out matters, and ascribe the knowledge to their wisdom. I hate those who are only not modest, and think that they are valourous. I hate those who make known secrets, and think that they are straightforward."

25 The Master said, "Of all people, girls and servants are the most difficult to behave to. If you are familiar with them, they lose their humility. If you maintain a reserve towards them, they are discontented.'

26 The Master said, "When a man at forty is the object of dislike, he will always continue what he is.

### ANALECTS CHAPTER 18, WELTSZE

1 The Viscount of Wei withdrew from the court. The Viscount of Chi became a slave to Chau Pi-kan remonstrated with him and died.

Confucius said, "The Yin dynasty possessed these three men of virtue.'

2 Hui of Liu-hsia being chief criminal judge, was thrice dismissed from his office. Some one said to him, "Is it not yet time for you, sir, to leave this?" He replied, "Serving men in an upright way, where shall I go to, and not experience such a thrice-repeated dismissal? If I choose to serve men in a crooked way, what necessity is there for me to leave the country of my parents?"

3 The duke Ching of Ch'i, with reference to the manner in which he should treat Confucius, said, "I cannot treat him as I would the chief of the Chi family. I will treat him in a manner between that accorded to the chief of the Chi, and that given to the chief of the Mang family." He also said, "I am old; I cannot use his doctrines." Confucius took his departure.

4 The people of Ch'i sent to Lu a present of female musicians, which Chi Hwan received, and for three days no court was held. Confucius took his departure.

5 The madman of Ch'u, Chieh-yu, passed by Confucius, singing and saying, "o fang! o fang! How is your virtue degenerated! As to the past, reproof is useless; but the future may still be provided against. Give up your vain pursuit. Give up your vain pursuit. Peril awaits those who now engage in affairs of government."

Confucius alighted and wished to converse with him, but Chieh-yu hastened away, so that he could not talk with him.
6 Ch'ang-tsu and Chieh-ni were at work in the field

together, when Confucius passed by them, and sent Tsze-lu to inquire for the ford.

Ch'ang-tsu said, "Who is he that holds the reins in the carriage there?" Tsze-lu told him, "It is K'ung Ch'iu." "Is it not K'ung Ch'iu of Lu?" asked he. "Yes," was the reply, to which the other rejoined. "He knows the ford."

Tsze-lu then inquired of Chieh-ni, who said to him, "Who are you, sir?" He answered, "I am Chung Yu." "Are you not the disciple of K'ung Ch'iu of Lu?" asked the other. "I am,' replied he, and then Chieh-ni said to him, "Disorder, like a swelling flood, spreads over the whole empire, and who is he that will change its state for you? Than follow one who merely withdraws from this one and that one had you not better follow those who have withdrawn from the world altogether?" With this he fell to covering up the seed, and proceeded with his work, without stopping.

Tsze-lu went and reported their remarks, when the Master observed with a sigh, "It is impossible to associate with birds and beasts, as if they were the same with us. If I associate not with these people,—with mankind,—with whom shall I associate? If right principles prevailed through the empire, there would be no use for me to change its state.

7 Tsze-lu, following the Master, happened to fall behind, when he met an old man, carrying across his shoulder on a staff a basket for weeds. Tsze-lu said to him, "Have you seen my master, sir!" The old man replied, "Your four limbs are unaccustomed to toil; you cannot distinguish the five kinds of grain:-who is your master?" With this, he planted his staff in the ground, and proceeded to weed.

Tsze-lu joined his hands across his breast, and stood before

The old man kept Tsze-lu to pass the night in his house, killed a fowl, prepared millet, and feasted him. He also introduced to him his two sons.

Next day, Tsze-lu went on his way, and reported his adventure. The Master said, "He is a recluse," and sent Tsze-lu back to see him again, but when he got to the place, the old man was gone.

Tsze-lu then said to the family, "Not to take office is not righteous. If the relations between old and young may not be neglected, how is it that he sets aside the duties that should be observed between sovereign and minister? Wishing to maintain his personal purity, he allows that great relation to come to confusion. A superior man takes office, and performs the righteous duties belonging to it. As to the failure of right principles to make progress, he is aware of that.'

8 The men who have retired to privacy from the world have been Po-i, Shu-ch'i, Yu-chung, I-vi, Chu-chang, Hui of Liuhsia, and Shao-lien.

The Master said, "Refusing to surrender their wills, or to submit to any taint in their persons; -such, I think, were Poi and Shu-ch'i.

"It may be said of Hui of Liu-hsia, and of Shao-lien, that they surrendered their wills, and submitted to taint in their persons, but their words corresponded with reason, and their actions were such as men are anxious to see. This is all that is to be remarked in them.

"It may be said of Yu-chung and I-yi, that, while they hid themselves in their seclusion, they gave a license to their words; but, in their persons, they succeeded in preserving their purity, and, in their retirement, they acted according to the exigency of the times.

"I am different from all these. I have no course for which I am predetermined, and no course against which I am predetermined."

9 The grand music master. Chih went to Ch'i Kan, the master of the band at the second meal, went to Ch'u, Liao, the band master at the third meal, went to Ts'ai. Chueh, the band master at the fourth meal, went to Ch'in.

Fang-shu, the drum master, withdrew to the north of the

Wu, the master of the hand drum, withdrew to the Han. Yang, the assistant music master, and Hsiang, master of the

musical stone, withdrew to an island in the sea. 10. The duke of Chau addressed his son, the duke of Lu, saying, "The virtuous prince does not neglect his relations. He does not cause the great ministers to repine at his not employing them. Without some great cause, he does not dismiss from their offices the members of old families. He does not seek in one man talents for every employment.

11. To Chau belonged the eight officers, Po-ta, Po-kwo, Chung-tu, Chung-hwu, Shu-ya, Shu-hsia, Chi-sui, and Chi-

### ANALECTS CHAPTER 19 TSZE-CHANG

1 Tsze-chang said, "The scholar, trained for public duty, seeing threatening danger, is prepared to sacrifice his life. When the opportunity of gain is presented to him, he thinks of righteousness. In sacrificing, his thoughts are reverential. In mourning, his thoughts are about the grief which he should feel. Such a man commands our approbation indeed."

2 Tsze-chang said, "When a man holds fast to virtue, but

without seeking to enlarge it, and believes right principles, but without firm sincerity, what account can be made of his existence or non-existence?

3 The disciples of Tsze-hsia asked Tsze-chang about the principles that should characterize mutual intercourse. Tszechang asked, "What does Tsze-hsia say on the subject?" They replied, "Tsze-hsia says:--'Associate with those who can advantage you. Put away from you those who cannot do so."

Tsze-chang observed, "This is different from what I have learned. The superior man honours the talented and virtuous, and bears with all. He praises the good, and pities the incompetent. Am I possessed of great talents and virtue?who is there among men whom I will not bear with? Am I devoid of talents and virtue?—men will put me away from them. What have we to do with the putting away of others?"

4 Tsze-hsia said, "Even in inferior studies and employments there is something worth being looked at; but if it be attempted to carry them out to what is remote, there is a danger of their proving inapplicable. Therefore, the superior man does not practise them.

5 Tsze-hsia said, "He, who from day to day recognises what he has not yet, and from month to month does not forget what he has attained to, may be said indeed to love to learn.

6 Tsze-hsia said, "There are learning extensively, and having a firm and sincere aim; inquiring with earnestness, and

reflecting with self-application:—virtue is in such a course."
7 Tsze-hsia said, "Mechanics have their shops to dwell in, in order to accomplish their works. The superior man learns, in order to reach to the utmost of his principles.

8 Tsze-hsia said, "The mean man is sure to gloss his faults."

9 Tsze-hsia said, "The superior man undergoes three changes. Looked at from a distance, he appears stern; when approached, he is mild; when he is heard to speak, his language is firm and decided "

10 Tsze-hsia said, "The superior man, having obtained their confidence, may then impose labours on his people. If he have not gained their confidence, they will think that he is oppressing them. Having obtained the confidence of his prince, one may then remonstrate with him. If he have not gained his

confidence, the prince will think that he is vilifying him."

11 Tsze-hsia said, "When a person does not transgress the boundary line in the great virtues, he may pass and repass it in the small virtues.'

12 Tsze-yu said, "The disciples and followers of Tsze-hsia, in sprinkling and sweeping the ground, in answering and replying, in advancing and receding, are sufficiently accomplished. But these are only the branches of learning, and they are left ignorant of what is essential.—How can they be acknowledged as sufficiently taught?"

Tsze-hsia heard of the remark and said, "Alas! Yen Yu is wrong. According to the way of the superior man in teaching, what departments are there which he considers of prime importance, and delivers? what are there which he considers of secondary importance, and allows himself to be idle about? But as in the case of plants, which are assorted according to their classes, so he deals with his disciples. How can the way of a superior man be such as to make fools of any of them? Is it not the sage alone, who can unite in one the beginning and the consummation of learning?"

13 Tsze-hsia said, "The officer, having discharged all his duties, should devote his leisure to learning. The student, having completed his learning, should apply himself to be an officer.

14 Tsze-hsia said, "Mourning, having been carried to the utmost degree of grief, should stop with that.'

15 Tsze-hsia said, "My friend Chang can do things which

are hard to be done, but yet he is not perfectly virtuous."

16 The philosopher Tsang said, "How imposing is the manner of Chang! It is difficult along with him to practise virtue.

17 The philosopher Tsang said, "I heard this from our Master:-'Men may not have shown what is in them to the full extent, and yet they will be found to do so, on occasion of mourning for their parents.'

18 The philosopher Tsang said, "I have heard this from our Master:—'The filial piety of Mang Chwang, in other matters, was what other men are competent to, but, as seen in his not changing the ministers of his father, nor his father's mode of government, it is difficult to be attained to."

19 The chief of the Mang family having appointed Yang Fu to be chief criminal judge, the latter consulted the philosopher Tsang. Tsang said, "The rulers have failed in their duties, and the people consequently have been disorganised, for a long time. When you have found out the truth of any accusation, be grieved for and pity them, and do not feel joy at your own ability."

20 Tsze-kung said, "Chau's wickedness was not so great as that name implies. Therefore, the superior man hates to dwell in a low-lying situation, where all the evil of the world will flow in upon him.

21 Tsze-kung said, "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon. He has his faults, and all men see them; he changes again, and all men look up to him.

22 Kung-sun Ch'ao of Wei asked Tsze-kung, saying, "From

whom did Chung-ni get his learning?"
Tsze-kung replied, "The doctrines of Wan and Wu have not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. Men of talents and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talents and virtue, remember the smaller. Thus, all possess the doctrines of Wan and Wu. Where could our Master go that he should not have an opportunity of learning them? And yet what necessity was there for his having a regular master?"

23 Shu-sun Wu-shu observed to the great officers in the court, saying, "Tsze-kung is superior to Chung-ni.

Tsze-fu Ching-po reported the observation to Tsze-kung, who said, "Let me use the comparison of a house and its encompassing wall. My wall only reaches to the shoulders. One may peep over it, and see whatever is valuable in the apartments.

"The wall of my Master is several fathoms high. If one do not find the door and enter by it, he cannot see the ancestral temple with its beauties, nor all the officers in their rich array.

"But I may assume that they are few who find the door. Was not the observation of the chief only what might have been expected?"

24 Shu-sun Wu-shu having spoken revilingly of Chung-ni, Tsze-kung said, "It is of no use doing so. Chung-ni cannot be reviled. The talents and virtue of other men are hillocks and mounds which may be stepped over. Chung-ni is the sun or moon, which it is not possible to step over. Although a man may wish to cut himself off from the sage, what harm can he do to the sun or moon? He only shows that he does not know his own capacity.

25 Ch'an Tsze-ch'in, addressing Tsze-kung, said, "You are too modest. How can Chung-ni be said to be superior to you?"

Tsze-kung said to him, "For one word a man is often deemed to be wise, and for one word he is often deemed to be foolish. We ought to be careful indeed in what we say.

"Our Master cannot be attained to, just in the same way as the heavens cannot be gone up to by the steps of a stair.

"Were our Master in the position of the ruler of a State or the chief of a Family, we should find verified the description which has been given of a sage's rule:—he would plant the people, and forthwith they would be established; he would lead them on, and forthwith they would follow him; he would make them happy, and forthwith multitudes would resort to his dominions; he would stimulate them, and forthwith they would be harmonious. While he lived, he would be glorious. When he died, he would be bitterly lamented. How is it possible for him to be attained to?"

### ANALECTS CHAPTER 20. YAO YUEH.

1 Yao said, "Oh! you, Shun, the Heaven-determined order of succession now rests in your person. Sincerely hold fast the due Mean. If there shall be distress and want within the four seas, the Heavenly revenue will come to a perpetual end."

Shun also used the same language in giving charge to Yu.

T'ang said, "I the child Li, presume to use a dark-coloured victim, and presume to announce to Thee, O most great and sovereign God, that the sinner I dare not pardon, and thy ministers, O God, I do not keep in obscurity. The examination of them is by thy mind, O God. If, in my person, I commit offences, they are not to be attributed to you, the people of the myriad regions. If you in the myriad regions commit offences, these offences must rest on my person."

Chau conferred great gifts, and the good were enriched.

"Although he has his near relatives, they are not equal to my virtuous men. The people are throwing blame upon me, the One man "

He carefully attended to the weights and measures, examined the body of the laws, restored the discarded officers, and the good government of the kingdom took its course.

He revived States that had been extinguished, restored families whose line of succession had been broken, and called to office those who had retired into obscurity, so that throughout the kingdom the hearts of the people turned towards him.

What he attached chief importance to, were the food of the people, the duties of mourning, and sacrifices.

By his generosity, he won all. By his sincerity, he made the people repose trust in him. By his earnest activity, his achievements were great. By his justice, all were delighted.

2 Tsze-chang asked Confucius, saying, "In what way should a person in authority act in order that he may conduct government properly?" The Master replied, "Let him honour the five excellent, and banish away the four bad, things; then may he conduct government properly." Tsze-chang said, "What are meant by the five excellent things?" The Master said, "When the person in authority is beneficent without great expenditure; when he lays tasks on the people without their repining; when he pursues what he desires without being covetous; when he maintains a dignified ease without being proud; when he is majestic without being fierce."

Tsze-chang said, "What is meant by being beneficent without great expenditure?" The Master replied, "When the person in authority makes more beneficial to the people the things from which they naturally derive benefit;—is not this being beneficent without great expenditure? When he chooses the labours which are proper, and makes them labour on them, who will repine? When his desires are set on benevolent government, and he secures it, who will accuse him of covetousness? Whether he has to do with many people or few, or with things great or small, he does not dare to indicate any disrespect;—is not this to maintain a dignified ease without any pride? He adjusts his clothes and cap, and throws a dignity into his looks, so that, thus dignified, he is looked at with awe;—is not this to be majestic without being fierce?"

Tsze-chang then asked, "What are meant by the four bad things?" The Master said, "To put the people to death without having instructed them;—this is called cruelty. To require from them, suddenly, the full tale of work, without having given them warning;—this is called oppression. To issue orders as if without urgency, at first, and, when the time comes, to insist on them with severity;—this is called injury. And, generally, in the giving pay or rewards to men, to do it

in a stingy way;—this is called acting the part of a mere official."

3 The Master said, "Without recognising the ordinances of Heaven, it is impossible to be a superior man.

"Without an acquaintance with the rules of Propriety, it is impossible for the character to be established.

"Without knowing the force of words, it is impossible to know men."

#### THE LI JI

or: Li Ki / The Classic Of Rites Precepts and rules of Confucius Source: "Sacred Books of the East, Volumes 27 and 28, Ppart 4: The Li Ki", Oxford: Oxford University Press. Romanisation: Pinyin Translation: James Legge, 1885 Estimated Rage of Dating: 500-300 BC.

(The Book of Rites or Liji is a collection of texts describing the social forms, administration, and ceremonial rites of the Zhou dynasty as they were understood in the Warring States and the early Han periods. As a core text of the Confucian canon, it is also known as the Classic of Rites or Lijing, which some scholars believe was the original title before it was changed by Dai Sheng. The Book of Rites is of varied and uncertain origin and date, lacking the overall structure found in the other "rites" texts. Some sections consist of precepts and details of the life and teachings of Confucius.

Quite some rules and commandments bear similarities to texts that we know from the Bible or other religious books. However, there are two distinct differences: first, God or gods (including the taught fear towards them) play no role; second, the rules, precepts or commandments were not "commanded" or dictated to the people by brute force like in most western Asian und European societies. The basis of these precepts is education and therefore understanding their message.

Li literally means "rites" but in practice it means "rules of conduct". Confucius felt that li should emphasise the spirit of piety and respect for others through rules of conduct and ceremonies. He insisted that a standard of conduct that focused on traditional forms would be a way to ease human relationship in politics or private. The ideas of li were thought to become closely associated with human nature, ethics, and social order as the population integrated li into their lives. Li is beneficial to society because it guides people to recognise and fulfill their responsibilities toward others. And this aim is almost identical to the philosophy that stands behind most Bible texts.

Following the decision of the Yuan dynasty (followed by the Ming and Qing) to make the Five Classics and the Four Books the orthodox texts of the Confucian traditions, they were the standard textbooks for the state civil examination, from 1313 to 1905, which every educated person had to study intensively. Consequently, the Book of Rites and two of its by-products have been large integral parts of the Chinese beliefs for many centuries.

In 213 BC, Qin Shi huang-di launched the "Burning of the Books" and many of the Confucian classics were destroyed. However, the Qin dynasty collapsed within the decade: Confucian scholars who had memorised the classics or hid written copies recompiled them in the early Han dynasty. The Book of Rites was said to have been fully reconstructed. Only the chapter "Record of Music" (Yueji) survives in fragments. Scholars have attempted to refine the reconstructions. According to the Book of Sui, Dai De reworked the text in the 1st century BC, reducing the original 214 books to 85, and his nephew Dai Sheng reduced this to 46 books. To this three were added towards the end of the Han dynasty, bringing the total to 49.

In 1993, archeologists excavated several "Warring States Period" (c. 480 - 221 BC) tombs in a village called Guodian (lingmen city, Hubei), near the ancient capital of Chu. Tomb is believed to be the tomb of the tutor of the crown prince of the state of Chu, and has been dated to ca. 300 BC. Inside the tomb were some 800 bamboo slips inscribed in the Chu script. Among them were the very earliest manuscript passages of the famous Daode Jing and also "Black Robes" (Zi Yi), a chapter from the Li Ji.)

# LI JI CHAPTER 1 Qu Li 1

Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 1

1 The Summary of the Rules of Propriety says: Always and in everything let there be reverence; with the deportment grave as when one is thinking (deeply), and with speech composed and definite. This will make the people tranquil.

2 Pride should not be allowed to grow; the desires should not be indulged; the will should not be gratified to the full; pleasure should not be carried to excess.

3 Men of talents and virtue can be familiar with others and yet respect them; can stand in awe of others and yet love them. They love others and yet acknowledge the evil that is in them. They accumulate (wealth) and yet are able to part with it (to

help the needy); they rest in what gives them satisfaction and yet can seek satisfaction elsewhere (when it is desirable to do so). When you find wealth within your reach, do not (try to) get it by improper means; when you meet with calamity, do not (try to) escape from it by improper means. Do not seek for victory in small contentions; do not seek for more than your proper share. Do not positively affirm what you have doubts about; and (when you have no doubts), do not let what you say appear (simply) as your own view.

4 If a man be sitting, let him do so as a personator of the deceased; if he be standing, let him do so (reverently), as in sacrificing.

5 In (observing) the rules of propriety, what is right (for the time and in the circumstances) should be followed. In discharging a mission (to another state), its customs are to be observed.

6 They are the rules of propriety, that furnish the means of determining (the observances towards) relatives, as near and remote; of settling points which may cause suspicion or doubt; of distinguishing where there should be agreement, and where difference; and of making clear what is right and what is wrong.

7 According to those rules, one should not (seek to) please others in an improper way, nor be lavish of his words. According to them, one does not go beyond the definite measure, nor encroach on or despise others, nor is fond of (presuming) familiarities. To cultivate one's person and fulfil one's words is called good conduct. When the conduct is (thus) ordered, and the words are accordant with the (right) course, we have the substance of the rules of propriety. I have heard that it is in accordance with those rules that one should be chosen by others (as their model); I have not heard of his choosing them (to take him as such). I have heard in the same way of (scholars) coming to learn; I have not heard of (the master) going to teach.

8 The course (of duty), virtue, benevolence, and righteousness cannot be fully carried out without the rules of propriety; nor are training and oral lessons for the rectification of manners complete; nor can the clearing up of quarrels and discriminating in disputes be accomplished; nor can (the duties between) ruler and minister, high and low. father and son, elder brother and younger, be determined; nor can students for office and (other) learners, in serving their masters, have an attachment for them; nor can majesty and dignity be shown in assigning the different places at court, in the government of the armies, and in discharging the duties of office so as to secure the operation of the laws; nor can there be the (proper) sincerity and gravity in presenting the offerings to spiritual Beings on occasions of supplication, thanksgiving, and the various sacrifices. Therefore the superior man is respectful and reverent, assiduous in his duties and not going beyond them, retiring and yielding - thus illustrating (the principle of) propriety

9 The parrot can speak, and yet is nothing more than a bird; the ape can speak, and yet is nothing more than a beast. Here now is a man who observes no rules of propriety; is not his heart that of a beast? But if (men were as) beasts, and without (the principle of) propriety, father and son might have the same mate. Therefore, when the sages arose, they framed the rules of propriety in order to teach men, and cause them, by their possession of them, to make a distinction between themselves and brutes.

10 In the highest antiquity they prized (simply conferring) good; in the time next to this, giving and repaying was the thing attended to. And what the rules of propriety value is that reciprocity. If I give a gift and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety; if the thing comes to me, and I give nothing in return, that also is contrary to propriety. If a man observe the rules of propriety, he is in a condition of security; if he do not, he is in one of danger. Hence there is the saying, 'The rules of propriety should by no means be left unlearned.'

11 Propriety is seen in humbling one's self and giving honour to others. Even porters and pedlers are sure to display this giving honour (in some cases); how much more should the rich and noble do so (in all)! When the rich and noble know to love propriety, they do not become proud nor dissolute. When the poor and mean know to love propriety, their minds do not become cowardly.

12 When one is ten years old, we call him a boy; he goes (out) to school. When he is twenty, we call him a youth; he is capped. When he is thirty, we say, 'He is at his maturity;' he has a wife. When he is forty, we say, 'He is in his vigour;' he is employed in office. When he is fifty, we say, 'He is getting grey;' he can discharge all the duties of an officer. When he is sixty, we say, 'He is getting old;' he gives directions and instructions. When he is seventy, we say, 'He is old;' he delegates his duties to others. At eighty or ninety, we say of him, 'He is very old.' When he is seven, we say that he is an object of pitying love. Such a child and one who is very old, though they may be chargeable with crime, are not subjected to punishment. At a hundred, he is called a centenarian, and has to be fed.

- 13 A great officer, when he is seventy, should resign (his charge of) affairs. If he be not allowed to resign, there must be given him a stool and staff. When travelling on service, he must have the attendance of his wife; and when going to any other state, he will ride in an easy carriage. (In another state) he will, style himself 'the old man;' in his own state, he will call himself by his name. When from another they ask (about his state), he must tell them of its (old) institutions.
- 14 In going to take counsel with an elder, one must carry a stool and a staff with him (for the elder's use). When the elder asks a question, to reply without acknowledging one's incompetency and (trying to) decline answering, is contrary to propriety.
- 15 For all sons it is the rule: In winter, to warm (the bed for their parents), and to cool it in summer; in the evening, to adjust everything (for their repose), and to inquire (about their health) in the morning; and, when with their companions, not to quarrel.
- 16 Whenever a son, having received the three (first) gifts (of the ruler), declines (to use) the carriage and horses, the people of the hamlets and smaller districts, and of the larger districts and neighbourhoods, will proclaim him fliial; his brothers and relatives, both by consanguinity and affinity, will proclaim him loving; his friends who are fellow-officers will proclaim him virtuous; and his friends who are his associates will proclaim him true. When he sees an intimate friend of his father, not to presume to go forward to him without being told to do so; nor to retire without being told; nor to address him without being questioned this is the conduct of a filial son
- 17 A son, when he is going abroad, must inform (his parents where he is going); when he returns, he must present himself before them. Where he travels must be in some fixed (region); what he engages in must be some (reputable) occupation. In ordinary conversation (with his parents), he does not use the term 'old' (with reference to them). He should serve one twice as old as himself as he serves his father, one ten years older than himself as an elder brother; with one five years older he should walk shoulder to shoulder, but (a little) behind him. When five are sitting together, the eldest must have a different mat (by himself).
- 18 A son should not occupy the south-west corner of the apartment, nor sit in the middle of the mat (which he occupies alone), nor walk in the middle of the road, nor stand in the middle of the doorway. He should not take the part of regulating the (quantity of) rice and other viands at an entertainment. He should not act as personator of the dead at sacrifice. He should be (as if he were) hearing (his parents) when there is no voice from them, and as seeing them when they are not actually there. He should not ascend a height, nor approach the verge of a depth; he should not indulge in reckless reviling or derisive laughing.
- 19 A filial son will not do things in the dark, nor attempt hazardous undertakings, fearing lest he disgrace his parents. While his parents are alive, he will not promise a friend to die (with or for him), nor will he have wealth that he calls his own.
- 20 A son, while his parents are alive, will not wear a cap or (other) article of dress, with a white border. An orphan son, taking his father's place, will not wear a cap or (other article of) dress with a variegated border.
- 21 A boy should never he allowed to see an instance of deceit. A lad should not wear a jacket of fur nor the skirt. He must stand straight and square, and not incline his head in hearing. When an elder is holding him with the hand, he should hold the elder's hand with both his hands. When the elder has shifted his sword to his back and is speaking to him with the side of his face bent, down, he should cover his mouth with his hand in answering.
- with his hand in answering.

  22 When he is following his teacher, he should not quit the road to speak with another person. When he meets his teacher on the road, he should hasten forward to him, and stand with his hands joined across his breast. If the teacher speak to him, he will answer: if he do not, he will retire with hasty steps.
- 23 When, following an elder, they ascend a level height, he must keep his face towards the quarter to which the elder is looking.
- 24 When one has ascended the wall of a city, he should not point, nor callout.
- 25 When he intends to go to a lodging-house, let it not be with the feeling that he must get whatever he asks for. When about to go up to the hall (of a house), he must raise his voice. When outside the door there are two (pairs of) shoes, if voices be heard, he enters; if voices be not heard, he will not enter. When about to enter the door, he must keep his eyes cast down. As he enters, he should (keep his hands raised as high as if he were) bearing the bar of the door. In looking down or up, he should not turn (his head). If the door were open, he should leave it open; if it were shut, he should shut it again. If there be others (about) to enter after him, while he (turns to) shut the door, let him not do so hastily. Let him not tread on the shoes (left outside the door), nor stride across the mat (in going to take his seat); but let him hold up his dress, and

move hastily to his corner (of the mat). (When seated), he must be careful in answering or assenting.

- must be careful in answering or assenting.

  26 A great officer or (other) officer should go out or in at the ruler's doors, on the right of the middle post, without treading on the threshold.
- 27 Whenever (a host has received and) is entering with a guest, at every door he should give place to him. When the guest arrives at the innermost door (or that leading to the feast-room), the host will ask to be allowed to enter first and arrange the mats. Having done this, he will come out to receive the guest, who will refuse firmly (to enter first). The host having made a low bow to him, they will enter (together). When they have entered the door, the host moves to the right, and the guest to the left, the former going to the steps on the east, and the latter to those on the west. If the guest be of the lower rank, he goes to the steps of the host (as if to follow him up them). The host firmly declines this, and he returns to the other steps on the west. They then offer to each other the precedence in going up, but the host commences first, followed (immediately) by the other. They bring their feet together on every step, thus ascending by successive paces. He who ascends by the steps on the cast should move his right foot first, and the other at the western steps his left foot.
- 28 Outside the curtain or screen (a visitor) should not walk with the formal hasty steps, nor above in the hall, nor when carrying the symbol of jade. Above, in the raised hall, the foot-prints should be alongside each other, but below it free and separate. In the apartment the elbows should not be held out like wings in bowing. When two (equals) are sitting side by side, they do not have their elbows extended crosswise. One should not kneel in handing anything to a (superior) standing, nor stand in handing it to him sitting.
- 29 In all cases of (a lad's) carrying away the dirt that has been swept up from the presence of an elder, it is the rule that he (place) the brush on the basket, keeping his sleeve before it as he retires. The dust is not allowed to reach the elder, because he carries the basket with its mouth turned towards himself. He carries the (elder's) mat in his arms like the cross-beam of a shadoof. If it be a mat to sit on, he will ask in what direction (the elder) is going to turn his face; if it be to sleep on, in what direction he is going to turn his feet. If a mat face the south or the north, the seat on the west is accounted that of honour; if it face the east or the west, the seat on the south.
- 30 Except in the case of guests who are there (simply) to eat and drink, in spreading the mats a space of ten cubits should be left between them. When the host kneels to adjust the mats (of a visitor), the other should kneel and keep hold of them, declining (the honour). When the visitor (wishes to) remove one or more, the host should firmly decline to permit him to do so. When the visitor steps on his mats, (the host) takes his seat. If the host have not put some question, the visitor should not begin the conversation.
- 31 When (a pupil) is about to go to his mat, he should not look discomposed. With his two hands he should hold up his lower garment, so that the bottom of it may be a cubit from the ground. His clothes should not hang loosely about him, nor should there be any hurried movements of his feet. If any writing or tablets of his master, or his lute or cithern be in the way, he should kneel down and remove them, taking care not to disarrange them. When sitting and doing nothing, he should keep quite at the back (of his mat); when eating, quite at the front of it. He should sit quietly and keep a watch on his countenance. If there be any subject on which the elder has not touched, let him not introduce it irregularly. Let him keep his deportment correct, and listen respectfully. Let him not appropriate (to himself) the words (of others), nor (repeat them) as (the echo does the) thunder. If he must (adduce proofs), let them be from antiquity, with an appeal to the ancient kings.
- 32 When sitting by his side, and the teacher puts a question, (the learner) should not reply till (the other) has finished. When requesting (instruction) on the subject of his studies, (the learner) should rise; when requesting further information, he should rise. When his father calls, (a youth) should not (merely) answer 'yes,' nor when his teacher calls. He should, with (a respectful) 'yes,' immediately rise (and go to them).
- 33 When one is sitting in attendance on another whom he honours and reveres, he should not allow any part of his mat to keep them apart, nor will he rise when he sees others (come in) of the same rank as himself. When the torches come, he should rise; and also when the viands come in, or a visitor of superior rank. The torches should not (be allowed to burn) till their ends can be seen. Before an honoured visitor we should not shout (even) at a dog. When declining any food, one should not spit.
- 34 When one is sitting in attendance on another of superior character or rank, and that other yawns or stretches himself, or lays hold of his staff or shoes, or looks towards the sun to see if it be early or late, he should ask to be allowed to leave. In the same position, if the superior man put a question on a new subject, he should rise up in giving his reply. Similarly, if there come some one saying (to the superior man), 'I wish, when you have a little leisure, to report to you,' he should withdraw to the left or right and wait.

- 35 Do not listen with the head inclined on one side, nor answer with a loud sharp voice, nor look with a dissolute leer, nor keep the body in a slouching position. Do not saunter about with a haughty gait, nor stand with one foot raised. Do not sit with your knees wide apart, nor sleep on your face. Have your hair gathered up, and do not use any false hair. Let not the cap be laid aside; nor the chest be bared, (even) when one is toiling hard; nor let the lower garment be held up (even) in hot weather.
- 36 When (going to) sit in attendance on an elder, (a visitor) should not go up to the hall with his shoes on, nor should he presume to take them off in front of the Steps. (When any single visitor is leaving), he will go to his shoes, kneel down and take them up, and then move to one side. (When the visitors retire in a body) with their faces towards the elder, (they stand) by the shoes, which they then, kneeling, remove (some distance), and, stooping down, put on.
- 37 When two men are sitting or standing together, do not join them as a third. When two are standing together, another should not pass between them.
- 38 Male and female should not sit together (in the same apartment), nor have the same stand or rack for their clothes, nor use the same towel or comb, nor let their hands touch in giving and receiving. A sister-in-law and brother-in-law do not interchange inquiries (about each other). None of the concubines in a house should be employed to wash the lower garment (of a son). Outside affairs should not be talked of inside the threshold (of the women's apartments), nor inside (or women's) affairs outside it.
- 39 When a young lady is promised in marriage, she wears the strings (hanging down to her neck); and unless there be some great occasion, no (male) enters the door of her apartment. When a married aunt, or sister, or daughter returns home (on a visit), no brother (of the family) should sit with her on the same mat or eat with her from the same dish. (Even) the father and daughter should not occupy the same mat.
- 40 Male and female, without the intervention of the matchmaker, do not know each other's name. Unless the marriage presents have been received, there should be no communication nor affection between them. Hence the day and month (of the marriage) should be announced to the ruler, and to the spirits (of ancestors) with purification and fasting; and (the bridegroom) should make a feast, and invite (his friends) in the district and neighbourhood, and his fellow-officers thus giving its due importance to the separate position (of male and female).
- 41 One must not marry a wife of the same surname with himself. Hence, in buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname, he must consult the tortoise-shell about it. With the son of a widow, unless he be of acknowledged distinction, one should not associate himself as a friend.
- 42 When one congratulates (a friend) on his marrying, his messenger says, 'So and So has sent me. Having heard that you are having guests. he has sent me with this present.'
- 43 Goods and wealth are not to be expected from the poor in their discharge of the rules of propriety; nor the display of sinews and strength from the old.
- 44 In giving a name to a son, it should not be that of a state, nor of a day or a month, nor of any hidden ailment, nor of a hill or river. Sons and daughters should have their (relative) ages distinguished. A son at twenty is capped, and receives his appellation. Before his father a son should be called by his name, and before his ruler a minister. When a daughter is promised in marriage, she assumes the hair-pin, and receives her appellation.
- 45 The rules for bringing in the dishes for an entertainment are the following: The meat cooked on the bones is set on the left, and the sliced meat on the right; the rice is placed on the left of the parties on the mat, and the soup on their right; the minced and roasted meat are put outside (the chops and sliced meat), and the pickles and sauces inside; the onions and steamed onions succeed to these, and the drink and syrups are on the right. When slices of dried and spiced meat are put down, where they are folded is turned to the left, and the ends of them to the right.
- 46 If a guest be of lower rank (than his entertainer), he should take up the rice, rise and decline (the honour he is receiving). The host then rises and refuses to allow the guest (to retire). After this the guest will resume his seat. When the host leads on the guests to present an offering (to the father of cookery), they will begin with the dishes which were first brought in. Going on from the meat cooked on the bones they will offer of all (the other dishes). After they have eaten three times, the host will lead on the guests to take of the sliced meat, from which they will go on to all the other dishes. A guest should not rinse his mouth with spirits till the host has gone over all the dishes.
- 47 When (a youth) is in attendance on an elder at a meal, if the host give anything to him with his own hand, he should bow to him and eat it. If he do not so give him anything, he should eat without bowing. When eating with others from the same dishes, one should not try to eat (hastily) to satiety.

When eating with them from the same dish of rice, one should not have to wash his hands.

48 Do not roll the rice into a ball; do not bolt down the various dishes; do not swill down (the soup). Do not make a noise in eating; do not crunch the bones with the teeth; do not put back fish you have been eating; do not throw the bones to the dogs; do not snatch (at what you want). Do not spread out the rice (to cool); do not use chopsticks in eating millet. Do not (try to) gulp down soup with vegetables in it, nor add condiments to it; do not keep picking the-teeth, nor swill down the sauces. If a guest add condiments, the host will apologise for not having had the soup prepared better. If he swill down the sauces, the host will apologise for his poverty. Meat that is wet (and soft) may be divided with the teeth, but dried flesh cannot be so dealt with. Do not bolt roast meat in large pieces. When they have done eating, the guests will kneel in front (of the mat), and (begin to) remove the (dishes) of rice and sauces to give them to the attendants. The host will then rise and decline this service from the guests, who will resume their seats.

49 If a youth is in attendance on, and drinking with, an elder, when the (cup of) spirits is brought to him, he rises, bows, and (goes to) receive it at the place where the spirit-vase is kept. The elder refuses (to allow him to do so), when he returns to the mat, and (is prepared) to drink. The elder (meantime) lifts (his cup); but until he has emptied it, the other does not presume to drink his.

50 When an elder offers a gift, neither a youth, nor one of mean condition, presumes to decline it. When a fruit is given by the ruler and in his presence, if there be a kernel in it, (the receiver) should place it in his bosom. When one is attending the ruler at a meal, and the ruler gives him anything that is left, if it be in a vessel that can be easily scoured, he does not transfer it (to another of his own); but from any other vessel he should so transfer it.

51 Portions of (such) food should not be used as offerings (to the departed). A father should not use them in offering even to a (deceased) son, nor a husband in offering to a (deceased) wife.

52 When one is attending an elder and (called to) share with him (at a feast), though the viands may be double (what is necessary), he should not (seek) to decline them. If he take his seat (only) as the companion of another (for whom it has been prepared), he should not decline them.

53 If the soup be made with vegetables, chopsticks should be used; but not if there be no vegetables.

54 He who pares a melon for the son of Heaven should divide it into four parts and then into eight, and cover them with a napkin of fine linen. For the ruler of a state, he should divide it into four parts, and cover them with a coarse napkin. To a great officer he should (present the four parts) uncovered. An inferior officer should receive it (simply) with the stalk cut away. A common man will deal with it with his teeth.

55 When his father or mother is ill, (a young man) who has been capped should not use his comb, nor walk with his elbows stuck out, nor speak on idle topics, nor take his lute or cithern in hand. He should not eat of (different) meats till his taste is changed, nor drink till his looks are changed'. He should not laugh so as to show his teeth, nor be angry till he breaks forth in reviling. When the illness is gone, he may resume his former habits.

56 He who is sad and anxious should sit with his mat spread apart from others; he who is mourning (for a death) should sit on a single mat.

57 When heavy rains have fallen, one should not present fish or tortoises (to a superior). He who is presenting a bird should turn its head on one side; if it be a tame bird, this need not be done. He who is presenting a carriage and horses should carry in his hand (to the hall) the whip, and strap for mounting by. He who is presenting a suit of mail should carry the helmet (to the hall). He who is presenting a staff should hold it by its end. He who is presenting a captive should hold him by the right sleeve. He who is presenting grain unhulled should carry with him the left side of the account (of the quantity); if the hull be off, he should carry with him a measure-drum. He who is presenting cooked food, should carry with him the sauce and pickles for it. He who is presenting fields and tenements should carry with him the writings about them, and give them up (to the superior).

58 In every case of giving a bow to another, if it be bent, the (string of) sinew should be kept upwards; but if unbent, the horn. (The giver) should with his right hand grasp the end of the bow, and keep his left under the middle of the back. The (parties, without regard to their rank as) high and low, (bow to each other) till the napkins (at their girdles) hang down (to the ground). If the host (wish to) bow (still lower), the other moves on one side to avoid the salutation. The host then takes the bow, standing on the left of the other. Putting his hand under that of the visitor, he lays hold of the middle of the back, having his face in the same direction as the other; and thus he receives (the bow).

59 He who is giving a sword should do so with the hilt on his left side. He who is giving a spear with one hook should do so with the metal end of the shaft in front, and the sharp edge

behind. He who is presenting one with two hooks, or one with a single hook and two sharp points, should do so with the blunt shaft in front. He who is giving a stool or a staff should (first) wipe it. He who is presenting a horse or a sheep should lead it with his right hand. He who is presenting a dog should lead it with his left hand. He who is carrying a bird (as his present of introduction) should do so with the head to the left. For the ornamental covering of a lamb or a goose, an embroidered cloth should be used. He who receives a pearl or a piece of jade should do so with both his hands. He who receives a bow or a sword should do so (having his hands covered) with his sleeves. He who has drunk from a cup of jade should not (go on to) shake it out. Whenever friendly messages are about to be sent, with the present of a sword or bow, or of (fruit, flesh, and other things, wrapped in) matting of rushes, with grass mats, and in baskets, round and square, (the messenger) has these things (carried with him, when he goes) to receive his commission, and deports himself as when he will be discharging it.

60 Whenever one is charged with a mission by his ruler, after he has received from him his orders, and (heard all) he has to say, he should not remain over the night in his house. When a message from the ruler comes (to a minister), the latter should go out and bow (to the bearer), in acknowledgment of the honour of it. When the messenger is about to return, (the other) must bow to him (again), and escort him outside the gate. If (a minister) send a message to his ruler, he must wear his court-robes when he communicates it to the bearer; and on his return, he must descend from the hall, to receive (the ruler's) commands.

61 To acquire extensive information and remember retentively, while (at the same time) he is modest; to do earnestly what is good, and not become weary in so doing these are the characteristics of him whom we call the superior man. A superior man does not accept everything by which another would express his joy in him, or his devotion to him; and thus he preserves their friendly intercourse unbroken.

62 A rule of propriety says, 'A superior man may carry his grandson in his arms, but not his son.' This tells us that a grandson may be the personator of his deceased grandfather (at sacrifices), but a son cannot be so of his father. When a great officer or (other) officer sees one who is to personate the dead (on his way to the ancestral temple), he should dismount from his carriage to him. The ruler himself, when he recognises him, should do the same. The personator (at the same time) must bow forward to the cross-bar. In mounting the carriage, he must use a stool.

63 One who is fasting (in preparation for a sacrifice) should neither listen to music nor condole with mourners.

64 According to the rules for the period of mourning (for a father), (a son) should not emaciate himself till the bones appear, nor let his seeing and hearing be affected (by his privations). He should not go up to, nor descend from, the hail by the steps on the east (which his father used), nor go in or out by the path right opposite to the (centre of the) gate. According to the same rules, if he have a scab on his head, he should wash it; if he have a sore on his body, he should bathe it. If he be ill, he should drink spirits, and eat flesh, returning to his former (abstinence) when he is better. If he make himself unable to perform his mourning duties, that is like being unkind and unfilial. If he be fifty, he should not allow himself to be reduced (by his abstinence) very much: and, if he be sixty. not at all. At seventy, he will only wear the unhemmed dress of sackcloth, and will drink and eat flesh, and occupy (the usual apartment) inside (his house).

65 Intercourse with the living (will be continued) in the future; intercourse with the dead (friend) was a thing of the past. He who knows the living should send (a message of) condolence; and he who knew the dead (a message also of his) grief. He who knows the living, and did not know the dead, will send his condolence without (that expression of) his grief; he who knew the dead, and does not know the living, will send the (expression of) grief, but not go on to condole.

66 He who is condoling with one who has mourning rites in band, and is not able to assist him with a gift, should put no question about his expenditure. He who is enquiring after another that is ill, and is not able to send (anything to him), should not ask what he would like. He who sees (a traveller), and is not able to lodge him, should not ask where he is stopping. He who would confer something on another should not say, 'Come and take it;' he who would give something (to a smaller man), should not ask him what he would like.

67 When one goes to a burying-ground, he should not get up on any of the graves. When assisting at an interment, one should (join in) holding the rope attached to the coffin. In a house of mourning, one should not laugh. In order to bow to another, one should leave his own place. When one sees at a distance a coffin with the corpse in it, he should not sing. When he enters among the mourners, he should not keep his arms stuck out. When eating (with others), he should not sigh. When there are mourning rites in his neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes. When going to a burying-ground, one

should not sing, nor on the same day when he has wailed (with mourners). When accompanying a funeral, one should not take a by-path. When taking part in the act of interment, one should not (try to) avoid mud or pools. When presenting himself at any mourning rite, one should have a sad countenance. When holding the rope, one should not laugh, When present on an occasion of joy, one should not sigh. When wearing his coat of mail and helmet, one's countenance should say, 'Who dares meddle with me?' Hence the superior man is careful to maintain the proper expression of his countenance before others.

68 Where the ruler of a state lays hold of the cross-bar, and bends forward to it, a great officer will descend from his carriage. Where a great officer lays bold of the bar and bends forward, another officer will descend. The rules of ceremony do not go down to the common people. The penal statutes do not go up to great officers. Men who have suffered punishment should not (be allowed to) be by the side of the ruler.

69 A fighting chariot has no cross-board to assist its occupants in bowing; in a war chariot the banner is fully displayed; in a chariot of peace it is kept folded round the pole. A recorder should carry with him in his carriage his implements for writing; his, subordinates the (recorded) words (of former covenants and other documents). When there is water in front, the flag with the green bird on it should be displayed. When there is (a cloud of) dust in front, that with the screaming kites. For chariots and horsemen. that with wild geese in flight. For a body of troops, that with a tiger's (skin). For a beast of prey, that with a leopard's (skin). On the march the (banner with the) Red Bird should be in front; that with the Dark Warrior behind; that with the Azure Dragon on the left; and that with the White Tiger on the right; that with the Pointer of the Northern Bushel should be reared aloft (in the centre of the host) - all to excite and direct the fury (of the troops). There are rules for advancing and retreating; there are the various arrangements on the left and the right, each with its (proper) officer to look

70 With the enemy who has slain his father, one should not live under the same heaven. With the enemy who has slain his brother, one should never have his sword to seek (to deal vengeance). With the enemy who has slain his intimate friend, one should not live in the same state (without seeking to slay him)

71 Many ramparts in the country round and near (a capital) are a disgrace to its high ministers and great officers. Where the wide and open country is greatly neglected and uncultivated, it is a disgrace to the officers (in charge of it).

72 When taking part in a sacrifice, one should not show indifference. When sacrificial robes are worn out, they should be burnet; sacrificial vessels in the same condition should be buried, as should the tortoise-shell and divining stalks, and a victim that has died. All who take part with the ruler in a sacrifice must themselves remove the stands (of their offerings)

73 When the ceremony of wailing is over, a son should no longer speak of his deceased father by his name. The rules do not require the avoiding of names merely similar in sound to those not to be spoken. When (a parent had) a double name, the avoiding of either term (used singly) is not required. While his parents (are alive), and a son is able to serve them, he should not utter the names of his grandparents; when he can no longer serve his parents (through their death), he need not avoid the names of his grandparents. Names that would not be spoken (in his own family) need not be avoided (by a great officer) before his ruler; in the great officer's, however, the names proper to be suppressed by the ruler should not be spoken. In (reading) the books of poetry and history, there need be no avoiding of names, nor in writing compositions. In the ancestral temple there is no such avoiding. Even in his presence, a minister need not avoid the names improper to be spoken by the ruler's wife. The names to be avoided by a wife need not be unspoken outside the door of the harem. The names of parties for whom mourning is worn (only) nine months or five months are not avoided. When one is crossing the boundaries (of a state), he should ask what are its prohibitory laws; when he has fairly entered it, he should ask about its customs; before entering the door (of a house), he should ask about the names to be avoided in it.

74 External undertakings should be commenced on the odd days, and internal on the even. In all cases of divining about a day, whether by the tortoise-shell or the stalks, if it be beyond the decade, it is said, 'on such and such a distant day,' and if within the decade, 'on such and such a near day.' For matters of mourning a distant day is preferred; for festive matters a near day. It is said, 'For the day we depend on thee, O great Tortoise-shell, which dost give the regular indications; we depend on you, O great Divining Stalks, which give the regular indications.' Divination by the shell or the stalks should not go beyond three times. The shell and the stalks should not be both used on the same subject. Divination by the shell is called bu; by the stalks, shi. The two were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in

awe of their laws and orders; the methods (also) by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings. Hence it is said, 'If you doubted, and have consulted the stalks, you need not (any longer) think that you will do wrong. If the day (be clearly indicated), boldly do on it (what you desire to do).'

75 When the ruler's carriage is about to have the horses put to it, the driver should stand before them, whip in hand. When they are voked, he will inspect the linch pin, and report that the carriage is ready. (Coming out again), he should shake the dust from his clothes, and mount on the right side, taking hold of the second strap he should (then) kneel in the carriage. Holding his whip, and taking the reins separately, he will drive the horses on five paces, and then stop. When the ruler comes out and approaches the carriage, the driver should take all the reins in one hand, and (with the other) hand the strap to him. The attendants should then retire out of the way. They should follow quickly as the carriage drives on. When it reaches the great gate, the ruler will lay his hand on that of the driver (that he may drive gently), and, looking round, will order the warrior for the seat on the right to come into the carriage. In passing through the gates (of a city) or village, and crossing the water-channels, the pace must be reduced to a walk.

76 In all cases it is the rule for the driver to hand the strap (to the person about to mount the carriage). If the driver be of lower rank (than himself) that other receives it. If this be not the case, he should not do so. If the driver be of the lower rank, the other should (still) lay his own hand on his (as if to stop him). If this be not the case (and the driver will insist on handing it), the other should take hold of the strap below (the driver's hand). A guest's carriage does not enter the great gate; a woman does not stand up in her carriage; dogs and horses are not taken up to the hall.

77 Hence, the ruler bows forward to his cross-board to (an old man of) yellow hair; he dismounts (and walks on foot) past the places of his high nobles (in the audience court). He does not gallop the horses of his carriage in the capital; and should bow forward on entering a village. When called by the ruler's order, though through a man of low rank, a great officer, or (other) officer, must meet him in person. A man in armour does not bow, he makes an obeisance indeed, but it is a restrained obeisance. When the carriage of a deceased ruler is following at his interment, the place on the left should be vacant. When (any of his ministers on other occasions) are riding in (any of) the ruler's carriages, they do not presume to leave the seat on the left vacant, but he who occupies it should hend forward to the cross-board. A charioteer driving a woman should keep his left hand advanced (with the reins in it), and his right hand behind him. When driving the ruler of a state, (the charioteer) should have his right hand advanced, with the left kept behind and the head bent down.

78 The ruler of a state should not ride in a one-wheeled carriage. In his carriage one should not cough loudly, nor point with his hand in an irregular way. Standing (in his carriage) one should look (forward only) to the distance of five revolutions of the wheels. Bending forward, he should (do so only till he) sees the tails of the horses. He should not turn his head round beyond the (line of the) naves. In the (streets of the) capital one should touch the horses gently with the brush-end of the switch. He should not urge them to their speed. The dust should not fly beyond the ruts. The ruler of a state should bend towards the cross-board when he meets a sacrificial victim, and dismount (in passing) the ancestral temple. A great officer or (other) officer should descend (when he comes to) the ruler's gate, and bend forward to the ruler's horses. (A minister) riding in one of the ruler's carriages must wear his court robes. He should have the whip in the carriage with him. (but not use it). He should not presume to have the strap handed to him. In his place on the left, he should bow forward to the cross-board. (An officer) walking the ruler's horses should do so in the middle of the road. It he trample on their forage, he should be punished, and also if he look at their teeth, (and go on to calculate their age).

### LI JI CHAPTER 2 Qu Li 2

Summary of the Rules of Propriety Part 2

79 When a thing is carried with both hands, it should be held on a level with the heart; when with one hand, on a level with the girdle. An article belonging to the son of Heaven should be held higher than the heart; one belonging to a ruler of a state, on a level with it; one belonging to a Great officer, lower than it; and one belonging to an (inferior) officer should be carried lower still.

80 When one is holding an article belonging to his lord, though it may be light, he should seem unable to sustain it. In the case of a piece of silk, or a rank-symbol of jade, square or round, he should keep his left hand over it. He should not lift his feet in walking, but trail his heels like the wheels of a carriage.

81 (A minister) should stand (with his back) curved in the manner of a sounding-stone, and his girdle-pendants hanging down. Where his lord has his pendants hanging at his side, his should be hanging down in front; where his lord has them hanging in front, his should descend to the ground. When one is holding any symbol of jade (to present it), if it be on a mat, he leaves it so exposed; if there be no mat, he covers it with (the sleeve of) his outer robe.

82 The ruler of a state should not call by their names his highest ministers, nor the two noble ladies of her surname, who accompanied his wife to the harem. A Great officer should not call in that way an officer who had been employed by his father, nor the niece and younger sister of his wife (members of his harem). (Another) officer should not call by name the steward of his family, nor his principal concubine. The son of a Great officer (of the king, himself equal to) a ruler, should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the little son. The son of a Great officer or (other) officer (of a state) should not presume to speak of himself as 'I, the inheriting son, so-and-so.' They should not so presume to speak of themselves as their heir-sons do.

83 When his ruler wishes an officer to take a place at an archery (meeting), and he is unable to do so, he should decline on the ground of being, ill, and say, 'I, so-and-so, am suffering from carrying firewood.'

84 When one, in attendance on a superior man, replies to a question without looking round to see (if any other be going to answer), this is contrary to rule.

85 A superior man, in his practice of ceremonies (in another state), should not seek to change his (old) customs. His ceremonies in sacrifice, his dress during the period of mourning, and his positions in the wailing and weeping, will all be according to the fashions of-his former (state). He will carefully study its rules, and carry them exactly into practice. (But) if he (or his descendants) have been away from the state for three generations, and if his dignity and emoluments be (still) reckoned to him (or his representative) at the court, and his outgoings and incomings are announced to the state, and if his brothers or cousins and other members of his house be still there, he should (continue to) send back word about himself to the representative of his ancestor. (Even) after the three generations, if his dignity and emoluments be not reckoned to him in the court, and his outgoings and incomings are (no longer) announced in the state, it is only on the day of his elevation (to official rank) that he should follow the ways of his new state.

86 Å superior man, when left an orphan, will not change his name. Nor will he in such a case, if he suddenly become noble, frame an honorary title for his father. When occupied with the duties of mourning and before the interment of (a parent), (a son) should study the ceremonies of mourning, and after the interment, those of sacrifice. When the mourning is over, let him resume his usual ways, and study the pieces of music. When occupied with the duties of mourning, one should not speak of music. When sacrificing, one should not speak of what is inauspicious. In the ruler's court, parties should not speak of wives and daughters.

87 For one to have to dust his (collection of) written tablets, or adjust them before the ruler, is a punishable offence; to have the divining stalks turned upside down or the tortoiseshell turned on one side, before him, is also a punishable offence. One should not enter the ruler's gate, (carrying with him) a tortoise-shell or divining stalks, a stool or a staff, mats or (sun-)shades, or having his upper and lower garments both of white or in a single robe of fine or coarse hempen cloth. Nor should he do so in rush sandals, or with the skirts of his lower garment tucked in at his waist, or in the cap worn in the shorter periods of mourning. Nor, unless announcement of it has been made (and permission given), can one take in the square tablets with the written (lists of articles for a funeral), or the frayed sackcloth, or the coffin and its furniture. Public affairs should not be privately discussed.

88 When a superior man, (high in rank), is about to engage in building, the ancestral temple should have his first attention, the stables and arsenal the next, and the residences the last. In all preparations of things by (the head of) a clan, the vessels of sacrifice should have the first place; the victims supplied from his revenue, the next; and the vessels for use at meals, the last. Those who have no revenue from lands do not provide vessels for sacrifice. Those who have such revenue first prepare their sacrificial dresses. A superior man, though poor, will not sell his vessels of sacrifice; though suffering from cold, he will not wear his sacrificial robes; in building a house, he will not cut down the trees on his grave-mounds.

89 A Great or other officer, leaving his state, should not take his vessels of sacrifice with him across the boundary. The former will leave his vessels for the time with another Great officer, and the latter his with another officer. A Great or other officer, leaving his state, on crossing the boundary, should prepare a place for an altar, and wail there, looking in the direction of the state. He should wear his upper garment and lower, and his cap, all of white; remove his (ornamental) collar, wear shoes of untanned leather, have a covering of white (dog's-fur) for his cross-board, and leave his horses manes undressed. He should not trim his nails or beard, nor make an offering at his (spare) meals. He should not say to any one that he is not chargeable with guilt, nor have any of

his women approach him. After three months he will return to his usual dress.

90 When a Great or other officer has an interview with the ruler of the state (to whom he has been sent), if the ruler be condoling with him on the toils of his journey, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and then bow twice with his head to the ground. If the ruler meet him (outside the gate) and bow to him, he should withdraw on one side to avoid (the honour), and not presume to return the bow. When Great or other officers are having interviews with one another, though they may not be equal in rank, if the host reverence (the greater worth of) the guest, he should first bow to him; and if the guest reverence the (greater worth of the) host, he should first bow. In all cases but visits of condolence on occasion of a death, and seeing the ruler of one's state, the parties should be sure to return the bow, each of the other.

91 When a Great officer has an interview with the ruler of (another) state, the ruler should bow in acknowledgment of the honour (of the message he brings); when an officer has an interview with a Great officer (of that state), the latter should bow to him in the same way. When two meet for the first time in their own state, (on the return of one from some mission), the other, as host, should bow in acknowledgment (of the service). A ruler does not bow to a (simple) officer; but if it be one of a different state, he should bow to his bow. A Great officer should return the bow of any one of his officers, however mean may be his rank. Males and females do (? not) bow to one another.

92 The ruler of a state, in the spring hunting, will not surround a marshy thicket, nor will Great officers try to surprise a whole herd, nor will (other) officers take young animals or eggs.

93 In bad years, when the grain of the season is not coming to maturity, the ruler at his meals will not make the (usual) offering of the lungs, nor will his horses be fed on grain. His special road will not be kept clean and swept, nor when at sacrifices will his musical instruments be suspended on their stands. Great officers will not eat the large grained millet; and (other) officers will not have music (even) at their drinking.

94 Without some (sad) cause, a ruler will not let the gems (pendent from his girdle) leave his person, nor a Great officer remove his music-stand, nor an (inferior) officer his lutes.

95 When an officer presents anything to the ruler of his state, and another day the ruler asks him, 'Where did you get that?' he will bow twice with his head to the ground, and afterwards reply.

96 When a Great officer wishes to go beyond the

96 When a Great officer wishes to go beyond the boundaries (of the state) on private business, he must ask leave, and on his return must present some offering. An (inferior) officer in similar circumstances, must (also) ask leave, and when he comes back, must announce his return. If the ruler condole with them on their toils, they should bow. if he ask about their journey, they should bow, and afterwards reply. When the ruler of a state (is proposing to) leave it, they should (try to) stop him, saying, 'Why are you leaving the altars of the spirits of the land and grain?' (In the similar case of) a Great officer they should say, 'Why are you leaving your ancestral temple?' In that of an (inferior) officer, they should say, 'Why are you leaving the graves (of your ancestors)?' A ruler should die for his altars; a Great officer, with the host (he commands): an inferior officer, for his charge.

97 As ruling over all, under the sky, (the king) is called 'The son of Heaven.' As receiving at court the feudal princes, assigning (to all) their different offices, giving out (the laws and ordinances of) the government, and employing the services of the able, he styles himself, 'I, the one man,' When he ascends by the eastern steps, and presides at a sacrifice, if it be personal to himself and his family, his style is, 'I, so-and-so, the filial king:' if it be external to himself, 'I, so-and-so, the inheriting king.' When he visits the feudal princes, and sends to make announcement (of his presence) to the spirits (of their hills and streams), it is said, 'Here is he, so-and-so, who is king by (the grace of) Heaven.' His death is announced in the words, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has fallen.' In calling back (his spirit), they say, 'Return, O son of Heaven. When announcement is made (to all the states) of the mourning for him, it is said, 'The king by (the grace of) Heaven has gone far on high.' When his place is given to him in the ancestral temple, and his spirit-tablet is set up, he is styled on it, 'the god.' The son of Heaven, while he has not left off his mourning, calls himself, 'I, the little child.' While alive. he is so styled; and if he die (during that time), he continues to be so designated.

98 The son of Heaven has his queen, his helpmates, his women of family, and his ladies of honour. (These) constituted his wife and concubines.

99 The son of Heaven appoints the officers of Heaven's institution, the precedence among them belonging to the six grandees: the Grand-governor; the Grand-minister of the ancestral temple; the Grand-historiographer; the Grand-minister of prayers; the Grand-minister of justice; and the Grand-divine. These are the guardians and superintendents of the six departments of the statutes.

100 The five (administrative) officers of the son of Heaven are: the minister of instruction; the minister of war; the minister of works; the minister of offices; and the minister of crime. These preside over the multitude in (each of) their five charges.

101 The six treasuries of the son of Heaven are under the charge of the superintendent of the land; the superintendent of the woods; the superintendent of the waters; the superintendent of articles of employment; and the superintendent of wares. These preside over the six departments of their charges.

102 The six manufactures of the son of Heaven are under the care of (the superintendents of) the workers in earth; the workers in metal; the workers in stone; the workers in wood; the workers in (the skins of) animals; and the workers in twigs. These preside over the six departments of stores. When the five officers give in their contributions, they are said to 'present their offerings.'

103 Chief among the five officers are the presidents, to whom belong the oversight of quarters (of the kingdom). In any message from them transmitted to the son of Heaven, they are styled 'ministers of the son of Heaven.' If they are of the same surname as he, he styles them 'paternal uncles;' if of a different surname, 'maternal uncles.' To the feudal princes, they designate themselves, 'the ancients of the son of Heaven.' Outside (their own states), they are styled 'duke;' in their states. 'ruler.'

104 The head prince in each of the nine provinces, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled 'pastor.' If he be of the same surname as himself, the son of Heaven calls him 'my paternal uncle,' if he be of a different surname, 'my maternal uncle.' Outside (his own state) he is called 'marquis'; in it, 'ruler,' The (chiefs) among (the wild tribes of) the Yi on the east, the Di on the north, the Rong on the west, and the Man on the south, however great (their territories), are called 'counts.' In his own territories each one calls himself. 'the unworthy one;' outside them, 'the king's ancient.' Any of the princelets of their various tracts, on entering the state of the son of Heaven, is styled, 'Such and such a person.' Outside it he is called 'count,' and calls himself' the solitary.'

105 When the son of Heaven stands with his back to the screen with axe-head figures on it, and the princes present themselves before him with their faces to the north, this is called kin (the autumnal audience). When he stands at the (usual) point (of reception) between the door and the screen, and the dukes have their faces towards the east, and the feudal princes theirs towards the west, this is called Chao (the spring audience).

106 When feudal princes see one another at a place and time not agreed on beforehand, the interview is called 'a meeting.' When they do so in some open place agreed on beforehand, it is called 'an assembly.' When one prince sends a great officer to ask about another, it is called 'a message of friendly inquiry.' When there is a binding to mutual faith, it is called 'a solemn declaration.' When they use a victim, it is called 'a covenant.'

107 When a feudal prince is about to be introduced to the son of Heaven, he is announced as 'your subject so-and-so, prince of such-and-such a state.' He speaks of himself to the people as 'the man of little virtue.' If he be in mourning (for his father), he is styled 'the rightful eldest son, an orphan;' if he be taking part at a sacrifice in his ancestral temple, 'the filial son, the prince of such-and-such a state, the prince soand-so.' If it be another sacrifice elsewhere, the style is, 'soand-so, prince of such-and-such a state, the distant descendant.' His death is described by the character hong (disappeared). In calling back (his spirit), they say, 'Return, sir so-and-so.' When he has been interred and (his son) is presented to the son of Heaven, the interview, (though special), is said to be 'of the same kind as the usual interviews.' The honorary title given to him is (also) said to be 'after the usual fashion.' When one prince sends a message to another, the messenger speaks of himself as 'the ancient of my poor ruler.

108 The demeanour of the son of Heaven should be characterised by majesty; of the princes, by gravity; of the Great officers, by a regulated composure; of (inferior) officers, by an easy alertness; and of the common people, by simplicity and humility.

109 The partner of the son of Heaven is called 'the queen;' of a feudal prince, 'the helpmate;' of a Great officer, 'the attendant;' of an (inferior) officer, 'the serving woman;' and of a common man' 'the mate.'

110 A duke and (one of) the feudal princes had their helpmate, and their honourable women, (which) were their mates and concubines. The helpmate called herself, before the son of Heaven, 'the aged servant;' and before the prince (of another state), 'the small and unworthy ruler.' To her own ruler she called herself 'the small maid.' From the honourable women downwards (each member of the harem) called herself 'your handmaid.' To their parents, sons and daughters called themselves by their names.

111 A Great officer any of the states, entering the state of the son Heaven, was called 'the officer of such-and-such state)'

and styled himself 'your subsidiary minister.' Outside (his own state), he was called 'sir;' and in that state, 'the ancient of our poor ruler.' A messenger (to any state) called himself 'so-and-so.'

112 The son of Heaven should not be spoken of as 'going out (of his state).' A feudal prince should not be called by his name, while alive. (When either of these things is done), it is because the superior man will not show regard for wickedness. A prince who loses his territory is named, and also one who extinguishes (another state ruled by) lords of the same surname as himself.

113 According to the rules of propriety for a minister, he should not remonstrate with his ruler openly. If he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should leave (his service). In the service of his parents by a son, if he have thrice remonstrated and is still not listened to, he should follow (his remonstrance) with loud crying and tears.

114 When a ruler is ill, and has to drink medicine, the minister first tastes it. When a parent is ill, and has to drink medicine, the son first tastes it. The physic of a doctor in whose family medicine has not been practised for three generations at least, should not be taken.

115 In comparing (different) men, we can only do so when their (circumstances and conditions) are of the same class.

116 When one asks about the years of the son of Heaven, the reply should be: 'I have heard that he has begun to wear a robe so many feet long.' When one asks about the years of the ruler of a state, if he be grown up, the reply should be: 'He is able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain'; and if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to attend to the services in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain. To a question about the son of a Great officer, the reply, if he be grown up, should be: 'He is able to drive;' and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to drive.' To a question about the son of an (ordinary) officer, the reply, if he be grown up, should be: 'He can manage the conveying of a salutation or a message;' and, if he be still young, 'He cannot yet manage such ' To a question about the son of a common man, the reply, if he be grown up, should be: 'He is able to carry (a bundle of) firewood;' and, if he be still young, 'He is not yet able to carry (such a bundle).'

117 When one asks about the wealth of the ruler of a state, the reply should be given by telling the extent of his territory, and the productions of its hills and lakes. To a similar question about a Great officer, it should be said, 'He has the lands allotted to him, and is supported by the labour (of his people). He needs not to borrow the vessels or dresses for his sacrificial occasions.' To the same question about an (ordinary) officer, the reply should be by giving the number of his carriages; and to one about a common man, by telling the number of the animals that he keeps.

118 The son of Heaven sacrifices (or presents oblations) to Heaven and Earth; to the (spirits presiding over the) four quarters; to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers; and offers the five sacrifices of the house, all in the course of the year. The feudal princes present oblations, each to (the spirit pre-siding over) his own quarter; to (the spirits of) its hills and rivers; and offer the five sacrifices of the house, all in the course of the year. Great officers present the oblations of the five sacrifices of the house, all in the course of the year. (Other) officers present oblations to their ancestors.

119 There should be no presuming to resume any sacrifice which has been abolished (by proper authority), nor to abolish any which has been so established. A sacrifice which it is not proper to offer, and which yet is offered, is called a licentious sacrifice. A licentious sacrifice brings no blessing. The son of Heaven uses an ox of one colour, pure and unmixed; a feudal prince, a fatted ox; a Great officer, an ox selected for the occasion; an (ordinary) officer, a sheep or a pig. The son of an inferior member of the harem cannot offer the sacrifice (to his grandfather or father); if (for some reason) he have to do so, he must report it to the honoured son, (the head of the family).

120 According to the rules for all sacrifices in the ancestral temple, the ox is called 'the creature with the large foot,' the pig, 'the hard bristles;' a sucking-pig, 'the fatling,' a sheep, 'the soft hair;' a cock, 'the loud voice,' a dog, 'the soup offering,' a pheasant, 'the wide toes,' a hare, 'the clear seer,' the stalks of dried flesh, 'the exactly cut oblations,' dried fish, 'the well-considered oblation,' fresh fish, 'the straight oblation.' Water is called 'the pure cleanser,' spirits, 'the clear cup;' millet, 'the fragrant mass;' the large-grained millet, 'the fragrant (grain);' the sacrificial millet, 'the bright grain;' paddy, 'the admirable vegetable;' scallions, 'the rich roots;' salt, 'the saline, briny substance;' jade, 'the admirable jade;' and silks, 'the exact silks.'

121 The death of the son of Heaven is expressed by beng (has fallen); of a feudal prince, by hong (has crashed); of a Great officer, by Zu (has ended); of an (ordinary) officer, by Bu Lu (is now unsalaried); and of a common man, by si (has deceased). (The corpse) on the couch is called shi (the laid-out), when it is put into the coffin, that is called jiu (being in the long home). (The death of) a winged fowl is expressed by

jiang (has fallen down); that of a quadruped, by zi (is disorganised). Death from an enemy in fight is called bing (is slain by the sword).

122 In sacrificing to them, a grandfather is called 'the sovereign grandfather,' a grandmother,' the sovereign grandmother,' a father, 'the sovereign father;' a mother, 'the sovereign pattern.' While (they are) alive, the names of father (fu), mother (mu), and wife (qi) are used; when they are dead, those of 'the completed one (kao), 'the corresponding one (bi),' and 'the honoured one (pin).' Death in old age is called 'a finished course (zu),' an early death, 'being unsalaried (bu lu).'

123 The son of Heaven does not look at a person above his collar or below his girdle; the ruler of a state looks at him a little lower (than the collar); a Great officer, on a line with his heart; and an ordinary officer, not from beyond a distance of five paces. In all cases looks directed above to the face denote pride, and below the girdle grief; directed askance, they denote villainy.

124 When the ruler orders (any special business) from a Great officer or (other) officer, he should assiduously discharge it; in their offices speaking (only) of the official business; in the treasury, of treasury business; in the arsenals, of arsenal business; and in the court, of court business.

125 At court there should be no speaking about dogs and horses. When the audience is over, and one looks about him, if he be not attracted by some strange thing, he must have strange thoughts in his mind. When one keeps looking about him after the business of the court is over, a superior man will pronounce him uncultivated. At court the conversation should be according to the rules of propriety; every question should be so proposed, and every answer so returned.

126 For great entertainments there should be no consulting the tortoise-shell, and no great display of wealth.

127 By way of presents of introduction, the son of Heaven uses spirits of black millet; feudal princes, their symbols of jade; a high minister, a lamb; a Great officer, a goose; an (ordinary) officer, a pheasant; a common man, a duck. Lads should bring their article, and withdraw. In the open country, in the army, they do not use such presents; a tassel from a horse's breast, an archer's armlet, or an arrow may serve the purpose. For such presents women use the fruits of the hovenia dulcis, or of the hazel tree, strings of dried meat, jujube dates, and chestnuts.

128 In presenting a daughter for (the harem of) the son of Heaven it is said, 'This is to complete the providers of sons for you;' for that of the ruler of a state, 'This is to complete the providers of your spirits and sauces;' for that of a Great officer, 'This is to complete the number of those who sprinkle and sweep for you.'

## LI JI CHAPTER 3 Tan Gong 1

Tangong Part 1

1 At the mourning rites for Gong-yi Zhong-zi, Tan Gong (was there), wearing the mourning cincture for the head, Zhong-zi had passed over his grandson, and appointed one of his (younger) sons as his successor (and head of the family). Tan Gong said (to himself), 'How is this? I never heard of such a thing;' and he hurried to Zi-fu Bo-zi at the right of the door, and said, 'How is it that Zhong-zi passed over his grandson, and made a (younger) son his successor?' Bo-zi replied, Zhong-zi perhaps has done in this, like others, according to the way of antiquity. Anciently, king Wen passed over his eldest son Yi-kao, and appointed king Wu; and the count of Wei passed over his grandson Tu, and made Yan, his (own) younger brother, his successor. Zhong-zi perhaps did also in this according to the way of antiquity.' Zi-you asked Confucius (about the matter), and he said, 'Nay, (the rule is to) appoint the grandson.

In serving his father, (a son) should conceal (his faults), and not openly or strongly remonstrate with him about them; should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and then complete the mourning for him for three' years. In serving his ruler, (a minister), should remonstrate with him openly and strongly (about his faults). and make no concealment (of them); should in every possible way wait on and nourish him, but according to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and should then wear mourning for him according to rule for three years. In serving his master, (a learner) should have nothing to do with openly reproving him or with concealing (his faults); should in every possible way wait upon and serve him, without being tied to definite rules; should serve him laboriously till his death, and mourn for him in heart for three years.

3 Ji Wu-zi had built a house, at the bottom of the western steps of which was the grave of the Du family. (The head of that) asked leave to bury (some member of his house) in it, and leave was granted to him to do so. (Accordingly) he entered the house (with the coffin), but did not dare to wail (in the usual fashion). Wu-zi said to him, 'To bury in the same grave was not the way of antiquity. It was begun by the duke of Zhou, and has not been changed since. I have granted you

the great thing, and why should I not grant the less?' (With this) he ordered him to wail.

- 4 When Zi-shang's mother died, and he did not perform any mourning rites for her, the disciples of (his father) Zi-si asked him, saying, 'Did your predecessor, the superior man, observe mourning for his divorced mother?' 'Yes,' was the reply. (And the disciples went on), 'Why do you not make Bai also observe the mourning rites (for his mother)?' Zi-si said, 'My progenitor, a superior man, never failed in pursuing the right path. When a generous course was possible, he took it and behaved generously; and when it was proper to restrain his generosity, he restrained it. But how can I attain to that? While she was my wife, she was Bai's mother; but when she ceased to be my wife, she was no longer his mother.' It was in this way that the Kong family came not to observe mourning for a divorced mother; the practice began from Zi-si.
- 5 Confucius said, 'When (the mourner) bows to (the visitor), and then lays his forehead to the ground, this shows the predominance of courtesy. When he lays his forehead to the ground, and then bows (to his visitor), this shows the extreme degree of his sorrow. In the three years' mourning, I follow the extreme (demonstration).'
- 6 When Confucius had succeeded in burying (his mother) in the same grave (with his father) at Fang, he said, 'I have heard that the ancients made graves (only), and raised no mound over them. But I am a man, who will be (travelling) east, west, south, and north. I cannot do without something by which I can remember (the place).' On this, he (resolved to) raise a mound (over the grave) four feet high.

He then first returned, leaving the disciples behind. A great rain came on; and when they rejoined him, he asked them what had made them so late. 'The earth slipped,' they said, 'from the grave at Fang.' They told him this thrice without his giving them any answer. He then wept freely, and said, 'I have heard that the ancients did not need to repair their graves.'

- 7 Confucius was wailing for Zi-lu in his courtyard. When any came to condole with him, he bowed to them. When the wailing was over, he made the messenger come in, and asked him all about (Zi-lu's death). 'They have made him into pickle,' said the messenger; and forthwith Confucius ordered the pickle (in the house) to be thrown away.
- 8 Zeng-zi said, 'When the grass is old on the grave of a friend, we no (longer) wall for him.'
- 9 Zi-si said, 'On the third day of mourning, when the body is put into the coffin, (a son) should exercise sincerity and good faith in regard to everything that is placed with it, so that there shall be no occasion for repentance. In the third month when the body is interred, he should do the same in regard to everything that is placed with the coffin in the grave, and for the same reason. Three years are considered as the extreme limit of mourning; but though (his parents) are out of sight, a son does not forget them. Hence a superior man will have a lifelong grief, but not one morning's trouble (from without); and thus on the anniversary of a parent's death, he does not listen to music.'

10 Confucius, being quite young when he was left fatherless, did not know (his father's) grave. (Afterwards) he had (his mother's) body coffined in the street of Wu-fu. Those who saw it all thought that it was to be interred there, so carefully was (everything done), but it was (only) the coffining. By inquiring of the mother of Man-fu of Zou, he succeeded in burying it in the same grave (with his father) at Fang.

- 11 When there are mourning rites in the neighbourhood, one should not accompany his pestle with his voice. When there is a body shrouded and coffined in his village, one should not sing in the lanes. For a mourning cap the ends of the ties should not hang down.
- 12 (In the time of Shun) of Yu they used earthenware coffins; under the sovereigns of Xia, they surrounded these with an enclosure of bricks. The people of Yin used wooden coffins, the outer and inner. They of Zhou added the surrounding curtains and the feathery ornaments. The people of Zhou buried those who died between 16 and 19 in the coffins of Yin; those who died between 12 and 15 or between 8 and 11 in the brick enclosures of Xia; and those who died (still younger), for whom no mourning is worn, in the earthenware enclosures of the time of the lord of Yu.
- 13 Under the sovereigns of Xia they preferred what was black. On great occasions (of mourning), for preparing the body and putting it into the coffin, they used the dusk; for the business of war, they used black horses in their chariots; and the victims which they used were black. Under the Yin dynasty they preferred what was white. On occasions of mourning, for coffining the body, they used the midday; for the business of war they used white horses; and their victims were white. Under the Zhou dynasty they preferred what was wed. On occasions of mourning, they coffined the body at sunrise; for the business of war they used red horses, with black manes and tails; and their victims were red.
- 14 When the mother of duke Mu of Lu died, he sent to ask Zeng-zi what (ceremonies) he should observe. Zeng-zi said, 'I have heard from my father that the sorrow declared in the weeping and wailing, the feelings expressed in the robe of sackcloth with even or with frayed edges, and the food of rice

made thick or in congee, extend from the son of Heaven to all. But the tent-like covering (for the coffin) is of (linen) cloth in Wei and of silk in Lu'

- 15 Duke Xian of Jin, intending to put to death his heir-son Shen-sheng, another son, Chong-er, said to the latter, 'Why should you not tell what is in your mind to the duke?' The heir-son said, 'I cannot do so. The ruler is happy with the lady Ji of Li. I should (only) wound his heart.' 'Then,' continued the other, 'Why not go away?' The heir son replied, 'I cannot do so. The ruler says that I wish to murder him. Is there any state where the (sacredness) of a father is not recognised? Where should I go to obviate this charge?' (At the same time) he sent a man to take leave (for him) of Hu Tu, with the message, 'I was wrong in not thinking (more) of your words, my old friend, and that neglect is occasioning my death. Though I do not presume to grudge dying, yet our ruler is old, and his (favourite) son is (quite) young. Many difficulties are threatening the state, and you, old Sir, do not come forth (from your retirement), and consult for (the good of) our ruler. If you will come forth and do this, I will die (with the feeling that I) have received a (great) favour from you.' He (then) bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, after which he died (by his own hand). On this account he became (known in history as)'the Reverential Heir-son'."
- 16 There was a man of Lu, who, after performing in the morning the ceremony which introduced the 25th month of his mourning, began to sing in the evening. Zi-lu laughed at him, (but) the Master said, 'You, will you never have done with your finding fault with people? The mourning for three years is indeed long.' When Zi-lu went out, the Master said, 'Would he still have had to wait long? In another month (he might have sung, and) it would have been well.'
- 17 Duke Zhuang of Lu fought a battle with the men of Song at Sheng-qiu. Xian Ben-fu was driving, and Bu Guo was spearman on the right. The horses got frightened, and the carriage was broken, so that the duke fell down. They handed the strap of a relief chariot (that drove up) to him, when he said, 'I did not consult the tortoise-shell (about the movement).' Xiun Ben-fu said, 'On no other occasion did such a disaster occur; that it has occurred to-day is owing to my want of courage. Forthwith he died (in the fight). When the groom was bathing the horses, a random arrow was found (in one of them), sticking in the flesh under the flank; and (on learning this), the duke said, 'It was not his fault; and he conferred on him an honorary name. The practice of giving such names to (ordinary) officers began from this.

18 Zeng-zi was lying in his chamber very ill. Yue-zheng Zichun was sitting by the side of the couch; Zeng Yuan and Zeng Shen were sitting at (their father's) feet; and there was a lad sitting in a corner holding a torch, who said, 'How beautifully coloured and bright! Is it not the mat of a Great officer?' Zi-chun (tried to) stop him, but Zeng-zi had heard him, and in a tone of alarm called him, when he repeated what he had said. 'Yes,' said Zeng-zi, 'it was the gift of Ji-sun, and I have not been able to change it. Get up, Yuan, and change the mat.' Zang Yuan said, 'Your illness is extreme. It cannot now be changed. If you happily survive till the morning, I will ask your leave and reverently change it! Zeng-zi said, 'Your love of me is not equal to his. A superior man loves another on grounds of virtue; a little man's love of another is seen in his indulgence of him. What do I seek for? I want for nothing but to die in the correct way.' They then raised him up, and changed the mat. When he was replaced on the new one, before he could compose himself, he expired.

19 When (a father) has just died, (the son) should appear quite overcome, and as if he were at his wits' end; when the corpse has been put into the coffin, he should cast quick and sorrowful glances around, as if he were seeking for something and could not find it; when the interment has taken place, he should look alarmed and. restless, as if he were looking for some one who does not arrive; at the end of the first year's mourning, he should look sad and disappointed; and at the end of the second year's, he should have a vague and unreliant look.

- 20 The practice in Zhu-lou of calling the (spirits of the dead) back with arrows took its rise from the battle of Sheng-xing. That in Lu of the women making their visits of condolence (simply) with a band of sackcloth round their hair took its rise from the defeat at Yi-tai.
- 21 At the mourning for her mother-in-law, the Master instructed (his niece), the wife of Nan-gong Jiang, about the way in which she should tie up her hair with sackcloth, saying, 'Do not make it very high, nor very broad. Have the hair-pin of hazel-wood, and the hair-knots (hanging down) eight inches.'
- 22 Meng Xian-zi, after the service which ended the mourning rites, had his instruments of music hung on their stands,, but did not use them; and when he might have approached the inmates of his harem, he did not enter it. The Master said, 'Xian-zi is a degree above other men.'
- 23 Confucius, after the service at the close of the one year's mourning, in five days more (began to) handle his lute, but brought no perfect sounds from it; in ten days he played on the organ and sang to it.

- 24 You-zi, it appears, after the service of the same period of mourning, wore shoes of (white) silk, and had ribbons of (white) silk for his cap-strings.
- 25 There are three deaths on which no condolence should be offered: from cowardice; from being crushed (through heedlessness); and from drowning.
- 26 When Zi-lu might have ended his mourning for his eldest sister, he still did not do so. Confucius said to him, 'Why do you not leave off your mourning?' He replied, 'I have but few brothers, and I cannot bear to do so.' Confucius said, 'When the ancient kings framed their rules, (they might have said that) they could not bear (to cease mourning) even for (ordinary) men on the roads.' When Zi-lu heard this, he forthwith left off his mourning.

  27 Tai-gong was invested with his state, (and had his
- 27 Tai-gong was invested with his state, (and had his capital) in Ying-qiu; but for five generations (his descendants, the marquises of Qi) were all taken back and buried in Zhou. A superior man has said, 'For music, we use that of him from whom we sprang; in ceremonies, we do not forget him to whom we trace our root.' The ancients had a saying, that a fox, when dying, adjusts its head in the direction of the mound (where it was whelped); manifesting thereby (how it shares in the feeling of) humanity.
- 28 When the mother of Bo-Yu died, he kept on wailing for her after the year. Confucius heard him, and said, 'Who is it that is thus wailing?' The disciples said, 'It is Li.' The Master said, 'Ah! (such a demonstration) is excessive.' When Bo-Yu heard it, he forthwith gave up wailing.
- 29 Shun was buried in the wilderness of Cang-wu, and it would thus appear that the three ladies of his harem were not buried in the same grave with him. Ji Wu-zi said, 'Burying (husband and wife) in the same grave appears to have originated with the duke of Zhou.'
- 30 At the mourning rites for Zeng-zi, his body was washed in the cook-room.
- 31 During the mourning for nine months one should suspend his (musical) studies. Some one has said, 'It is permissible during that time to croon over the words (of the pieces).'
- 32 When Zi-zhang was ill, he called (his son), Shen-xiang, and addressed him, saying, 'We speak of the end of a superior man, and of the death of a small man. I am to-day, perhaps, drawing near to my end (as a superior man).'
- 33 Zeng-zi said, 'May not what remains in the cupboard suffice to set down (as the offerings) by (the corpse of) one who has just died?'
- 34 Zeng-zi said, 'Not to have places (for wailing) in cases of the five months' mourning is a rule which sprang from the ways in small lanes.' When Zi-si wailed for his sister-in-law, he made such places, and his wife took the lead in the stamping. When Shen-xiang wailed for Yan-si, he also did the same.
- 35 Anciently, (all) caps were (made) with the seams going up and down them; now the (mourning cap) is made with the seams going round. Hence to have the mourning cap different from that worn on felicitous occasions is not the way of antiquity.
- 36 Zeng-zi said to Zi-si, 'Ji, when I was engaged in the mourning for my parents, no water or other liquid entered my mouth for seven days.' Zi-si said, 'With regard to the rules of ceremony framed by the ancient kings, those who would go beyond them should stoop down to them, and those who do not reach them should stand on tip-toe to do so. Hence, when a superior man is engaged in mourning for his parents, no water or other liquid enters his mouth for three days, and with the aid of his staff he is still able to rise.'
- 37 Zeng-zi said, 'If, in cases coming under the five months' mourning, none be worn when the death is not heard of till after the lapse of that time, then when brethren are far apart there would be no wearing of mourning for them at all; and would this be right?'
- 38 On the mourning rites for Bo-gao, before the messenger from Confucius could arrive, Ran-zi had taken it on him, as his substitute, to present a parcel of silks and a team of four horses. Confucius said, 'Strange! He has only made me fail in showing my sincerity in the case of Bo-gao.'

  39 Bo-gao died in Wei, and news of the event was sent to
- 39 Bo-gao died in Wei, and news of the event was sent to Confucius. He said, 'Where shall I wail for him? For brethren, I wail in the ancestral temple; for a friend of my father, outside the gate of the temple; for a teacher, in my chamber; for a friend, outside the door of the chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, (some distance off). (To wail) in the open country would in this case be too slight (an expression of grief), and to do so in the bed-chamber would be too great a one. But it was by Ci that he was introduced to me. I will wail for him in Ci's.' Accordingly he ordered Zi-gong to act as presiding mourner on the occasion, saying to him, 'Bow to those who come because you have a wailing in your house, but do not bow to those who come (simply) because they knew Bo-gao.'
- 40 Zeng-zi said, 'When one during his mourning rites falls ill, and has to eat meat and drink spirits, there must be added the strengthening flavours from vegetables and trees;' meaning thereby ginger and cinnamon.

- 41 When Zi-xia was mourning for his son, he lost his evesight. Zeng-zi went to condole with him, and said. 'I have heard that when a friend loses his eyesight, we should wail for him.' Thereupon he wailed, and Zi-xia also wailed, and said, 'O Heaven, and I have no guilt!' Zeng-zi was angry, and said, 'Shang, how can you say that you have no guilt? I and you served the Master between the Zhu and the Si': and (after his death) you retired, and grew old in the neighbourhood of the Western He, where you made the people compare you with the Master. This was one offence. When you mourned for your parents, you did so in such a way that the people heard nothing of it. This was a second offence. When you mourned for your son, you did it in such a way that you have lost your eyesight. This is a third offence. And how do you say that you have no guilt?' Zi-xia threw down his staff, and bowed, saying, 'I was wrong, I was wrong. It is a long time since I left the herd, and lived apart here.'
- 42 When a man stops during the daytime in his inner (chamber), it is allowable to come and ask about his illness. When he stops outside during the night, it is allowable to come and condole with him. Hence a superior man, except for some great cause, does not pass the night outside (his chamber); and unless he is carrying out a fast or is ill, he does not day and night stop inside.
- 43 When Gao Zi-gao was engaged with the mourning for his parents, his tears flowed (silently) like blood for three years, and he never (laughed) so as to show his teeth. Superior men considered that he did a difficult thing.
- 44 It is better not to wear mourning at all than not to have it of the proper materials and fashion. When wearing the sackcloth with the edges even (for a mother), one should not sit unevenly or to one side, nor should he do any toilsome labour, (even) in the nine months' mourning.
- 45 When Confucius went to Wei, he found the mourning rites going on for a man with whom he had formerly lodged. Entering the house, he wailed for him bitterly; and when he came out, he told Zi-gong to take out the outside horses of his carriage, and present them as his gift. Zi-gong said, 'At the mourning for any of your disciples, you have never taken out those horses (for such a purpose); is it not excessive to do so for a man with whom you (merely) lodged?' The Master said, 'I entered a little ago, and wailed for him; and I found (the mourner) so dissolved in grief that my tears flowed (with his). I should hate it, if those tears were not (properly) followed. Do it, my child.'
- 46 When Confucius was in Wei, there was (a son) following his (father's) coffin to the grave. After Confucius had looked at him, he said, 'How admirably did he manage this mourning rite! He is fit to be a pattern. Remember it, my little children.' Zi-gong said, 'What did you, Master, see in him so admirable?' 'He went,' was the reply, 'as if he were full of eager affection. He came back (looking) as if he were in doubt.' 'Would it not have been better, if he had come back hastily, to present the offering of repose?' The Master said, 'Remember it, my children. I have not been able to attain to it.'
- 47 At the mourning rites for Yan Yuan, some of the flesh of the sacrifice at the end of (? two) years was sent to Confucius, who went out and received it, On re-entering he played on his lute, and afterwards ate it.
- 48 Confucius was standing (once) with his disciples, having his hands joined across his breast, and the right hand uppermost. They also all placed their right hands uppermost. He said to them, 'You do so from your wish to imitate me, but I place my hands so, because I am mourning for an elder sister.' On this they all placed their left hands uppermost (according to the usual fashion).
- 49 Confucius rose early (one day), and with his hands behind him, and trailing his staff, moved slowly about near the door, singing, "The great mountain must crumble; The strong beam must break; The wise man must wither away like a plant.' Having thus sung, he entered and sat down opposite the door. Zi-gong had heard him, and said, 'If the great mountain crumble, to what shall I look up? If the strong beam break. (on what shall I lean)? If the wise man wither like a plant, whom, shall I imitate? The Master, I am afraid, is going to be ill.' He then hastened into the house. The Master said, Ci, what makes you so late? Under the sovereigns of Xia, the body was dressed and coffined at the top of the steps on the east, so that it was where the deceased used to go up (as master of the house). The people of Yin performed the same ceremony between the two pillars, so that the steps for the host were on one side of the corpse, and those for the guest on the other The people of Zhou perform it at the top of the western steps, treating the deceased as if he were a guest. I am a man (descended from the house) of Yin, and last night I dreamt that I was sitting with the offerings to the dead by my side between the two pillars. Intelligent kings do not arise; and what one under heaven's able to take me as his Master? I apprehend I am about to die.' With this he took to his bed. was ill for seven days, and died.
- 50 At the mourning rites for Confucius, the disciples were in perplexity as to what dress they should wear. Zi-gong said, 'Formerly, when the Master was mourning for Yan Yuan, he acted in other respects as if he were mourning for a son, but

wore no mourning dress. He did the same in the case of Zi-lu. Let us mourn for the Master, as if we were mourning for a father, but wear no mourning dress.'

- 51 At the mourning for Confucius, Gong-xi Chi made the ornaments of commemoration. As the adornments of the coffin, there were the wall-like curtains, the fan-like screens, and the cords at its sides, after the manner of Zhou. There were the flags with their toothed edges, after the manner of Yin; and there were the flag-staffs bound with white silk, and long streamers pendent from them, after the manner of Xia.
- 52 At the mourning for Zi-zhang, Gong-ming made the ornaments of commemoration. There was a tent-like pall, made of plain silk of a carnation colour, with clusters of ants at the four corners, (as if he had been) an officer of Yin.
- 53 Zi-xia asked Confucius, saying, 'How should (a son) conduct himself with reference to the man who has killed his father or mother?' The Master said, 'He should sleep on straw, with his shield for a pillow; he should not take office; he must be determined not to live with the slayer under the same heaven. If he meet with him in the market-place or the court, he should not have to go back for his weapon, but (instantly) fight with him.' 'Allow me to ask,' said (the other), 'how one should do with reference to the man who has slain his brother?' 'He may take office,' was the reply, 'but not in the same state with the slayer; if he be sent on a mission by his ruler's orders, though he may then meet with the man, he should not fight with him.' 'And how should one do,' continued Zi-xia, 'in the case of a man who has slain one of his paternal cousins?' Confucius said, 'He should not take the lead (in the avenging). If he whom it chiefly concerns is able to do that, he should support him from behind, with his weapon in his hand.
- 54 At the mourning rites for Confucius, his disciples all wore their head-bands of sackcloth, when they went out. For one of their own number, they wore them in the house (when condoling), but not when they went out.
- 55 Keeping (the ground about) their graves clear of grass was not a practice of antiquity.
- 56 Zi-lu said, 'I heard the Master say that in the rites of mourning, exceeding grief with deficient rites is better than little demonstration of grief with superabounding rites; and that in those of sacrifice, exceeding reverence with deficient rites is better than an excess of rites with but little reverence.
- 57 Zeng-zi having gone on a visit of condolence to Fu-Xia, the chief mourner had already presented the sacrifice of departure, and removed the offerings. He caused the bier, however, to be pushed back to its former place, and made the women come down (again), after which (the visitor) went through his ceremony. The disciples who accompanied Zengzi asked him if this proceeding were according to rule, and he said, 'The sacrifice at starting is an unimportant matter, And why might he not bring (the bier) back, and 'let it rest (for a while)?' The disciples further asked the same question of Ziyou, who said, 'The rice and precious shell are put into the mouth of the corpse under the window (of the western chamber); the slighter dressing is done inside the door, and the more complete one at (the top of) the eastern steps; the coffining takes place at the guests' place; the sacrifice at starting in the courtyard; and the interment at the grave. The proceedings go on in this way to what is more remote, and hence in the details of mourning there is a constant advance and no receding.' When Zeng-zi heard of this reply, he said, This is a much better account than I gave of the going forth to offer the sacrifice of departure.'
- 58 Zeng-zi went an a visit of condolence, wearing his fur robe over the silk one, while Zi-you went, wearing the silk one over his fur. Zeng-zi, pointing to him, and calling the attention of others, said, 'That man has the reputation of being well versed in ceremonies, how is it that he comes to condole with his silk robe displayed over his fur one?' (By-and-by), when the chief mourner had finished the slighter dressing of the corpse, he bared his breast and tied up his hair with sackcloth, on which Zi-you hastened out, and (soon) came back, wearing his fur robe over the silk, and with a girdle of sackcloth. Zeng-zi on this said, 'I was wrong, I was wrong. That man was right.'
- 59 When Zi-xia was introduced (to the Master) after he had put off the mourning (for his parents), a lute was given to him. He tried to tune it, but could hardly do so; he touched it, but brought no melody from it. He rose up and said, 'I have not yet forgotten my grief. The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I dare not go beyond them?' When a lute was given to Zi-zhang in the same circumstances, he tried to tune it, and easily did so; he touched it, and brought melody from it. He rose up and said, 'The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I do not dare not to come up to them.'

60 At the mourning rites for Hui-zi, who had been minister of Crime, Zi-you (went to condole), wearing for him a robe of sackcloth, and a headband made of the product of the male plant. Wen-zi (the brother of Hui-zi), wishing to decline the honour, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear this mourning; I venture to decline the honour.' Zi-you said, 'It is in. rule:' on which Wen-zi returned and continued his wailing.

Zi-you then hastened and took his place among the officers (of the family); but Wen-zi also declined this honour, and said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now further condescend to wear for him this mourning, and to come and take part in the mourning rites I venture to decline the honour. 'Zi-you said, 'I beg firmly to request you to allow me (to remain here).' Wen-zi then returned, and supporting the rightful son to take his position with his face to the south, said, 'You condescended to be the associate of my younger brother, and now you further condescend to wear this mourning for him, and to come and take part in the rites; dare Hu but return to his (proper) place?' Zi-you on this hastened to take his position among the guests'.

- 61 At the mourning rites for the general Wen-zi, when the first year's mourning was at an end, there came a man from Yue on a visit of condolence. The chief mourner, wearing the long robe (assumed on the completion of the first year's mourning), and the cap worn before that, wailed for him in the ancestral temple, with the tears running from his eyes and the rheum from his nose. Zi-you saw it, and said, 'The son of the general Wen is not far from being (a master of ceremonies). In his observances at this time, for which there is no special rule, his proceeding is correct.'
- 62 The giving of the name in childhood, of the designation at the capping, of the title of elder uncle or younger uncle at fifty, and of the honorary title after death, was the practice of the Zhou dynasty.
- 63 The wearing of the sackcloth head-bands and girdles, to express the real (feeling of the heart); the digging a hole in the middle of the apartment (over which) to wash (the corpse); taking down the (tiles of the) furnace, and placing them at the feet (of it); and at the interment pulling down (part of the wall on the west of the door of) the ancestral temple, so as to pass by the upper side (of the altar to the spirit) of the way, and issue by the great gate these were the practices of the Yin dynasty, and the learners (in the school of Confucius) followed them.
- 64 When the mother of Zi-liu died, (his younger brother) Zi-shi asked for the means (to provide what was necessary for the mourning rites). Zi-liu said, 'How shall we get them?' 'Let us sell (the concubines), the mothers of our half-brothers,' said the other. 'How can we sell the mothers of other men to bury our mother?' was the reply; 'that cannot be done.' After the burial, Zi-shi wished to take what remained of the money and other things contributed towards their expenses, to provide sacrificial vessels; but Zi-liu said, 'Neither can that be done. I have heard that a superior man will not enrich his family by means of his mourning. Let us distribute it among the poor of our brethren.'
- 65 A superior man said, 'He who has given counsel to another about his army should die with it when it is defeated. He who has given counsel about the country or its capital should perish with it when it comes into peril.'
- 66 Gong-shu Wen-zi ascended the mound of Xia, with, Qu Bo-Yu following him. Wen-zi said, 'How pleasant is this mound! I should like to be buried here when I die.' Qu Bo-Yu said, 'You may find pleasure in such a thought, but allow me (to go home) before (you say any more about it)
- 67 There was a man of Bian who wept like a child on the death of his mother. Confucius said, This is grief indeed, but it would be difficult to continue it. Now the rules of ceremony require to be handed down, and to be perpetuated. Hence the wailing and leaping are subject to fixed regulations.'
- 68 When the mother of Shu-sun Wu-shu died, and the slighter dressing had been completed, the bearers went out at the door (of the apartment) with the corpse. When he had himself gone out at the door, he bared his arms, throwing down also his cap, and binding his hair with sackcloth, Zi-you said (in derision), 'He knows the rules!'
- 69 (When a ruler was ill), the high chamberlain supported him on the right, and the assigner of positions at audiences did so on the left. When he died these two officers lifted (the cornse)
- 70 There are the husband of a maternal cousin and the wife of a maternal uncle; that these two should wear mourning for each other has not been said by any superior man. Some one says, 'If they have eaten together from the same fireplace, the three months' mourning should be worn.'
- 71 It is desirable that affairs of mourning should be gone about with urgency, and festive affairs in a leisurely way. Hence, though affairs of mourning require urgency, they should not go beyond the prescribed rules; and though festive affairs may be delayed, they should not be transacted negligently. Hurry therefore (in the former) becomes rudeness, and too much ease (in the latter) shows a small man. The superior man will conduct himself in them as they severally require.
- 72 A superior man is ashamed to prepare (beforehand) all that he may require in discharging his mourning rites. What can be made in one or two days, he does not prepare (beforehand). The mourning worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son: the object being to bring him still nearer to one's self. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other: the

object being to maintain the distance between them. Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister, (when they have been married); the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full measure of observance. When (the Master) was eating by the side of one who had mourning rites in hand, he never ate to the full.

73 Zeng-zi was standing with (another) visitor by the side of the door (of their house of entertainment), when a companion (of the other) came hurrying out. 'Where are you going?' said Zeng-zi; and the man replied, 'My father is dead, and I am going to wail for him in the lane.' 'Return to your apartment,' was the reply, 'and wail for him there.' (The man did so), and Zeng-zi made him a visit of condolence, standing with his face to the north.

74 Confucius said, 'In dealing with the dead, if we treat them as if they were entirely dead, that would show a want of affection, and should not be done; or, if we treat them as if they were entirely alive, that would show a want of wisdom, and should not be done. On this account the vessels of bamboo (used in connexion with the burial of the dead) are not fit for actual use; those of earthenware cannot be used to wash in; those of wood are incapable of being carved; the lutes are strung, but not evenly; the pandean pipes are complete, but not in tune; the bells and musical stones are there, but they have no stands. They are called vessels to the eye of fancy; that is, (the dead) are thus treated as if they were spiritual intelligences.'

75 You-zi asked Zeng-zi if he had ever questioned the Master about (an officer's) losing his place. I heard from him,' was the reply, 'that the officer in such a case should wish to become poor quickly, (just as) we should wish to decay away quickly when we have died. You-zi said, 'These are not the words of a superior man.' 'I heard them from the Master,' returned Zeng-zi. You-zi repeated that they were not the words of a superior man, and the other affirmed that both he and Zi-you had heard them. 'Yes, yes,' said You-zi, 'but the Master must have spoken them with a special reference.'

Zeng-zi reported You-zi's words to Zi-you, who said, 'How very like his words are to those of the Master! Formerly, when the Master was staying in Song, he saw that Huan, the minister of War, had been for three years having a stone coffin made for himself without its being finished, and said, "What extravagance! It would be better that when dead he should quickly decay away." It was with reference to Hwan, the minister of War, that he said, "We should wish to decay away quickly when we die." When Nan-gong Jing-shu returned (to the state), he made it a point to carry his treasures with him in its carriage when he went to court, on which the Master said, "Such an amount of property! It would have been better for him, when he lost his office, to make haste to become poor." It was with reference to Nan-gong Jing-shu that he said that we should work to become poor quickly, when we have lost office "

Zeng-zi reported these words of Zi-you to You-zi, who said, 'Yes, I did say that these were not the words of the Master.' When the other asked him how he knew it, he said, 'The Master made an ordinance in Zhong-Du that the inner coffin should be four inches thick, and the outer five. By this I knew that he did not wish that the dead should decay away quickly. And formerly, when he had lost the office of minister of Crime in Lu, and was about to go to Jing, he first sent Zi-xia there, and afterwards Ran You. By this, I knew that he did not wish to become poor quickly.'

76 When Zhuang-zi of Chen died, announcement of the event was sent to Lu. They did not want to wail for him there, but duke Mu called Xian-zi, and consulted him. He said, 'In old times, no messages from Great officers, not even such as were accompanied by a bundle of pieces of dried meat, went out beyond the boundaries of their states. Though it had been wished to wail for them, how could it have been done? Nowadays the Great officers share in the measures of government throughout the middle states. Though it may be wished not to wail for one, how can it be avoided? I have heard, moreover, that there are two grounds for the wailing; one from love, and one from fear.' The duke said, 'Very well; but how is the thing to be managed in this case?' Xian-zi said, 'I would ask you to wail for him in the temple of (a family of) a different surname;' and hereon the duke and he wailed for Zhuang-zi in (the temple of) the Xian family.

77 Zhong Xian said to Zeng-zi, 'Under the sovereigns of the Xia dynasty, they used (at burials) the vessels which were such only to the eye of fancy, intimating to the people that (the dead) had no knowledge. Under the Yin they used the (ordinary) sacrificial vessels, intimating to the people that (the dead) had knowledge. Under the Zhou we use both, intimating to the people that the thing is doubtful.' Zeng-zi replied, 'It is not so! It is not so! What are vessels (only) to the eye of fancy are for the shades (of the departed); the vessels of sacrifice are those of men; how should those ancients have treated their parents as if they were dead?'

78 An elder brother of Gong-shu Mu, by the same mother but a different father, having died, he asked Zi-you (whether he should go into mourning for him), and was answered,

Perhaps you should do so for the period of nine months.' A brother, similarly related to Di Yi, having died, he consulted Zi-xia in the same way, and was answered, 'I have not heard anything about it before, but the people of Lu wear the one year's mourning in such a case.' Di Yi did so, and the present practice of wearing that mourning arose from his question'.

79 When Zi-si's mother died in Wei, Liu Ruo said to him, 'You, Sir, are the descendant of a sage. From all quarters they look to you for an example in ceremonies; let me advise you to be careful in the matter.' Zi-si said, 'Of what have I to be careful? I have heard that when there are certain ceremonies to be observed, and he has not the necessary means for them, a superior man does not observe them', and that neither does he do so, when there are the ceremonies, and he has the means, but the time is not suitable; of what have I to be careful?

80 Xian-zi Suo said, 'I have heard that the ancients made no diminution (in the degrees of mourning on any other ground); but mourned for every one above and below them according to his relationship. Thus Wen, the earl of Teng, wore the year's mourning for Meng-hu, who was his uncle, and the same for Meng Pi whose uncle he was '

81 Hou Mu said, 'I heard Xian-zi say about the rites of mourning, that (a son) should certainly think deeply and long about them all, and that (for instance) in buying the coffin he should see that, inside and outside, it be (equally) well completed. When I die, let it be so also with me.'

82 Zeng-zi said, 'Until the corpse has its ornaments put on it, they curtain off the hall; and after the slighter dressing the curtain is removed.' Gong-liang-zi said, 'Husband and wife are at first all in confusion, and therefore the hall is curtained off. After the slighter dressing, the curtain is removed.'

83 With regard to the offerings to the dead at the time of the slighter dressing, Zi-you said that they should be placed on the east (of the corpse). Zeng-zi said, 'They should be placed on the west, on the mat there at the time of the dressing.' The placing the offerings on the west at the time of the slighter dressing was an error of the later times of Lu.

84 Xuan-zi said, 'To have the mourning robe of coarse dolichos cloth, and the lower garment of fine linen with a wide texture, was not (the way of) antiquity.'

85 When Zi-pu died, the wailers called out his name Mie. Zi-gao said, 'So rude and uncultivated are they!' On this they changed their style.

86 At the mourning rites for the mother of Du Qiao no one was employed in the house to assist (the son in the ceremonies), which was accounted a careless omission.

87 The Master said, 'As soon as a death occurs, (the members of the family) should change their lambskin furs and dark-coloured caps, though they may do nothing more.' The Master did not pay a visit of condolence in these articles of dress.

88 Zi-you asked about the articles to be provided for the mourning rites, and the Master said, 'They should be according to the means of the family.' Zi-you urged, 'How can a family that has means and one that has not have things done in the same way?' The master replied, 'Where there are means, let there be no exceeding the prescribed rites. If there be a want of means, let the body be lightly covered from head to foot, and forthwith buried, the coffin being simply let down by means of ropes. Who in such a case will blame the procedure?'

89 Ben, superintendent of officers' registries, informed Ziyou of his wish to dress his dead on the couch. 'You may,' said Zi-you. When Xian-zi heard of this, he said, 'How arrogant is the old gentleman! He takes it on himself to allow men in what is the proper rule.'

90 At the burial of his wife, duke Xiang of Song placed (in the grave) a hundred jars of vinegar and pickles. Zeng-zi said, 'They are called "vessels only to the eye of fancy," and yet he filled them!'

91 After the mourning rites for Meng Xian-zi, the chief minister of his family made his subordinates return their money-offerings to all the donors. The Master said that such a thing was allowable.

92 About the reading of the list of the material contributions (towards the service of a funeral), Zeng-zi said, 'It is not an ancient practice; it is a second announcement (to the departed)!'

93 When Cheng-zi Gao was lying ill, Qing went in to see him, and asked his (parting) commands, saying, 'Your disease, Sir, is severe. If it should go on to be the great illness, what are we to do?' Zi-gao said, 'I have heard that in life we should be of use to others, and in death should do them no harm. Although I may have been of no use to others during my life, shall I do them any harm by my death? When I am dead, choose a piece of barren ground, and bury me there.'

94 Zi-xia asked the Master (how one should deport himself) during the mourning for the ruler's mother or wife, (and the reply was), 'In sitting and stopping with others, in his conversation, and when eating and drinking, he should appear to be at ease.

95 When a stranger-visitor arrived, and had nowhere to lodge, the Master would say, 'While he is alive, let him lodge with me. Should he die. I will see to his coffining.'

96 Guo-zi gao said, 'Burying means hiding away; and that hiding (of the body) is from a wish that men should not see it. Hence there are the clothes sufficient for an elegant covering; the coffin all round about the clothes; the shell all round about the coffin; and the earth all round about the shell. And shall we farther raise a mound over the grave and plant it with trees?"

97 At the mourning for Confucius, there came a man from Yan to see (what was done), and lodged at Zi-xia's. Zi-xia said to him, 'If it had been for the sage's conducting a burial, (there would have been something worthy to see); but what is there to see in our burying of the sage? Formerly the Master made some remarks to me, saying, "I have seen some mounds made like a raised hall; others like a dyke on a river's bank; others like the roof of a large house; and others in the shape of an axe-head." We have followed the axe-shape, making what is called the horse-mane mound. In one day we thrice shifted the frame-boards, and completed the mound. I hope we have carried out the wish of the Master.'

98 Women (in mourning) do not (change) the girdle made of dolichos fibre

99 When new offerings (of grain or fruits) are presented (beside the body in the coffin), they should be (abundant), like the offerings on the first day of the moon.

100 When the interment has taken place, everyone should make a change in his mourning dress.

101 The gutters of the tent-like frame over the coffin should be like the double gutters of a house.

102 When a ruler succeeds to his state, he makes his coffin, and thereafter varnishes it once a year, keeping it deposited

103 Calling the departed back; plugging the teeth open; keeping the feet straight; filling the mouth; dressing the corpse; and curtaining the hall: these things are set about together.

104 The uncles and elder cousins give their charges to those who are to communicate the death (to friends). The (soul of a deceased) ruler is called back in his smaller chambers, and the large chamber; in the smaller ancestral temples and in the great one: and at the gate leading to the court of the external audience, and in the suburbs all round.

105 Why do they leave the offerings of the mourning rites uncovered? May they do so with the flesh of sacrifice?

106 When the coffining has taken place, in ten days after, provision should be made for the materials (for the shell), and for the vessels to the eye of fancy.

107 The morning offerings should be set forth (beside the body) at sunrise; the evening when the sun is about to set.

108 In mourning for a parent, there is no restriction to (set) times for wailing. If one be sent on a mission, he must announce his return (to the spirits of his departed).

109 After the twelfth month of mourning, the (inner) garment should be of white silk, with a yellow lining, and having the collar and the edges of the cuffs of a light purple. The waist-band should be of dolichos cloth; the shoes of hempen string, without the usual ornaments at the points; and the ear-plugs of horn. The lining of the deer's-fur (for winter) should be made broader and with longer cuffs, and a robe of thin silk may be worn over it.

110 When (a parent's) corpse has been coffined, if the son hear of mourning going on for a cousin at a distance, he must go (to condole), though the relationship would only require the three months' mourning. If the mourning be for a neighbour, who is not a relative, he does not go. At (the mourning) for an acquaintance, he must pay visits of condolence to all his brethren, though they might not have lived with him.

111 The coffin of the son of Heaven is fourfold. The hides of a water-buffalo and a rhinoceros, overlapping each other, (form the first), three inches in thickness. Then there is a coffin of yi wood, and there are two of the Rottlera. The four are all complete enclosures. The bands for the (composite) coffin are (five); two straight, and three cross; with a double wedge under each band (where it is on the edge). The shell is of cypress wood, in pieces six cubits long, from the trunk near the root.

112 When the son of Heaven is wailing for a feudal prince, he wears the bird's-(head) cap, a headband of sackcloth, and black robes. Some one says, 'He employs an officer to wail for him.' While so engaged, he has no music at his meals.

113 When the son of Heaven is put into his coffin it is surrounded with boards plastered over, and (rests on the hearse), on whose shafts are painted dragons, so as to form a (kind of) shell. Then over the coffin is placed a pall with the axe-heads figured on it. This being done, it forms a plastered house. Such is the rule for (the coffining of) the son of Heaven.

114 It is only at the mourning rites for the son of Heaven that the feudal princes are arranged for the wailing according to their different surnames.

115 Duke Ai of Lu eulogised Kong Qiu in the words, 'Heaven has not left the old man, and there is no one to assist me in my place. Oh! Alas! Ni-fu!'

116 When a state had lost a large tract of territory with its cities, the highest and other ministers, and the Great and

other officers, all wailed in the grand ancestral temple, in mourning caps, for three days; and the ruler (for the same time) had no full meal with music. Some one says, 'The ruler has his full meals and music, but wails at the altar to the spirit of the land.'

117 Confucius disliked those who wailed in the open fields.

118 (A son) who has not been in office should not presume to give away anything belonging to the family. If he should have to do so, he ought to have the order of his father or elder brother for the act.

119 When the (ordinary) officers are all entered, then (the chief mourner and all the others) fall to their leaping, morning and evening.

120 After the service on the conclusion of the twenty-fourth month of mourning, the plain white cap is assumed. In that month the service on leaving off mourning is performed, and after another month (the mourners) may take to their music.

121 The ruler may confer on any officer the small curtain (as a pall for his father's coffin).

### LI JI CHAPTER 4 Tan Gong 2

Tangong Part 2

122 At the funeral of a ruler's eldest son by his acknowledged wife, who has died under age, there are three (small) carriages (with the flesh of sacrifice to be put in the grave). At that of an eldest son by one of his concubines, dying under age, there is one such carriage; as at the funeral of the eldest rightful son of a Great officer in the same circumstances.

123 At the mourning rites for a feudal lord, his chief officers who had received their appointments. directly from him, carried their staffs.

124 When a Great officer of a state was about to be buried, its ruler (went to) condole with (his son) in the hall where the coffin was. When it was being taken out, he ordered some one to draw the (bier-carriage) for him. This moved on for three paces and stopped; in all for three times; afterwhich the ruler retired. The same proceeding was gone through, when the bier entered the ancestral temple, and also at the place of (special) grief.

125 Men of fifty, who had no carriage, did not make visits of condolence beyond the boundaries (of their states).

126 When Ji Wu-zi was lying ill in his chamber, Jiao Gu entered and appeared before him without taking off the mourning with its even edges (which he happened to wear). 'This practice,' said he, 'has nearly fallen into disuse. But it is only at the gate of the ruler that an officer should take off such mourning as I have on.' Wu-zi replied, 'Is it not good that you should act thus? A superior man illustrates the smallest points (of propriety).' At the mourning rites for Wu-zi, Zeng Dian leant against his gate and sang.

127 If a Great officer pay a visit of condolence (to an ordinary officer), and he arrive when (the latter) is occupied with the business of the occasion, an apology is made (for not coming to the gate to receive him). When one has paid a visit of condolence, he should not on the same day show manifestations of joy. A wife should not go beyond the boundaries of the state on a visit of condolence. On the day when he has made a visit of condolence, one should not drink spirits nor eat flesh. When one pays a visit of condolence, and the arrangements for the funeral are going on, he should take hold of the ropes (attached to the car). Those who follow to the grave should take hold of those attached to the coffin. During the mourning rites, if the ruler send a message of condolence, there must be some one to acknowledge it, by bowing to the messenger. A friend, or neighbour, or even a temporary resident in the house, may perform the duty. The message is announced in the words: 'Our unworthy ruler wishes to take part in your sad business.' The chief mourner responds: 'We acknowledge your presence with his message. When a ruler meets a bier on the way, he must send some one to present his condolences (to the chief mourner).

128 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, a son by an inferior wife should not receive the condolences.

129 On the death of his wife's brother who was the successor of their father, (the husband) should wail for him in (the court of) the principal chamber. He should appoint his (own) son to preside (on the occasion). With breast unbared and wearing the cincture instead of the cap, he wails and leaps. When he enters on the right side of the gate, he should make some one stand outside it, to inform comers of the occasion of the wailing; and those who were intimate (with the deceased) will enter and wail. If his own father be in the house, the wailing should take place (before) his wife's chamber. If (the deceased) were not the successor of his father, the wailing should take place before a different chamber.

130 If a man have the coffin of a parent in his hall, and hear of mourning going on for a cousin of the same surname at a distance, he wails for him in a side apartment. If there be no such apartment, he should wail in the court on the right of the gate. If the deceased's body be in the same state, he should go to the place, and wail for him there.

131 When Zi-zhang died, Zeng-zi was in mourning for his mother, and went in his mourning dress to wail for him. Some

one said, 'That dress of sackcloth with its even edges is not proper for a visit of condolence.' Zeng-zi replied, 'Am I condoling (with the living)?'

132 At the mourning rites for You Ruo, duke Dao came to condole. Zi-you received him, and introduced him by (the steps on) the left.

133 When the news was sent from Qi of the mourning for the king's daughter who had been married to the marquis, duke Zhuang of Lu wore the nine months' mourning for her. Some have said, 'She was married from Lu; therefore he wore the same mourning for her as for a sister of his own.' Others have said, 'She was his mother's mother, and therefore he wore it'

134 At the mourning rites for duke Xian of Jin, duke Mu of Qin sent a messenger to present his condolences to Xian's son Chong-er (who was then an exile), and to add this message: I have heard that a time like this is specially adapted to the losing of a state, or the gaining of a state. Though you, my son, are quiet here, in sorrow and in mourning, your exile should not be allowed to continue long, and the opportunity should not be lost. Think of it and take your measures, my young son.' Chong-er reported the words to his maternal uncle Fan, who said,' My son, decline the proffer. An exile as you are, nothing precious remains to you; but a loving regard for your father is to be considered precious. How shall the death of a father be told? And if you take advantage of it to seek your own profit, who under heaven will be able to give a good account of your conduct? Decline the proffer, my son.

On this the prince replied to his visitor: 'The ruler has kindly (sent you) to condole with his exiled servant. My person in banishment, and my father dead, so that I cannot take any share in the sad services of wailing and weeping for him; this has awakened the sympathy of the ruler. But how shall the death of a father be described? Shall I presume (on occasion of it) to think of any other thing, and prove myself unworthy of your ruler's righteous regard?' With this he laid his head to the ground, but did not bow (to the visitor); wailed and then arose, and after he had risen did not enter into any private conversation with him.

Zi-xian reported the execution of his commission to duke Mu, who said, 'Truly virtuous is this prince Chong-er. In laying his forehead on the ground and not bowing (to the messenger), he acknowledged that he was not his father's successor, and therefore he did not complete the giving of thanks. In wailing before he rose, he showed how he loved his father. In having no private conversation after he arose, he showed how he put from him the thought of gain.'

135 The keeping the curtain up before the coffin with the corpse in it was not a custom of antiquity. It originated with the wailing of Jing Jiang for Mu-bo.

136 The rites of mourning are the extreme expression of grief and sorrow. The graduated reduction of that expression in accordance with the natural changes (of time and feeling) was made by the superior men, mindful of those to whom we owe our being.

137 Calling (the soul) back is the way in which love receives its consummation, and has in it the mind which is expressed by prayer. The looking for it to return from the dark region is a way of seeking for it among the spiritual beings. The turning the face to the north springs from the idea of its being in the dark region.

138 Bowing to the (condoling) visitor, and laying the forehead on the ground are the most painful demonstrations of grief and sorrow. The laying the forehead in the ground is the greatest expression of the pain (from the bereavement).

139 Filling the mouth with rice uncooked and fine shells arises from a feeling which cannot bear that it should be empty. The idea is not that of giving food; and therefore these fine things are used.

140 The inscription forms a banner to the eye of fancy. Because (the person of) the deceased, can no longer be distinguished, therefore (the son) by this flag maintains the remembrance of him. From his love for him he makes this record. His reverence for him finds in this its utmost expression. The first tablet for the spirit (with this inscription on it) serves the same purpose as that (subsequently) placed in the temple, at the conclusion of the mourning rites. Under the Yin dynasty the former was still kept. Under the Zhou, it was removed

141 The offerings to the unburied dead are placed in plain unornamented vessels, because the hearts of the living are full of unaffected sorrow. It is only in the sacrifices (subsequent to the interment), that the principal mourner does his utmost (in the way of ornament). Does he know that the spirit will enjoy (his offerings)? He is guided only by his pure and reverent heart

142 Beating the breast (by the women), and leaping (by the men) are extreme expressions of grief. But the number of such acts is limited. There are graduated rules for them.

143 Baring the shoulders and binding up the hair (with the band of sackcloth) are changes, (showing) the excited feeling which is a change in the grief. The removal of the (usual) ornaments and elegancies (of dress) has manifold expression, but this baring of the shoulders and the sackcloth band are

the chief. But now the shoulders are quite bared, and anon they are covered (with a thin garment) - marking gradations in the grief.

144 At the interment they used the cap of plain white (silk), and the headband of dolichos fibre; thinking these more suitable for their intercourse with (the departed) now in their spirit-state. The feeling of reverence had now arisen. The people of Zhou use the bian cap at interments; those of Yin used the xu.

145 The gruel of the chief mourner (the son), the presiding wife, and the steward of the family (of a Great officer) is taken by them at the order of the ruler lest they should get ill.

146 On returning (from the grave) to wail, (the son) should ascend the hall (of the ancestral temple) - returning to the place where (the deceased) performed his rites. The presiding wife should enter the chamber - returning to the place where he received his nourishment.

147 Condolences should be presented (to the son) when he returns (from the grave) and is wailing, at which time his grief is at its height. He has returned, and (his father) is not to be seen; he feels that he has lost him. (His grief is) then most intense. Under the Yin, they presented condolences immediately at the grave; under the Zhou, when the son had returned and was wailing. Confucius said, 'Yin was too blunt; I follow Zhou.'

148 To bury on the north (of the city), and with the head (of the dead) turned to the north, was the common practice of the three dynasties - because (the dead) go to the dark region.

149 When the coffin has been let down into the grave, the chief mourner presents the (ruler's) gifts (to the dead in the grave), and the officer of prayer (returns beforehand) to give notice of the sacrifice of repose to him who is to personate the departed.

150 When he has returned and wailed, the chief mourner with the (proper) officer inspects the victim. (In the meantime other) officers have set out a stool and mat with the necessary offerings on the left of the grave. They return, and at midday the sacrifice of repose is offered.

151 The sacrifice is offered on the day of interment; they cannot bear that the departed should be left a single day (without a place to rest in). On that day the offerings, (previously) set forth (by the coffin), are exchanged for the sacrifice of repose. The (continuous) wailing is ended, and they say, 'The business is finished.' On that day the sacrifices of mourning were exchanged for one of joy. The next day the service of placing the spirit-tablet of the departed next to that of his grandfather was performed. The change to an auspicious sacrifice took place on that day, and the placing the tablet in its place on the day succeeding - (the son) was unable to bear that (the spirit of the departed) should be a single day without a resting-place.

152 Under the Yin, the tablet was put in its place on the change of the mourning at the end of twelve months; under the Zhou, when the (continuous) wailing was over. Confucius approved the practice of Yin.

153 When a ruler went to the mourning rites for a minister, he took with him a sorcerer with a peach-wand, an officer of prayer with his reed-(brush), and a lance-bearer, disliking (the presence of death), and to make his appearance different from (what it was at any affair of) life. In the mourning rites it is death that is dealt with, and the ancient kings felt it difficult to speak of this.

154 The ceremony in the mourning rites of (the coffined corpse) appearing in the court (of the ancestral temple) is in accordance with the filial heart of the deceased. He is (supposed to be) grieved at leaving his chamber, and therefore he is brought to the temple of his fathers, and then (the coffin) goes on its way. Under the Yin, the body was thus presented and then coffined in the temple; under the Zhou the interment followed immediately after its presentation (in the coffin).

155 Confucius said, 'He who made the vessels which are so (only) in imagination, knew the principles underlying the mourning rites. They were complete (to all appearance), and yet could not be used. Alas! if for the dead they had used the vessels of the living, would there not have been a danger of this leading to the interment of the living with the dead?' They were called 'vessels in imagination,' (the dead) being thus treated as spiritual intelligences, From of old there were the carriages of clay and the figures of straw, in accordance with the idea in these vessels in imagination. Confucius said that the making of the straw figures was good, and that the making of the (wooden) automaton was not benevolent. Was there not a danger of its leading to the use of (living) men?

156 Duke Mu asked Zi-si whether it was the way of antiquity for a retired officer still to wear the mourning for his old ruler. 'Princes of old,' was the reply, 'advanced men and dismissed them equally according to the rules of propriety; and hence there was that rule about still wearing mourning for the old ruler. But nowadays princes advance men as if they were going to take them on their knees, and dismiss them as if they were going to push them into an abyss. Is it not good if (men so treated) do not head rebellion? How should there be the observance of that rule about still wearing mourning (for old rulers)?"

157 At the mourning rites for duke Dao. Ji Zhao-zi asked Meng Jing-zi what they should eat (to show their grief) for the ruler. Jing-zi replied, 'To eat gruel is the general rule for all the kingdom.' (The other said), 'It is known throughout the four quarters that we three ministers have not been able to live in harmony with the ducal house. I could by an effort make myself emaciated; but would it not make men doubt whether I was doing so in sincerity? I will eat rice as usual.'

158 When Si-tu Jing-zi of Wei died, Zi-xia made a visit of condolence (to his house); and, though the chief mourner had not completed the slight dressing (of the corpse), he went in the headband and robe of mourning. Zi-you paid a similar visit; and, when the chief mourner had completed the slight dressing, he went out, put on the bands, returned and wailed. Zi-xia said to him, 'Did you ever hear (that) that (was the proper method to observe)? I heard the Master say,' was the reply, 'that until the chief mourner had changed his dress, one should not assume the mourning bands'.'

159 Zeng-zi said, 'Yan-zi may be said to have known well the rules of propriety;-he was humble and reverent! You Ruo said, 'Yan-zi wore the same (robe of) fox-fur for thirty years. (At the burial of his father), he had only one small carriage (with the offerings to be put into the grave); and he returned immediately from the grave (without showing the usual attentions to his guests). The ruler of a state has seven bundles of the offerings, and seven such small carriages for them; a Great officer has five bundles of the offerings, and five such small carriages. How can it be said that Yan-zi knew propriety?' Zeng-zi replied, 'When a state is not well governed, the superior man is ashamed to observe all ceremonies to the full. Where there is extravagance in the administration of the state, he shows an example of economy. If the administration be economical, he shows an example of (the strict) observance' of all rules.'

160 On the death of the mother of Guo Zhao-zi, he asked Zi-zhang, saying, 'At the interment, when (all) are at the grave, what should be the places of the men and of the women?' Zi-zhang said, 'At the mourning rites for Si-tu Jingzi, when the Master directed the ceremonies, the men stood with their faces to the west and the women stood with theirs to the east.' 'Ah!' said the other, 'that will not do;' adding, 'All will be here to see these mourning rites of mine. Do you take the sole charge of them. Let the guests be the guests, while I (alone) act as the host. Let the women take their places behind the men, and all have their faces towards the west.'

161 At the mourning for Mu-bo (her husband), Jing Jiang wailed for him in the daytime, and at that for Wen-bo (her son), she wailed for him both in the daytime and the night. Confucius said, 'She knows the rules of propriety.'

162 At the mourning for Wen-bo, Jing Jiang (once) put her hand on the couch (where his body lay), and without wailing said, 'Formerly, when I had this son, I thought that he would be a man of worth. (But) I never went with him to the court (to see his conduct there); and now that he is dead, of all his friends, the other ministers, there is no one that has shed tears for him, while the members of his harem all wail till they lose their voices. This son must have committed many lapses in his observance of the rules of propriety!'

163 When the mother of Ji Kang-zi died, (her body was laid out with) her private clothes displayed. Jing Jiang (Kang-zi's grand-uncle's wife) said, 'A wife does not dare to see her husband's parents without the ornament (of her upper robes); and there will be the guests from all quarters coming; why are her under-clothes displayed here?' With this she ordered them to be removed.

164 You-zi and Zi-you were standing together when they saw (a mourner) giving all a child's demonstrations of affection. You-zi said, 'I have never understood this leaping in mourning, and have long wished to do away with it. The sincere feeling (of sorrow) which appears here is right, (and should be sufficient).' Zi-you replied, 'In the rules of propriety, there are some intended to lessen the (display of) feeling, and there are others which purposely introduce things (to excite it). To give direct vent to the feeling and act it out as by a short cut is the way of the rude Rong and Di. The method of the rules is not so. When a man rejoices, he looks pleased; when pleased, he thereon sings; when singing, he sways himself about; swaying himself about, he proceeds to dancing; from dancing, he gets into a state of wild excitement; that excitement goes on to distress; distress expresses itself in sighing; sighing is followed by beating the breast; and beating the breast by leaping. The observances to regulate all this are what are called the rules of propriety. When a man dies, there arises a feeling of disgust (at the corpse). Its impotency goes on to make us revolt from it. On this account, there is the wrapping it in the shroud, and there are the curtains, plumes (and other ornaments of the coffin), to preserve men from that feeling of disgust. Immediately after death, the dried flesh and pickled meats are set out (by the side of the corpse). When the interment is about to take place, there are the things sent and offered (at the grave); and after the interment, there is the food presented (in the sacrifices of repose). The dead have never been seen to partake of these things. But from the highest ages to the present they have never been neglected - all

to cause men not to revolt (from their dead). Thus it is that what you blame in the rules of propriety is really nothing that is wrong in them.'

Wu made an incursion into Chen, destroying the (places of) sacrifice, and putting to death those who were suffering from a pestilence (which prevailed). When the army retired, and had left the territory, Pi, the Grandadministrator of Chen, was sent to the army (of Wu). Fu Chai (king of Wu) said to his internuncius, 'This fellow has much to say. Let us ask him a question.' (Then, turning to the visitor), he said, 'A campaign must have a name. What name do men give to this expedition?' The Grand-administrator said, 'Anciently, armies in their incursions and attacks did not hew down (trees about the) places of sacrifice; did not slay sufferers from pestilence; did not make captives of those whose hair was turning. But now, have not you in this campaign slain the sufferers from pestilence? Do they not call it the sickkilling expedition?' The king rejoined, ' If we give back your territory, and return our captives, what will you call it?' The reply was, 'O ruler and king, you came and punished the offences of our poor state. If the result of the campaign be that you now compassionate and forgive it, will the campaign be without its (proper) name?

166 Yan Ding deported himself skilfully during his mourning. Immediately after the death (of his father), he looked grave and restless, as if he were seeking for something, and could not find it. When the coffining had taken place, he looked expectant, as if he were following some one and could not get up with him. After the interment he looked sad, and as if, not getting his father to return (with him), he would wait for him

167 Zi-zhang asked, saying, 'The Book of History says, that Gao Zong for three-years did not speak; and that when he did his words were received with joy. Was it so?' Zhong-ni replied, 'Why should it not have been so? Anciently, on the demise of the son of Heaven, the king, his heir, left everything to the chief minister for three years.'

168 When Zhi Dao-zi died, before he was buried, duke Ping was (one day) drinking along with the music-master Kuang and Li Diao. The bells struck up; and when Du Kuai, who was coming in from outside, heard them, he said, 'Where is the music?" Being told that it was in the (principal) apartment, he entered it; and having ascended the steps one by one, he poured out a cup of spirits, and said, 'Kuang, drink this.' He then poured out another, and said, Diao, drink this.' He poured out a third cup; and kneeling in the hall, with his face to the north, he drank it himself, went down the steps, and hurried out. Duke Ping called him in again, and said, 'Kuai, just now I thought you had something in mind to enlighten me about, and therefore I did not speak to you. Why did you give the cup to Kuang?' 'On the days (Jia-)zi and (Ji-)mao,' was the reply, 'there should be no music; and now Zhi Dao-zi is (in his coffin) in his hall, and this should be a great zi or mao day. Kuang is the grand music-master, and did not remind you of this. It was on this account that I made him

'And why did you give a cup to Diao?' Du Kuai said, 'Diao is your lordship's favourite officer; and for this drinking and eating he forgot the fault you were committing. It was on this account I made him drink.'

'And why did you drink a cup yourself?' Kuai replied, 'I am (only) the cook; and neglecting my (proper work of) supplying you with knives and spoons, I also presumed to take my part in showing my knowledge of what should be prohibited. It was on this account that I drank a cup myself.'

Duke Ping said,' I also have been in fault. Pour out a cup and give it to me.' Du Kuai then rinsed the cup, and presented it. The duke said to the attendants, 'When I die, you must take care that this cup is not lost.' Down to the present day, (at feasts in Sin), when the cups have been presented all round, they then raise up this cup, and say, 'It is that which Du presented.'

169 When Gong-shu Wen-zi died, his son Shu begged the ruler (of the state) to fix his honorary title, saying, 'The sun and moon have brought the time - we are about to bury him. I beg that you will fix the title, for which we shall change his name.' The ruler said, 'Formerly when our state of Wei was suffering from a severe famine, your father had gruel made, and gave it to the famishing - was not this a roof of how kind he was? Moreover, in a time of trouble, he protected me at the risk of his own life - was not this a proof of how faithful he was? And while he administered the government of Wei, he so maintained the regulations for the different classes, and conducted its intercourse with the neighbouring states all round, that its altars sustained no disgrace - was not this a proof of how accomplished he was? Therefore let us call him "The Faithful, Kind, and Accomplished."

170 Shi Tai-gong died, leaving no son by his wife proper, and six sons by concubines. The tortoise-shell being consulted as to which of them should be the father's successor, it was said that by their bathing and wearing of their girdle-pendants the indication would be given. Five of them accordingly bathed and put on the girdle-pendants with their gems. Shi Qi-zi, however, said, 'Whoever, being engaged with

the mourning rites for a parent, bathed his head or his body, and put on his girdle-pendants? and he declined to do either, and this was considered to be the indication. The people of Wei considered that the tortoise-shell had shown a (true) knowledge

171 Čhen Zi-ju having died in Wei, his wife and the principal officer of the family consulted together about burying some living persons (to follow him). When they had decided to do so, (his brother), Chen Zi-kang arrived, and they informed him about their plan, saying, 'When the master was ill, (he was far away) and there was no provision for his nourishment in the lower world; let us bury some persons alive (to supply it).' Zi-kang said, 'To bury living persons (for the sake of the dead) is contrary to what is proper. Nevertheless, in the event of his being ill, and requiring to be nourished, who are so fit for that purpose as his wife and steward? If the thing can be done without, I wish it to be so. If it cannot be done without, I wish you two to be the parties for it.' On this the proposal was not carried into effect.

172 Zi-lu said, 'Alas for the poor! While (their parents) are alive, they have not the means to nourish them; and when they are dead, they have not the means to perform the mourning rites for them.' Confucius said, 'Bean soup, and water to drink, while the parents are made happy, may be pronounced filial piety. If (a son) can only wrap the body round from head to foot, and inter it immediately, without a shell, that being all which his means allow, he may be said to discharge (all) the rites of mourning.'

173 Duke Xian of Wei having (been obliged to) flee from the state, when he returned, and had reached the suburbs (of the capital), he was about to grant certain towns and lands to those who had attended him in his exile before entering. Liu Zhuang said, 'If all had (remained at home) to guard the altars for you, who would have been able to follow you with halter and bridle? And if all had followed you, who would have guarded the altars? Your lordship has now returned to the state, and will -it not be wrong for you to show a partial feeling?' The intended allotment did not take place.

174 There was the grand historiographer of Wei, called Liu Zhuang, lying ill. The duke said, 'If the illness prove fatal, though I may be engaged at the time in sacrificing, you must let me know.' (It happened accordingly, and, on hearing the news), the duke bowed twice, laying his head to the ground, and begged permission from the personator of the dead, saying, 'There was the minister Liu Zhuang, not a minister of mine (merely), but a minister of the altars of the state. I have heard that he is dead, and beg leave to go (to his house).' On this, without putting off his robes, he went; and on the occasion presented them as his contribution (to the mourning rites). He also gave the deceased the towns of Qiu-shi and Xian-fan-shi by a writing of assignment which was put into the coffin, containing the words: 'For the myriads of his descendants, to hold from generation to generation without change.

175 When Chan Gan-xi was lying ill, he assembled his brethren, and charged his son Zun-ji, saying, 'When I am dead, you must make my coffin large, and make my two concubines lie in it with me, one on each side.' When he died, his son said, 'To bury the living with the dead is contrary to propriety; how much more must it be so to bury them in the same coffin!' Accordingly he did not put the two ladies to death.

176 Gong Sui died in Chui; and on the next day, which was Ren-Wu, the sacrifice of the previous day was notwithstanding repeated (in the capital of Lu.). When the pantomimes entered, however, they put away their flutes. Zhong-ni said, 'It was contrary to rule. When a high minister dies, the sacrifice of the day before should not be repeated.'

177 When the mother of Ji Kang-zi died, Gong-shu Ruo was still young. After the dressing, Ban asked leave to let the coffin down into the grave by a mechanical contrivance. They were about to accede, when Gong-jian Jia said, 'No. According to the early practice in Lu, the ducal house used (for this purpose) the arrangement looking like large stone pillars, and the three families that like large wooden columns. Ban, you would, in the case of another man's mother, make trial of your ingenuity - could you not in the case of your own mother do so? Would that distress you? Bah!' They did not allow him to carry out his plan.

178 During the fight at Lang, Gong-shu Yu-ren saw (many of) the men, carrying their clubs on their shoulders, entering behind the shelter of the small wall, and said, 'Although the services required of them are distressing, and the burdens laid on them heavy, (they ought to fight): but though our superiors do not form (good) plans, it is not right that soldiers should not be prepared to die. This is what I say.' On this along with Wang, a youth, (the son) of a neighbour, he went forward, and both of them met their death. The people of Lu wished to bury the lad Wang not as one who had died prematurely, and asked Zhong-ni about the point. He said, 'As he was able to bear his shield and spear in the defence of our altars, may you not do as you wish, and bury him as one who has not died prematurely?'

179 When Zi-lu was going away from Lu, he said to Yan Yuan, 'What have you to send me away with?' 'I have heard,'

was the reply, 'that, when one is leaving his state, he wails at the graves (of his fathers), and then takes his journey, while on his return to it, he does not wail, but goes to look at the graves, and (then) enters (the city).' He then said to Zi-lu, 'And what have you to leave with me here?' I have heard,' was the reply, 'that, when you pass by a grave, you should bow forward to the cross-bar, and, when you pass a place of sacrifice, you should dismount.'

180 Shang Yang, director of Works (in the state of Chu), and Chen Qi-ji were pursuing the army of Wu, and came up with it. The latter said to Shang Yang, 'It is the king's business. It will be well for you to take your bow in hand.' He did so, and Qi-ji told him to shoot, which he did, killing a man, and returning immediately the bow to its case. They came up with the enemy again, and being told as before to shoot, he killed other two men; whenever he killed a man, he covered his eyes. Then stopping the chariot, he said, 'I have no place at the audiences; nor do I take part in the feasts. The death of three men will be sufficient for me to report.' Confucius said, 'Amidst his killing of men, he was still observant of the rules of propriety.'

181 The princes were engaged in an invasion of Qin, when duke Huan of Cao died at their meeting. The others asked leave to (see) the plugging of his teeth with the jade, and they were made to enshroud (his corpse).

182 Duke Xiang being in attendance at the court of Jing, king Kang died. The people of Jing said to him, 'We must beg you to cover (the corpse with your gift of a robe).' The men of Lu (who were with him) said, 'The thing is contrary to propriety.' They of Jing, however, obliged him to do what they asked; and he first employed a sorcerer with his reedbrush to brush (and purify) the bier. The people of Jing then regretted what they had done'.

183 At the mourning rites for duke Cheng of Teng, Zi-shu Jing-shu was sent (from Lu) on a mission of condolence, and to present a letter (from duke Ai), Zi-fu Hui-bo being assistant-commissioner. When they arrived at the suburbs (of the capital of Teng), because it was the anniversary of the death, of Yi-bo, (Hui-bo's uncle), Jing-shu hesitated to enter the city. Hui-bo, however, said, 'We are on government business, and should not for the private affair of my uncle's (death) neglect the duke's affairs. They forthwith entered.

184 Duke Ai sent a message of condolence to Kuai Shang, and the messenger met him (on the way to the grave). They withdrew to the way-side, where Kuai drew the figure of his house, (with the coffin in it), and there received the condolences. Zeng-zi said, Kuai Shang's knowledge of the rules of ceremony was not equal to that of the wife of Oi Liang When duke Zhuang fell on Ju by surprise at Thui. Oi Liang met his death. His wife met his bier on the way, and wailed for him bitterly. Duke Zhuang sent a person to convey his condolences to her; but she said, 'If his lordship's officer had been guilty of any offence, then his body should have been exposed in the court or the market-place, and his wife and concubines apprehended. If he were not chargeable with any offence, there is the poor cottage of his father. This is not the place where the ruler should demean himself to send me a message.'

185 At the mourning rites for his young son Dun, duke Ai wished to employ the (elm-juice) sprinklers, and asked You Ruo about the matter. You Ruo said that it might be done, for his three ministers even used them. Yan Liu said, 'For the son of Heaven dragons are painted on (the shafts of) the funeral carriage, and the boards surrounding the coffin, like the shell, have a covering over them. For the feudal princes there is a similar carriage (without the painted dragons), and the covering above. (In both cases) they prepare the elm-juice, and therefore employ sprinklers. The three ministers, not employing (such a carriage), and yet employing the sprinklers, thus appropriate a ceremony which is not suitable for them; and why should your lordship imitate them?'

186 After the death of the mother of (his son, who became) duke Dao, duke Ai wore for her the one year's mourning with its unfrayed edges. You Ruo asked him, if it was in rules for him to wear that mourning for a concubine. 'Can I help it?' replied the duke. 'The people of Lu will have it that she, was my wife.'

187 When Ji Zi-gao buried his wife, some injury was done to the standing corn, which Shen-xiang told him of, begging him to make the damage good. Zi-gao said, 'The Meng has not blamed me for this, and my friends have not cast me off. I am here the commandant of the city. To buy (in this manner a right of) way in order to bury (my dead) would be a precedent difficult to follow.'

188 When one receives no salary for the official duties which he performs, and what the ruler sends to him is called 'an offering,' while the messenger charged with it uses the style of our unworthy ruler;' if such an one leave the state, and afterwards the ruler dies, he does not wear mourning for him.

189 At the sacrifice of Repose a personator of the dead is appointed, and a stool, with a mat and viands on it, is placed (for him). When the wailing is over, the name of the deceased is avoided. The service of him as living is over, and that for him in his ghostly state has begun. When the wailing is over,

the cook, with a bell having a wooden clapper, issues an order throughout the palace, saying, 'Give up disusing the names of the former rulers, and henceforth disuse (only) the name of him who is newly deceased.' This was done from the door leading to the chambers to the outer gate.

190 When a name was composed of two characters they were not avoided when used singly. The name of the Master's mother was Zheng-zai. When he used Zai, he did not at the same time use Zheng: nor Zai, when he used Zheng.

191 When any sad disaster occurred to an army, (the ruler) in plain white robes wailed for it outside the Ku gate. A carriage conveying the news of such disaster carried no cover for buff-coats nor case for bows.

192 When the (shrine-)apartment of his father was burned, (the ruler) wailed for it three days. Hence it is said, 'The new temple took fire;' and also, 'There was a wailing for three days '

193 In passing by the side of mount Tai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave. The Master bowed forward to the cross-bar, and hastened to her; and then sent Zi-lu to question her. 'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed (by another), and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave the place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government here.' The Master then said (to the disciples), 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'

194 In Lu there was one Zhou Feng, to whom duke Ai went, carrying an introductory present, and requesting an interview, which, however, the other refused. The duke said, 'I must give it up then.' And he sent a messenger with the following auestions: '(Shun), the lord of Yu, had not shown his good faith, to the people, and yet they put confidence in him. The sovereign of Xia had not shown his reverence for the people, and yet the people revered him - what shall I exhibit that I may obtain such things from the people?' The reply was: 'Ruins and graves express no mournfulness to the people, and yet the people mourn (amidst them). The altars of the spirits of the land and grain and the ancestral temples express no reverence to the people, and yet the people revere them. The kings of Yin made their solemn proclamations, and yet the people began to rebel; those of Zhou made their covenants, and the people began to distrust them. If there be not the heart observant of righteousness, self-consecration, good faith, sincerity, and guilelessness, though a ruler may try to knit the people firmly to him, will not all bonds between them be dissolved?

195 While mourning (for a father), one should not be concerned about (the discomfort of) his own resting-place, nor, in emaciating himself, should he do so to the endangering of his life. He should not be concerned about his own resting-place; he has to be concerned that (his father's spirit-tablet) is not (yet) in the temple. He should not endanger his life, lest (his father) should thereby have no posterity.

196 Ji-zi of Yan-ling had gone to Qi; and his eldest son having died, on the way back (to Wu), he buried him between Ying and Bo. Confucius (afterwards) said, 'Ji-zi was the one man in Wu most versed in the rules of propriety, so I went and saw his manner of interment. The grave was not so deep as to reach the water-springs. The grave-clothes were such as (the deceased) had ordinarily worn. After the interment, he raised a mound over the grave of dimensions sufficient to cover it, and high enough for the hand to be easily placed on it. When the mound was completed, he bared his left arm; and, moving to the right, he went round it thrice, crying out, "That the bones and flesh should return again to the earth is what is appointed. But the soul in its energy can go everywhere; it can go everywhere." And with this he went on his way.' Confucius (also) said, 'Was not Ji-zi of Yan-ling's observance of the rules of ceremony in accordance with (the idea of them)?'

197 At the mourning rites for the duke Kao of Zhu-lou, the ruler of Xu sent Rong Ju with a message of condolence, and with the articles to fill the mouth of the deceased. 'My unworthy ruler,' said he, 'hath sent me to kneel and put the jade for a marquis which he has presented into your (deceased) ruler's mouth. Please allow me to kneel and do so.' The officers of Ju replied, 'When any of the princes has deigned to send or come to our poor city, the observances have been kept according to their nature, whether simple and easy, or troublesome and more difficult; but such a blending of the easy and troublesome as in your case, we have not known.' Rong Ju replied, 'I have heard that in the service of his ruler one should not forget that ruler, nor be oblivious of his ancestral (rules). Formerly, our ruler, king Ju, in his warlike operations towards the west, in which he crossed the He, everywhere used this style of speech. I am a plain, blunt man, and do not presume to forget his example.'

198 When the mother of Zi-si died in Wei, and news of the event was brought to him, he wailed in the ancestral temple. His disciples came to him. and said, 'Your mother is dead, after marrying into another family; why do you wail for her

in the temple of the Kong family?' He replied, 'I am wrong, I am wrong.' And thereon he wailed in one of the smaller apartments of his house.

199 When the son of Heaven died, three days afterwards, the officers of prayer were the first to assume mourning. In five days the heads of official departments did so; in seven days both males and females throughout the royal domain; and in three months all in the kingdom. The foresters examined the trees about the various altars, and cut down those which they thought suitable for the coffins and shell, If these did not come up to what was required, the sacrifices were abolished, and the men had their throats cut.

200 During a great dearth in Qi, Qian Ao had food prepared on the roads, to wait the approach of hungry people and give to them. (One day), there came a famished man, looking as if he could hardly see, his face covered with his sleeve, and dragging his feet together. Qian Ao, carrying with his left hand some rice, and holding some drink with the other, said to him, 'Poor man! come and eat.' The man, opening his eyes with a stare, and looking at him, said, 'It was because I would not eat "Poor man come here's" food, that I am come to this state.' Qian Ao immediately apologised for his words, but the man after all would not take the food and died. When Zeng-zi heard the circumstances, he said, 'Was it not a small matter? When the other expressed his pity as he did, the man might have gone away. When he apologised, the man might have taken the food.'

201 In the time of duke Ding of Zhu-lou, there occurred the case of a man killing his father. The officers reported it; when the duke, with an appearance of dismay, left his mat and said, 'This is the crime of unworthy me!' He added, 'I have learned how to decide on such a charge. When a minister kills his ruler, all who are in office with him should kill him without mercy. When a son kills his father, all who are in the house with him should kill him without mercy. The man should be killed; his house should be destroyed; the whole place should be laid under water and reduced to a swamp. And his ruler should let a month elapse before he raises a cup to his lips.'

202 (The ruler of) Jin having congratulated Wen-zi on the completion of his residence, the Great officers of the state went to the house-warming. Zhang Lao said, 'How elegant it is, and lofty! How elegant and splendid! Here will you have your songs! Here will you have your wailings! Here will you assemble the representatives of the great families of the state! Wen-zi replied, 'If I can have my songs here, and my wailings, and assemble here the representatives of the great families of the state, (it will be enough). I will then (only) seek to preserve my waist and neck to follow the former Great officers of my family to the Nine Plains.' He then bowed twice, laying his head also on the ground. A superior man will say (of the two), that the one was skilful in the expression of his praise and the other in his prayer.

203 The dog kept by Zhong-ni having died, he employed Zi-gong to bury it, saying, 'I have heard that a worn-out curtain should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a horse in; and that a worn-out umbrella should not be thrown away, but may be used to bury a dog in. I am poor and have no umbrella. In putting the dog into the grave, you can use my mat; and do not let its head get buried in the earth. When one of the horses of the ruler's carriage dies, it is buried in a curtain (in good condition).

204 When the mother of Ji-sun died, duke Ai paid a visit of condolence to him. (Soon after), Zeng-zi and Zi-gong arrived for the same purpose; but the porter declined to admit them, because the ruler was present. On this they went into the stable, and adjusted their dress more fully. (Shortly) they entered the house, Zi-gong going first. The porter said to him, 'I have already announced your arrival;' and when Zeng-zi followed, he moved on one side for him. They passed on to the inner place for the droppings from the roof, the Great officers all moving out of their way, and the duke descending a step and bowing to them. A superior man has said about the case, 'So it is when the toilet is complete! Immediately its influence extends far.'

205 A man-at-arms at the Yang gate (of the capital of Song) having died, Zi-han, the superintendent of Works, went to (his house), and wailed for him bitterly. The men of Jin who were in Song as spies returned, and reported the thing to the marquis of Jin, saying, 'A man-at-arms at the Yang gate having died, Zi-han wailed for him bitterly, and the people were pleased; (Song), we apprehend, cannot be attacked (with success).' When Confucius heard of the circumstances, he said, 'Skilfully did those men do their duty as spies in Song. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "If there was any mourning among the people, I did my utmost to help them." Though there had been other enemies besides Jin, what state under the sky could have withstood one (in the condition of Song)?'

206 At the mourning rites for duke Zhuang of Lu, when the interment was over, (the new ruler) did not enter the outer gate with his girdle of dolichos cloth. The ordinary and Great officers, when they had finished their wailing, also did not enter in their sackcloth.

207 There was an old acquaintance of Confucius, called Yuan Zang. When his mother died, the Master assisted him in

preparing the shell for the coffin. Yuan (then) got up on the wood, and said, 'It is long since I sang to anything;' and (with this he struck the wood), singing: 'It is marked like a wild cat's head; It is(smooth) as a young lady's hand which you hold.' The Master, however, made as if he did not hear, and passed by him. The disciples who were with him said, 'Can you not have done with him?' 'I have heard,' was the reply, 'that relations should not forget their relationship, nor old acquaintances their friendship.'

208 Zhao Wen-zi and Shu-Yu were looking about them at the Nine Plains, when Wen-zi said, 'If these dead could arise, with whom would I associate myself?' Shu-Yu asked, 'Would it be with Yang Chu-fu?' 'He managed by his course,' was the reply, 'to concentrate in himself all the power of Jin, and yet he did not die a natural death. His wisdom does not deserve to be commended.' 'Would it be with uncle Fan?' Wen-zi said, 'When he saw gain in prospect, he did not think of his ruler; his virtue does not deserve to be commended. I think I would follow Wu-zi of Sui. While seeking the advantage of his ruler, he did not forget himself; and while consulting for his own advantage, he was not forgetful of his friends.' The people of Jin thought that Wen-zi knew men. He carried himself in a retiring way, as if he could not bear even his clothes. His speech was low and stuttering, as if he could not get his words out. The officers whom he advanced to responsible charges in the depositories of Jin were more than seventy. During his life, he had no contentions with any of them about gain, and when dying he required nothing from them for his sons.

209 Shu-zhong Pi instructed (his son) Zi-liu (in the rules of ceremony); and when he died, Zi-liu's wife, who was a plain, blunt woman, wore for him the one year's mourning and the headband with its two ends tied together. (Pi's brother), Shu-zhong Yan spoke to Zi-liu about it, and requested that she should wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband; saying, 'Formerly, when I was mourning for my aunts and sisters, I wore this mourning, and no one forbade it.' When he withdrew, however, (Zi-liu) made his wife wear the three months' mourning and the simple headband.

210 There was a man of Cheng, who did not go into mourning on the death of his elder brother. Hearing, however, that Zi-gao was about to become governor of the city, he forthwith did so. The people of Cheng said, 'The silkworm spins its cocoons, but the crab supplies the box for them; the bee has its cap, but the cicada supplies the strings for it. His elder brother died, but it was Zi-gao who made the mourning for him.'

211 When Yue-zheng Zi-chun's mother died, he was five days without eating. He then said, 'I am sorry for it. Since in the case of my mother's death, I could not eat according to my feelings, on what occasion shall I be able to do so?'

212 In a year of drought duke Mu called to him Xian-zi, and asked him about it. 'Heaven,' said he, 'has not sent down rain for a long time. I wish to expose a deformed person in the sun (to move its pity), what do you say to my doing so?" 'Heaven, indeed,' was the reply, 'does not send down rain; but would it not be an improper act of cruelty, on that account to expose the diseased son of some one in the sun?' 'Well then, (said the duke), 'I wish to expose in the sun a witch; what do you say to that?' Xian-zi said, 'Heaven, indeed, does not send down rain; but would it not be wide of the mark to hope anything from (the suffering of) a foolish woman, and by means of that to seek for rain?' 'What do you say then to my moving the marketplace elsewhere?' The answer was, 'When the son of Heaven dies, the market is held in the lanes for seven days; and it is held in them for three days, when the ruler of a state dies. It will perhaps be a proper measure to move it there on account of the present distress.

213 Confucius said, 'The people of Wei, in burying husband and wife together (in the same grave and shell), leave a space between the coffins. The people of Lu, in doing the same, place them together - which is the better way.

### LI JI CHAPTER 5 Wang Zhi

Royal Regulations

1 According to the regulations of emolument and rank framed by the kings, there were the duke; the marquis; the earl; the count; and the baron - in all, five gradations (of rank). There were (also), in the feudal states, Great officers of the highest grade - the ministers; and Great officers of the lowest grade; officers of the highest, the middle, and the lowest grades - in all, five gradations (of office).

2 The territory of the son of Heaven amounted to 1000 li square; that of a duke or marquis to 500 li square; that of an earl to 79 li square; and that of a count or baron to 50 li square. (Lords) who could not number 50 li square, were not admitted directly to (the audiences of) the son of Heaven. Their territories were called 'attached,' being joined to those of one of the other princes. The territory assigned to each of the ducal ministers of the son of Heaven was equal to that of a duke or marquis; that of each of his high ministers was equal to that of an earl; that of his Great officers to the territory of a count or baron; and that of his officers of the chief grade to an attached territory.

3 According to the regulations, the fields of the husbandmen were in portions of a hundred acres. According to the different qualities of those acres, when they were of the highest quality, a farmer supported nine individuals; where they were of the next, eight; and so on, seven, six, and five. The pay of the common people, who were employed in government offices, was regulated in harmony with these distinctions among the husbandmen.

4 The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states had an emolument equal to that of the husbandmen whose fields were of the highest quality; equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. Those of the middle grade had double that of the lowest grade; and those of the highest grade double that of the middle. A Great officer of the lowest grade had double that of an officer of the highest. A high minister had four times that of a Great officer; and the ruler had ten times that of a figh minister. In a state of the second class, the emolument of a minister was three times that of a Great officer; and that of the ruler ten times that of a minister. In small states, a high minister had twice as much as a Great officer; and the ruler ten times as much as a minister.

5 The highest minister, in a state of the second class, ranked with the one of the middle grade in a great state; the second, with the one of the lowest grade; and the lowest, with a Great officer of the highest grade. The highest minister in a small state ranked with the lowest of a great state; the second, with the highest Great officer of the other; and the lowest, with one of the lower grade. Where there were officers of the middle grade and of the lowest, the number in each was three times that in the grade above it.

6 Of the nine provinces embracing all within, the four seas, a province was 1000 li square, and there were established in it 30 states of 100 li (square) each.; 60 of 70 li; 120 of 50 li - in all, 210 states. The famous hills and great meres were not included in the investitures. The rest of the ground formed attached territories and unoccupied lands of the eight provinces (apart from that which formed the royal domain), each contained (the above) 210 states. Within the domain of the son of Heaven there were 9 states of 100 li square; 21 of 70 li; and 63 of 50 li - in all, 93 states. The famous hills and great meres were not assigned. The rest of the ground served to endow the officers, and to form unoccupied lands. In all, in the nine provinces, there were 1773 states, not counting in (the lands of) the officers of the chief grade of the son of Heaven, nor the attached territories in the feudal states.

7 (The contributions from) the first hundred li (square) of the son of Heaven served to supply (the needs of) the (various) public offices: (those from the rest of) the thousand li were for his own special use. Beyond his thousand li, chiefs of regions were appointed. Five states formed a union, which had a President. Ten formed a combination, which had a Leader. Thirty formed a confederation, which had a Director. Two hundred and ten formed a province, which had a Chief. In the eight provinces there were eight Chiefs, fifty-six Directors, one hundred and sixty-eight Leaders, and three hundred and thirty-six Presidents. The eight Chiefs, with those under them, were all under the two Ancients of the son of Heaven. They divided all under the sky between them, one having charge of the regions on the left and the other of those on the right, and were called the two (Great) Chiefs. All within the thousand li (of the royal domain) was called the Tien (or field Tenure). Outside that domain there were the Cai (or service territories) and the Liu (or territory for banished persons).

8 The son of Heaven had three dukes, nine high ministers, twenty-seven Great officers, and eighty-one officers of the chief grade. In a great state there were three high ministers, all appointed by the son of Heaven; five Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a state of the second class there were three high ministers, two appointed by the son of Heaven and one by the ruler; five Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade. In a small state there were two high ministers, both appointed by the ruler; five, Great officers of the lower grade; and twenty-seven officers of the highest grade.

9 The son of Heaven employed his Great officers as the Three Inspectors - to inspect the states under the Chiefs of Regions. For each state there were three Inspectors.

10 Within the domain of the son of Heaven the princes enjoyed their allowances; outside it they had their inheritances.

11 According to the regulations, any one of the three ducal ministers might wear one additional symbol of distinction that of the descending dragon. But if such an addition were made (to his eight symbols), it must be by special grant. There were only nine symbols (in all). The ruler of a state of the second class wore only seven of them, and the ruler of a small state only five. The high minister of a great state could not wear more than three of the symbols, and the ministers below him only two. The high ministers of a small state, and Great officers of the lowest class, wore only one.

12 The rule was that the abilities of all put into offices over the people should first be discussed. After they had been discussed with discrimination, the men were employed. When they had been (proved) in the conduct of affairs, their rank was assigned; and when their position was (thus) fixed, they received salary. It was in the court that rank was conferred, the (already existing) officers being (thus) associated in the act. It was in the market-place that punishment was inflicted; the multitude being (thus) associated in casting the criminals off. hence, neither the ruler, nor (the head of)a clan, would keep a criminal who had been punished about; him; a Great officer would not maintain him; nor would an officer, meeting him on the road, speak to him. Such men were sent away to one of the four quarters, according to the sentence on each. They were not allowed to have anything to do with affairs of government, to show that there was no object in allowing them to live.

13 In their relation to the son of Heaven, the feudal princes were required to send every year a minor mission to the court, and every three years a greater mission; once in five years they had to appear there in person.

14 The son of Heaven, every five years, made a tour of Inspection through the fiefs. In the second month of the year, he visited those on the East, going to the honoured mountain of Tai. There he burnt a (great) pile of wood, and announced his arrival to Heaven; and with looks directed to them, sacrificed to the hills and rivers. He gave audience to the princes; inquired out those who were 100 years old, and went to see them: ordered the Grand music-master to bring him the poems (current in the different states), that he might see the manners of the people; ordered the superintendents of markets to present (lists of prices), that he might see what the people liked and disliked, and whether they were set on extravagance and loved what was bad; he ordered the superintendent of rites to examine the seasons and months, and fix the days, and to make uniform the standard tubes, the various ceremonies. the (instruments of) music, all measures, and (the fashions of) clothes. (Whatever was wrong in these) was rectified.
Where any of the spirits of the hills and rivers had been

Where any of the spirits of the hills and rivers had been unattended to, it was held to be an act of irreverence, and the irreverent ruler was deprived of a part of his territory. Where there had been neglect of the proper order in the observances of the ancestral temple, it was held to show a want of filial piety and the rank of the unfilial ruler was reduced. Where any ceremony had been altered, or any instrument of music changed, it was held to be an instance of disobedience, and the disobedient ruler was banished. Where the statutory measures and the (fashion of) clothes had been changed, it was held to be rebellion, and the rebellious ruler was taken off. The ruler who had done good service for the people, and shown them an example of virtue, received an addition to his territory and rank.

In the seventh month, (the son of Heaven) continued his tour, going to the south, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the east. In the eighth month, he went on to the west, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the south. In the eleventh month, he went on to the north, to the mountain of that quarter, observing the same ceremonies as in the west. (When all was done), he returned (to the capital), repaired (to the ancestral temple) and offered a bull in each of the fanes, from that of his (high) ancestor to that of his father.

15 When the son of Heaven was about to go forth, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God, offered the Yi sacrifice at the altar of the earth, and the Zao in the fane of his father. When one of the feudal princes was about to go forth, he offered the Yi sacrifice to the spirits of the land, and the Zao in the fane of his father.

16 When the son of Heaven received the feudal princes, and there was no special affair on hand, it was (simply) called an audience. They examined their ceremonies, rectified their punishments, and made uniform what they considered virtuous; thus giving honour to the son of Heaven.

17 When the son of Heaven gave (an instrument of) music to a duke or marquis, the presentation was preceded by a note from the signal box; when giving one to an earl, count, or baron, the presentation was preceded by shaking the hand-drum.

18 When the bow and arrows were conferred on a prince, he could proceed to execute the royal justice. When the hatchet and battle-axe were conferred, he could proceed to inflict death. When a large libation-cup was conferred, he could make the spirits from the black millet for himself. When this cup was not conferred, he had to depend for those spirits (as a gift) from the son of Heaven.

19 When the son of Heaven ordered a prince to institute instruction, he proceeded to build his schools; the children's, to the south of his palace, on the left of it; that for adults, in the suburbs. (The college of) the son of Heaven was called (the palace of) Bright Harmony, (and had a circlet of water). (That of) the princes was called the Palace with its semicircle of water

20 When the son of Heaven was about to go forth on a punitive expedition, he sacrificed specially, but with the usual forms, to God; offered the Yi sacrifice at the altar of the Earth, and the Za in the fane of his father. He offered sacrifice also to the Father of War (on arriving) at the state which was the

object of the expedition. He had received his charge from his ancestors, and the complete (plan) for the execution of it in the college. He went forth accordingly, and seized the criminals; and on his return he set forth in the college his offerings, and announced (to his ancestors) how he had questioned (his prisoners), and cut off the ears (of the slain).

21 When the son of Heaven and the princes had no (special) business in hand, they had three huntings in the year. The first object in them was to supply the sacrificial dishes with dried flesh; the second, to provide for guests and visitors; and the third, to supply the ruler's kitchen. Not to hunt when there was no (special) business in the way was deemed an act of irreverence. To hunt without observing the rules (for hunting) was deemed cruelty to the creatures of Heaven. The son of Heaven did not entirely surround (the hunting ground); and a feudal prince did not take a (whole) herd by surprise. When the son of Heaven had done killing, his large flag was lowered; and when the princes had done, their smaller flag. When the Great officers had done, the auxiliary carriages were stopped; and after this, the common people fell a hunting (for themselves).

22 When the otter sacrificed its fish, the foresters entered the meres and dams. When the wolf sacrificed its prey, the hunting commenced. When the dove changed into a hawk, they set their nets, large and small. When the plants and trees began to drop their leaves, they entered the hills and forests (with the axe). Until the insects had all withdrawn into their burrows, they did not fire the fields. They did not take fawns nor eggs. They did not kill pregnant animals, nor those which had not attained to their full growth. They did not throw down nests.

23 The chief minister determined the expenditure of the states, and it was the rule that he should do so at the close of the year. When the five kinds of grain had all been gathered in, he then determined the expenditure - according to the size of each territory, as large or small, and the returns of the year, as abundant or poor. On the average of thirty years he determined the expenditure, regulating the outgoing by the income. A tenth of the (year's) expenditure was for sacrifices. During the three years of the mourning rites (for parents), the king did not sacrifice (in person), excepting to Heaven, Earth, and the Spirits of the land and grain; and when he went to transact any business, the ropes (for his chariot) were made of hemp (and not of silk). A tithe of three years, expenditure was allowed for the rites of mourning. When there was not sufficient for the rites of sacrifice and mourning, it was owing to lavish waste; when there was more than enough, the state was described as affluent. In sacrifices there should be no extravagance in good years, and no niggardliness in bad.

24 If in a state there was not accumulated (a surplus) sufficient for nine years, its condition was called one of insufficiency; if there was not enough for six years, one of urgency. If there was not a surplus sufficient for three years, the state could not continue. The husbandry of three years was held to give an overplus of food sufficient for one year; that of nine years, an overplus sufficient for three years. Going through thirty years (in this way), though there might be bad years, drought, and inundations, the people would have no lack or be reduced to (eating merely) vegetables, and then the son of Heaven would every day have full meals and music at them

25 The son of Heaven was encoffined on the seventh day (after his death), and interred in the seventh month. The prince of a state was encoffined on the fifth day, and interred in the fifth month. A Great officer, (other) officers, and the common people were encoffined on the third day, and interred in the third month. The mourning rites of three years (for parents) extended from the son of Heaven to all. The common people let the coffin down into the grave by ropes, and did not suspend the interment because of rain. They raised no mound, nor planted trees over the grave. That no other business should interfere with the rites of mourning was a thing extending from the son of Heaven to the common people. In the mourning rites they followed (the rank of) the dead; in sacrificing to them, that of the living. A son by a concubine did not (preside at) the sacrifices.

26 (The ancestral temple of) the son of Heaven embraced seven fanes (or smaller temples); three on the left and three on the right, and that of his great ancestor (fronting the south) - in all, seven. (The temple of) the prince of a state embraced five such fanes: those of two on the left, and two on the right, and that of his great ancestor - in all, five. Great officers had three fanes: one on the left, one on the right, and that of his great ancestor - in all, three. Other officers had (only) one. The common people presented their offerings in their (principal) apartment.

27 The sacrifices in the ancestral temples of the son of Heaven and the feudal princes were that of spring, called Yue; that of summer, called Di; that of autumn, called Chang; and that of winter, called Zheng.

28 The son of Heaven sacrificed to Heaven and Earth; the princes of the states, to the (spirits of the) land and grain; Great officers offered the five sacrifices (of the house). The son of Heaven sacrificed to all the famous hills and great streams

under the sky, the five mountains receiving (sacrificial) honours like the honours paid (at court) to the three ducal ministers, and the four rivers honours like those paid to the princes of states; the princes sacrificed to the famous hills and great streams which were in their own territories.

29 The son of Heaven and the feudal lords sacrificed to the ancient princes who had no successors to preside over the sacrifices to them, and whose possessions now formed part of the royal domain or of their respective states.

30 The son of Heaven offered the spring sacrifice apart and by itself alone, but his sacrifices of all the other seasons were conducted on a greater scale in the fane of the high ancestor. The princes of the states who offered the spring sacrifice omitted that of the summer; those who offered that of the summer omitted that of the autumn; those who sacrificed in autumn did not do so in winter; and those who sacrificed in winter did not do so in spring. In spring they offered the sacrifice of the season by itself apart; in summer, in the fane of the high ancestor; in autumn and winter both the sacrifices were there associated together.

31 In sacrificing at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, the son of Heaven used in each case a bull, a ram, and a boar; the princes, (only) a ram and a boar. Great and other officers, at the sacrifices in their ancestral temples, if they had lands, sacrificed an animal; and, if they had no lands, they only presented fruits. The common people, in the spring, presented scallions; in summer, wheat; in autumn, millet; and in winter, rice unhulled. The scallions were set forth with eggs; the wheat with fish; the millet with a sucking-pig; and the rice with a goose.

32 Of the bulls used in sacrificing to Heaven and Earth, the horns were (not larger than) a cocoon or a chestnut. Those of the one used in the ancestral temple could be grasped with the hand; those of the ox used for (feasting) guests were a foot long. Without sufficient cause, a prince did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor another officer a dog or a pig, nor a common person eat delicate food. The various provisions (at a feast) did not go beyond the sacrificial victims killed; the private, clothes were not superior to the robes of sacrifice; the house and its apartments did not surpass the ancestral temple.

33 Anciently, the public fields were cultivated by the united labours of the farmers around them, from the produce of whose private fields nothing was levied. A rent was charged for the stances in the marketplaces, but wares were not taxed. Travellers were examined at the different passes, but no duties were levied from them. Into the forests and plains at the foot of mountains the people went without hindrance at the proper seasons. None of the produce was levied from the fields assigned to the younger sons of a family, nor from the holy fields. Only three days' labour was required (by the state) from the people in the course of a year. Fields and residences in the hamlets, (when once assigned), could not be sold. Ground set apart for graves could not be sought (for any other purpose).

34 The minister of Works with his (various) instruments measured the ground for the settlements of the people. About the hills and rivers, the oozy ground and the meres, he determined the periods of the four seasons. He measured the distances of one spot from another, and commenced his operations in employing the labour of the people. In all his employment of them, he imposed (only) the tasks of old men (on the able-bodied), and gave (to the old) the food-allowance of the able-bodied.

35 In all their settlements, the bodily capacities of the people are sure to be according to the sky and earthly influences, as cold or hot, dry or moist. Where the valleys are wide and the rivers large, the ground was differently laid out, and the people born in them had different customs. Their temperaments, as hard or soft, light or grave, slow or rapid, were made uniform by different measures; their preferences as to flavours were differently harmonised; their implements were differently made; their clothes were differently fashioned, but always suitably. Their training was varied, without changing their customs; and the governmental arrangements were uniform, without changing the suitability (in each case).

36 The people of those five regions - the Middle states, and the Rong, Yi, (and other wild tribes round them) - had all their several natures, which they could not be made to alter. The tribes on the east were called Yi. They had their hair unbound, and tattooed their bodies. Some of them ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the south were called Man. They tattooed their foreheads, and had their feet turned in towards each other. Some of them (also) ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the west were called Rong. They had their hair unbound, and wore skins. Some of them did not eat grain-food. Those on the north were called Di. They wore skins of animals and birds, and dwelt in caves. Some of them also did not eat grain-food. The people of the Middle states, and of those Man, Rong, and Di, all had their dwellings, where they lived at ease; their flavours which they preferred; the clothes suitable for them; their proper implements for use; and their vessels which they prepared in abundance. In those five regions, the languages of the people were not mutually intelligible, and their likings and desires

were different. To make what was in their minds apprehended, and to communicate their likings and desires, (there were officers) - in the east, called transmitters; in the south, representationists; in the west, Di-dis; and in the north, interpreters.

37 In settling the people, the ground was measured for the formation of towns, and then measured again in smaller portions for the allotments of the people. When the division of the ground, the cities, and the allotments were thus fixed in adaptation to one another, so that there was no ground unoccupied, and none of the people left to wander about idle, economical arrangements were made about food; and its proper business appointed for each season. Then the people had rest in their dwellings, did joy fully what they had to do, exhorted one another to labour, honoured their rulers, and loved their superiors. This having been secured, there ensued the institution of schools.

38 The minister of Instruction defined and set forth the six ceremonial observances: to direct and control the nature of the people; clearly illustrated the seven lessons (of morality) to stimulate their virtue; inculcated uniformity in the eight objects of government, to guard against all excess; taught the sameness of the course (of duty) and virtue, to assimilate manners; nourished the aged, to secure the completion of filial piety; showed pity to orphans and solitaries, to reach those who had been bereaved; exalted men of talents and worth, to give honour to virtue; and dealt summarily with the unworthy to discountenance wickedness.

He commanded that, throughout the districts, there should be marked and pointed out to him those who were disobedient to his lessons. (This having been done), the aged men were all assembled in the school, and on a good day archery was practised and places were given according to merit. (At the same time) there was a feast, when places were given according to age. The Grand minister of Instruction conducted thither the eminent scholars of the state and along with them superintended the business. If those (who had been reported to him) did not (now) change, he gave orders that they who were noted as continuing disobedient in the districts on the left should be removed to those on the right, and those noted on the right to the districts on the left. Then another examination was held in the same way, and those who had not changed were removed to the nearest outlying territory. Still continuing unchanged, they were removed, after a similar trial, to the more distant territory. There they were again examined and tried, and if still found defective, they were cast out to a remote region, and for all their lives excluded from distinction

Orders were given that, throughout the districts, the youths who were decided on as of promising ability should have their names passed up to the minister of Instruction, when they were called 'select scholars.' He then decided which of them gave still greater promise, and promoted them to the (great) college, where they were called 'eminent scholars.' Those who were brought to the notice of the minister were exempted from services in the districts; and those who were promoted to the (great) school, from all services under his own department, and (by and by) were called 'complete scholars.'

39 The (board for) the direction of Music gave all honour to its four subjects of instruction, and arranged the lessons in them, following closely the poems, histories, ceremonies, and music of the former kings, in order to complete its scholars. The spring and autumn were devoted to teaching the ceremonies and music; the winter and summer to the poems and histories. The eldest son of the king and his other sons, the eldest sons of all the feudal princes, the sons, by their wives proper, of the high ministers, Great officers, and officers of the highest grade, and the eminent and select scholars from (all) the states, all repaired (to their instruction), entering the schools according to their years.

40 When the time drew near for their quitting the college, the smaller and greater assistants, and the inferior director of the board, put down those who had not attended to their instructions, and reported them to the Grand director, who in turn reported them to the king. The king ordered the three ducal ministers, his nine (other) ministers, the Great officers, and the (other) officers, all to enter the school (and hold an examination). If this did not produce the necessary change; the king in person inspected the school; and if this also failed, for three days he took no full meal nor had music, after which the (culprits) were cast but to the remote regions. Sending them to those of the west was called 'a (temporary) expulsion,' to the east, 'a temporary exile.' But all their lives they were excluded from distinction.

41 The Grand director of Music, having fully considered who were the most promising of the 'completed scholars,' reported them to the king, after which they were advanced to be under the minister of War, and called 'scholars ready for employment.'

42 The minister of War gave discriminating consideration (to the scholars thus submitted to him), with a view to determine the offices for which their abilities fitted them. He then reported his decisions concerning the best and ablest of them to the king, to have that judgement fixed. When it was,

they were put into offices. After they had discharged the duties of these, rank was given them; and, their positions being thus fixed, they received salary.

- 43 When a Great officer was dismissed as incompetent from his duties, be was not (again) employed in any office to the end of his life. At his death, he was buried as an (ordinary) officer.
- 44 If any expedition of war were contemplated, orders were given to the Grand minister of Instruction to teach the scholars the management of the chariot and the wearing of the coat of mail.
- 45 In the case of all who professed any particular art, respect was had to their strength. If they were to go to a distant quarter, they had to display their arms and legs, and their skill in archery and charioteering was tested. All who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, such as prayermakers, writers, archers, carriage-drivers, doctors, diviners, and artizans all who professed particular arts for the service of their superiors, were not allowed to practise any other thing, or to change their offices; and when they left their districts, they did not take rank with officers. Those who did service in families (also), when they left their districts, did not take rank with officers.
- 46 The minister of Crime adapted the punishments (to the offences for which they were inflicted), and made the laws clear in order to deal with criminal charges and litigations. He required the three references as to its justice (before the infliction of a capital punishment). If a party had the intention, but there were not evidence of the deed, the charge was not listened to. Where a case appeared as doubtful, it was lightly dealt with; where it might be pardoned, it was (still) gravely considered.
- 47 In all determining on the application of any of the five punishments, it was required to decide according to the judgement of Heaven. Inadvertent and redeemable offences were determined by (the circumstances of) each particular case. When hearing a case requiring the application of any of the five punishments, (the judge) was required to have respect to the affection between father and son, or the righteousness between ruler and minister (which might have been in the mind of the defendant), to balance his own judgement. He must consider the gravity or lightness (of the offence), and carefully try to fathom the capacity (of the offender) as shallow or deep, to determine the exact character (of his guilt) He must exert his intelligence to the utmost, and give the fullest play to his generous and loving feeling, to arrive at his final judgement, If the criminal charge appeared to him doubtful he was to take the multitude into consultation with him; and if they also doubted, he was to pardon the defendant. At the same time he was to examine analogous cases, great and small, and then give his decision.
- 48 The evidence in a criminal case having thus been all taken and judgement given, the clerk reported it all to the director (of the district), who heard it and reported it to the Grand minister of Crime. He also heard it in the outer court, and then reported it to the king, who ordered the three ducal ministers, with the minister and director, again to hear it. When they had (once more) reported it to the king, he considered it with the three mitigating conditions, and then only determined the punishment.
- 49 In all inflictions of punishments and fines, even light offenders (that were not doubtful) were not forgiven. Punishment may be compared to the body. The body is a complete thing; when once completed, there cannot be any subsequent change in it. Hence the wise man will do his utmost (in deciding on all these inflictions).
- 50 Splitting words so as to break (the force of) the laws: confounding names so as to change what had been definitely settled; practising corrupt ways so as to throw government into confusion: all guilty of these things were put to death. Using licentious music; strange garments; wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements, thus raising doubts among the multitudes: all who used or formed such things were put to death. Those who were persistent in hypocritical conduct and disputatious in hypocritical speeches; who studied what was wrong, and went on to do so more and more, and whoever increasingly followed what was wrong so as to bewilder the multitudes: these were put to death. Those who gave false reports about (appearances of) spirits, about seasons and days, about consultings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death. These four classes were taken off, and no defence listened to.
- 51 All who had charge of the prohibitions for the regulation of the multitudes did not forgive transgressions of them. Those who had rank-tokens, the long or the round, and gilt libation-cups were not allowed to sell them in the market-places; nor were any allowed to sell robes or chariots, the gift of the king; or vessels of an ancestral temple; or victims for sacrifice; or instruments of war; or vessels which were not according to the prescribed measurements; or chariots of war which were not according to the prescribed quality, or broader or coarse, not according to the prescribed quality, or broader or narrower than the proper rule; or of the illegitimate colours, confusing those that were correct; or cloth, embroidered or

figured; or vessels made with pearls or jade; or clothes, or food, or drink, (in any way extravagant); or grain which was not in season, or fruit which was unripe; or wood which was not fit for the axe; or birds, beasts, fishes, or reptiles, which were not fit to be killed. At the frontier gates, those in charge of the prohibitions, examined travellers, forbidding such as wore strange clothes, and taking note of such as spoke a strange language.

- 52 The Grand recorder had the superintendence of ceremonies. He was in charge of the tablets of record, and brought before the king what (names) were to be avoided', and what days were unfavourable (for the doing of particular affairs)'. The son of Heaven received his admonitions with reverence.
- 53 (The office of) the accountants prepared the complete accounts of the year to be submitted to the son of Heaven which were reverently received by the chief minister. The Grand director of Music, the Grand minister of Crime, and the (chief) superintendent of the markets, these three officers, followed with the completed accounts of their departments to be submitted to the son of Heaven. The Grand minister of Instruction, the Grand minister of War, and the Grand minister of Works, reverently received the completed accounts of their several departments from their various subordinates, and examined them, then presenting them to the son of Heaven. Those subordinates then reverently received them after being so examined and adjudicated on. This being done, the aged were feasted and the royal sympathy shown to the husbandmen. The business of the year was concluded, and the expenditure of the states was determined.
- 54 In nourishing the aged, Shun, the lord of Yu, used the ceremonies of the drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Xia, those at entertainments (after) a reverent sacrifice or offering; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of Zhou cultivated and used all the three.
- 55 Those of fifty years received their nourishment in the schools of the districts; those of sixty, theirs in the (smaller school of the) state; and those of seventy, theirs in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's message, by kneeling once and bringing his head twice to the ground. The blind did the same. An old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him).
- 56 For those of fifty the grain was (fine and) different from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, flesh was kept in store. For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. For those of eighty, there was a constant supply of delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers. Wherever they wandered (to another place), it was required that savoury meat and drink should follow them.
- 57 After sixty, the coffin and other things for the mourning rites were seen to be in readiness, (once) in the year; after seventy, once in the season; after eighty, once in the month; and after ninety; every day they were kept in good repair. But the bandages, sheet, and coverlets and cases (for the corpse) were prepared after death.
- 58 At fifty, one begins to decay; at sixty, he does not feel satisfied unless he eats flesh; at seventy, he does not feel warm unless he wears silk; at eighty, he does not feel warm unless there be some one (to sleep) with him; and at ninety, he does not feel warm even with that.
- 59 At fifty, one kept his staff always in his hand in his family; at sixty, in his district; at seventy, in the city; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (all officer) of ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him.
- 60 At seventy, an officer did not wait till the court was over before he retired; at eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive; at ninety; he (had delicate food sent) regularly to him every day.
- 61 At fifty, a common man was not employed in services requiring strength; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors; and at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning.
- 62 When one was fifty, he received the rank (of a Great officer); at sixty, he did not go in person to the college; at seventy, he retired from the service of the government; and in mourning, he used only the dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites).
- 63 Shun, the lord of Yu, nourished the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher xiang, and the aged of the common people (and officers who had not obtained rank) in (the school called) the lower xiang. The sovereigns of Xia nourished the former in (the school called) the xu on the east, and the latter in (that called) the xu on the west. The men of Yin nourished the former in the school of the right, and the latter in that of the left. The men of Zhou entertained the former in (the school called) the eastern jiao, and the latter in (what corresponded to) the xiang of Yu. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west.

64 The lord of Yu wore the huang cap in sacrificing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in nourishing the aged.

The sovereigns of Xia used the shou cap in sacrificing, and the upper and lower dark garments of undress in nourishing the aged. During the Yin, they used the xu cap in sacrificing, and the tipper and lower garments, both of white thin silk, in nourishing the aged. During the Zhou dynasty, they used the mien cap in sacrificing, and the dark-coloured upper and lower garments in nourishing the aged.

65 The kings of the three dynasties, in nourishing the old, always had the years of those connected with them brought to their notice. Where (an officer) was eighty, one of his sons was free from all duties of government service; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were set free from them. In cases of parties who were disabled or ill, and where the attendance of others was required to wait upon them, one man was discharged from those duties (for the purpose). Parties mourning for their parents had a discharge for three years. Those mourning for one year or nine months had a discharge for three months. Where an officer was about to move to another state, he was discharged from service for three months beforehand. When one came from another state, he was not required to take active service for around year.

66 One who, while quite young, lost his father was called an orphan; an old man who had lost his sons was called a solitary. An old man who had lost his wife was called a pitiable (widower); an old woman who had lost her husband was called a poor (widow). These four classes were the most forlorn of Heaven's people, and had none to whom to tell their wants; they all received regular allowances.

67 The dumb, the deaf, the lame, such as had lost a member, pigmies, and mechanics, were all fed according to what work they were able to do.

68 On the roads, men took the right side and women the left; carriages kept in the middle. A man kept behind another who had a father's years; he followed one who might be his elder brother more closely, but still keeping behind, as geese fly after one another in a row. Friends did not pass by one another, when going the same way. (In the case of an old and a young man, carrying burdens,) both were borne by the younger; and if the two were too heavy for one, he took the heavier. A man with grey hair was not allowed to carry anything, though he might do it with one hand. An officer of superior rank, of the age of sixty or seventy, did not walk on foot. A common man, at that age, did not go without flesh to eat.

- 69 A Great officer, having land of his own, was not permitted to borrow the vessels for sacrifice; nor to make vessels for his own private use before he had made those for sacrifice
- 70 A space of one li square contained fields amounting to 900 mu. Ten li square were equal to 100 spaces of one li square, and contained 90,000 mu. A hundred li square were equal to 100 spaces of ten li square, and contained 9,000,999 mu. A thousand li square were equal to 100 spaces of 100 li square, and contained 900,000,000 mu.
- 71 From mount Heng to the southernmost point of the He was hardly 1000 li. From that point to the Jiang was hardly 1000 li. From the Kiang to mount Heng in the south was more than 1000 li. From the He on the east to the eastern sea was more than 1000 li. From the He on the east to the same river on the west was hardly 1000 li; and from that to the Moving Sands was more than 1000 li. (The kingdom) did not pass the Moving Sands on the west, nor mount Heng on the south. On the east it did not pass the eastern sea, nor on the north did it pass (the other) mount Heng. All within the four seas, taking the length with the breadth, made up a space Of 3000 li square, and contained eighty trillions of mu.
- 72 A space of 100 li square contained ground to the amount of 9,000,000 mu. Hills and mounds, forests and thickets, rivers and marshes, ditches and canals, city walls and suburbs., houses, roads, and lanes took up one third of it, leaving 6,000,000 mu.
- 73 Anciently, according to the cubit of Zhou, eight cubits formed a pace. Now, according to the same, six cubits and four inches make a pace. One hundred ancient mu were equal to 146 of the present day and thirty paces. One hundred ancient li were equal to 121 of the present day, sixty paces, four cubits, two inches and two-tenths.
- 74 A space of 1000 li square contained 100 spaces of 100 li square each. In this were constituted thirty states of 100 li square, leaving what would have been enough for other seventy of the same size. There were also constituted sixty states Of 70 li square, twenty-nine of 100 li square, and forty spaces of 10 li square, leaving enough for forty states of 100 li square, and sixty spaces of 10 li square. There were also constituted a hundred and twenty states of 50 li square, and sixty spaces of 10 li square. The famous hills and great meres were not included in the fiefs; and what remained was assigned for attached territories and unoccupied lands. Those unspaperopriated lands were taken to reward any of the princes of acknowledged merit, and what was cut off from some others (because of their demerit) became unappropriated land.
- 75 The territory of the son of Heaven, amounting to 1000 li square, contained 100 spaces of 100 li square each. There were

constituted nine appanages of 100 li square, leaving ninetyone spaces of the same size. There were also constituted twenty-one appanages of 70 li square, ten of 100 li, and twenty-nine spaces of 10 li square; leaving enough for eighty of 100 li square, and seventy-one of 10 li There were further constituted sixty-three appanages of 50 li square, fifteen of 100 li, and seventy-five spaces of 10 li, while there still remained enough for sixty-four appanages of 100 li square, and ninety-six spaces of 10 li each.

76 The officers of the lowest grade in the feudal states received salary sufficient to feed nine individuals; those of the second grade, enough to feed eighteen; and those of the highest, enough for thirty-six. A Great officer could feed 72 individuals; a minister, 288; and the ruler, 2880. In a state of the second class, a minister could feed 216; and the ruler, 2160. A minister of a small state could feed 144 individuals; and the ruler, 1440. In a state of the second class, the minister who was appointed by its ruler received the same emolument as the minister of a small state.

77 The Great officers of the son of Heaven acted as 'the three inspectors.' When they were inspecting a state, their salary was equal to one of its ministers, and their rank was that of a ruler of a: state of the second class. Their salaries were derived from the territories under the chiefs of regions.

78 The (appointed) heir-sons of the feudal princes inherited their states. Great officers (in the royal domain) did not inherit their rank. They were employed as their ability and character were recognised, and received rank as their merit was proved. Till their rank was conferred (by the king), (the princes) were in the position of his officers of the chief grade, and so they ruled their states, The Great officers of the states did not inherit their rank and emoluments.

79 The six ceremonial observances were: capping; marrying; mourning rites; sacrifices; feasts; and interviews. The seven lessons (of morality) were: (the duties between) father and son; elder brother and younger; husband and wife; ruler and minister; old and young; friend and friend; host and guest. The eight objects of government were:-food and drink; clothes; business (or, the profession); maintenance of distinctions; measures of length; measures of capacity; and definitely assigned rules.

### LI JI CHAPTER 6 Yue Ling

Proceedings of Government in the Different Months

In the first month of spring the sun is in Shi, the star culminating at dusk being Shen, and that culminating at dawn Wei. Its days are jia and yi. Its divine ruler is Dai Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Gou-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is Jiao, and its pitch-tube is the Dai Cu. Its number is eight; its take is sour; its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

2 The east winds resolve the cold. Creatures that have been torpid during the winter begin to move. The fishes rise up to the ice. Otters sacrifice fish. The wild geese make their appearance.

3 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Qing Yang (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix (bells), drawn by the azure-dragon (horses), and carrying the green flag; wears the green robes, and the (pieces of) green jade (on his cap and at his girdle pendant). He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the shooting forth (of plants).

4 In this month there takes place the inauguration of spring. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such and such a day is the inauguration of the spring. The energies of the season are fully seen in wood. On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification, and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (who are at court), and his Great officers, to meet the spring in the eastern suburb; and on their return, he rewards them all in the court. He charges his assistants to disseminate (lessons of) virtue, and harmonise the governmental orders, to give effect to the expressions of his satisfaction and bestow his favours: down to the millions of the people. Those expressions and gifts thereupon proceed, every one in proper (degree and direction). He also orders the Grand recorder to guard the statutes and maintain the laws, and (especially) to observe the motions in the heavens of the sun and moon, and of the zodiacal stars in which the conjunctions of these bodies take place, so that there should be no error as to where they rest and what they pass over; that there should be no failure in the record of all these things, according to the regular practice of

5 In this month the son of Heaven on the first (hsin) day prays to God for a good year; and afterwards, the day of the first conjunction of the sun and moon having been chosen, with the handle and share of the plough in the carriage, placed between the man-at-arms who is its third occupant and the driver, he conducts his three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes and his Great officers, all with their own hands to plough the field of God. The son of Heaven turns up three furrows, each of the ducal ministers five,

and the other ministers and feudal princes nine. When they return, he takes in his hand a cup in the great chamber, all the others being in attendance on him and the Great officers, and says, 'Drink this cup of comfort after your toil.'

6 In this month the vapours of heaven descend and those of the earth ascend. Heaven and earth are in harmonious coperation. All plants bud and grow. The king gives orders to set forward the business of husbandry. The inspectors of the fields are ordered to reside in the lands having an eastward exposure, and (see that) all repair the marches and divisions (of the o-round), and mark out clearly the paths and ditches. They must skilfully survey the mounds and rising grounds, the slopes and defiles, the plains and marshes, determining what the different lands are suitable for, and where the different grains will grow best. They must thus instruct and lead on the people, themselves also engaging in the tasks. The business of the fields being thus ordered, the guiding line is first put in requisition, and the husbandry is carried on without error.

7 In this month orders are given to the chief director of Music to enter the college, and practise the dances (with his pupils). The canons of sacrifice are examined and set forth, and orders are given to sacrifice to the hills and forests, the streams and meres, care being taken not to use any female victims. Prohibitions are issued against cutting down trees. Nests should not be thrown down; unformed insects should not be killed, nor creatures in the Womb, nor very young creatures, nor birds just taking to the wing, nor fawns, nor should eggs be destroyed. No congregating of multitudes should be allowed, and no setting about the rearing of fortifications and walls. Skeletons should be covered up, and bones with the flesh attached to them buried.

8 In this month no warlike operations should be undertaken; the undertaking of such is sure to be followed by calamities from Heaven. The not undertaking warlike operations means that they should not commence on our side. No change in the ways of heaven is allowed; nor any extinction of the principles of earth; nor any confounding of the bonds of men.

9 If in the first month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to summer were carried out, the rain would fall unseasonably, plants and trees would decay prematurely, and the states would be kept in continual fear. If the proceedings proper to autumn were carried out, there would be great pestilence among the people; boisterous winds would work their violence; rain would descend in torrents; orach, fescue, darnel, and southernwood would grow up together. If the proceedings proper to winter were carried out, pools of water would produce their destructive effects, snow and frost would prove very injurious, and the first sown seeds would not enter the ground.

10 In the second month of spring, the sun is in Kui, the star culminating at dusk being Hu, and that culminating at dawn Jian-xing. Its days are jia and yi. Its divine ruler is Dai Hao, the attending spirit is Gou-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is Jiao, and its pitch-tube is the Jia Zhong. Its number is eight; its taste is sour; its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

11 The rain begins to fall. The peach tree begins to blossom. The oriole sings. Hawks are transformed into doves.

12 The son of Heaven occupies the Qing Yang Grand Fane; rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature).

13 In this month, they keep both the young buds and those more advanced from being disturbed; they nourish both the young animals and those not fully grown; they especially watch over all orphans. The fortunate day is chosen, and orders are given to the people to sacrifice at their altars to the spirits of the ground. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to examine the prisons; to remove fetters and handcuffs; that there shall be no unregulated infliction of the bastinado; and that efforts shall be made to stop criminal actions and litigations.

14 In this month the swallow makes its appearance. On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first match-maker with a bull, a ram, and a boar. He goes to do so in person, with his queen and help-mates, attended by his nine ladies of honour. Peculiar courtesy is shown to those whom he has (lately) approached. Bow-cases have been brought, and a bow and arrows are given to each before (the altar of) the first match-maker.

15 In this month day and night are equal. Thunder utters its voice, and the lightning begins to be seen. Insects in their burrows are all in motion, opening their doors and beginning to come forth. Three days before the thunder, a bell with a wooden tongue is sounded, to give notice to all the people. 'The thunder,' it is said, 'is about to utter its voice. If any of you be not careful of your behaviour, you shall bring forth children incomplete; there are sure to be evils and calamities.' At the equinox they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; the weight of 30 catties, the steelyard, and the

weight of 120 catties. They correct the peck and bushel, the steelyard weights and the bushel-scraper.

16 In this month few of the husbandmen remain in their houses in the towns. They repair, however, their gates and doors, both of wood and wattles; and put their sleeping apartments and temples all in good repair. No great labours, which would interfere with the work of husbandry, should be undertaken.

17 In this month (the fishermen) should not let the streams and meres run dry, nor drain off all the water from the dams and ponds, (in order to catch all the fish), nor should (the hunters) fire the hills and forests. The son of Heaven at this time offers a lamb (to the ruler of cold), and opens the (reservoirs of) ice. Before (using it generally), they offer some in their principal apartment or in the ancestral temple. On the first ting day orders are given to the chief director of Music to exhibit the civil dances and unfold the offerings of vegetables (to the inventor of music). The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his Great officers, goes in person to see the ceremony. On the second ting day orders are given again to the same chief to enter the college, and practise music (with his pupils).

18 In this month at the (smaller) services of supplication they do not use victims. They use offerings of jade, square and round, and instead (of victims) skins and pieces of silk.

19 If in this second month of spring the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed, there would be great floods, in the states; cold airs would be constantly coming; and plundering attacks would be frequent. If those of winter were observed, the warm and genial airs would be insufficient; the wheat would not ripen; and raids and strifes would be rife among the people. If those of summer were observed, there would be great droughts among the people; the hot airs would come too early; and caterpillars and other insects would harm the grain.

20 In the last month of spring, the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being Qi xing, and that culminating at dawn Qian-niu. Its days are jia and yi. Its divine ruler is Dai Hao, and the attending spirit is Gou-mang. Its creatures are the scaly. Its musical note is the Jiao, and its pitch-tube is the Gu Xian. Its number is eight. Its taste is sour. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the door, and of the parts of the victim the spleen has the foremost place.

21 The Elaeococca begins to flower. Moles are transformed into quails. Rainbows begin to appear. Duckweed begins to grow

22 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Qing Yang (Fane); rides in the carriage with the phoenix bells, drawn by the azure dragon-(horses), and bearing the green flag. He is dressed in the green robes, and wears the azure gems. He eats wheat and mutton. The vessels which he uses are slightly carved, (to resemble) the bursting forth (of nature)

23 In this month the son of Heaven presents robes yellow as the young leaves of the mulberry tree to the ancient divine ruler (and his queen). Orders are given to the officer in charge of the boats to turn a boat bottom up. Five times he does so, and five times he turns it back again, after which he reports that it is ready for the son of Heaven, who then gets into it for the first time (this spring). He offers a snouted sturgeon (which he has caught) in the rear apartment of the ancestral temple, and also prays that the wheat may yield its produce.

24 In this month the influences of life and growth are fully developed; and the warm and genial airs diffuse themselves. The crooked shoots are all put forth, and the buds are unfolded. Things do not admit of being restrained. The son of Heaven spreads his goodness abroad, and carries out his kindly promptings. He gives orders to the proper officers to distribute from his granaries and vaults, giving their contents to the poor and friendless, and to relieve the needy and destitute; and to open his treasuries and storehouses, and to send abroad through all the nation the silks and other articles for presents, thus stimulating the princes of states to encourage the resort to them of famous scholars and show courtesy to men of ability and virtue.

25 In this month, he charges the superintendents of works, saying, 'The rains of the season will be coming down, and the waters beneath will be swelling up. Go in order over the states and visit the towns, inspecting everywhere the low and level grounds. Put the dykes and dams in good repair, clear the ditches and larger channels, and open all paths, allowing no obstruction to exist.' The nets used in hunting animals and birds, hand nets, archers' disguises, and injurious baits should not (in this month) issue from (any of) the nine gates.

26 In this month orders are given to the foresters throughout the country not to allow the cutting down of the mulberry trees and silk-worm oaks. About these the cooing doves clap their wings, and the crested birds light on them . The trays and baskets with the stands (for the worms and cocoons) are got ready. The queen, after vigil and fasting, goes in person to the eastern fields to work on the mulberry trees. She orders the wives and younger women (of the palace) not to wear their ornamental dresses, and to suspend their

woman's-work, thus stimulating them to attend to their business with the worms. When this has been completed, she apportions the cocoons, weighs out (afterwards) the silk, on which they go to work, to supply the robes for the solstitial and other great religious services, and for use in the ancestral temple. Not one is allowed to be idle.

27 In this month orders are given to the chiefs of works, to charge the workmen of their various departments to inspect the materials in the five storehouses: those of iron and other metals; of skins and hides and sinews; of horn and ivory; of feathers, arrows and wood (for bows); and of grease, glue, cinnabar, and varnish. (They are to see) that all these things be good. The workmen then labour at their several tasks. (The chiefs) inspect their work, and daily give them their orders. They must not produce anything contrary to what the time requires; nor can they practise a licentious ingenuity, which would dissipate the minds of their superiors.

28 In the end of this month a fortunate day is chosen for a grand concert of music. The son of Heaven, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the feudal princes (at court), and his great officers, goes in person to witness it.

29 In this month they collect the large, heavy bulls, and fiery stallions, and send them forth to the females in the pasture grounds. They number and make a list of the animals fit for victims, with the foals and calves. Orders are given for the ceremonies against pestilence throughout the city; at the nine gates (also) animals are torn in pieces in deprecation (of the danger): to secure the full development of the (healthy) airs of the spring.

30 If, in this last month of spring, the governmental proceedings proper to winter were observed, cold airs would constantly be prevailing; all plants and trees would decay; and in the states there would be great terrors. If those proper to summer were observed, many of the people would suffer from pestilential diseases; the seasonable rains would not fall; and no produce would be derived from the mountains and heights. If those proper to autumn were observed, the sky would be full of moisture and gloom; excessive rains would fall early; and warlike movements would be everywhere arising.

31 In the first month of summer, the sun is in Bi; the constellation culminating at dusk being Yi, and that culminating at dawn Wu-nu. Its days are bing and ding. Its divine ruler is Yan Di, and the (attending) spirit is Gu-rong. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is Zhi, and its pitch-tube is the Zhong Lu. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

32 The green frogs croak. Earth-worms come forth. The royal melons grow. The sow-thistle is in seed.

33 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Ming Tang (Grand Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation jade. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things).

34 In this month there takes place the inauguration of summer. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of summer. The energies of the season are most fully seen in fire.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification; and on the day, at the head of the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers, he proceeds to meet the summer in the southern suburbs. On their return, rewards are distributed. He grants to the feudal princes (an increase of) territory. Congratulations and gifts proceed, and all are joyful and pleased. Orders are also given to the chief master of music to teach the practice of ceremonies and music together. Orders are given to the Grand Peace-maintainer to recommend men of eminence, allow the worthy and good to have free course and bring forward the tall and large. His conferring of rank and regulation of emolument must be in accordance with the position (of the individual).

35 In this month what is long should be encouraged to grow longer, and what is high to grow higher. There should be no injuring or overthrowing of anything; no commencing of works in earth; no sending forth of great multitudes (on expeditions); no cutting down of large trees.

36 In this month the son of Heaven begins to wear thin dolichos cloth. Orders are given to the foresters throughout the country to go forth over the fields and plains, and, for the son of Heaven, to encourage the husbandmen, and stimulate them to work, and not let the season slip by unimproved. Orders are (also) given to the minister of Instruction to travel in order through the districts to the borders, charging the husbandmen to work vigorously, and not to rest in the towns.

37 In this month they chase away wild animals to prevent them from doing harm to any of the (growing) grain; but they should not have a great hunting. When the husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their wheat, the son of Heaven tastes it along with some pork, first offering a portion in the apartment behind (the hall of the) ancestral temple.

38 In this month they collect and store up the various medicinal herbs. Delicate herbs (now) die; it is the harvest time (even) of the wheat. They decide cases for which the punishments are light; they make short work of small crimes, and liberate those who are in prison for slight offences. When the work with the silk-worms is over, the queen presents her cocoons; and the tithe-tax of cocoons generally is collected, according to the number of mulberry trees; for noble and mean, for old and young there is one law. The object is with such cocoons to provide materials for the robes to be used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and in the ancestral temple.

39 In this month the son of Heaven (entertains his ministers and princes) with strong drink and with (much) observance of ceremony and with music.

40 If, in this first month of summer, the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, pitiless rains would be frequent; the five esculent plants would not grow large, and in all the borders people would have to enter the places of shelter. If those proper to winter were observed, all plants and trees would wither early, and afterwards, there would be great floods, destroying city and suburban walls. If those proper to spring were observed, there would be the calamity of locusts, violent winds would come, and plants in flower would not go on to seed.

41 In the second month of summer the sun is in the eastern Jing, the constellation culminating at dusk being Kang, and that culminating at dawn Wei. Its days are ping and ting. Its divine ruler is Yan Di, and the (attending) spirit is Gu-rong. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is Zhi, and its pitch-tube is Rui Bin. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

42 The (period of) slighter heat arrives; the praying mantis is produced; the shrike begins to give its notes; the mocking-bird ceases to sing.

43 The son of Heaven occupies the Ming Tang Grand Fane; rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things). They encourage the (continued) growth of what is strong and beautiful.

44 In this month orders are given to the music-masters to put in repair the hand-drums, smaller drums, and large drums; to adjust the lutes, large and small, the double flutes, and the pan-pipes; to teach the holding of the shields, pole-axes, lances, and plumes; to tune the organs, large and small, with their pipes and tongues; and to put in order the bells. sonorous stones, the instrument to give the symbol for commencing, and the stopper. Orders are given to the (proper) officers to pray for the people and offer sacrifice to the (spirits of the) hills, streams, and all springs. (After that) comes the great summer sacrifice for rain to God, when all the instruments of music are employed. Then orders are given throughout all the districts to sacrifice to the various princes, high ministers, and officers who benefited the people; praying that there may be a good harvest of grain. The husbandmen present (the first-fruits of) their millet.

45 In this month the son of Heaven partakes of it along with pullets, and with cherries set forth beside them, first offering a portion in the apartment behind the ancestral temple. The people are forbidden to cut down the indigo plant to use it in dyeing, or to burn wood for charcoal, or to bleach cloth in the sun. The gates of cities and villages should not be shut, nor should vexatious inquiries be instituted at the barrier gates or in the markets. Leniency should be shown to prisoners charged (even) with great crimes, and their allowance of food be increased. Impregnated mares are collected in herds by themselves, and the fiery stallions are tied up. The rules for the rearing of horses are given out.

46 In this month the longest day arrives. The influences in nature of darkness and decay and those 'Of brightness and growth struggle together; the tendencies to death and life are divided. Superior men give themselves to vigil and fasting. They keep retired in their houses, avoid all violent exercise, restrain their indulgence in music and beautiful sights, eschew the society of their wives, make their diet spare, use no piquant condiments, keep their desires under rule, and maintain their spirits free from excitement. The various magistrates keep things quiet and inflict no punishments - to bring about that state of settled quiet in which the influence of darkness and decay shall obtain its full development. Deer shed their horns. Cicadas begin to sing. The midsummer herb is produced. The tree hibiscus flowers.

47 In this month fires should not be lighted (out of doors) in the southern regions (of the country). People may live in buildings high and bright. They may enjoy distant prospects. They may ascend hills and heights. They may occupy towers and lofty pavilions.

48 If, in the second month of summer, the governmental proceedings of winter were observed, hail and told would injure the grain; the roads would not be passable; and violent assaults of war would come. If the proceedings proper to

spring were observed, the grains would be late in ripening; all kinds of locusts would continually be appearing; and there would be famine in the states. If those proper to autumn were observed, herbs and plants would drop their leaves; fruits would ripen prematurely; and the people would be consumed by pestilence.

49 In the third month of summer the sun is in Liu, the constellation culminating at dusk being huo, and that culminating at dawn Kui. Its days are bing and ding. Its divine ruler is Yan Di, and the (assisting) spirit is Gu-rong. Its creatures are the feathered. Its musical note is Zhi, and its pitch-tube is Lin Zhong. Its number is seven. Its taste is acrid. Its smell is that of things burning. Its sacrifice is that at the furnace; and of the parts of the victim the lungs have the foremost place.

50 Gentle winds begin to blow. The cricket takes its place in the walls. (Young) hawks learn to practise (the ways of their parents). Decaying grass becomes fire-flies.

51 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Ming Thang (Fane); rides in the vermilion carriage, drawn by the red horses with black tails, and bearing the red flag. He is dressed in the red robes, and wears the carnation gems. He eats beans and fowls. The vessels which he uses are tall, (to resemble) the large growth (of things). Orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to attack the alligator, to take the gavial, to present the tortoise, and to take the great turtle. Orders are given to the superintendent of the Meres to collect and send in the rushes available for use.

52 In this month orders are given to the four inspectors to make a great collection over all the districts of the different kinds of fodder to nourish the sacrificial victims; and to require all the people to do their utmost towards this end - to supply what is necessary for (the worship of) God (who dwells in) the great Heaven, and for the spirits of the famous hills, great streams, and four quarters, and for the sacrifices to the Intelligences of the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain; that prayer may be made for blessing to the people.

53 In this month orders are given by the officers of women's (work), on the subject of dyeing. (They are to see) that the white and black, the black and green, the green and carnation, the carnation and white be all according to the ancient rules, without error or change; and that their black, yellow, azure, and carnation be all genuine and good, without any presumptuous attempts at imposition. These furnish the materials for the robes used at the sacrifices in the suburbs and the ancestral temple; for flags and their ornaments; and for marking the different degrees of rank as high or low.

54 In this month the trees are luxuriant; and orders are given to the foresters to go among the hills and examine the trees, and see that the people do not cut any down or lop their branches. There should not be any work in earth, (now) undertaken; nor any assembling of the princes of the states; nor any military movements, causing general excitement. There should be no undertaking of (such) great affairs, which will disturb the nourishing growth that is proceeding, nor any issuing of orders to be hereafter carried into effect. All these things will interfere with the business of husbandry, (which is specially dear to) the Spirits. The floods are now great and overflow the roads; husbandry (dear to) the Spirits has to take in hand its various tasks. The curse of Heaven will come on the undertaking of great affairs (at this time).

55 In this month the ground lies steaming and wet beneath the heats, for great rains are (also) continually coming. They burn the grass lying cut upon the ground and bring the water over it. This is as effectual to kill the roots as hot water would be; and the grass thus serves to manure the fields of grain and hemp, and to fatten the ground which has been but just marked out for cultivation.

56 If, in the last month of summer, the governmental proceedings proper to spring were observed, the produce of grain would be scanty and fail; in the states there would be many colds and coughs; and the people would remove to other places. If the proceedings proper to autumn were observed, even the high grounds would be flooded; the grain that had been sown would not ripen; and there would be many miscarriages among women. If those proper to winter were observed, the winds and cold would come out of season; the hawks and falcons would prematurely attack their prey; and all along the four borders people would enter their places of shelter.

57 Right in the middle (between. Heaven and Earth, and the other elements) is earth. Its days are Wu and ji. Its divine ruler is Huang Di, and the (attending) spirit is Hou-tu. Its creature is that without any natural covering but the skin. Its musical note is Gong, and its pitch-tube gives the gong note from the tube Huang Zhong. Its number is five. Its taste is sweet. Its smell is fragrant. Its sacrifice is that of the middle court; and of the parts of the victim the heart has the foremost place.

58 The son of Heaven occupies the Grand apartment of the Grand fane; rides in the great carriage drawn by the yellow horses with black tails, and bearing the yellow flag; is clothed in the yellow robes, and wears the yellow gems. He eats

panicled millet and beef. The vessels which he uses are round, (and made to resemble) the capacity (of the earth).

59 In the first month of autumn, the sun is in Yi the constellation culminating at dusk being Jian-xing, and that culminating at dawn Bi. Its days are geng and xin. Its divine ruler is Shao Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Ru-shou. Its creatures are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang; its pitch-tube is Yi Ze. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

60 Cool winds come; the white dew descends the cicada of the cold chirps. (Young) hawks at this time sacrifice birds, as the first step they take to killing (and eating) them.

61 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Zong-zhang (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, and going on to be deep.

62 In this month there takes place the inauguration of autumn. Three days before the ceremony) the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saving, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of the autumn. The character of the season is fully seen in metal.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, the princes of states (at court), and his Great officers, to meet the autumn in the western suburb, and on their return he rewards the generalin-chief, and the military officers in the court. The son of Heaven also orders the leaders and commanders to choose men and sharpen weapons, to select and exercise those of distinguished merit, and to give their entire trust only to men whose services have been proved - thereby to correct all unrighteousness. (He instructs them also) to make enquiries about and punish the oppressive and insolent - thereby making it clear whom he loves and whom he hates, and giving effect to (the wishes of) the people, even the most distant from

63 In this month orders are given to the proper officers to revise the laws and ordinances, to put the prisons in good repair, to provide handcuffs and fetters, to repress and stoy villainy, to maintain a watch against crime and wickedness, and to do their endeavour to capture criminals. Orders are (also) given to the managers (of prisons) to look at wounds, examine sores, inspect broken members, and judge particularly of dislocations. The determination of cases, both criminal and civil, must be correct and just. Heaven and earth now begin to be severe; there should be no excess in copying that severity, or in the opposite indulgence.

64 In this month the husbandmen present their grain. The son of Heaven tastes it, while still new, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple. Orders are given to all the officers to begin their collecting and storing the contributions (from the husbandmen); to finish the embankments and dykes; to look to the dams and fillings up in preparation for the floods, and also to refit all houses; to strengthen walls and enclosures; and to repair city and suburban walls.

65 In this month there should be no investing of princes, and no appointment of great ministers. There should be no dismemberment of any territory, no sending out on any great commission, and no issuing of great presents.

66 If, in this first month of autumn, the proceedings of government proper to winter were observed, then the dark and gloomy influence (of nature) would greatly prevail; the shelly insects would destroy the grain; and warlike operations would be called for. If the proceedings proper to spring were observed, there would be droughts in the states; the bright and growing influence would return; and the five kinds of grain would not yield their fruit. If the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be many calamities from fire in the states; the cold and the heat would be subject to no rule; and there would be many fevers among the people.

67 In the second month of autumn the sun is in Jiao, the constellation culminating at dusk being Qian-niu, and that culminating at dawn Zi-xi. Its days are geng and xin. Its divine ruler is Shao Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Ru-shou. Its insects are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Nan Lu. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that of the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

68 Sudden and violent winds come. The wild geese arrive. The swallows return (whence they came). Tribes of birds store up provisions (for the future).

69 The son of Heaven occupies the Zong-zhang Grand Fane; rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flag. He is clothed in the white robes, and wears the white gems. He eats hemp-seed and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular or cornered, and rather deep.

70 In this month they take especial care of the decaying and old; give them stools and staves, and distribute supplies of congee for food. Orders are given to the superintendent of robes to have ready the upper and lower dresses with their

various ornaments. For the figures and embroidery on them there are fixed patterns. Their size, length, and dimensions must all be according to the old examples. For the caps and girdles (also) there are regular rules. Orders are given to the proper officers to revise with strict accuracy (the laws about) the various punishments. Beheading and (the other) capital executions must be according to (the crimes) without excess or defect. Excess or defect out of such proportion will bring on itself the judgement (of Heaven).

71 In this month orders are given to the officers of slaughter and prayer to go round among the victims for sacrifice, seeing that they are entire and complete, examining their fodder and grain, inspecting their condition as fat or thin, and judging of their looks. They must arrange them according to their classes. In measuring their size, and looking at the length (of their horns), they must have them according to the (assigned) measures. When all these points are as they ought to be, God will accept the sacrifices. The son of Heaven performs the ceremonies against pestilence, to secure development for the (healthy) airs of autumn. He eats the hemp-seed (which is now presented) along with dog's flesh, first offering some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

72 In this month it is allowable to rear city and suburban walls, to establish cities and towns, to dig underground passages and grain-pits, and to repair granaries, round and square. Orders are given to the proper officers to be urgent with the people, and (to finish) receiving their contributions and storing them. They should do their best to accumulate (large) stores of vegetables and other things. They should (also) stimulate the wheat-sowing. (The husbandmen) should not be allowed to miss the proper time for the operation. Any who do so shall be punished without fail.

73 In this month day and night are equal. The thunder begins to restrain its voice. Insects stop up the entrances to their burrows. The influence to decay and death gradually increases. That of brightness and growth daily diminishes. The waters begin to dry up. At the equinox, they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; equalise the steel-yards and their weights; rectify the weights of 30 and 120 catties; and adjust the pecks and bushels.

74 In this month they regulate and reduce the charges at the frontier gates and in the markets, to encourage the resort of both regular and travelling traders, and the receipt of goods and money; for the convenience of the business of the people. When merchants and others collect from all quarters, and come from the most distant parts, then the resources (of the government) do not fail. There is no want of means for its use; and all things proceed prosperously. In commencing great undertakings, there should be no opposition to the great periods (for them) as defined (by the motion of the sun). They must be conformed to the times (as thereby marked out), and particular attention paid to the nature of each.

75 If in this second month of autumn the proceedings proper to spring were observed, the autumnal rains would not fall; plants and trees would blossom; and in the states there would be alarms. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be droughts in the states; insects would not retire to their burrows; and the five grains would begin to grow again. If those proper to winter were observed, calamities springing from (unseasonable) winds would be constantly arising; the thunder now silent would be heard before its time; and plants and trees would die prematurely.

76 In the last month of autumn the sun is in Fang, the constellation culminating at dusk being Xu, and that culminating at dawn Liu. Its days are geng and xin. Its divine ruler is Shao Hao, and the (attending) spirit is Ru-shou. Its creatures are the hairy. Its musical note is Shang, and its pitch-tube is Wu Yi. Its number is nine. Its taste is bitter. Its smell is rank. Its sacrifice is that at the gate; and of the parts of the victim the liver has the foremost place.

77 The wild geese come, (and abide) like guests. Small birds enter the great water and become mollusks. Chrysanthemums show their yellow flowers. The chai sacrifice larger animals, and kill (and devour) the smaller.

78 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Zong-zhang (Fane); rides in the war chariot, drawn by the white horses with black manes, and bearing the white flags; is dressed in the white robes, and wears the white jade. He eats hemp-seeds and dog's flesh. The vessels which he uses are rectangular, cornered, and rather deep.

79 In this month the orders are renewed and strictly enjoined, charging the various, officers (to see) that noble and mean all exert themselves in the work of ingathering, in harmony with the storing of heaven and earth. They must not allow anything to remain out in the fields. Orders are also given to the chief minister, after the fruits of husbandry have all been gathered in, to take in hand the registers of the produce of the different grains (from all the country), and to store up the produce that has been gathered from the acres of God in the granary of the spirits; doing this with the utmost reverence and correctness.

80 In this month the hoar-frost begins to fall; and all labours cease (for a season). Orders are given to the proper officers, saying, 'The cold airs are all coming, and the people

will not be able to endure them. Let all enter within their houses (for a time). On the first ting day orders are given to the chief Director of music to enter the college, and to practise (with his pupils) on the wind instruments.

81 In this month an announcement is made to the son of Heaven that the victims for the great sacrifice to God, and the autumnal sacrifice in the ancestral temple' are fit and ready. The princes of the states are assembled, and orders given to the officers of the various districts (in the royal domain). They receive the first days of the months for the coming year, and the laws for the taxation of the people by the princes, both light and heavy, and the amount of the regular contribution to the government, which is determined by the distance of the territories and the nature of their several productions. The object of this is to provide what is necessary for the suburban sacrifices and those in the ancestral temple. No private considerations are allowed to have place in this.

82 In this month the son of Heaven, by means of hunting, teaches how to use the five weapons of war, and the rules for the management of horses. Orders are given to the charioteers and the seven (classes of) grooms to see to the yoking of the several teams, to set up in the carriages the flags and various banners, to assign the carriages according to the rank (of those who were to occupy them), and to arrange and set up the screens outside (the royal tent). The minister of Instruction, with his baton stuck in his girdle, addresses all before him with his face to the north. Then the son of Heaven, in his martial ornaments, with his bow in one hand, and the arrows under the armpit of the other, proceeds to hunt. (Finally), he gives orders to the superintendent of Sacrifices, to offer some of the captured game to (the spirits of) the four quarters.

83 In this month the plants and trees become yellow and their leaves fall, on which the branches are cut down to make charcoal. Insects in their burrows all try to push deeper, and from within plaster up the entrances. In accordance with (the season), they hurry on the decision and punishment of criminal cases, wishing not to leave them any longer undealt with. They call in emoluments that have been assigned incorrectly, and minister to those whose means are insufficient for their wants.

84 In this month the son of Heaven eats dog's flesh and rice, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple.

85 If, in this last month of autumn, the proceedings proper to summer were observed, there would be great floods in the states; the winter stores would be injured and damaged; there would be many colds and catarrhs among the people. If those proper to winter were observed, there would be many thieves and robbers in the states; the borders would be unquiet; and portions of territory would be torn from the rest. If those proper to spring were observed, the warm airs would come; the energies of the people would be relaxed and languid; and the troops would be kept moving about.

86 In the first month of winter the sun is in Wei, the constellation culminating at dusk being Wei, and the constellation culminating at dawn Qi-xing. Its days are the ren and gui. Its divine ruler is Zhuan-xu, and the (attending) spirit is Xuan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yu, and its pitch-tube is Ying Zhong. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and among the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place.

87 Water begins to congeal. The earth begins to be penetrated by the cold. Pheasants enter the great water and become large mollusks. Rainbows are hidden and do not appear.

88 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the left of the Xuan Tang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag; is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep.

89 In this month there takes place the inauguration of winter. Three days before this ceremony, the Grand recorder informs the son of Heaven, saying, 'On such-and-such a day is the inauguration of winter. The character of the season is fully seen in water.' On this the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-adjustment; and on the day of the inauguration he leads in person the three ducal ministers, the nine high ministers, and his Great officers to meet the winter in the northern suburbs. On his return he rewards (the descendants of) those who died in the service (of the kingdom), and shows his compassion to orphans and widows.

90 In this month orders are given to the Grand recorder to smear with blood the tortoise-shells and divining stalks', and by interpreting the indications of the former and examining the figures formed by the latter, to determine the good and evil of their intimations. (In this way) all flattery and partizanship in the interpretation of them (will become clear), and the crime of their operators be brought home. No concealment or deceit will be allowed.

91 In this month the son of Heaven sets the example of wearing furs. Orders are issued to the proper officers in the 'The airs of heaven are ascended on high, and those of earth have descended beneath. There is no intercommunion of heaven and earth. All is shut up and winter is completely formed.' Orders are given to all the officers to cover up carefully the stores (of their departments). The minister of Instruction is also ordered to go round (among the people and see) that they have formed their stores, and that nothing is left ungathered. The city and suburban walls are put in good repair; the gates of towns and villages are looked after; bolts and nuts are put to rights; locks and keys are carefully attended to; the field-boundaries are strengthened; the frontiers are well secured; important defiles are thoroughly defended: passes and bridges are carefully seen after; and narrow ways and cross-paths are shut up. The rules for mourning are revised; the distinctions of the upper and lower garments are defined; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins is decided on; with the size, height and other dimensions of graves. The measures for all these things are assigned, with the degrees and differences in them according to rank.

92 In this month orders are given to the chief Director of works to prepare a memorial on the work of the artificers; setting forth especially the sacrificial vessels with the measures and capacity (of them and all others), and seeing that there be no licentious ingenuity in the workmanship which might introduce an element of dissipation into the minds of superiors; and making the suitability of the article the first consideration. Every article should have its maker's name engraved on it, for the determination of its, genuineness. When the production is not what it ought to be, the artificer should be held guilty and an end be thus put to deception.

93 In this month there is the great festivity when they drink together, and each of the stands bears half its animal roasted. The son of Heaven prays for (a blessing on) the coming year to the Honoured ones of heaven; sacrifices with an ox, a ram, and a boar at the public altar to the spirits of the land, and at the gates of towns and villages; offers the sacrifice three days after the winter solstice with the spoils of the chase to all ancestors, and at the five (household) sacrifices; thus cheering the husbandmen and helping them to rest from their toils. The son of Heaven orders his leaders and commanders to give instruction on military operations, and to exercise (the soldiers) in archery and chariot-driving, and in trials of strength.

94 In this month orders are given to the superintendent of waters and the master of fishermen to collect the revenues from rivers, springs, ponds, and meres, taking care not to encroach in any way on any among the myriads of the people, so as to awaken a feeling of dissatisfaction in them against the son of Heaven. If they do this, they shall be punished for their guilt without forgiveness.

95 If, in the first month of winter, the proceedings of government proper to spring were observed, the cold that shuts up all beneath it would not do so tightly; the vapours of the earth would rise up and go abroad; many of the people would wander away and disappear. If those proper to summer were observed, there would be many violent winds in the states; winter itself would not be cold; and insects would come forth again from their burrows. If those proper to autumn were observed, the snow and hoarfrost would come unseasonably; small military affairs would constantly be arising; and incursions and loss of territory would occur.

96 In the second month of winter the sun is in Dou, the constellation culminating at dusk being the eastern Bi, and that culminating at dawn Zhen. Its days are ren and gui. Its divine ruler is Zhuan-xu, and the (attending) spirit is Xuanming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yu, and its pitch-tube is Huang Zhong. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path, and of the parts of the victim the kidneys have the foremost place.

97 The ice becomes more strong. The earth begins to crack or split. The night bird ceases to sing. Tigers begin to pair.
98 The son of Heaven occupies the Grand Fane Xuan Tang;

98 The son of Heaven occupies the Grand Fane Xuan Tang; rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep. All things relating to the dead are revised and regulated. Orders are given to the proper officer to the following effect: 'There should nothing be done in works of earth; care should be taken not to expose anything that is covered, nor to throw open apartments and houses, and rouse the masses to action; that all may be kept securely shut up. (Otherwise) the genial influences of earth will find vent, which might be called a throwing open of the house of heaven and earth. In this case all insects would die; and the people be sure to fall ill from Pestilence, and various losses would ensue.' This charge is said to be giving full development to the (idea of the) month.

99 In this month orders are given to the Director of the eunuchs to issue afresh the orders for the palace, to examine

all the doors, inner and outer, and look carefully after all the apartments. They must be kept strictly shut. All woman'swork must be diminished, and none of an extravagant nature permitted. Though noble and nearly related friends should come to visit the inmates, they must all be excluded. Orders are given to the Grand superintendent of the preparation of liquors to see that the rice and other glutinous grains are all complete: that the leaven-cakes are in season; that the soaking and heating are cleanly conducted; that the water be fragrant; that the vessels of pottery be good; and that the regulation of the fire be right. These six things have all to be attended to, and the Grand superintendent has the inspection of them, to secure that there be no error or mistake. The son of Heaven issues orders to the proper officers to pray and sacrifice to (the spirits presiding over) the four seas, the great rivers (with their) famous sources, the deep tarns, and the meres, (all) wells and springs.

100 In this month, if the husbandmen have any productions in the fields, which they have not stored or collected, or if there be any horses, oxen or other animals, which have been left at large, any one may take, them without its being inquired into. If there be those who are able to take from, the hills and forests, marshes and meres. edible fruits, or to capture game by hunting, the wardens and foresters should give them the necessary information and guidance. If there be among them those who encroach on or rob the others, they should be punished without fail.

101 In this month the shortest day arrives. The principle of darkness and decay (in nature) struggles with that of brightness and growth. The elements of life begin to move. Superior men give themselves to self-adjustment and fasting. They keep retired in their houses. They wish to be at rest in their persons; put away all indulgence in music and beautiful sights; repress their various desires; give repose to their bodies and all mental excitements. They wish all affairs to be quiet, while they wait for the settlement of those principles of darkness and decay, and brightness and growth. Rice begins to grow. The broom-sedge rises up vigorously. Worms curl. The moose-deer shed their horns. The springs of water are (all) in movement. When the shortest day has arrived, they fell trees, and carry away bamboos, (especially) the small species suitable for arrows.

102 In this month, offices in which there is no business may be closed, and vessels for which there is no use may be removed. They plaster (and repair) the pillars and gateways (of the palace), and the courtyard (within), and also doors and other gateways; rebuilding (also all) prisons, to co-operate with the tendency of nature to shut up and secure (the genial influences at this season).

103 If in this second month of winter the proceedings of government proper to summer were observed, there would be droughts in the states; vapours and fogs would shed abroad their gloom, and thunder would utter its voice. If those proper to autumn were observed, the weather would be rainy and slushy; melons and gourds would not attain their full growth; and there would be great wars in the states. If those proper to spring were observed, locusts would work their harm; the springs would all become dry; and many of the people would suffer from leprosy and foul ulcers.

104 In the third month of winter the sun is in Wu-nu, the constellation culminating at dusk being Lou, and that culminating at dawn Di. Its days are ren and gui. Its divine ruler is Zhuan-xu, and the (attendant) spirit is Xuan-ming. Its creatures are the shell-covered. Its musical note is Yu, and its pitch-tube is Da Lu. Its number is six. Its taste is salt. Its smell is that of things that are rotten. Its sacrifice is that at (the altar of) the path; and the part of the victim occupying the foremost place is the kidneys.

105 The wild geese go northwards. The magpie begins to build. The (cock) pheasant crows. Hens hatch.

106 The son of Heaven occupies the apartment on the right of the Xuan Tang (Fane); rides in the dark-coloured carriage, drawn by the iron-black horses, and bearing the dark-coloured flag. He is dressed in the black robes, and wears the dark-coloured gems of jade. He eats millet and sucking-pig. The vessels which he uses are large and rather deep. He issues orders to the proper officers to institute on a great scale all ceremonies against pestilence, to have (animals) torn in pieces on all sides, and (then) to send forth the ox of earth, to escort away the (injurious) airs of the cold. Birds of prey fly high and rapidly. They now offer sacrifices all round to (the spirits of) the hills and rivers, to the great ministers of the (ancient) deified sovereigns, and to the spirits of heaven (and earth).

107 In this month orders are given to the master of the Fishermen to commence the fishers' work. The son of Heaven goes in person (to look on). He partakes of the fish caught, first presenting some in the apartment at the back of the ancestral temple. The ice is now abundant: thick and strong to the bottom of the waters and meres. Orders are given to collect it, which is done, and it is carried into (the ice-houses). Orders are given to make announcement to the people to bring forth their seed of the five grains. The husbandmen are ordered to reckon up the pairs which they can furnish for the ploughing to repair the handles and shares of their ploughs;

and to provide all the other instruments for the fields. Orders are given to the chief director of Music to institute a grand concert of wind instruments; and with this (the music of the year) is, closed. Orders are given to the four Inspectors to collect and arrange the faggots to supply the wood and torches for the suburban sacrifices, those in the ancestral temple, and all others.

108 In this month the sun has gone through all his mansions; the moon has completed the number of her conjunctions; the stars return to (their places) in the heavens. The exact length (of the year) is nearly completed, and the year will soon begin again. (It is said), 'Attend to the business of your husbandmen. Let them not be employed on anything else.' The son of Heaven, along with his ducal and other high ministers and his Great officers, revises the statutes for the states, and discusses the proceedings of the different seasons; to be prepared with what is suitable for the ensuing year. Orders are given to the Grand recorder to make a list of the princes of the states according to the positions severally assigned to them, and of the victims required from them to supply the offerings for the worship of God dwelling in the great heaven, and at the altars of (the spirits of) the land and grain. Orders were also given to the states ruled by princes of the royal surname to supply the fodder and grain for the (victims used in the worship of the) ancestral temple. Orders are given, moreover, to the chief minister to make a list of (the appanages of) the various high ministers and Great officers, with the amount of the land assigned to the common people, and assess them with the victims which they are to contribute to furnish for the sacrifices to (the spirits presiding over) the hills, forests, and famous streams. All the people under the sky, within the nine provinces, must, without exception, do their utmost to contribute to the sacrifices:-to God dwelling in the great heaven; at the altars of the (spirits of the) land and grain; in the ancestral temple and the apartment at the back of it; and of the hills, forests, and famous streams,

109 If, in the last month of winter, the governmental proceedings proper to autumn were observed, the white dews would descend too early; the shelly creatures would appear in monstrous forms; throughout the four borders people would have to seek their places of shelter. If those proper to spring were observed, women with child and young children would suffer many disasters; throughout the states there would be many cases of obstinate disease; fate would appear to be adverse. If those proper to summer were observed, floods would work their ruin in the states; the seasonable snow would not fall, the ice would melt, and the cold disappear.

# LI JI CHAPTER 7 Zeng Zi Wen

Questions of Zengzi

1 Zeng-zi asked, 'If a ruler dies and a son and heir is born (immediately after), what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The high nobles, Great officers and (other) officers, following the chief (minister), who takes charge of the government for the time, (should collect) at the south of the western steps, with their faces towards the north. (Then) the Grand officer of prayer, in his court robes and cap, bearing in his hands a bundle of rolls of silk, will go up to the topmost step, and (there), without ascending the hall, will order the wailing to cease. Mournfully clearing his voice three times, he will make announcement (to the spirit of the deceased ruler), saying, "The son of such and such a lady has been born. I venture to announce the fact." He will then go up, and place the silks on a stool on the east of the body in the coffin, wail, and descend. All the relatives of the deceased who are there (at the mourning), the high nobles, the Great and other officers, (with the women) in the apartments, all will wail, but without the leaping. When this burst of sorrow is over, they will return to their (proper) places, and proceed forthwith to set forth the mourning offerings to the dead. The minor minister will ascend, and take away the bundle of silks. On the third day, all the relatives, high nobles, Great and other officers, should take their places as before, with their faces to the north. The Grand minister, the Grand master of the ancestral temple, and the Grand officer of prayer, should all be in their court-robes and caps. The master for the child will carry the child in his arms on a mat of sackcloth. The officer of prayer will precede, followed by the child, and the minister and master of the temple will come after. Thus they will enter the door (of the apartment where the coffin is), when the wailers will cease. The child has been brought up by the western steps, and is held in front of the coffin with his face to the north, while the officer of prayer stands at the south-east corner of it. Mournfully clearing his voice three times, he will say, "So and So, the son of such and such a lady, and we, his servants, who follow him, presume to appear before you." The boy is (then made) to do obeisance, with his forehead on the ground, and to wail. The officer of prayer, the minister the officer of the temple all the relatives the high nobles, with the Great and other officers, will wail and leap, leaping three times with each burst of grief. (Those who had gone up to the hall then) descend, and go back to their proper places on the east; where all bare the left arm and shoulder. The son (in the arms of his bearer is made) to leap.

and (the women) in the apartments also leap. Thrice they will do so, leaping three times each time. (The bearer for the son) will cover up his sackcloth, walk with a staff, (ascend and) set forth the offerings by the dead, and then quit the scene. The Grand minister will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce the name all round, at the five altars of the house, and at those (to the spirits) of the hills and streams.'

2 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the son and heir have been born after the burial (of the) ruler, what course should be followed?'

Confucius said, 'The Grand minister and the Grand master of the ancestral temple will follow the Grand officer of prayer, and announce the fact before the spirit tablet (of the deceased ruler). Three months after they will give the name in the same place, and announce it all round', and also at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and (at the altars of) the hills and streams.'

3 Confucius said, 'When princes of states are about to go to the (court of the) son of Heaven, they must announce (their departure) before (the shrine of) their grandfather, and lay their offerings in that of their father. They then put on the court cap, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) to the (spirits of the) land and grain, in the ancestral temple, and at the (altars of the) hills and rivers. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five (subordinate) officers, and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road as they set forth. All the announcements should be completed in five days. To go beyond this in making them is contrary to rule. In every one of them they use a victim and silks. On the return (of the princes) there are the same observances. When princes of states are about to visit one another, they must announce (their departure) before the shrine of their father. They will then put on their court robes, and go forth to hold their own court. (At this) they charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to announce (their departure) at the five shrines in the ancestral temple, and at the altars of the hills and rivers which they will pass. They then give (the business of) the state in charge to the five officers, and take their journey, presenting the offerings to the spirits of the road as they set forth. When they return. they will announce (the fact) in person to their grandfather and father, and will charge the officer of prayer and the recorder to make announcement of it at the altars where they announced (their departure). (When this has been done), they enter and give audience in the court.'

4 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the funerals of both parents take place together, what course is adopted? Which is first and which last?'

Confucius said, 'The rule is that the burying of the less important (mother) should have the precedence, and that of the more important (father) follow, while the offerings to them are set down in the opposite order. From the opening of the apartment and conveying out the coffin (of the mother) till its interment no offerings are put down; when the coffin is on the route to the grave, there is no wailing at the regular place for that ceremony. When they return from this interment, they set down the offerings (to the father), and afterwards announce (to his spirit) when the removal of his coffin will take place, and proceed to arrange for the interment. It is the rule that the sacrifice of repose should first be offered to the more important (father), and afterwards to the less important (mother).

5 Coufucius said, 'The eldest son, even though seventy, should never be without a wife to take her part in presiding at the funeral rites. If there be no such eldest son, the rites may be performed without a presiding wife.'

6 Zeng-zi asked, 'It has been proposed to invest a son with the cap, and the investors have arrived, and after exchanging bows and courtesies (with the master of the house), have entered. If then news should come that the death of some relative has occurred, for whom a year's mourning or that of nine months must be worn, what should be done?"

Confucius said, 'If the death has taken place within (the circle of the same surname), the ceremony should be given up; but if without (that circle), it will go on, but the sweet wine will not be presented to the youth. The viands will be removed and the place swept, after which he will go to his proper position and wail. If the investors have not yet arrived, the capping will be given up (for the time). If the arrangements for the capping have been made, but before the day arrives, an occasion for the one year's mourning, or for that of nine months, or five months, have arrived, the youth shall be capped in his mourning dress.'

'When all mourning is over, may a son continue to wear the cap which he has hitherto worn?'

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven gives to the (young) prince of a state or a Great officer his robes and the cap proper to each in the grand ancestral temple, the youth on his return home- will set forth his offering (in his own ancestral temple), wearing the robes that have been given to him, and here he will drink the cup of capping (as if) offered by his father, without the cup of wine at the ceremony. When a son is (thus) capped after his father's death, he is considered to be

properly capped; he will sweep the ground, and sacrifice at his father's shrine. This being done, he will present himself before his uncles, and then offer the proper courtesies to the investors.'

7 Zeng-zi asked, 'Under what circumstances is it that at sacrifice they do not carry out the practice of all drinking to one another?'

Confucius said, 'I have heard that at the close of the one year's mourning, the principal concerned in it sacrifices in his inner garment of soft silk, and there is not that drinking all round. The cup is set down beside the guests, but they do not take it up. This is the rule. Formerly duke Zhao of Lu, while in that silken garment, took the cup and sent it all round, but it was against the rule; and duke Xiao, at the end of the second year's mourning, put down the cup presented to him, and did not send it all round, but this also was against the rule'

8 Zeng-zi asked, 'In a case (of the) mourning for nine months, can (the principal) take part in contributing to the offerings (to the dead of others)?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of (the mourning for) nine months? In all cases from (the mourning for) three years downwards, it may be done. This is the rule.'

Zeng-zi said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and attaching (undue) importance to mutual helpfulness?'

Confucius said, 'This is not what I mean. When there is mourning for the son of Heaven or the prince of a state, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges (will contribute to) the offerings. At the mourning of a Great officer, (all) who wear the sackcloth with the even edges will do so. At the mourner of an ordinary officer, his associates and friends will do so. If all these be not sufficient, they may receive contributions from all who should mourn for nine months downwards; and if these be still insufficient, they will repeat the process.'

9 Zeng-zi asked, 'In a case of the mourning for five months, may (the principal) take part in the other sacrifices (of mourning)?'

Confucius said, 'Why speak only of the mourning for five months? In all cases from the mourning for three years downwards, (the principals) take part in those sacrifices.'

Zeng-zi said, 'Would not this be making the mourning of little importance, and giving (undue) importance to the sacrifices?'

Confucius said, 'In the mourning sacrifices for the son of Heaven and the prince of a state, none but those who wear the sackcloth with the jagged edges take part in them. In those for a Great officer, they who wear the sackcloth with the even edges do so. In those for another officer, if the participants be insufficient, they add to them from their brethren who should wear mourning for nine months downwards.'

10 Zeng-zi asked, 'When acquaintances are in mourning, may they participate in one another's sacrifices?'

Confucius said, 'When wearing the three months' mourning, one has no occasion to sacrifice (in his own ancestral temple), and how should he assist another man (out of his own line)?'

11 Zeng-zi asked, 'When one has put off his mourning, may he take part in contributing to the offerings (for the dead of another)?'

Confucius said, 'To take part in the offerings (to another's dead), on putting off one's own sackcloth, is contrary to the rule. Possibly, he may perform the part of assisting him in receiving visitors.'

12Zeng-zi asked, 'According to the rules for marriages, the presents have been received and a fortunate day has been fixed; if then the father or mother of the young lady die, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The son-in-law will send some one to condole; and if it be his father or mother that has died, the family of the lady will in the same way send some to present their condolences. If the father have died, (the messenger) will name the (other) father (as having sent him); if the mother, he will name the (other) mother. If both parents be dead (on both sides), he will name the oldest uncle and his wife. When the son-in-law has buried (his dead), his oldest uncle will offer a release from the engagement to the lady, saying, "My son, being occupied with the mourning for his father or mother, and not having obtained the right to be reckoned among your brethren, has employed me to offer a release from the engagement." (In this case) it is the rule for the lady to agree to the message and not presume to (insist on) the marriage (taking place immediately). When the son-in-law has concluded his mourning, the parents of the lady will send and request (the fulfilment of the engagement). The son-in-law will not (immediately come to) carry her (to his house), but afterwards she will be married to him; this is the rule. If it be the father or mother of the lady who died, the son-in-law will follow a similar course '

13 Zeng-zi asked, 'The son-in-law has met the lady in person, and she is on the way with him:--if (then) his father or mother die, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'The lady will change her dress; and in the long linen robe, with 'the cincture of white silk round her hair,

will hasten to be present at the mourning rites. If, while she is on the way, it be her own father or mother who dies, she will return!

'If the son-in-law have met the lady in person, and before she has arrived at his house, there occur a death requiring the year's or the nine months' mourning, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, 'Before the gentleman enters, he will change his dress in a place outside. The lady will enter and change her dress in a place inside. They will then go to the proper positions and wail.'

14 Zeng-zi asked, 'When the mourning is ended, will they not resume the marriage ceremonies?'

Confucius said, 'It is the rule, that when the time of sacrifice has been allowed to pass by, it is not then offered. Why in this case should they go back to what must have taken place previously?"

15 Confucius said, 'The family that has married a daughter away, does not extinguish its candles for three nights, thinking of the separation that has taken place. The family that has received the (new) wife for three days has no music; thinking her bridegroom is now in the place of his parents. After three months she presents herself in the ancestral temple, and is styled "The new wife that has come." A day is chosen for her to sacrifice at the shrine of her father-in-law; expressing the idea of her being (now) the established wife.'

16 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the lady die before she has presented herself in the ancestral temple, what course should be adopted?'

Confucius said, '(Her coffin) should not be removed to the ancestral temple, nor should (her tablet) be placed next to that of her mother-in-law. The husband should not carry the staff; nor wear the shoes of straw; nor have a (special) place (for wailing). She should be taken back, and buried among her kindred of her own family - showing that she had not become the established wife.'

17 Zeng-zi asked, 'The fortunate day has been fixed for taking the lady (to her new home), and she dies (in the meantime) - what should be done?'

Confucius said, 'The son-in-law will come to condole, wearing the one year's mourning, which he will lay aside when the interment has taken place. If it be the husband who dies, a similar course will be followed on the other side.'

18 Zeng-zi asked, 'Is it according to rule "that at the mourning rites there should be two (performing the part of) the orphan son (and heir, receiving visitors), or that at a temple-shrine there should be two spirit-tablets?'

Confucius said 'In heaven there are not two suns: in a country there are not two kings; in the seasonal sacrifices, and those to Heaven and Earth, there are not two who occupy the highest place of honour. I do not know that what you ask about is according to rule. Formerly duke Huan of Qi, going frequently to war, made fictitious tablets and took them with him on his expeditions, depositing them on his return in the ancestral temple. The practice of having two tablets in a temple-shrine originated from duke Huan. As to two (playing the part of the) orphan son, it may be thus explained: Formerly, on occasion of a visit to Lu by duke Ling of Wei, the mourning rites of Ji Huan-zi were in progress. The ruler of Wei requested leave to offer his condolences. Duke Ai (of Lu), declined (the ceremony), but could not enforce his refusal. He therefore acted as the principal (mourner), and the visitor came in to condole with him. Kang-zi stood on the right of the gate with his face to the north. The duke, after the usual bows and courtesies, ascended by the steps on the east with his face towards the west. The visitor ascended by those on the west, and paid his condolences. The duke bowed ceremoniously to him, and then rose up and wailed, while Kang-zi bowed with his forehead to the ground, in the position where he was. The superintending officers made no attempt to put the thing to rights. The having two now acting as the orphan son arose from the error of Ji Kang-zi.'

19 Zeng-zi asked, 'Anciently when an army went on an expedition, was it not first necessary to carry with it the spirit-tablets that had been removed from their shrines?'

Confucius said, 'When the son of Heaven went on his tours of Inspection, he took (one of) those tablets along with him, conveying it in the carriage of Reverence, thus intimating how it was felt necessary to have with him that object of honour. The practice now-a-days of taking the tablets of the seven temple-shrines along with them on an expedition is an error. No shrine in all the seven (of the king), or in the five of the prince of a state, ought to be (left) empty. A shrine can only be so left without its tablet, when the son of Heaven has died, or the prince of a state deceased, or left his state, or when all the tablets are brought together at the united sacrifice, in the shrine-temple of the highest ancestor. I heard the following statement from Lao Dan: "On the death of the son of Heaven, or of the prince of a state, it is the rule that the officer of prayer should take the tablets from all the other shrines and deposit them in that of the high ancestor, When the wailing was over, and the business (of placing the tablet of the deceased in its shrine) was completed, then every other tablet was restored to its shrine. When a ruler abandoned his state, it was the rule that the Grand minister should take the tablets from all the shrines and follow him. When there was the united sacrifice in the shrine of the high ancestor, the officer of prayer met (and received) the tablets from the four shrines. When they were taken from their shrines or carried back to them all were required to keep out of the way." So said Lao Dan.'

20 Zeng-zi asked, 'Anciently, when they marched on an expedition, and carried no displaced tablets with them, what did they make their chief consideration?'

Confucius said, 'They made the instructions from the tablet their chief consideration.'

'What does that mean?' asked the other.

Confucius said, When the son of Heaven or the prince of a state was about to go forth, he would, with gifts of silk, skins, and jade-tokens, announce his purpose at the shrines of his grandfather and father. He then took those gifts with him, conveying them on the march in the carriage of Reverence. At every stage (of the march), he would place offerings of food by them, and afterwards occupy the station. On returning, they would make announcement (at the same shrines), and when they had set forth (again) their offerings, they would collect the silk and jade, and bury them between the steps (leading) up to the fane of the high ancestor; after which they left the temple. This was how they made the instructions they received their chief consideration.

21 Zi-you asked, 'Is it the rule to mourn for a foster-mother as for a mother?'

Confucius said, 'It is not the rule. Anciently, outside the palace, a boy had his master, and at home his foster-mother; they were those whom the ruler employed to teach his son;what ground should these be for wearing mourning for them? Formerly duke Zhao of Lu having lost his mother when he was little, had a foster-mother, who was good; and when she died, he could not bear (not) to mourn for her, and wished to do so. The proper officer on hearing of it, said, "According to the ancient rule, there is no mourning for a foster-mother. If you wear this mourning, you will act contrary to that ancient rule, and introduce confusion into the laws of the state. If you will after all do it, then we will put it on record, and transmit the act to the future; will not that be undesirable?" The duke said, "Anciently the son of Heaven, when unoccupied and at ease, wore the soft inner garment, assumed after the year's mourning, and the cap." The duke could not bear not to wear mourning, and on this he mourned for his foster-mother in this garb. The mourning for a foster-mother originated with duke Zhao of Lu.'

22 Zeng-zi asked, 'The princes are assembled in a body to appear before the son of Heaven; they have entered the gate, but are not able to go through with the rites (of audience); how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?'

Confucius said, 'Four.' 'May I ask what they are?' said the other. The reply was:--'The grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; funeral rites of the queen; their robes all unsightly through soaking rain. If, when the princes are all there, an eclipse of the sun take place, they follow the son of Heaven to save it; each one dressed in the colour of his quarter, and with the weapon proper to it. If there be a fire in the grand ancestral temple, they follow him to extinguish it without those robes and weapons.

23 Zeng-zi said, 'Princes are visiting one another. (The strangers) have entered the gate after the customary bowings and courtesies, but they are not able to go through with the rites (of audience);how many occurrences will make these be discontinued?'

Confucius said, 'Six;' and, in answer to the question as to what they were, replied: 'The death of the son of Heaven; the grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; the funeral rites of the queen or of the princess of the state; and their robes all unsightly through soaking rain.'

24 Zeng-zi said, 'At the seasonal sacrifices of the son of Heaven, at those to Heaven and Earth, and at (any of) the five sacrifices of the house, after the vessels, round and square, with their contents have been set forth, if there occur the death of the son of Heaven or mourning rites for the queen, what should be done?"

Confucius, said, 'The sacrifice should be stopped.' The other asked, 'If, during the sacrifice, there occur an eclipse of the sun, or the grand ancestral temple take fire ' what should be done?' The reply was, 'The steps of the sacrifice should be hurried on. If the victim have arrived, but has not yet been slain, the sacrifice should be discontinued. When the son of Heaven has died and is not yet coffined, the sacrifices of the house are not offered. When he is coffined, they are resumed; but at any one of them the representative of the dead takes (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and is not urged (to take more). He is then presented with a cup, but does not respond by presenting another, and there is an end (of the ceremony). From the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the subsequent wailing, those sacrifices (again) cease. After the burial they are offered, but when the officer of prayer has finished the cup presented to him, they stop.'

25 Zeng-zi asked, 'At the sacrifices to the spirits of the land and grain proper to the feudal princes, if, after the stands and

vessels, with their contents, have been arranged, news arrive of the death of the son of Heaven or of the mourning rites for his queen, or if the ruler die or there be mourning rites for his consort, what should be done?

Confucius said, 'The sacrifice should be discontinued. From the ruler's death to the coffining, and from the removal of the coffin to the return (from the burial) and the (subsequent) wailing, they will follow the example set by the son of Heaven.'

26 Zeng-zi asked, 'At the sacrifices of a Great officer, when the tripods and stands have been arranged, and the dishes of bamboo and wood, with their contents, have been set forth, but they are not able to go through with the rites, how many occurrences will cause them to be discontinued?"

Confucius said, 'Nine:' and when asked what they were, he added: 'The death of the son of Heaven; funeral rites for his queen; the death of the ruler (of the state); funeral rites for his consort; the ruler's grand ancestral temple taking fire; an eclipse of the sun; (a call to) the three years' mourning; to that of one year; or to that of nine months. In all these cases the sacrifice should be given up. If the mourning be merely for relatives by affinity, from all degrees of it up to the twelve months, the sacrifice will go on. At one where the mourning is worn for twelve months, the representative of the dead, after entering, will take (only) three mouthfuls (of the food), and not be urged to take (any more). He will be presented with a cup, but will not respond by presenting one in return, and there will be an end (of the ceremony). Where the mourning is for nine months, after he has presented the responsive cup, the thing will end. Where it is for five or for three months, it will not end till all the observances in the apartment are gone through. What distinguishes the proceedings of an ordinary officer is, that he does not sacrifice when wearing the three months' mourning. He sacrifices, however, if the dead to whom he does so had no relationship with him requiring him to wear mourning.

27 Zeng-zi asked, 'May one, wearing the three years' mourning for a parent, go to condole with others?'

Confucius said, 'On the completion of the first of the three years, one should not be seen standing with others, or going along in a crowd. With a superior man the use of ceremonies is to give proper and elegant expression to the feelings. Would it not be an empty form to go and condole and wail with others, while wearing the three years' mourning?'

28 Zeng-zi asked, If a Great officer or ordinary officer be in mourning for a parent he may put it off; and if he be in mourning for his ruler, under what conditions will he put that off?"

Confucius said, 'If he have the mourning for his ruler on his person, he will not venture to wear any private mourning; what putting off can there be? In this case, even if the time be passed (for any observances which the private mourning would require), he will not put it off. When the mourning for the ruler is put off, he will then perform the great sacrifices (of his private mourning). This is the rule.'

Zeng-zi asked, 'But is it allowable thus to give up all the mourning rites for a parent through this keeping on of the mourning (for a ruler)?'

Confucius said, 'According to the ceremonies as determined by the ancient kings, it is the rule that, when the time has passed (for the observance of any ceremony), there should be no attempt to perform it. It is not that one could not keep from not putting off the mourning; but the evil would be in his going beyond the definite statute. Therefore it is that a superior man does not offer a sacrifice, when the proper time for doing so has passed.'

29 Zeng-zi said, 'If, when the ruler has died, and is now lying in his coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what course will he pursue?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and remain there; going indeed to the ruler's for the great services (to the departed), but not for those of every morning and evening.'

Zeng-zi asked, 'If, when they have begun to remove the coffin, the minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, how should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home and wail, and then return and accompany the funeral of the ruler.'

'If,' said Zeng-zi, 'before the ruler has been coffined, a minister be called to the funeral rites for his father or mother, what should be his course?'

Confucius said, 'He should go home, and have the deceased put into the coffin, returning (then) to the ruler's. On occasion of the great services, he will go home, but not for those of every morning and evening. In the case of a Great officer, the chief servant of the household will attend to matters'; in the case of an ordinary officer, a son or grandson. When there are the great services at the ruler's, the wife of the Great officer will also go there, but not for those of every morning and evening.'

30 One in a low position should not pronounce the eulogy of another in a high, nor a younger man that of one older than himself. In the case of the son of Heaven, they refer to Heaven as giving his eulogy. It is not the rule for princes of states to deliver the eulogy of one another.

31 Zeng-zi asked, 'When a ruler goes across the boundary of his own state, he takes with him his inner coffin as a precaution for the preparations against the three years'(mourning rites) for him. If he die (abroad), what are the proceedings on his being brought back?'

Confucius said, 'The clothes to be put on him after the coffining having been provided, the son in the linen cap, with the sackcloth band round it, wearing coarse sackcloth and the shoes of straw, and carrying a staff, will enter by the opening made in the wall of the apartment for the coffin, having ascended by the western steps. If the slighter dressing (preparatory to the coffining) have still (to be made), the son will follow the bier without a cap, enter by the gate, and ascend by the steps on the east. There is one and the same rule for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.'

32 Zeng-zi asked, 'If one is occupied in drawing (the carriage with the bier on it) at the funeral rites of his ruler, and is then called to the funeral rites of his father or mother, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should complete what he is engaged in; and when the coffin has been let down into the grave, return home, without waiting for the departure of the (ruler's) son.'

33 Zeng-zi asked, 'If one, occupied with the, funeral rites of a parent, has (assisted in) drawing the bier to the path (to the grave), and there hear of the death of his ruler, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'He should complete the burial; and, when the coffin has been let down, he should change his dress, and go to (the ruler's).'

34 Żeng-zi asked, 'If the eldest son by the proper wife be (only) an officer, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, how will the latter proceed in his sacrificing?'

Confucius said, 'He will sacrifice, with the victims belonging to his higher rank, in the house of the eldest son., The officer of prayer will say, "So and So, the filial son, in behalf of So and So, the attendant son, presents his regular offering." If the eldest son, now the head of the family, be residing, in consequence of some charge of guilt, in another state, and a son by a secondary wife be a Great officer, when (the latter) is offering a sacrifice (for the other), the officer of prayer will say, "So and So, the filial son, employs the attendant son, So and So, to perform for him the regular service." (In this case, however), the principal in this vicarious service will not conduct the sacrifice so as to see that the spirit of the deceased is satisfied to the full; nor send the cup round among all who are present, nor receive the blessing (at the close); nor lay on the ground the portions of the sacrifice as thank-offerings; nor have with him (the wife of the elder brother) who should appear before the spirit-tablet of her mother-in-law, the wife of the deceased. He will put down the cup before the (principal) guests, but they will put it down (in another place), and not send it round. He will not send to them portions of the flesh. In his address to the guests (at the beginning of the service), he will say, "My honoured brother, the honoured son (of our father), being in another state, has employed me, So and So, to make announcement to you.

35 Zeng-zi asked, 'If the eldest son have gone and is in another state, while a son by a secondary wife, and without rank, remains at home, may the latter offer the sacrifice?'

Confucius said, 'Yes, certainly.' 'And how will he sacrifice?' 'He will rear an altar in front of the (family-)grave, and there he will sacrifice at the different seasons. If the oldest son die, he will announce the event at the grave, and afterwards acrifice in the house, calling himself, however, only by his name, and abstaining from the epithet "filial." This abstinence will cease after his death.' The disciples of Zi-you, in the case of sons by inferior wives sacrificing, held that this practice was in accordance with what was right. Those of them who sacrifice now-a-days do not ground their practice on this principle of right;--they have no truthful ground for their sacrifices.

36 Zeng-zi asked, 'Is it necessary that there should be a representative of the dead in sacrifice? or may he be dispensed with as when the satisfying offerings are made to the dead?'

Confucius said, 'In sacrificing to a full-grown man for whom there have been the funeral rites, there must be such a representative, who should be a grandson; and if the grandson be too young, some one, must be employed to carry him in his arms. If there be no grandson, some one of the same surname should be selected for the occasion. In sacrificing to one who has died prematurely, there are (only) the satisfying offerings, for he was not full-grown. To sacrifice to a full-grown man, for whom there have been the funeral rites without a representative, would be to treat him as if he had died prematurely.'

37 Confucius said, 'There is the offering of satisfaction made in the dark chamber, and that made in the brighter place.'

Zeng-zi answered with a question, 'But to one who has died prematurely there is not made a complete sacrifice; what do you mean by speaking of two satisfying offerings, the dark and the bright?'

Confucius said, 'When the oldest son, who would take the father's place, dies prematurely, no brother by an inferior wife can be his successor. At the auspicious sacrifice to him', there

is a single bullock; but the service being to one who died prematurely, there is no presentation (of the lungs), no stand with the heart and tongue, no dark-coloured spirits, no announcement of the nourishment being completed. This is what is called the dark satisfying offering. In regard to all others who have died prematurely and have left no offspring, the sacrifice is offered to them in the house of the oldest son, where the apartment is most light, with the vases in the chamber on the east. This is what is called the bright satisfying offering.'

38 Zeng-zi asked, 'At a burial, when the bier has been drawn to the path (leading to the place), if there happen an eclipse of the sun, is any change made or not?'

Confucius said, 'Formerly, along with Lao Dan, I was assisting at a burial in the village of Xiang, and when we had got to the path, the sun was eclipsed. Lao Dan said to me, 'Qiu, let the bier be stopped on the left of the road; and then let us wail and wait till the eclipse pass away. When it is light again, we will proceed." He said that this was the rule. When we had returned and completed the burial, I said to him, "In the progress of a bier there should be no returning. When there is an eclipse of the sun, we do not know whether it will pass away quickly or not, would it not have been better to go on?" Lao Dan said, "When the prince of a state is going to the court of the son of Heaven, he travels while he can see the sun. At sun-down he halts, and presents his offerings (to the spirit of the way). When a Great officer is on a mission, he travels while he can see the sun, and at sun-down he halts. Now a bier does not set forth in the early morning, nor does it rest anywhere at night; but those who travel by star-light are only criminals and those who are hastening to the funeral rites of a parent. When there is an eclipse of the sun, how do we know that we shall not see the stars? And moreover, a superior man, in his performance of rites, will not expose his relatives to the risk of distress or evil." This is what I heard from Lao Dan.

39 Zeng-zi asked, 'In the case of one dying where he is stopping, when discharging a mission for his ruler, the rules say that, (if he die) in a government hotel his spirit shall be recalled; but not, (if he die) in a private one. But to whatever state a commissioner may be sent, the lodging which may be assigned to him by the proper officer becomes a public hotel;—what is the meaning of his spirit not being recalled, (if he die) in a private one?

Confucius said, 'You have asked well. The houses of a high minister, a Great officer, or an ordinary officer, may be called private hotels. The government hotel, and any other which the government may appoint, may be called a public hotel. In this you have the meaning of that saying that the spirit is recalled at a public hotel.'

40 Zeng-zi asked, 'Children dying prematurely, between eight and eleven, should be buried in the garden in a brick grave, and carried thither on a contrivance serving the purpose of a carriage, the place being near; but now if the grave is chosen at a distance, what do you say about their being buried there?"

Confucius said, 'I have heard this account from Lao Dan: "Formerly," he said, "the recorder Yi had a son who died thus prematurely, and the grave was distant. The duke of Shao said to him, 'Why not shroud and coffin him in your palace?' The recorder said, 'Dare I do so?' The duke of Shao spoke about it to the duke of Zhou, who said, 'Why may it not be done?' and the recorder did it. The practice of coffins for boys who have died so prematurely, and shrouding them, began with the recorder Yi."

41 Zeng-zi asked, 'A minister or a Great officer is about to act the part of a personator of the dead for his ruler; If, when he has received (orders) to pass the night in solemn vigil, there occur in his own family an occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what should he do?'

Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave (his house) and lodge in a state hotel, and wait till (the ruler's) business is accomplished.'

42 Confucius said, 'When one who has represented the dead comes forth in the (officer's) leathern cap, or the (Great officer's) tasseled cap (which he has worn), ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all will descend from their carriages (when his passes). He will bow forward to them, and he will also have a forerunner (to notify his approach).'

43 Zi-xia asked, 'There is such a thing as no longer declining military service, after the wailing in the three years I mourning has come to an end. Is this the rule? or was it at first required by the officers (of the state)?'

Confucius said, 'Under the sovereigns of Xia, as soon as the coffining in the three year's mourning was completed, they resigned all their public duties. Under Yin they did so as soon as the interment was over. Is not this the meaning of what we find in the record, that "the ruler does not take from men their affection to their parents, nor do men take from their parents their filial duty?"

Zi-xia asked, 'Is then not declining military service (during mourning) to be condemned?'

'Confucius said, 'I heard from Lao Dan that duke Bo-Qin engaged once in such service, when there was occasion for it; but I do, not know if I should allow it in those who seek (by it)

their own advantage during the period of the three years' mourning.'

LI JI CHAPTER 8 Wen Wang Shi Zi King Wen as Son and Heir

1 Thus did king Wen act when he was eldest son and heir: Thrice a day he made a visit in due form to king Ji. When the cock first crowed he dressed himself, and going to the outside of the bedroom, asked one of the servants of the interior who was in attendance how the king was and if he were well. When told that he was well, the prince was glad. At midday he repeated the visit in the same way; and so he did again in the evening. If the king were not so well as usual, the servant would tell the prince, and then his sorrow appeared in his countenance, and his walk was affected and disturbed. When king Ji took his food again, Wen recovered his former appearance. When the food went up (to the king), he would examine it and see if it were cold and hot as it ought to be. When it came down, he asked of what dishes the king had eaten. He gave orders to the cook that none of the dishes should go up again, and withdrew on receiving the cook's assurance accordingly.

2 King Wu acted according to the example (of Wen), not presuming to go (in anything) beyond it. When king Wen was ill, Wu nursed him without taking off his cap or girdle. When king Wen took a meal, he also took a meal; and when king Wen took a second, he did the same. It was not till after twelve days that he intermitted his attentions.

3 King Wen said to Wu, 'What have you been dreaming?' 'I dreamt,' was the reply, 'that God gave me nine ling.' 'And what do you think was the meaning?' King Wu said, 'There are nine states in the west - may it not mean that you will yet bring them all under your happy sway?' Wen said, 'That was not the meaning. Anciently they called a year ling. The age is also called ling. I am 100; and you are 90. I give you three years.' King Wen was 97 when he died, and king Wu was 93.

4 King Cheng, being quite young, could not perform his part at the eastern steps. The duke of Zhou acted as regent, trod those steps, and administered the government. He illustrated the rules for the behaviour of a young heir in his treatment of Bo-Qin, that king Cheng might thereby know the courses to be pursued by father and son, ruler and minister, old and young. When he committed an error, the duke punished Bo-Qin. This was the way in which he showed king Cheng his duty as the son and heir. So much on the way in which king Wen acted as son and heir.

5 In teaching the heir-sons (of the king and feudal princes), and young men (chosen from their aptitude) for 'learning', the subjects were different at different seasons. In spring and summer they were taught the use of the shield and spear; in autumn and winter that of the feather and flute - all in the eastern school. The inferior directors of music taught the use of the shield aided by the great assistants. The flute masters taught the use of the spear, aided by the subdirectors, while the assistants regulated by the drum (the chanting of) the Nan. In spring they recited (the pieces), and in summer they played on the guitar, being taught by the grand master in the Hall of the Blind. In autumn they learned ceremonies, being instructed by the masters of ceremonies. In winter they read the book of History, being instructed by the guardians of it. Ceremonies were taught in the Hall of the Blind; the book in the upper school.

6 All the rules about sacrificial offerings and at the nourishing of the old begging them to speak (their wise counsels) and the conversation at general reunions, were taught by the lower directors of Music in the eastern school. The Grand director of Music taught how to brandish the shield and axe. He also delivered the graduated rules relating to conversations and the charges about begging the old to speak. The Grand perfecter (of Instruction) discussed all about (these matters) in the eastern school. Whenever a pupil was sitting with the Grand completer (of Instruction), there was required to be between them the width of three mats. He might put questions to him; and when he had finished, sit back on the mat near to the wall. While the instructor had not finished all he had to say on any one point, he did not ask about another.

7 In all the schools, the officer (in charge), in spring set forth offerings to the master who first, taught (the subjects); and in autumn and winter he did the same. In every case of the first establishment of a school the offerings must be set forth to the earlier sages and the earlier teachers; and in the doing of this, pieces of silk must be used. In all the cases of setting forth the offerings, it was required to have the accompaniments (of dancing and singing). When there were any events of engrossing interest in a state (at the time), these were omitted. When there was the accompaniment of music on a great scale, they proceeded immediately to feast the aged.

8 At all examinations in the suburban schools, the rule was to select the best and mark out the most talented. The pupils might be advanced for their virtue, or commended for something they had accomplished, or distinguished for their eloquence. Those who had studied minor arts were encouraged and told to expect a second examination. If they

(then) had one of the three things (above mentioned), they were advanced to a higher grade, according to their several orders, and were styled 'Men of the schools.' They were (still, however,) kept out of the royal college, and could not receive the cup from the vase restricted to the superior students.

9 On the first establishment of schools (in any state), when the instruments of music were completed, offerings of silk were set forth; and afterwards those of vegetables. But there was no dancing and (consequently) no giving out of the spears and other things used in it. They simply retired and received visitors in the eastern school. Only one cup was passed round. The ceremony might pass without (parade of) attendants or conversation. (All these things) belonged to the education of the young princes.

10 In the education of the crown princes adopted by the founders of the three dynasties the subjects were the rules of propriety and music. Music served to give the interior cultivation; the rules served to give the external cultivation. The two, operating reciprocally within, had their outward manifestation, and the result was a peaceful serenity, reverence of inward feeling and mild elegance of manners. The Grand tutor and the assistant tutor were appointed for their training, to make them acquainted with the duties of father and son, and of ruler and minister. The former made himself perfectly master of those duties in order to exhibit them; the latter guided the princes to observe the virtuous ways of the other and fully instructed him about them. The Grand tutor went before them, and the assistant came after them. In the palace was the guardian, outside it was the master; and thus by this training and instruction the virtue (of the princes) was completed. The master taught them by means of occurring things, and made them understand what was virtuous. The guardian watched over their persons, and was as a stay and wings to them, leading them in the right way. The history says, 'Under the dynasties of Yu, Xia, Shang, and Zhou, there were the master, the guardian, the Yi, and the Cheng, and there were appointed the four aides and the three ducal ministers. That these offices should all be filled was not so necessary as that there should be the men for them' - showing how the object was to employ the able.

11 When we speak of 'a superior man' we intend chiefly his virtue. The virtue perfect and his instructions honoured; his instructions honoured and the (various) officers correct; the officers correct and order maintained in the state: these things give the ideal of a ruler.

12 Zhong-ni said, 'Formerly, when the duke of Zhou was administering the government, he did so while he (continued to) go up by the eastern steps. He (also) set forth the rules for a crown prince in (his dealing with) Bo-Oin, and it was thus that he secured the excellence of king Cheng. I have heard it said, "A minister will sacrifice himself to benefit his ruler, and how much more will he swerve from the ordinary course to secure his excellence!" This was what the duke of Zhou did with ease and unconcern. Therefore he who knows how to show himself what a son should be can afterwards show himself what a father should be; he who knows how to show himself what a minister should be can afterwards show himself what a ruler should be; he who knows how to serve others can afterwards employ them. King Cheng, being quite young, could not discharge the duties of the government. He had no means of learning how to show himself what the crown prince should be. On this account the rules for a crown prince were exhibited in (the treatment of) Bo-Qin, and he was made to live with the young king that the latter might thus understand all that was right between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and youngers.'

13 Take the case of the sovereign and his son and heir. Looked at from the standpoint of affection, the former is father; from that of honour, he is ruler. If the son can give the affection due to the father, and the honour due to the ruler, hereafter he 'will (be fit to) be the lord of all under the sky. On this account the training of crown princes ought to be most carefully attended to. It is only in the case of the crown prince that by the doing of one thing three excellent things are realised; and it is with reference to his taking his place in the schools according to his age that this is spoken. Thus it is that when he takes his place in them in this way, the people observing it, one will say, 'He is to be our ruler, how is it that he gives place to us in the matter of years?' and it will be replied, 'While his father is alive, it is the rule that he should do so.' Thus all will understand the right course as between father and son. A second will make the same remark, and put the same question; and it will be replied, 'While the ruler is alive, it is the rule that he should do so;' and thus all will understand the righteousness that should obtain between ruler and minister. To a third putting the same question it will be said, 'He is giving to his elders what is due to their age:' and thus all will understand the observances that should rule between young and old. Therefore, while his father is alive, he is but a son; and, while his ruler is alive, he may be called merely a minister. Occupying aright the position of son and Minister is the way in which he shows the honour due to a ruler and the affection due to a father. He is thus taught the duties between father and son, between ruler and minister,

between old and young; and when he has become master of all these, the state will be well governed. The saying, 'Music's Director the foundation lays; The Master this doth to perfection raise. Let him but once the great and good be taught, And all the states are to correctness brought,' finds its application in the case of the heir-son. So much for the duke of Zhou's going up by the eastern steps.

14 The Shu-zi, who had the direction of the (other) members of the royal and princely families, inculcated on them filial piety and fraternal duty, harmony and friendship, and kindly consideration; illustrating the righteousness that should prevail between father and son, and the order to be observed between elders and juniors.

15 When they appeared at court, if it were at a reception in the innermost (courtyard of the palace), they took their places, facing the east, those of the most honourable rank among them, as ministers, being to the north (of the others); but they were arranged according to their age. If it were a reception in the outer (and second courtyard), they were arranged according to their offices; (as in the former case), by the superintendents of the official lists.

16 When they were in the ancestral temple, they took their places as at the reception in the outer (and second courtyard); and the superintendent of the temple assigned his business to each according to rank and office. In their ascending (to the hall), partaking of what had been left (by the personator of the dead), presenting (the cup to him), and receiving it (from him), the eldest son by the wife took the precedence. The proceedings were regulated by the Shu-zi. Although one might have received three of the gifts of distinction, he did not take precedence of an uncle or elder cousin.

17 At the funeral rites for rulers, they were arranged according to the character of their mourning-dress in the fineness or coarseness of the material. In case of such rites among themselves, the same order was observed, the principal mourner, however, always taking precedence of all others.

18 If the ruler were feasting with his kindred, then all of a different kindred were received as guests. The cook acted as master of the ceremonies. The ruler took place among his uncles and cousins according to age. Each generation of kindred took a lower place as it was a degree removed from the parent-stem.

19 When with the army, the kindred guarded the spirittablets that had been brought from their shrines. If any public duties called the ruler beyond the limits of the state, those officers of the kindred employed the members of it, who had not other duties, to guard the ancestral temple and the apartments of the palace, the eldest sons by the proper wives guarding the temple of the Grand ancestor; the various uncles the most honoured temple-shrines and apartments; the other sons and grandsons, the inferior shrines and apartments.

20 All descended from any of the five rulers to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, even those who were now classed among the common people, were required to announce the events of capping and marriage, so long as the temple-shrine of the (Grand ancestor) had not been removed. Their deaths had to be announced; and also their sacrifices during the period of mourning. In the relations of the kindred among themselves, the proper officers punished any neglect of the regulations for condoling and not condoling, leaving off and not leaving off the cap (in mourning). There were the correct rules for the mourning gifts of articles, money, robes, and jade to put into the mouth (of the deceased).

21 When one of the ruler's kindred was found guilty of a capital offence, he was hanged by some one of the foresters' department. If the punishment for his offence were corporal infliction or dismemberment, it was also handed over to the same department. No one of the ruler's kindred was punished with castration. When the trial was concluded, the proper officer reported the sentence to the ruler. If the penalty were death, he would say, 'The offence of So and So is a capital crime.' If the penalty were less, he would say, 'The offence of So and So has received a lighter sentence.' The ruler would say', 'Let the sentence be remitted for another;' and the officer would say, 'That is the sentence.' This was repeated till the third time, when the officer would make no answer, but hurry off and put the execution into the hands of the appointed forester. Still the ruler would send some one after him, and say, 'Yes, but grant forgiveness,' to which there would be the reply, 'It is too late.' When the execution was reported to the ruler, he put on white clothes, and did not have a full meal or music, thus changing his usual habits. Though the kinsman might be within the degree for which there should be mourning rites, the ruler did not wear mourning, but wailed for him himself (in some family of a different surname).

22 That the rulers kindred appeared at the reception in the innermost (court) showed how (the ruler) would honour the relatives of his own surname. That they took places according to their age, even those among them of high rank, showed the relation to be maintained between father and son. That they took places at the reception in the outer court according to their offices, showed how (the ruler) would show that they formed one body with (the officers of) other surnames.

23 Their taking their places in the ancestral temple according to rank served to exalt the sense of virtue. That the superintendent of the temple assigned to them their several services according to their offices was a tribute of honour to worth. That the eldest son by the proper wife was employed to ascend, take precedence in partaking of what had been left, and in receiving the cup, was to do honour to their ancestor.

24 That the distinctions at the funeral rites were arranged according to the fineness or coarseness of their mourning robes was not to take from any one the degree of his relationship.

25 The ruler, when feasting with his kindred, took his place among them according to age, and thus development was given to filial piety and fraternal duty. That each generation took a lower place as it was removed a degree from the parent-stem showed the graduation of affection among relatives

26 The guard maintained during war over the spirit-tablets in the army showed the deep sense of filial piety and love. When the eldest son by the proper wife guarded the temple of the Grand ancestor, honour was done to the temple by the most honoured, and the rule as between ruler and minister was exhibited. When the uncles guarded the most honoured shrines and apartments, and the cousins those that were inferior, the principles of subordination and deference were displayed.

27 That the descendants of the five rulers, to whom the temple-shrines were dedicated, were required, so long as the shrine of the Grand ancestor had not been removed, to announce their cappings and marriages, and their death was also required to be announced, showed how kinship was to be kept in mind. While the kinship was yet maintained, that some were classed among the common people showed how mean position followed on want of ability. The reverent observance of condoling, wailing, and of presenting contributions to the funeral rites in articles and money, Was the way taken to maintain harmony and friendliness.

28 Anciently, when the duties of these officers of the royal or princely kindred were well discharged, there was a constant model for the regions and states; and when this model was maintained, all knew to what to direct their views and aims.

29 When any of the ruler's kindred were guilty of offences, notwithstanding their kinship, they were not allowed to transgress with impunity, but the proper officers had their methods of dealing with them - this showed the regard cherished for the people. That the offender was punished in secret, and not associated with common people, showed (the ruler's) concern for his brethren. That he offered no condolence, wore no mourning, and wailed for the criminal in the temple of a different surname, showed how he kept aloof from him as having disgraced their ancestors. That he wore white, occupied a chamber outside, and did not listen to music, was a private mourning for him, and showed how the feeling of kinship was not extinguished. That one of the ruler's kindred was not subjected to castration, showed how he shrank from cutting off the perpetuation of their family.

30 When the son of Heaven was about to visit the college, the drum was beaten at early dawn to arouse all (the students). When all were come together, the son of Heaven then arrived and ordered the proper officers to discharge their business, proceeding in the regular order, and sacrificing to the former masters and former Sages. When they reported to him that everything had been done, he then began to go to the nourishing (of the aged). Proceeding to the school on the east, he unfolded and set forth the offerings to the aged of former times, and immediately afterwards arranged the mats and places for the three (classes of the) old, and the five (classes of the) experienced, for all the aged (indeed who were present). He (then) went to look at the food and examine the liquor. When the delicacies for the nourishment of the aged were all ready, he caused the song to be raised (as a signal for the aged to come). After this he retired and thus it was that he provided for (the aged) his filial nourishment. When (the aged) had returned (to their seats after partaking of the feast), the musicians went up and sang the Qing Miao, after which there was conversation to bring out fully its meaning. They spoke of the duties between father and son, ruler and minister, elders and juniors. This union (of the conversation) with the highest description of virtue in the piece constituted the greatest feature of the ceremony. Below (in the court-yard), the fluteplayers played the tune of the Xiang, while the Da-wu was danced, all uniting in the grand concert according to their parts, giving full development to the spirit (of the music), and stimulating the sense of virtue. The positions of ruler and minister, and the gradations of noble and mean were correctly exhibited, and the respective duties of high and low took their proper course. The officers having announced that the music was over, the king then charged the dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons, with all the officers, saying, 'Return, and nourish the aged and the young in your eastern schools.' Thus did he end (the ceremony) with (the manifestation of) benevolence.

31 The above statements show how the sage (sovereign) bore in mind the various steps (of this ceremony). He

anxiously thought of it as its greatness deserved; his love for the aged was blended with reverence; he carried the thing through with attention to propriety; he adorned it with his filial nourishing; he connected with it the exhibition of the legitimate distinctions (of rank); and concluded it with (the manifestation of) benevolence. In this way the ancients, in the exhibition of this one ceremony, made all know how complete was their virtue. Among them, when they undertook any great affair, they were sure to carry it through carefully from beginning to end, so that it was impossible for any not to understand them. As it is said in the Yue Ming', 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on (this) learning.'

32 The Record of (king Wen's) son and heir says, 'Morning and evening he went to the outside of the door of the great chamber, and asked the attendant of the interior whether his father were well, and how he was. If told that he was well, his joy appeared in his countenance. If his father were not so well, the attendant would tell him so, and then his sorrow and anxiety appeared, and his demeanour was disturbed. When the attendant told him that his father was better, he resumed his former appearance. Morning and evening when the food went up, he would examine it and see if it were hot or cold as it ought to be. When it came down, he asked what his father had eaten. He made it a point to know what viands went in, and to give his orders to the cook; and then he retired. If the attendant reported that his father was ill, then he himself fasted and waited on him in his dark-coloured dress. He inspected with reverence the food prepared by the cook, and tasted himself the medicine for the patient. If his father ate well of the food, then he was able to eat. If his father ate but little, then he could not take a full meal. When his father had recovered, then he resumed his former ways.'

LI JI CHAPTER 9 Li Yun

The Conveyance of Rites

(or: Ceremonial usages; their origins, development, and intention)

1 Formerly Zhong-ni was present as one of the guests at the Ji sacrifice; and when it was over, he went out and walked backwards and forwards on the terrace over the gate of Proclamations, looking sad and sighing. What made him sigh was the state of Lu. Yan Yan was by his side, and said to him. 'Master, what are you sighing about?' Confucius replied, 'I never saw the practice of the Grand course, and the eminent men of the three dynasties; but I have my object (in harmony with theirs). When the Grand course was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled all under the sky; they chose men of talents, virtue, and ability: their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their own sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. (They accumulated) articles (of value), disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification. (They laboured) with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it (only) with a view to their own advantage. In this way (selfish) schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open, and were not shut. This was (the period of) what we call the Grand Union.

2 'Now that the Grand course has fallen into disuse and obscurity, the kingdom is a family inheritance. Every one loves (above all others) his own parents and cherishes (as) children (only) his own sons. People accumulate articles and exert their strength for their own advantage. Great men imagine it is the rule that their states should descend in their own families. Their object is to make the walls of their cities and suburbs strong and their ditches and moats secure. The rules of propriety and of what is right are regarded as the threads by which they seek to maintain in its correctness the relation between ruler and minister; in its generous regard that between father and son; in its harmony that between elder brother and younger; and in a community of sentiment that between husband and wife; and in accordance with them they frame buildings and measures; lay out the fields and hamlets (for the dwellings of the husbandmen); adjudge the superiority to men of valour and knowledge; and regulate their achievements with a view to their own advantage. Thus it is that (selfish) schemes and enterprises are constantly taking their rise, and recourse is had to arms; and thus it was (also) that Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, king Cheng, and the duke of Zhou obtained their distinction. Of these six great men every one was very attentive to the rules of propriety, thus to secure the display of righteousness, the realisation of sincerity, the exhibition of errors, the exemplification of benevolence, and the discussion of courtesy, showing the people all the normal virtues. Any rulers who did not follow this course were driven away by those who possessed power and position,

and all regarded them as pests. This is the period of what we call Small Tranquillity.'

3 Yan Yan again asked, 'Are the rules of Propriety indeed of such urgent importance?' Confucius said, 'It was by those rules that the ancient kings sought to represent the ways of Heaven, and to regulate the feelings of men. Therefore he who neglects or violates them may be (spoken of) as dead, and he who observes them, as alive. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Look at a rat-how small its limbs and fine! Then mark the course that scorns the proper line. Propriety's neglect may well provoke; A wish the man would quickly court death's stroke." Therefore those rules are rooted in heaven, have their correspondencies in earth, and are applicable to spiritual beings. They extend to funeral rites, sacrifices, archery, chariot-driving, capping, marriage, audiences, and friendly missions. Thus the sages made known these rules, and it became possible for the kingdom, with its states and clans, to reach its correct condition

4 Yan Yan again asked, 'May I be allowed to hear, Master, the full account that you would give of these rules?' Confucius said, 'I wished to see the ways of Xia, and for that purpose went to Qi. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The seasons of Xia." I wished to see the ways of Yin, and for that purpose went to Song. But it was not able to attest my words, though I found there "The Kun Qian." In this way I got to see the meanings in the Kun Qian, and the different steps in the seasons of Xia.

5 'At the first use of ceremonies, they began with meat and drink. They roasted millet and pieces of pork; they excavated the ground in the form of a jar, and scooped the water from it with their two hands; they fashioned a handle of clay, and struck with it an earthen drum. (Simple as these arrangements were), they yet seemed to be able to express by them their reverence for Spiritual Beings. (By-and-by), when one died, they went upon the housetop, and called out his name in a prolonged note, saying, "Come back, So and So." After this they filled the mouth (of the dead) with uncooked rice, and (set forth as offerings to him) packets of raw flesh. Thus they looked up to heaven (whither the spirit was gone), and buried (the body) in the earth. The body and the animal soul go downwards; and the intelligent spirit is on high. Thus (also) the dead are placed with their heads to the north, while the living look towards the south. In all these matters the earliest practice is followed.

6 'Formerly the ancient kings had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood, and swallowing (also) the hair and feathers. They knew not yet the use of flax and silk, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins. The later sages then arose, and men (learned) to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metals and fashioned clay, so as to rear towers with structures on them, and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled, and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics. They were thus able to nourish the living, and to make offerings to the dead; to serve the spirits of the departed and God. In all these things we follow the example of that early time.

'Thus it is that the dark-coloured liquor is in the apartment (where the representative of the dead is entertained); that the vessel of must is near its (entrance) door; that the reddish liquor is in the hall; and the clear, in the (court) below. The victims (also) are displayed, and the tripods and stands are prepared. The lutes and citherns are put in their places, with the flutes, sonorous stones, bells. and drums. The prayers (of the principal in the sacrifice to the spirits) and the benedictions (of the representatives of the departed) are carefully framed. The object of all the ceremonies is to bring down the spirits from above, even their ancestors; serving (also) to rectify the relations between ruler and ministers; to maintain the generous feeling between father and son, and the harmony between elder and younger brother: to adjust the relations between high and low; and to give their proper places to husband and wife. The whole may be said to secure the blessing of Heaven.

8 'They proceed to their invocations, using in each the appropriate terms. The dark-coloured liquor is employed in (every) sacrifice. The blood with the hair and feathers (of the victim) is presented. The flesh, uncooked, is set forth on the stands. The bones with the flesh on them are sodden; and rush mats and coarse cloth are placed underneath and over the vases and cups. The robes of dyed silk are put on. The must and clarified liquor are presented. The flesh, roasted and grilled, is brought forward. The ruler and his wife take alternate parts in presenting these offerings, all being done to please the souls of the departed, and constituting a union (of the living) with the disembodied and unseen. These services having been completed, they retire, and cook again all that was insufficiently done. The dogs, pigs, bullocks, and sheep are dismembered. The shorter dishes (round and square), the taller ones of bamboo and wood, and the soup vessels are all

filled. There are the prayers which express the filial piety (of the worshipper), and the benediction announcing the favour (of his ancestors). This may be called the greatest omen of prosperity; and in this the ceremony obtains its grand completion.'

9 Confucius said, 'Ah! Alas! I look at the ways of Zhou. (The kings) You and Li corrupted them indeed, but if I leave Lu, where shall I go (to find them better)? The border sacrifice of Lu, (however.) and (the association with it of) the founder of the line (of Zhou) is contrary to propriety - how have (the institutions of) the duke of Zhou fallen into decay! At the border sacrifice in Qi, Yu was the assessor, and at that in Song, Xie; but these were observances of the sons of Heaven, preserved (in those states by their descendants). The rule is that (only) the son of Heaven sacrifices to heaven and earth, and the princes of states sacrifice at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain.'

10 When no change is presumptuously made from the constant practice from the oldest times between the prayer and blessing (at the beginning of the sacrifice), and the benediction (at the end of it), we have what might be called a great and happy service. For the words of prayer and blessing and those of benediction to be kept hidden away by the officers of prayer of the ancestral temple, and the sorcerers and recorders, is a violation of the rules of propriety. This may be called keeping a state in darkness. (The use of) the zhan cup (of Xia) and the jia cup (of Yin), and (the pledging in them) between the representative of the dead and the ruler are contrary to propriety: these things constitute 'a usurping ruler.' (For ministers and Great officers to) keep the cap with pendents and the leathern cap, or military weapons, in their own houses is contrary to propriety. To do so constitutes 'restraint of the ruler.' For Great officers to maintain a full staff of employees, to have so many sacrificial vessels that they do not need to borrow any; and have singers and musical instruments all complete, is contrary to propriety. For them to do so leads to 'disorder in a state'.

11 Thus, one sustaining office under the ruler is called a minister, and one sustaining office under the head of a clan is called a servant. Either of these, who is in mourning for a parent, or has newly married, is not sent on any mission for a vear. To enter court in decayed robes, or to live promiscuously with his servants, taking place among them according to age:--all these things are contrary to propriety. Where we have them, we have what is called 'ruler and minister sharing the state.' Thus, the son of Heaven has his domain that he may settle there his sons and grandsons; and the feudal princes have their states; and Great officers their appanages that they may do the same for theirs. This constitutes 'the statutory arrangement.' Thus, when the son of Heaven goes to visit a feudal prince, the rule is that he shall lodge in the ancestral temple, and that he do not enter it without having with him all the rules to be observed. If he act otherwise, we have an instance of 'The son of Heaven perverting the laws, and throwing the regulations into confusion.' A prince, unless it be to ask about the sick or to condole with a mourner, does not enter the house of a minister. If he act otherwise, we have the case of 'ruler and minister playing with each other.'

12 Therefore, ceremonies form a great instrument in the hands of a ruler. It is by them that he resolves what is doubtful and brings to light what is abstruse: that he conducts his intercourse with spiritual beings, examines all statutory arrangements, and distinguishes benevolence from righteousness; it is by them, in short, that government is rightly ordered, and his own tranquillity secured. When government is not correct, the ruler's seat is insecure. When the ruler's seat is insecure, the great ministers revolt, and smaller ones begin pilfering. Punishments (then) are made severe, and manners deteriorate. Thus the laws become irregular; and when the laws are irregular, the rules of ceremony uncertain. When these are uncertain, officers do not perform their duties; and when punishments become severe, and manners deteriorate, the people do not turn (to what is right). We have that condition which may be described as 'an infirm state.'

13 In this way government is the means by which the ruler keeps and protects his person, and therefore it must have a fundamental connection with Heaven. This uses a variety of ways in sending down the intimations of Its will. As learned from the altars of the land, these are (receptivity and docility) imparted to the earth. As learned from the ancestral temple, they are benevolence and righteousness. As learned from the altars of the hills and streams, they are movement and activity. As learned from the five sacrifices of the house, they are the statutes (of their various spirits). It is in this way that the sage rulers made provision for the safe keeping of their persons.

14 Hence the sage forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth, and stands side by side with spiritual beings, in order to the right ordering of government. Taking his place on the ground of the principles inherent in them, he devised ceremonies in their order; calling them to the happy exercise of that in which they find pleasure, he secured the success of the government of the people. Heaven produces the seasons. Earth

produces all the sources of wealth. Man is begotten by his father, and instructed by his teacher. The ruler correctly uses these four agencies, and therefore he stands in the place where there is no error.

15 Hence the ruler is he to whose brightness men look; he does not seek to brighten men. The ruler is he whom men support; he does not seek to support men. The ruler is he whom men serve; he does not seek to serve men. If the ruler were to seek to brighten men, he would fall into errors. If he were to seek to nourish men, he would be unequal to the task. If he were to seek to serve men, he would be giving up his position. Therefore the people imitate the ruler, and we have their self-government; they nourish their ruler, and they find their security in doing so; they serve the ruler, and find their distinction in doing so. Thus it is by the universal application of the rules of propriety, that the lot and duty (of different classes) are fixed; thus it is that men (acting contrary to those rules,) would all have to account death a boon, and life an evil.

16 Therefore (the ruler), making use of the wisdom of others, will put away the cunning to which that wisdom might lead him; using their courage, he will (in the same way) put away passion; and using their benevolence, he will put away covetousness.

17 Therefore, when calamity comes on a state, for the ruler to die for its altars is to be regarded as right; but for a Great officer to die for the ancestral temple is to be regarded as a change (of the duty required from him).

18 Therefore when it is said that (the ruler being) a sage can look on all under the sky as one family, and on all in the Middle states as one man, this does not mean that he will do so on premeditation and purpose. He must know men's feelings, lay open to them what they consider right, show clearly to them what is advantageous, and comprehend what are their calamities. Being so furnished, he is then able to effect the thing. What are the feelings of men? They are joy, anger, sadness, fear, love, disliking, and liking. These seven feelings belong to men without their learning them. What are 'the things which men consider right?' Kindness on the part of the father, and filial duty on that of the son; gentleness on the part of the elder brother, and obedience on that of the younger; righteousness on the part of the husband, and submission on that of the wife; kindness on the part of elders. and deference on that of juniors; with benevolence on the part of the ruler, and loyalty on that of the minister - these ten are the things which men consider to be right. Truthfulness in speech and the cultivation of harmony constitute what are called 'the things advantageous to men.' Quarrels, plundering, and murders are 'the things disastrous to men.' Hence, when a sage (ruler) would regulate the seven feelings of men, cultivate the ten virtues that are right; promote truthfulness of speech, and the maintenance of harmony; show his value for kindly consideration and complaisant courtesy; and put away quarrelling and plundering, if he neglect the rules of propriety, how shall he succeed?

19 The things which men greatly desire are comprehended in meat and drink and sexual pleasure; those which they greatly dislike are comprehended in death, exile, poverty, and suffering. Thus liking and disliking are the great elements in men's minds. But men keep them hidden in their minds, where they cannot be fathomed or measured. The good and the bad of them being in their minds, and no outward manifestation of them being visible, if it be wished to determine these qualities in one uniform way, how can it be done without the use of the rules of propriety (implied in the ceremonial usages)?

20 Man is (the product of) the attributes of Heaven and Earth, (by) the interaction of the dual forces of nature, the union of the animal and intelligent (souls), and the finest subtile matter of the five elements. Heaven exercises the control of the strong and light force, and hangs out the sun and stars. Earth exercises the control of the dark and weaker force, and gives vent to it in the hills and streams. The five elements are distributed through the four seasons, and it is by their harmonious action that the moon is produced, which therefore keeps waxing for fifteen days and waning for fifteen. The five elements in their movements alternately displace and exhaust one another. Each one of them, in the revolving course of the twelve months of the four seasons, comes to be in its turn the fundamental one for the time. The five notes of harmony, with their six upper musical accords, and the twelve pitch-tubes, come each, in their revolutions among themselves, to be the first note of the scale. The five flavours, with the six condiments, and the twelve articles of diet, come each one, in their revolutions (in the course of the year), to give its character to the food. The five colours, with the six elegant figures, which they form on the two robes, come each one, in their revolutions among themselves, to give the character of the dress that is worn. Therefore Man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, and the visible embodiment of the five elements. He lives in the enjoyment of all flavours, the discriminating of all notes (of harmony), and the enrobing of all colours.

21 Thus it was that when the sages would make rules (for men), they felt it necessary to find the origin (of all things) in heaven and earth: to make the two forces (of nature) the

commencement (of all); to use the four seasons as the handle (of their arrangements); to adopt the sun and stars as the recorders (of time), the moon as the measurer (of work to be done), the spirits breathing (in nature) as associates, the five elements as giving substance (to things), rules of propriety and righteousness as (their) instruments, the feelings of men as the field (to be cultivated), and the four intelligent creatures as domestic animals (to be reared).

22 The origin of all things being found in heaven and earth, they could be taken in hand, one after the other. The commencement of these being found in the two forces (of nature), their character and tendencies could be observed. The four seasons being used as a handle, (the people) could be stimulated to the business (of each). The sun and stars being constituted the measures of time, that business could be laid out in order. The moon being taken as the measure (of work to be done), that work could be accomplished successfully. The spirits breathing (in nature) being considered as associates, what is done will be maintained permanently. The five elements being considered as giving substance (to things), what has been done could be repeated. Rules of propriety and righteousness being viewed as the instruments, whatever was done would be completed. The feelings of men being the field to be cultivated, men would look up (to the sages) as to their lords. The four intelligent creatures being made to become domestic animals, there would be constant sources of food and

23 What were the four intelligent creatures? They were the Qi-lin, the phoenix, the tortoise, and the dragon. When the dragon becomes a domestic animal, (all other) fishes and the sturgeon do not lie hidden from men (in the mud). When the phoenix becomes so, the birds do not fly from them in terror. When the Qi-lin does so, the beasts do not scamper away. When the tortoise does so, the feelings of men take no erroneous course.

24 The ancient kings made use of the stalks and the tortoise-shell; arranged their sacrifices; buried their offerings of silk; recited their words of supplication and benediction; and made their statutes and measures. In this way arose the ceremonial usages of the states, the official departments with their administrators, each separate business with its own duties, and the rules of ceremony in their orderly arrangements.

25 Thus it was that the ancient kings were troubled lest the ceremonial usages should not be generally understood by all below them. They therefore sacrificed to God in the suburb (of the capital), and thus the place of heaven was established. They sacrificed at the altar of the earth inside the capital, and thus they intimated the benefits derived from the earth. Their sacrifices in the ancestral temple gave their fundamental place to the sentiments of humanity. Those at the altars of the hills and streams served to mark their intercourse with the spirits breathing (in nature). Their five sacrifices (of the house) were a recognition of the various business which was to be done. For the same reason, there are the officers of prayer in the ancestral temple: the three ducal ministers in the court: and the three classes of old men in the college. In front of the king there were the sorcerers, and behind him the recorders; the diviners by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks, the blind musicians and their helpers were all on his left and right. He himself was in the centre. His mind had nothing to do, but to maintain what was entirely correct.

26 By means of the ceremonies performed in the suburb, all the spirits receive their offices. By means of those performed at the altar of the earth, all the things yielded (by the earth) receive their fullest development. By means of those in the ancestral temple, the services of filial duty and of kindly affection come to be discharged. By means of those at the five sacrifices of the house, the laws and rules of life are correctly exhibited. Hence when the ideas in these sacrifices in the suburb, at the altar of the earth, in the ancestral temple, at the altars of the hills and streams, and of the five sacrifices of the house are fully apprehended, the ceremonies used are found to be lodged in them.

27 From all this it follows that rules of ceremony must be traced to their origin in the Grand Unity. This separated and became heaven and earth. It revolved and became the dual force (in nature). It changed and became the four seasons. It was distributed and became the breathings (thrilling in the universal frame). Its (lessons) transmitted (to men) are called its orders; the law and authority of them is in Heaven. While the rules of ceremony have their origin in heaven, the movement of them reaches to earth. The distribution of them extends to all the business (of life). They change with the seasons; they agree in reference to the (variations of) lot and condition. In regard to man, they serve to nurture (his nature). They are practised by means of offerings, acts of strength, words and postures of courtesy, in eating and drinking, in the observances of capping, marriage, mourning, sacrificing, archery, chariot-driving, audiences, and friendly missions.

28 Thus propriety and righteousness are the great elements for man's (character); it is by means of them that his speech is the expression of truth and his intercourse (with others) the promotion of harmony; they are (like) the union of the cuticle and cutis, and the binding together of the muscles and bones

in strengthening (the body). They constitute the great methods by which we nourish the living, bury the dead, and serve the spirits of the departed. They supply the channels by which we can apprehend the ways of Heaven and act as the feelings of men require. It was on this account that the sages knew that the rules of ceremony could not be dispensed with, while the ruin of states, the destruction of families, and the perishing of individuals are always preceded by their abandonment of the rules of propriety.

29 Therefore the rules of propriety are for man what the yeast is for liquor. The superior man by (his use of them) becomes better and greater. The small man by his neglect of them becomes meaner and worse. Therefore the sage kings cultivated and fashioned the lever of righteousness and the ordering of ceremonial usages, in order to regulate the feelings of men. Those feelings were the field (to be cultivated by) the sage kings. They fashioned the rules of ceremony to plough it. They set forth the principles of righteousness with which to plant it. They instituted the lessons of the school to weed it. They made love the fundamental subject by which to gather all its fruits, and they employed the training in music to give repose (to the minds of learners). Thus, rules of ceremony are the embodied expression of what is right. If an observance stand the test of being judged by the standard of what is right, although it may not have been among the usages of the ancient kings, it may be adopted on the ground of its being right. (The idea of) right makes the distinction between things, and serves to regulate (the manifestation of) humanity. When it is found in anything and its relation to humanity has been discussed, the possessor of it will be strong. Humanity is the root of right, and the embodying of deferential consideration. The possessor of it is honoured.

30 Therefore to govern a state without the rules of propriety would be to plough a field without a share. To make those rules without laying their foundation in right would be to plough the ground and not sow the seed. To think to practise the right without enforcing it in the school would be to sow the seed and not weed the plants. To enforce the lessons in the schools, and insist on their agreement with humanity, would be to weed and not to reap. To insist on the agreement of the lessons with humanity, and not give repose to (the minds of) the learners by music, would be to reap, and not eat (the product). To supply the repose of music and not proceed to the result of deferential consideration would be to eat the product and get no fattening from it.

31 When the four limbs are all well proportioned, and the skin is smooth and full, the individual is in good condition. When there is generous affection between father and son. harmony between brothers, and happy union between husband and wife, the family is in good condition. When the great ministers are observant of the laws, the smaller ministers pure, officers and their duties kept in their regular relations and the ruler and his ministers are correctly helpful to one another, the state is in good condition. When the son of Heaven moves in his virtue as a chariot with music as his driver, while all the princes conduct their mutual intercourse according to the rules of propriety, the Great officers maintain the order between them according to the laws, inferior officers complete one another by their good faith, and the common people guard one another with a spirit of harmony, all under the sky is in good condition. All this produces what we call (the state of) great mutual consideration (and harmony).

32 This great mutual consideration and harmony would ensure the constant nourishment of the living, the burial of the dead, and the service of the spirits (of the departed). However greatly things might accumulate, there would be no entanglement among them. They would move on together without error, and the smallest matters would proceed without failure. However deep some might be, they would be comprehended. However thick and close their array, there would be spaces between them. They would follow one another without coming into contact. They would move about without doing any hurt to one another. This would be the perfection of such a state of mutual harmony. Therefore the clear understanding of this state will lead to the securing of safety in the midst of danger. Hence the different usages of ceremony, and the maintenance of them in their relative proportions as many or few, are means of keeping hold of the feelings of men, and of uniting (high and low, and saving them from) peril.

33 The sage kings showed their sense of this state of harmony in the following way: They did not make the occupants of the hills (remove and) live by the streams, nor the occupants of the islands (remove and live) in the plains; and thus the (people) complained of no hardship. They used water, fire, metal, wood, and the different articles of food and drink, each in its proper season. They promoted the marriages of men and women, and distributed rank and office, according to the years and virtues of the parties. They employed the people with due regard to their duties and wishes. Thus it was that there were no plagues of flood, drought, or insects, and the people did not suffer from bad grass or famine, from untimely deaths or irregular births. On account of all this

heaven did not grudge its methods; earth did not grudge its treasures; men did not grudge (the regulation of) their feelings. Heaven sent down its fattening dews; earth sent forth its springs of sweet wine; hills produced implements and chariots; the Ho sent forth the horse with the map (on, his back). Phoenixes and Qi-lins were among the trees of the suburbs, tortoises and dragons in the ponds of the palaces, while the other birds and beasts could be seen at a glance in their nests and breeding places. All this resulted from no other cause but that the ancient kings were able to fashion their ceremonial usages so as to convey the underlying ideas of right, and embody their truthfulness so as to secure the universal and mutual harmony. This was the realisation of it.

LI JI CHAPTER 10 Li Qi

Implements of Rites

(or: Rites in the formation of character)

I The rules of propriety serve as instruments to form men's characters, and they are therefore prepared on a great scale. Being so, the value of them is very high. They remove from a man all perversity, and increase what is beautiful in his nature. They make him correct, when employed in the ordering of himself; they ensure for him free course, when employed towards others. They are to him what their outer coating is to bamboos, and what its heart is to a pine or cypress. These two are the best of all the productions of the (vegetable) world. They endure through all the four seasons, without altering a branch or changing a leaf. The superior man observes these rules of propriety, so that all in a wider circle are harmonious with him, and those in his narrower circle have no dissatisfactions with him. Men acknowledge and are affected by his goodness, and spirits enjoy his virtue.

2 The rules as instituted by the ancient kings had their radical element and their outward and elegant form. A true heart and good faith are their radical element. The characteristics of each according to the idea of what is right in tare its outward and elegant form: Without the radical element, they could not have been established; without the elegant form, they could not have been put in practice.

3 The things used in performing the rites should be suitable to the season, taken from the resources supplied by the ground, in accordance with (the requirements of) the spirits, and agreeable to the minds of men;-according to the characteristics of all things. Thus each season has its productions, each soil its appropriate produce, each sense its peculiar power, and each thing its advantageousness. Therefore what any season does not produce, what any soil does not nourish will not be used by a superior man in performing his rites, nor be enjoyed by the spirits. If mountaineers were to (seek to) use fish and turtles in their rites, or the dwellers near lakes, deer and pigs, the superior man would say of them that they did not know (the nature of) those usages. Therefore it is necessary to take the established revenues of a state as the great rule for its ceremonial (expenditure). Important for the determination of this is the size of its territory. The amount of the offerings (also) should have regard to the character of the year as good or bad. In this way, though the harvest of a year may be very defective, the masses will not be afraid, and the ceremonies as appointed by the superiors will be economically regulated.

4 In judging of rites the time should be the great consideration. (Their relation to) natural duties, their material substance, their appropriateness to circumstances, and their proportioning are all secondary. Yao's resignation of the throne to Shun, and Shun's resignation of it to Yu; Tang's dethronement of Jie; and the overthrow of Zhou by Wen and Wu - all these are to be judged of by the time. As the Book of Poetry says, "It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes; It was to show the filial duty that had come down to him." The sacrifices to heaven and earth; the services of the ancestral temple; the courses for father and son; and the righteousness between ruler and minister - these are to be judged of as natural duties. The services at the altars of the land and grain and of the hills and streams; and the sacrifices to spirits - these are to be judged of by the material substance of the offerings. The use of the funeral rites and sacrifices; and the reciprocities of host and guest - these are to be judged of by their appropriateness to circumstances. Sacrificing with a lamb and a sucking pig, by the multitude of officers, when yet there was enough; and sacrificing with an ox, a ram, and a boar, when yet there was nothing to spare - in these we have an instance of the proportioning. The princes set great store by the tortoise, and consider their jade-tokens as the insignia of their rank, while the (chiefs of) clans have not the tortoises that are so precious, nor the jade-tokens to keep (by themselves), nor the towered gateways - these (also) are instances of the proportioning.

5 In some ceremonial usages the multitude of things formed the mark of distinction, The son of Heaven had 7 shrines in his ancestral temple; the prince of a state, 5; Great officers, 3; and other officers, 1. The dishes of the son of Heaven on stands were 26; of a duke, 16; of another prince, 12; of a Great officer of the upper class, 8; of one of the lower class, 6, To a prince there were given 7 attendants and 7 oxen; and to a Great officer, 5 of each, The son of Heaven sat on 5 mats placed over one another; a prince, on 3; and a Great officer, on 2. When the son of Heaven died, he was buried after 7 months, in a fivefold coffin, with 8 plumes; a prince was buried after 5 months, in a threefold coffin, with 6 plumes; a Great officer after 3 months, in a twofold coffin, with 4 Plumes. In these cases, the multitude of things was the mark of distinction.

6 In other usages, the paucity of things formed the mark of distinction. To the son of Heaven there were given no attendants, and he sacrificed to Heaven with a single victim; when he visited the princes (on his tours of inspection), he was feasted with a single bullock. When princes went to the courts of one another, fragrant spirits were used in libations, and there were no dishes on stands, either of wood or bamboo. At friendly missions by Great officers, the ceremonial offerings were slices of dried meat and pickles. The son of Heaven declared himself satisfied after 1 dish; a prince, after 2; a Great officer and other officers, after 3; while no limit was set to the eating of people who lived by their labour. (The horses of) the Great carriage had 1 ornamental tassel at their breastbands; those of the other carriages had 7 (pieces of) jade for rank-tokens; and libation cups were presented singly; as also the tiger-shaped and yellow cups. In sacrificing to spirits a single mat was used; when princes were giving audience to their ministers, they (bowed to) the Great officers one by one, but to all the other officers together. In these cases the fewness of the things formed the mark of distinction.

7 In others, greatness of size formed the mark. The dimensions of palaces and apartments; the measurements of dishes and (other) articles; the thickness of the inner and outer coffins; the greatness of eminences and mounds - these were cases in which the greatness of size was the mark.

8 In others, smallness of size formed the mark. At the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, the highest in rank presented a cup (of spirits to the representative of the dead), and the low, a san (containing five times as much): (at some other sacrifices), the honourable took a zhi (containing 3 cups), and the low a horn (containing 4). (At the feasts of viscounts and barons), when the vase went round 5 times, outside the door was the earthenware fou (of supply), and inside, the hu; while the ruler's vase was an earthenware wu - these were cases in which the smallness of size was the mark of distinction.

9 In others, the height formed the mark of distinction. The hall of the son of Heaven was ascended by 9 steps; that of a prince, by 7; that of a Great officer, by 5; and that of an ordinary officer, by 3. The son of Heaven and the princes had (also) the towered gateway. In these cases height was the mark

10 In others, the lowness formed the mark. In sacrificing, the highest reverence was not shown on the raised altar, but on the ground beneath, which, had been swept. The vases of the son of Heaven and the princes were set on a tray without feet; those of Great and other officers on one with feet (3 inches high). In these cases the lowness was the mark of distinction.

11 In others, ornament formed the mark. The son of Heaven wore his upper robe with the dragons figured on it; princes, the lower robe with the axes' embroidered on it; freat officers, their lower robe with the symbol of distinction; and other officers, the dark-coloured upper robe, and the lower one red. The cap of the son of Heaven had 12 pendents of jade beads set on strings hanging-down of red and green silk; that of princes, 9; that of Great officers of the highest grade, 7; and if they were of the lowest grade, 5; and that of other officers, 3 - in these cases the ornament was the mark of distinction.

12 In others, plainness formed the mark. Acts of the greatest reverence admit of no ornament. The relatives of a father do not put themselves into postures (like other visitors). The Grand jade-token has no engraving on it. The Grand soup has no condiments. The Grand carriage is plain, and the mats in it are of rushes. The goblet with the victim-ox carved on it is covered with a plain white cloth. The ladle is made of white-veined wood. These are cases in which plainness is the mark.

13 Confucius said, 'Ceremonial usages should be most carefully considered.' This is the meaning of the remark that 'while usages are different, the relations between them as many or few should be maintained.' His words had reference to the proportioning of rites.

14 That in the instituting of rites the multitude of things was considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed outwards. The energy (of nature) shoots forth and is displayed everywhere in all things, with a great discriminating control over their vast multitude. In such a case, how could they keep from making multitude a mark of distinction in rites? Hence the superior men, (the framers), rejoiced in displaying (their discrimination).

15 But that in (the instituting of) rites the paucity of things was (also) considered a mark of distinction, arose from the minds (of the framers) being directed inwards. Extreme as is the energy (of nature) in production, it is exquisite and minute. When we look at all the things under the sky, they do not seem to be in proportion to that energy, In such a case, how could they keep from considering paucity a mark of

distinction? Hence the superior men, (the framers), watched carefully over the solitude (of their own thoughts).

16 The ancient sages (thus) gave honour to what was internal, and sought pleasure in what was external; found a mark of distinction in paucity, and one of what was admirable in multitude; and therefore in the ceremonial usages instituted by the ancient kings we should look neither for multitude nor for paucity, but for the due relative proportion. Therefore, when a man of rank uses a large victim in sacrifice, we say he acts according to propriety, but when an ordinary officer does so, we say be commits an act of usurpation. Guan Zhong had his sacrificial dishes of grain carved, and red bands to his cap; fashioned hills on the capitals of his pillars, and pondweed on the small pillars above the beams - the superior man considered it wild extravagance. Yan Ping-zhong, in sacrificing to his father, used a sucking-pig which did not fill the dish, and went to court in an (old) washed robe and cap the superior man considered it was niggardliness. Therefore the superior man thinks it necessary to use the utmost care in his practice of ceremonies. They are the bond that holds the multitudes together; and if the bond be removed, those multitude's fall into confusion. Confucius said, 'If I fight, I overcome; when I sacrifice, I receive blessing.' He said so, because he had the right way (of doing everything).

17 A superior man will say, 'The object in sacrifices is not to pray; the time of them should not be hastened on; a great apparatus is not required at them; ornamental matters are not to be approved; the victims need not be fat and large; a profusion of the other offerings is not to be admired.' Confucius said, 'How can it be said that Zang Wen-zhong was acquainted with the rules of propriety? When Xia Fu-Qi went right in the teeth of sacrificial order, he did not stop him, (nor could he prevent) his burning a pile of firewood in sacrificing to the spirit of the furnace. Now that sacrifice is paid to an old wife. The materials for it might be contained in a tub, and the vase is the (common) wine-jar.'

18 The rules of propriety may be compared to the human body. When the parts of one's body are not complete, the beholder' will call him 'An imperfect man;' and so a rule which has been made unsuitably may be denominated 'incomplete.' Some ceremonies are great, and some small; some are manifest, and some minute. The great should not be diminished, nor the small increased. The manifest should not be hidden, nor the minute made great. But while the important rules are 300, and the smaller rules 3000, the result to which they all lead is one and the same. No one can enter an apartment but by the door.

19 A superior man in his observance of the rules, where he does his utmost and uses the greatest care, is extreme in his reverence and the manifestation of sincerity. Where they excite admiration and an elegant attractiveness, there is still that manifestation of sincerity. A superior man, in his consideration of the rules, finds those which are carried directly into practice; those in which one has to bend and make some modification; those which are regular and the same for all classes; those which are diminished in a certain order; those in which (a kind of) transplantation takes place, and (the ceremony) is distributed; those in which individuals are pushed forward and take part in the rules of a higher grade; those in which there are ornamental imitations (of natural objects); those in which the ornamental imitations are not carried out so fully; and those where appropriation (of higher observances) is not deemed usurpation.

20 The usages of the three dynasties had one and the same object, and the people all observed them. In such matters as colour, whether it should be white or dark, Xia instituted and Yin adopted (its choice, or did not do so).

21 Under the Zhou dynasty the representatives of the dead sat. Their monitors and cup-suppliers observed no regular rules, The usages were the same as those of Yin, and the underlying principle was one. Under the Xia dynasty, the personators had stood till the sacrifice was ended, (whereas) under Yin they sat. Under Zhou, when the cup went round among all, there were six personators'. Zeng-zi said, 'The usages of Zhou might be compared to those of a subscription club.'

22 A superior man will say, 'The usages of ceremony that come closest to our human feelings are not those of the highest sacrifices; (as may be seen in) the blood of the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering to all the royal ancestors of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh, where the spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat, where they are presented once.'

23 And so those usages were not devised by superior men in order to give expression to their feelings. There was a beginning of them from (the oldest limes); as when (two princes) have an interview, there are seven attendants to wait on them and direct them. Without these the interview would be too plain and dull. They reach (the ancestral temple) after the visitor has thrice declined the welcome of the host, and the host has thrice tried to give precedence to the other. Without these courtesies the interview would be too hurried and abrupt. In the same way, when in Lu they were about to perform the service to God (in the suburb), they felt it

necessary first to have a service in the college with its semicircular pool. When they were about in Jin to sacrifice to the He, they would first do so to the pool of Wu. When in Qi they were about to sacrifice to mount Tai, they would do so first in the forest of Pei. Moreover, the keeping the victims (for the altar of Heaven) for three months (in the stable); the abstinence (of the worshippers) for seven days; and the vigil of three days:-all showed the extreme degree of (preparatory) care (for the service). The ritual arrangements, further, of the reception (of guests) and communication between them and the host, and for assisting and guiding the steps of the (blind) musicians, showed the extreme degree of kindly (provision).

24 In ceremonial usages we should go back to the root of them (in the mind), and maintain the old (arrangements of them), not forgetting what they were at first. Hence there is no (need to be) calling attention to the demonstrations expressive of grief; and those which (more particularly) belong to the court are accompanied by music. There is the use of sweet spirits, and the value set on water; there is the use of the (ordinary) knife, and the honour expressed by that furnished with (small) bells; there is the comfort afforded by the rush and fine bamboo mats, and the (special) employment of those which are made of straw. Therefore the ancient kings in their institution of the rules of propriety had a ruling idea, and thus it is that they were capable of being transmitted, and might be learned, however many they were.

25 The superior man will say, 'If a man do not have in himself the distinctions (embodied in ceremonies), he will contemplate that embodiment without any intelligent discrimination; if he wish to exercise that discrimination, and not follow the guidance of the rules, he will not succeed in his object. Hence if his practice of ceremonies be not according to the rules, men will not respect them; and if his words be not according to those rules, men will not believe them. Accordingly it is said, "The rules of ceremony are the highest expression of (the truth of) things."

26 Hence it was that in old times, when the ancient kings instituted ceremonies, they conveyed their idea by means of the qualities of the articles and observances which they employed. In their great undertakings, they were sure to act in accordance with the seasons; in their doings morning and evening, they imitated the sun and moon; in what required a high situation, they took advantage of mounds and hillocks, and in what required a low situation, of the (banks of the) rivers and lakes. Hence each season has its rains and benefits, and those wise men sought to make use of them with intelligence with all the earnestness they could command. The ancient kings valued (men's) possession of virtue, honoured those who pursued the right course, and employed those who displayed ability. They selected men of talents and virtue, and appointed them. They assembled the whole of them and solemnly addressed them.

27 Then in accordance with (the height of) heaven they did service to Heaven, in accordance with (the lower position of) earth they did service to Earth; taking advantage of the famous hills they ascended them, and announced to Heaven the good government (of the princes). When thus at the felicitous spot (chosen for their capitals) they presented their offerings to God in the suburb and announced to Heaven (the general good government from the famous hills), the phoenix descended, and tortoises and dragons made their appearance. When they presented their offerings to God in the suburb the winds and rains were duly regulated, and the cold and heat came each in its proper time, so that the sage (king) had only to stand with his face to the south, and order prevailed all under the sky.

28 The courses of the heavenly (bodies) supply the most perfect lessons, and the sages possessed the highest degree of virtue. Above, in the hall of the ancestral temple, there was the jar, with clouds and hills represented on it on the east, and that with the victim represented on it on the west. Below the hall the larger drums were suspended on the west, and the smaller drums answering to them on the east. The ruler appeared at the (top of the) steps on the east; his wife was in the apartment on the west. The great luminary makes his appearance in the east; the moon makes her appearance in the west. Such are the different ways in which the processes of darkness and light are distributed in nature, and such are the arrangements for the positions (corresponding thereto) of husband and wife. The ruler fills his cup from the jar with an elephant represented on it; his wife fills hers from that with clouds and hills. With such reciprocation do the ceremonies proceed above, while the music responds in the same way below - there is the perfection of harmony.

29 It is the object of ceremonies to go back to the circumstances from which they sprang, and of music to express pleasure in the results which first gave occasion to it. Thus it was that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies, sought to express their regulation of circumstances, and, in their cultivation of music, to express the aims they had in mind. Hence by an examination of their ceremonies and music, the conditions of order and disorder in which they originated can be known. Qu Bo-Yu said, 'A wise man, by his intelligence, from the sight of any article, knows the skill of the artificer,

and from the contemplation of an action knows the wisdom of its performer.' Hence there is the saying, 'The superior man watches over the manner in which he maintains his intercourse with other men.'

- 30 Within the ancestral temple reverence prevailed. The ruler himself led the victim forward, while the Great officers assisted and followed, bearing the offerings of silk. The ruler himself cut out (the liver) for (the preliminary) offering, while his wife bore the dish in which it should be presented. The ruler himself cut up the victim, while his wife presented the spirits. The high ministers and Great officers followed the ruler; their wives followed his wife. How grave and still was their reverence! How were they absorbed in their sincerity! How earnest was their wish that their offerings should be accepted! The arrival of the victim was announced (to the spirits) in the courtyard; on the presentation of the blood and the flesh with the hair on it, announcement was made in the chamber; on the presentation of the soup and boiled meat, in the hall. The announcement was made thrice, each time in a different place; indicating how they were seeking for the spirits, and had not yet found them. When the sacrifice was set forth in the hall, it was repeated next day outside (the gate of the temple); and hence arose the saving, 'Are they there? Are they here?
- 31 One offering of the cup showed the simplicity of the service; three offerings served to ornament it; five, to mark discriminating care; and seven, to show (the reverence for) the spirits
- 32 Was not the great quinquennial sacrifice a service belonging to the king? The three animal victims, the fish, and flesh, were the richest tributes for the palate from all within the four seas and the nine provinces. The fruits and grain presented in the high dishes of wood and bamboo were the product of the harmonious influences of the four seasons, The tribute of metal showed the harmonious submission (of the princes). The rolls of silk with the round pieces of jade placed on them showed the honour they rendered to virtue. The tortoise was placed in front of all the other offerings, because of its knowledge of the future; the tribute of metal succeeded to it, showing the (hold it has on) human feelings. The vermilion, the varnish, the silk, the floss, the large bamboos and the smaller for arrows - the articles which all the states contribute; with the other uncommon articles, which each state contributed according to its resources, even to those from the remote regions - (these followed the former). When the Visitors left they were escorted with the music of the Si Xia. All these things showed how important was the sacrifice.
- 33 In the sacrifice to God in the suburb, we have the utmost expression of reverence. In the sacrifices of the ancestral temple, we have the utmost expression of humanity. In the rites of mourning, we have the utmost expression of leal-heartedness. In the preparation of the robes and vessels for the dead, we have the utmost expression of affection. In the use of gifts and offerings between host and guest, we have the utmost expression of what is right. Therefore when the superior man would see the ways of humanity and righteousness, he finds them rooted in these ceremonial usages.
- 34 A superior man has said, 'What is sweet may be tempered; what is white may be coloured. So the man who is right in heart and sincere can learn the (meaning of the) rites.' The rites should not be perfunctorily performed by the man who is not right in heart and sincere. Hence it is all important (in the performance of them) to get the proper men.
- 35 Confucius said, 'One may repeat the three hundred odes, and not be fit to offer the sacrifice where there is (but) one offering of the cup. He may offer that sacrifice, and not be fit to join in a great sacrifice. He may join in such a sacrifice, and not be fit to offer a great sacrifice to the hills. He may perform that fully, and yet not be able to join in the sacrifice to God, Let no one lightly discuss the subject of rites.'
- 36 When Ži-lu was steward to the House of Ji, its chief had been accustomed to commence his sacrifices before it was light, and when the day was insufficient for them, to continue them by torchlight. All engaged in them, however strong they might appear, and however reverent they might be, were worn out and tired. The officers limped and leaned, wherever they could, in performing their parts, and the want of reverence was great. Afterwards, when Zi-lu took the direction of them, the sacrifices proceeded differently. For the services in the chamber, he had parties communicating outside and inside the door; and for those in the hall, he had parties communicating at the steps. As soon as it was light, the services began, and by the time of the evening audience all were ready to retire. When Confucius heard of this management, he said, 'Who will say that this You does not understand ceremonies?'

### LI JI CHAPTER 11 Jiao Te Sheng Single Victim At The Border Sacrifices

1 At the border sacrifices a single victim was used, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain there was (the full complement of) three Victims. When the son of Heaven went on his inspecting tours to the princes, the viands of the feast to him were composed of a (single) calf; and when they visited him, the rites with which he received them showed the

three regular animals. (The feasting of him in such a manner) was to do honour to the idea of sincerity. Therefore if the animal happened to be pregnant, the son of Heaven did not eat of it, nor did he use such a victim in sacrificing to God.

- 2 The horses of the Grand carriage had one ornamental tassel at the breast; those of the carriages that preceded had three; and those of the carriages that followed had five. There were the blood at the border sacrifice; the raw flesh in the great offering of the ancestral temple; the sodden flesh where spirits are presented thrice; and the roast meat where they are presented once:—these were expressive of the greatest reverence, but the taste was not valued; what was held in honour was the scent of the air. When the princes appeared as guests, they were presented with herb-flavoured spirits, because of their fragrance; at the great entertainment to them the value was given to (the preliminary) pieces of flesh prepared with cinnamon and nothing more.
- 3 At a great feast (to the ruler of another state), the ruler (who was the host) received the cup seated on his three mats. (On occasion of a visit through a minister or Great officer) when the cup was thrice presented, the ruler received it on a single mat:—so did he descend from the privilege of his more honourable rank, and assume the lower distinction (of his visitor).
- 4 In feasting (the orphaned young in spring) and at the vernal sacrifice in the ancestral temple they had music; but in feeding (the aged) and at the autumnal sacrifice they had no music:-these were based in the developing and receding influences (prevalent in nature). All drinking serves to nourish the developing influence; all eating to nourish the receding influence. Hence came the different character of the vernal and autumnal sacrifices; the feasting the orphaned young in spring, and the feeding the aged in autumn:-the idea was the same. But in the feeding and at the autumnal sacrifice there was no music. Drinking serves to nourish the developing influence and therefore is accompanied with music. Eating serves to nourish the receding influence, and therefore is not accompanied with music. All modulation of sound partakes of the character of development.
- 5 The number of tripods and meat-stands was odd, and that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even; this also was based in the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences. The stands were filled with the products of the water and the land. They did not dare to use for them things of extraordinary flavours or to attach a value to the multitude and variety of their contents, and it was thus that they maintained their intercourse with spiritual intelligences.
- 6 When the guests had entered the great door, the music struck up the Si Xia, showing the blended ease and respect (of the king). (While feasting), at the end of (every) cup the music stopped (for a moment), a practice of which Confucius often indicated his admiration. When the last cup had been put down, the performers ascended the hall, and sang;-exhibiting the virtues (of host and guests). The singers were (in the hall) above, and the organists were (in the court) below;--the honour being thus given to the human voice. Music comes from the expanding influence (that operates in nature); ceremonies from the contracting. When the two are in harmony, all things obtain (their full development).
- 7 There were no fixed rules for the various articles of tribute. They were the different products of the different territories according to their several suitabilities, and were regulated by their distances (from the royal domain). The tortoises were placed in front of all the other offerings because (the shell) gave the knowledge of the future. The bells succeeded to them because of their harmony, they were a symbol of the union of feeling that should prevail. Then there were the skins of tigers and leopards emblems of the fierce energy with which insubordination would be repressed; and there were the bundles of silks with disks of jade on them, showing how (the princes) came to (admire and experience) the virtue (of the king).
- 8 The use of a hundred torches in his courtyard began with duke Huan of Qi. The playing of the Si Xia (at receptions) of Great officers began with Zhao Wen-zi.
- 9 When appearing at another court, for a Great officer to have a private audience was contrary to propriety. If he were there as a commissioner, bearing his own prince's token of rank, this served as his credentials. That he did not dare to seek a private audience showed the reverence of his loyalty. What had he to do with the tribute-offerings in the court of the other prince that he should seek a private audience? The minister of a prince had no intercourse outside his own state, thereby showing how he did not dare to serve two rulers.
- 10 For a Great officer to receive his ruler to an entertainment was contrary to propriety. For a ruler to put to death a Great officer who had violently exercised his power was (held) an act of righteousness; and it was first seen in the case of the three Huan. The son of Heaven did not observe any of the rules for a visitor or guest no one could presume to be his host. When a ruler visited one of his ministers, he went up to the hall by the steps proper to the master the minister did not presume in such a case to consider the house to be his own. According to the rules for audiences, the son of Heaven did

not go down from the hall and meet the princes. To descend from the hall and meet the princes, was an error on the part of the son of Heaven, which began with king Yi, and was afterwards observed.

- 11 For the princes to suspend (their drums and bells) in four rows like the walls of an apartment (after the fashion of the king), and to use a white bull in sacrificing; to strike the sonorous jade; to use the red shields with their metal fronts and the cap with descending tassels in dancing the Da-Wu; and to ride in the grand chariot - these were usages which they usurped. The towered gateway with the screen across the path, and the stand to receive the emptied cups; the axes embroidered on the inner garment with its vermilion colour these were usurpations of the Great officers. Thus, when the son of Heaven was small and weak, the princes pushed their usurpations; and when the Great officers were strong, the princes were oppressed by them, In this state (those officers) gave honour to one another as if they had been of (high) degree; had interviews with one another and made offerings; and bribed one another for their individual benefit: and thus all usages of ceremony were thrown into disorder. It was not lawful for the princes to sacrifice to the king to whom they traced their ancestry, nor for the Great officers to do so to the rulers from whom they sprang. The practice of having a temple to such rulers in their private families, was contrary to propriety. It originated with the three Huan.
- 12 The son of Heaven preserved the descendants of (the sovereigns of) the two (previous) dynasties, still honouring the worth (of their founders). But this honouring the (ancient) worthies did not extend beyond the two dynasties.
- 13 Princes did not employ as ministers refugee rulers. Hence anciently refugee rulers left no son who continued their title.
- 14 A ruler stood with his face towards the south, to show that he would be (in his sphere) what the influence of light and heat was (in nature). His ministers stood with their faces to the north, in response to him.
- 15 The minister of a Great officer did not bow his face to the ground before him, not from any honour paid to the minister, but that the officer might avoid receiving the homage which he had paid himself to the ruler.
- 16 When a Great officer was presenting (anything to his ruler), he did not do so in his own person; when the ruler was making him a gift, he did not go to bow in acknowledgment to him: that the ruler might not (have the trouble of) responding to him.
- 17 When the villagers were driving away pestilential influences, Confucius would stand at the top of his eastern steps, in his court robes, to keep the spirits (of his departed) undisturbed in their shrines.
- 18 Confucius said, 'The practice of archery to the notes of music (is difficult). How shall the archer listen, and how shall he shoot, (that the two things shall be in harmony)?'
- 19 Confucius said, 'When an officer is required to shoot, if he be not able, he declines on the ground of being ill, with reference to the bow suspended at the left of the door (at his birth).'
- 20 Confucius said, 'There are three days' fasting on hand., If one fast for the first day, he should still be afraid of not being (sufficiently) reverent. What are we to think of it, if on the second day he beat his drums?'
- 21 Confucius said, 'The repetition of the sacrifice next day inside the Ku gate; the searching for the spirits in the eastern quarter; and the holding the market in the morning in the western quarter these all are errors.'
- 22 At the She, they sacrificed to (the spirits of) the land, and on the tablet rested the power of the darker and retiring influence of nature. The ruler stands (in sacrificing) with his face to the south at the foot of the wall on the north, responding to the idea of that influence as coming from the north. A jia day is used (for the sacrifice), to employ a commencing day (in the Cycle). The great She altar of the son of Heaven was open to receive the hoarfrost, dew, wind, and rain, and allow the influences of heaven and earth to have full development upon it. For this reason the She altar of a state that had perished was roofed in, so that it was not touched by the brightness and warmth of Heaven. The altar (of Yin) at Bo had an opening in the wall on the north, so that the dim and cold (moon) might shine into it. In the sacrifice at the She altars they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit. The earth supported all things, while heaven hung out its brilliant signs. They derived their material resources from the earth; they derived rules (for their courses of labour) from the heavens. Thus they were led to give honour to heaven and their affection to the earth, and therefore they taught the people to render a good return (to the earth). (The Heads of) families provided (for the sacrifice to it) at the altar in the open court (of their houses); in the kingdom and the states they did so at the She altars; showing how it was the source (of their prosperity). When there was a sacrifice at the She altar of a village, some one went out to it from every house. When there was such a sacrifice in preparation for a hunt, the men of the state all engaged in it. When there was such a sacrifice, from the towns, small and large, they contributed their vessels of rice, thereby expressing their gratitude to the source (of their

prosperity) and going back in their thoughts to the beginning (of all being).

23 In the last month of spring, the fire star having appeared, they set fire to (the grass and brushwood). When this was done, they reviewed the chariots and men, numbering the companies, of a hundred and of five. Then the ruler in person addressed them in front of the She altar, and proceeded to exercise their squadrons, now wheeling to the left, now wheeling to the right, now making them lie down, now making them rise up; and observing how they practised these evolutions. When the game came in sight and the desire of capturing it was exerted, (he watched) to see that (the hunters) did not break any of the rules (for their proceedings). It was thus sought to bring their wills into subjection, and make them not pursue the animals (in an irregular way). In this way such men conquered in fight, and such sacrificing obtained blessing.

24 The son of Heaven, in his tours (of Inspection) to the four quarters (of the kingdom), as the first thing (on his arrival at each) reared the pile of wood (and set fire to it). At the (Great) border sacrifice, he welcomed the arrival of the longest day. It was a great act of thanksgiving to Heaven, and the sun was the chief object considered in it'. The space marked off for it was in the southern suburb - the place most open to the brightness and warmth (of the heavenly influence). The sacrifice was offered on the ground which had been swept for the purpose; -- to mark the simplicity (of the ceremony). The vessels used were of earthenware and of gourds - to emblem the natural (productive power of) heaven and earth. The place was the suburb, and therefore the sacrifice was called the suburban or border. The victim was red, that being the colour preferred by the (Zhou) dynasty; and it was a calfto show the estimation of simple sincerity. For (all) sacrifices in the border they used a xin day; because when Zhou first offered the border sacrifice, it was the longest day, and its name began with xin. When divining about the border sacrifice, (the king) received the reply in the fane of his (great) ancestor, and the tortoise-shell was operated on in that of his father; honour being thus done to his ancestor, and affection shown to his father. On the day of divination, he stood by the lake, and listened himself to the declarations and orders which were delivered, showing an example of receiving lessons and reproof. (The officers) having communicated to him the orders (to be issued), he gives warning notice of them to all the officers (of a different surname from himself), inside the Ku gate (of the palace), and to those of the same surname, in the Grand temple.

On the day of the sacrifice, the king in his skin can waits for the news that all is ready, showing the people how they ought to venerate their superiors. Those who were engaged in mourning rites did not wail nor venture to put on their mourning dress. (The people) watered and swept the road, and turned it up afresh with the spade; at (the top of) the fields in the neighbourhood they kept torches burning - thus without special orders complying with (the wish of) the king. On that day, the king assumed the robe with the ascending dragons on it as an emblem of the heavens. He wore the cap with the pendants of jade-pearls, to the number of twelve, which is the number of heaven. He rode in the plain carriage, because of its simplicity. From the flag hung twelve pendants. and on it was the emblazonry of dragons, and the figures of the sun and moon, in imitation of the heavens. Heaven hangs out its brilliant figures, and the sages imitated them. This border sacrifice is the illustration of the way of Heaven. If there appeared anything infelicitous about the victim intended for God, it was used for that intended for Ji. That intended for God required to be kept in its clean stall for three months. That intended for Ji simply required to be perfect in its parts. This was the way in which they made a distinction between the spirits of Heaven and the manes of a man. All things originate from Heaven; man originates from his (great) ancestor. This is the reason why Ji was associated with God (at this sacrifice). In the sacrifices at the border there was an expression of gratitude to the source (of their prosperity and a going back in their thoughts to the beginning of (all being).

25 The great ii sacrifice of the son of Heaven consisted of eight (sacrifices). This sacrifice was first instituted by Yin Qi. (The word) ji expresses the idea of searching out. In the twelfth month of a year, they brought together (some of) all the productions (of the harvest), and sought out (the authors of them) to present them to them as offerings. In the ji sacrifice, the principal object contemplated was the Father of Husbandry. They also presented offerings to (ancient) superintendents of husbandry, and to the (discoverers of the) various grains, to express thanks for the crops which had been reaped. They presented offerings (also) to the (representatives of the ancient inventors of the overseers of the) husbandmen, and of the buildings marking out the boundaries of the fields, and of the hirds and heasts. The service showed the highest sentiments of benevolence and of righteousness. The ancient wise men had appointed all these agencies, and it was felt necessary to make this return to them. They met the (representatives of the) cats, because they devoured the rats and mice (which injured the fruits) of the fields, and (those of)

the tigers, because they devoured the (wild) boars (which destroyed them). They met them and made offerings to them. They offered also to (the ancient Inventors of) the dykes and water-channels;—(all these were) provisions for the husbandry. They said, 'May the ground no sliding show, Water in its channels flow, Insects to keep quiet know; Only in the fens weeds grow!' They presented their offerings in skin caps and white robes;—in white robes to escort the closing year (to its grave). They wore sashes of dolychos cloth, and carried staffs of hazel, as being reduced forms of mourning. In the ji were expressed the highest sentiments of benevolence and righteousness. (After this) they proceeded to sacrifice in yellow robes and yellow caps, releasing the field-labourers from the toils (of the year). Countrymen wore yellow hats, which were made of straw.

26 The Great Netter was the officer who had the management for the son of Heaven of his birds and (captured) beasts, and to his department belonged (all such creatures) sent by the princes as tribute. (Those who brought them) wore hats of straw or bamboo splints, appearing, by way of honour to it, in that country dress. The Netter declined the deer and women (which they brought), and announced to the visitors the message (of the king) to this effect, that they might warn the princes with it: 'He who loves hunting and women, Brings his state to ruin.' The son of Heaven planted gourds and flowering plants; not such things as might be reaped and stored

27 The ji with its eight sacrifices served to record (the condition of the people) throughout all the quarters (of the country). If in any quarter the year had not been good, it did not contribute to those services, out of a careful regard to the resources of the people. Where the labours of a good year had been successfully completed, they took part in them, to give them pleasure and satisfaction. Alt the harvest having by this time been gathered, the people had nothing to do but to rest, and therefore after the ji wise (rulers) commenced no new work.

28 The pickled contents of the ordinary dishes were waterplants produced by the harmonious powers (of nature); the brine used with them was from productions of the land. The additional dishes contained productions of the land with the brine from productions of the water. The things in the dishes on stands were from both the water and land. They did not venture to use in them the flavours of ordinary domestic use, but variety was considered admirable. It was in this way that they sought to have communion with the spirits; it was not intended to imitate the flavours of food.

29 The things set before the ancient kings served as food, but did not minister to the pleasures of the palate. The dragon-robe, the tasseled cap, and the great carriage served for display, but did not awaken a fondness for their use. The various dances displayed the gravity of the performers, but did not awaken the emotion of delight. The ancestral temple produced the impression of majesty, but did not dispose one to rest in it. Its vessels might be employed (for their purposes in it), but could not be conveniently used for any other. The idea which leads to intercourse with spiritual Beings is not interchangeable with that which finds its realisation in rest and pleasure.

30 Admirable as are the spirits and sweet spirits, a higher value is attached to the dark spirit and the bright water, -- in order to honour that which is the source of the five flavours. Beautiful as is the elegant embroidery of robes, a higher value is set on plain, coarse cloth, going back to the commencement of woman's work. Inviting as is the rest afforded by the mats of fine rushes and bamboos, the preference is given to the coarse ones of reeds and straw, distinguishing the (character of the service in which they were employed). The Grand soup is unseasoned, in honour of its simplicity. The Grand symbols of jade have no engraving on them, in admiration of their simple plainness. There is the beauty of the red varnish and carved border (of a carriage), but (the king) rides in a plain one, doing honour to its plainness. In all these things it is simply the idea of the simplicity that is the occasion of the preference and honour. In. maintaining intercourse with spiritual and intelligent Beings, there should be nothing like an extreme desire for rest and ease in our personal gratification. It is this which makes the above usages suitable for their purpose.

31 The number of the tripods and meat-stands was odd, but that of the tall dishes of wood and bamboo was even, having regard to the numbers belonging to the developing and receding influences of nature. The vase with the yellow eyes was the most valued of all, and contained the spirit with the fragrant herbs. Yellow is the colour (of earth) which occupies the central places. In the eye the energy (of nature) appears most purely and brilliantly. Thus the spirit to be poured out is in that cup, the (emblem of the) centre, and (the symbol of) what is Most pure and bright appears outside.

32 When Sacrificing to Heaven, the earth is swept, and the sacrifice presented on the ground, from a regard to the simplicity of such an unartificial altar. Admirable as are the vinegar and pickles, suet boiled and produced through evaporation is preferred, to do honour to the natural product

of heaven. An ordinary knife might be employed (to kill the victim), but that fitted with bells is preferred, giving honour to the idea thereby indicated; there is the harmony of sound, and then the cutting work is done.

33 As to the meaning of (the ceremony of) capping: The cap used for the first act of the service was of black cloth, the cap of the highest antiquity. It was originally of (white) cloth, but the colour when it was used in fasting was dyed black. As to its strings, Confucius said, 'I have not heard anything about them.' This cap, after it had been once put upon (the young man), might be disused.

The son by the wife proper was capped by the eastern stairs (appropriate to the use of the master), to show how he was in their line of succession to him. The father handed him a cup in the guests' place (without receiving one in return). The capping showed that he had reached maturity. The using of three caps was to give greater importance (to the ceremony), and show its object more clearly. The giving the name of maturity in connexion with the ceremony was to show the reverence due to that name.

The wei-mao was the fashion of Zhou; the zhang-fu, that of Yin; and the mu-zhui, that of the sovereigns of Xia. Zhou used the bian; Yin, the xu; and Xia, the shou. The three dynasties all used the skin cap, with the skirt-of-white gathered up at the waist.

There were no observances peculiar to the capping (in the families) of Great officers, though there were (peculiar) marriage ceremonies. Anciently a man was fifty when he took the rank of a Great officer; how should there have been peculiar ceremonies at his cappings? The peculiar ceremonies at the cappings as used by the princes arose in the end of the Xia dynasty.

The eldest son of the son of Heaven by his proper queen (was capped only as) an ordinary officer. There was nowhere such a thing as being born noble. Princes received their appointments on the hereditary principle, (to teach them) to imitate the virtue of their predecessors. Men received office and rank according to the degree of their virtue. There was the conferring of an honourable designation after death; but that is a modern institution. Anciently, there was no rank on birth, and no honorary title after death.

34 That which is most important in ceremonies is to understand the idea intended in them. While the idea is missed, the number of things and observances in them may be correctly exhibited, as that is the business of the officers of prayer and the recorders. Hence that may all be exhibited, but it is difficult to know the idea. The knowledge of that idea, and the reverent maintenance of it was the way by which the sons of Heaven secured the good government of the kingdom.

35 By the united action of heaven and earth all things spring up. Thus the ceremony of marriage is the beginning of a (line that shall last for a) myriad ages. The parties are of different surnames; thus those who are distant are brought together, and the separation (to be maintained between those who are of the same surname) is emphasised. There must be sincerity in the marriage presents; and all communications (to the woman) must be good. She should be admonished to be upright and sincere. Faithfulness is requisite in all service of others, and faithfulness is (specially) the virtue of a wife. Once mated with her husband, all her life she will not change (her feeling of duty to him) and hence, when the husband dies she will not marry (again).

The gentleman went in person to meet the bride, the man taking the initiative and not the woman, according to the idea that regulates the relation between the strong and the weak (in all nature). It is according to this same idea that heaven takes precedence of earth, and the ruler of the subject. Presents are interchanged before (the parties) see each other; this reverence serving to illustrate the distinction (that should be observed between man and woman). When this distinction (between husband and wife) is exhibited, affection comes to prevail between father and son. When there is this affection, the idea of righteousness arises in the mind, and to this idea of righteousness succeeds (the observance of) ceremonies. Through those ceremonies there ensues universal repose. The absence of such distinction and righteousness is characteristic of the way of beasts. The bridegroom himself stands by (the carriage of the bride), and hands to her the strap (to assist her in mounting), showing his affection. Having that affection, he seeks to bring her near to him. It was by such reverence and affection for their wives that the ancient kings obtained the kingdom. In passing out from the great gate (of her father's house), he precedes, and she follows, and with this the right relation between husband and wife commences. The woman follows (and obeys) the man:-in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son. 'Man' denotes supporter. A man by his wisdom should (be able to) lead others

The dark-coloured cap, and the (preceding) fasting and vigil, (with which the bridegroom meets the bride, makes the ceremony like the service of) spiritual beings, and (the meeting of) the bright and developing and receding influences (in nature). The result of it will be to give the lord for the

altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and the successors of the forefathers of the past - is not the utmost reverence appropriate in it? Husband and wife ate, together of the same victim, thus declaring that they were of the same rank. Hence while the wife had (herself) no rank, she was held to be of the rank of her husband, and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him.

The old rule at sacrifices was to have the vessels (only) of earthenware and gourds; and when the kings of the three dynasties instituted the (partaking of the) victim, those were the vessels employed. On the day after the marriage, the wife, having washed her hands, prepared and presented (a suckingpig) to her husband's parents; and when they had done eating, she ate what was left - as a mark of their special regard. They descended from the hall by the steps on the west, while she did so by those on the east - so was she established in the wife's (or mistress's) place.

At the marriage ceremony, they did not employ music, having reference to the feeling of solitariness and darkness (natural to the separation from parents). Music expresses the energy of the bright and expanding influence. There was no congratulation on marriage; it indicates how (one generation of) men succeeds to another.

36 At the sacrifices in the time of the lord of Yu the smell was thought most important. There were the offerings of blood, of raw flesh, and of sodden flesh;--all these were employed for the sake of the smell. Under the Yin, sound was thought most important. Before there was any smell or flavour, the music was made to resound clearly. It was not till there had been three performances of it that they went out to meet (and bring in) the victim. The noise of the music was a summons addressed to all between heaven and earth. Under the Zhou, a pungent odour was thought most important. In libations they employed the smell of millet-spirits in which fragrant herbs had been infused. The fragrance, partaking of the nature of the receding influence, penetrates to the deep springs below. The libations were poured from cups with long handles of jade, (as if) to employ (also) the smell of the mineral. After the liquor was poured, they met (and brought in) the victim, having first diffused the smell into the unseen realm. Artemisia along with millet and rice having then been burned (with the fat of the victim), the fragrance penetrates through all the building. It was for this reason that, after the cup had been put down, they burnt the fat with the southernwood and millet and rice. So careful were they on all occasions of sacrifice. The intelligent spirit returns to heaven the body and the animal soul return to the earth; and hence arose the idea of seeking (for the deceased) in sacrifice in the unseen darkness and in the bright region above. Under the Yin, they first sought for them in the bright region; under Zhou, they first sought for them in the dark.

37 They informed the officer of prayer in the apartment; they seated the representative of the departed in the hall; they killed the victim in the courtyard. The head of the victim was taken up to the apartment. This was at the regular sacrifice, when the officer of prayer addressed himself to the spirit-tablet of the departed. If it were (merely) the offering of search, the minister of prayer takes his place at the inside of the gate of the temple. They knew not whether the spirit were here, or whether it were there, or far off, away from all men. Might not that offering inside the gate be said to be a searching for the spirit in its distant place?

38 That service at the gate was expressive of the energy of the search. The stand with the heart and tongue of the victim (set forth before the personator) was expressive of reverence. (The wish of the principal) for wealth (to those assisting him) included all happiness. The (presentation of the) head was (intended as) a direct (communication with the departed). The presence (of the representative) was that the spirit might enjoy (the offerings). The blessing (pronounced by him) was for long continuance, and comprehensive. The personator (seemed) to display (the departed).

39 The (examination of the) hair and the (taking of the) blood was an announcement that the victim was complete within and without. This announcement showed the value set on its being perfect'. The offering of the blood was because of the breath which is contained in it. They offered (specially) the lungs, the liver, and the heart, doing honour to those parts as the home of the breath.

40 In offering the millet and the glutinous millet, they presented the lungs along with it. In offering the various prepared liquors, they presented the bright water;--in both cases acknowledging their obligations to the dark and receding influence (in nature). In taking the fat of the inwards and burning it, and in taking the head up (to the hall), they made their acknowledgments to the bright and active influence.

41 In the bright water and the clear liquor the thing valued was their newness. All clarifying is a sort of making new. The water was called 'bright' because the principal in the service had purified it.

42 When the ruler bowed twice with his head to the ground, and, with breast bared, himself applied the knife, this expressed his extreme reverence. Yes, his extreme reverence,

for there was submission in it. The bowing showed his submission; the laying the head on the ground did that emphatically; and the baring his breast was the greatest (outward) exhibition of the feeling.

43 When the sacrificer styled himself 'the filial son,' or 'the filial grandson,' he did so (in all cases) according to the meaning of the name. When he styled himself 'So and So, the distant descendant,' that style was used of (the ruler of) a state or (the Head of) a clan. (Though) there were the assistants at the service, the principal himself gave every demonstration of reverence and performed all his admirable service without yielding anything to any one.

44 The flesh of the victim might be presented raw and as a whole, or cut up in pieces, or sodden, or thoroughly cooked; but how could they know whether the spirit enjoyed it? The sacrificer simply showed his reverence to the utmost of his power

45 When the representative of the departed had made the libation with the zhi cup, or the horn, (the sacrificer) was told (to bow to him) and put him at ease. Anciently, the representative stood when nothing was being done; when anything was being done, he sat. He personated the spirit; the officer of prayer was the medium of communication between him and the sacrificer.

46 In straining the new liquor for the cup, they used the white (mao) grass and obtained a clear cup. The liquor beginning to clear itself was further clarified by means of pure liquor. The juice obtained by boiling aromatics (with the extract of millet) was clarified by mingling with it the liquor which had begun to clear itself:-in the same way as old and strong spirits are qualified by the brilliantly pure liquor or that which has begun to clear itself.

47 Sacrifices were for the purpose of prayer, or of thanksgiving, or of deprecation.

48 The dark-coloured robes worn during vigil and purification had reference to the occupation of the thoughts with the dark and unseen. Hence after the three days of purification, the superior man was sure (to seem) to see those to whom his sacrifice was to be offered.

#### LI JI CHAPTER 12 Nei Ze

Pattern of the Family

1 The sovereign and king orders the chief minister to send down his (lessons of) virtue to the millions of the people.

2 Sons, in serving their parents, on the first crowing of the cock, should all wash their hands and rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin bind the hair at the roots with the fillet brush the dust from that which is left free, and then put on their caps. leaving the ends of the strings hanging down. They should then put on their squarely made black jackets, knee-covers, and girdles, fixing in the last their tablets. From the left and right of the girdle they should hang their articles for use: on the left side, the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum for getting fire from the sun; on the right, the archer's thimble, for the thumb and the armlet, the tube for writing instruments, the knife-case, the larger spike, and the borer for getting fire from wood. They should put on their leggings, and adjust their shoe-strings

3 Sons' wives should serve their parents-in-law as they served their own. At the first crowing of the cock, they should wash their hands, and rinse their mouths; comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, fix this with the hair-pin, and tie the hair at the roots with the fillet. They should then put on the jacket, and over it the sash. On the left side they should hang the duster and handkerchief, the knife and whetstone, the small spike, and the metal speculum to get fire with; and on the right, the needle-case, thread, and floss, all bestowed in the satchel, the great spike, and the borer to get fire with from wood. They will also fasten on their necklaces, and adjust their shoe-strings.

4 Thus dressed, they should go to their parents and parentsin-law. On getting to where they are, with bated breath and gentle voice, they should ask if their clothes are (too) warm or (too) cold, whether they are ill or pained, or uncomfortable in any part; and if they be so, they should proceed reverently to stroke and scratch the place. They should in the same way, going before or following after, help and support their parents in quitting or entering (the apartment). In bringing in the basin for them to wash, the younger will carry the stand and the elder the water; they will beg to be allowed to pour out the water, and when the washing is concluded, they Will hand the towel. They will ask whether they want anything, and then respectfully bring it. All this they will do with an appearance of pleasure to make their parents feel at ease. (They should bring) gruel, thick or thin, spirits or must, soup with vegetables, beans, wheat, spinach, rice, millet, maize, and glutinous millet - whatever they wish, in fact; with dates, chestnuts, sugar and honey, to sweeten their dishes; with the ordinary or the large-leaved violets, leaves of elm-trees, fresh or dry, and the most soothing rice-water to lubricate them; and with fat and oil to enrich them. The parents will be sure

to taste them, and when they have done so, the young people should withdraw.

5 Youths who have not yet been capped, and maidens who have not yet assumed the hair-pin, at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands, rinse their mouths, comb their hair, draw over it the covering of silk, brush the dust from that which is left free, bind it up in the shape of a horn, and put on their necklaces. They should all bang at their girdles the ornamental (bags of) perfume; and as soon as it is daybreak, they should (go to) pay their respects (to their parents) and ask what they will eat and drink. If they have eaten already, they should retire; if they have not eaten, they will (remain to) assist their elder (brothers and sisters) and see what has been prepared.

6 All charged with the care of the inner and outer parts (of the house), at the first crowing of the cock, should wash their hands and mouths, gather up their pillows and fine mats, sprinkle and sweep out the apartments, hall, and courtyard, and spread the mats, each doing his proper work.

7 The children go earlier to bed, and get up later, according to their pleasure. There is no fixed time for their meals.

8 From the time that sons receive an official appointment, they and their father occupy different parts of their residence. But at the dawn, the son will pay his respects, and express his affection by (the offer of) pleasant delicacies. At sunrise he will retire, and he and his father will attend to their different duties. At sundown, the son will pay his evening visit in the same way.

9 When the parents wish to sit (anywhere), the sons and their wives should carry their mats, and ask in what direction they shall lay them. When they wish to lie down, the eldest among them should carry the mats, and ask where they wish to place their feet, while the youngest will carry a (small) bench for them to lean on while they stretch out their legs. (At the same time) an attendant will place a stool by them. They should take up the mat on which they had been lying and the fine mat over it, bang up the coverlet, put the pillow in its case, and roll up the fine mat and put it in its cover.

10 Sons and their wives should not move the clothes, coverlets, fine mats, or undermats, pillows, and stools of their parents; they should reverently regard their staffs and shoes, but not presume to approach them; they should not presume to use their vessels for grain, liquor, and water, unless some of the contents be left in them; nor to eat or drink any of their ordinary food or drink, unless in the same case.

11 While the parents are both alive, at their regular meals, morning and evening, the (eldest) son and his wife will encourage them to eat everything, and what is left after all, they will themselves eat. When the father is dead, and the mother still alive, the eldest son should wait upon her at her meals; and the wives of the other sons will do with what is left as in the former case. The children should have the sweet, soft', and unctuous things that are left.

12 When with their parents, sons and their wives, when ordered to do anything, should immediately respond and reverently proceed to do it, In going forwards or backwards, or turning round, they should be careful and grave; while going out or coming in, while bowing or walking, they should not presume to eructate, sneeze, or cough, to yawn or stretch themselves, to stand on one foot, or to lean against anything, or to look askance. They should not dare to spit or snivel, nor, if it be cold, to put on more clothes, nor, if they itch anywhere, to scratch themselves. Unless for reverent attention to something, they should not presume to unbare their shoulders or chest. Unless it be in wading, they should not display the inside.

13 They should not allow the spittle or snivel of their parents to be seen. They should ask leave to rinse away any dirt on their caps or girdles, and to wash their clothes that are dirty with lye that has been prepared for the purpose; and to stitch together, with needle and thread, any rent. Every five days they should prepare tepid water, and ask them to take a bath, and every three days prepare water for them to wash their heads. If in the meantime their faces appear dirty, they should heat the wafer in which the rice has been cleaned, and ask them to wash with it; if their feet be dirty, they should prepare hot water, and ask them to wash them with it. Elders in serving their youngers, and the low in serving the noble, should all observe these rules.

14 The men should not speak of what belongs to the inside (of the house), nor the women of what belongs to the outside. Except at sacrifices and funeral rites, they should not hand vessels to one another. In all other cases when they have occasion to give and receive anything, the woman should receive it in a basket. If she have no basket, they should both sit down, and the other put the thing on the ground, and she then take it up. Outside or inside, they should not go to the same well, nor to, the same bathing-house. They should not share the same mat in lying down; they should not sak or borrow anything from one another; they should not wear similar upper or lower garments. Things spoken inside should not go out, words spoken outside should not come in.

15 When a man goes into the interior of the house, he should not whistle nor point. If he have occasion to move in the night, he should, use a light; and if he have no light, he should not stir. When a woman goes out at the door, she must keep her face covered. She should walk at night (only) with a light; and if she have no light, she should not stir. On the road, a man should take the right side, and a woman the left.

16 Sons and sons' wives, who are filial and reverential, when they receive an order from their parents should not refuse, nor be dilatory, to execute it. When (their parents) give them anything to eat or drink, which they do not like, they will notwithstanding taste it and wait (for their further orders); when they give them clothes, which are not to their mind, they will put them on, and wait (in the same way). If (their parents) give them anything to do, and then employ another to take their place, although they do not like the arrangement, they will in the meantime give it into his hands and let him do it, doing it again, if it be not done well.

17 When the sons and their wives are engaged with laborious tasks, although (their parents) very much love them, yet they should let them go on with them for the time;—it is better that they take other occasions frequently to give them ease. When sons and their wives have not been filial and reverential, (the parents) should not be angry and resentful with them, but endeavour to instruct them. If they will not receive instruction, they should then be angry with them. If that anger do no good, they can then drive out the son, and send the wife away, yet not publicly showing why they have so treated them.

18 If a parent have a fault, (the son) should with bated breath, and bland aspect, and gentle voice, admonish him. If the admonition do not take effect, he will be the more reverential and the more filial; and when the father seems pleased, he will repeat the admonition. If he should be displeased with this, rather than allow him to commit an offence against any one in the neighbourhood or countryside, (the son) should strongly remonstrate. If the parent be angry and (more) displeased, and beat him till the blood flows, he should not presume to be angry and resentful, but be (still) more reverential and more filial.

19 If parents have a boy born (to the father) by a handmaid, or the son or grandson of one of his concubines, of whom they are very fond, their sons should after their death, not allow their regard for him to decay so long as they live.

20 If a son have two concubines, one of whom is loved by his parents, while he himself loves the other, yet he should not dare to make this one equal to the former whom his parents love, in dress, or food, or the duties which she discharges, nor should he lessen his attentions to her after their death. If he very much approves of his wife, and his parents do not like her, he should divorce her'. If he do not approve of his wife, and his parents say, 'she serves us well,' he should behave to her in all respects as his wife, without fail even to the end of her life.

21 Although his parents be dead, when a son is inclined to do what is good, he should think that he will thereby transmit the good name of his parents, and carry his wish into effect. When he is inclined to do what is not good, he should think that he will thereby bring disgrace on the name of his parents, and in no wise carry his wish into effect.

22 When her father-in-law is dead, her mother-in-law takes the place of the old lady; but the wife of the eldest son, on all occasions of sacrificing and receiving guests. must ask her directions in everything, while the other sons' wives must ask directions from her. When her parents-in-law employ the eldest son's wife, she should not be dilatory, unfriendly, or unpolite to the wives of his brothers (for their not helping her). When the parents-in-law employ any of them, they should not presume to consider themselves on an equality with the other; walking side by side with her, or giving their orders in the same way, or sitting in the same position as she.

23 No daughter-in-law, without being told to go to her own apartment, should venture to withdraw from that (of her parents-in-law). Whatever she is about to do, she should ask leave from them. A son and his wife should have no private goods, nor animals, nor vessels; they should not presume to borrow from, or give anything to, another person. If any one give the wife an article of food or dress, a piece of cloth or silk, a handkerchief for her girdle, an iris or orchid, she should receive and offer it to her parents-in-law. If they accept it, she will be glad as if she were receiving it afresh. If they return it to her, she should decline it, and if they do not allow her to do so, she will take it as if it were a second gift, and lay it by to wait till they may want it. If she want to give it to some of her own cousins, she must ask leave to do so, and that being granted, she will give it.

24 Eldest cousins in the legitimate line of descent and their brothers should do reverent service to the son, who is the representative chief of the family and his wife. Though they may be richer and higher in official rank than he, they should not presume to enter his house with (the demonstrations of) their wealth and dignity. Although they may have in attendance many chariots and footmen, these should stop outside, and they enter it in more simple style with a few followers

25 If to any of the younger cousins there have been given vessels, robes, furs, coverlets, carriages and horses, he must offer the best of them (to his chief), and then use those that are inferior to this himself. If what he should thus offer be not proper for the chief, he will not presume to enter with it at his gate, not daring to appear with his wealth and dignity, to be above him who is the head of all the clan with its uncles and elder cousins. A wealthy cousin should prepare two victims, and present the better of them to his chief. He and his wife should together, after self-purification, reverently assist at his sacrifice in the ancestral temple. When the business of that is over, they may venture to offer their own private sacrifice.

26 Of grain food, there were millet - the glutinous rice, rice, maize, the white millet, and the yellow maize, cut when ripe, or when green.

27 Of prepared meats, there were beef soup, mutton soup, pork soup, and roast beef; pickle, slices of beef, pickle and minced beef; roast mutton, slices of mutton, pickle, and roast pork; pickle, slices of pork, mustard sauce, and minced fish; pheasant, hare, quail, and partridge.

28 Of drinks, there was must in two vessels, one strained, the other unstrained, made of rice, of millet, or of maize. In some cases, thin preparations were used as beverages, as millet gruel, pickle, with water syrup of prunes.

29 Of steeped rice; clear wine and white.

30 Of confections, there were dried cakes, and rice-flour scones.

31 For relishes, snail-juice and a condiment of the broadleaved water-squash were used with pheasant soup; a condiment of wheat with soups of dried slices and of fowl; broken glutinous rice with dog soup and hare soup; the riceballs mixed with these soups had no smart-weed in them.

32 A sucking-pig was stewed, wrapped up in sonchus leaves and stuffed with smart-weed; a fowl, with the same stuffing, and along with pickle sauce; a fish, with the same stuffing and egg sauce: a tortoise, with the same stuffing and pickle sauce.

33 For meat spiced and dried they placed the brine of ants; for soup made of sliced meat, that of hare; for a ragout of elk, that of fish; for minced fish, mustard sauce; for raw elk flesh, pickle sauce; for preserved peaches and plums, egg-like suet.

34 All condiments for grain food were of a character corresponding to the spring; for soup, to the summer; for sauces, to the autumn; and for beverages, to the winter.

35 In all attempering ingredients, sour predominated in the spring; bitter, in the summer; acrid, in the autumn; and salt, in the winter - with the due proportioning of the unctuous and sweet.

36 The glutinous rice (was thought) to suit beef; millet, to suit mutton; glutinous millet, to suit pork; maize, to suit dog; wheat, to suit goose; and the broad-leaved squash, to suit fish.

37 Lamb and sucking-pig were thought to be good in spring, fried with odorous (beef) suet; dried pheasant and fish, in summer, fried with the strong-smelling suet (of dog); yeal and fawn, in autumn, fried with strong suet (of fowl); fresh fish and goose.' in winter. fried with the frouzy suet (of goat).

38 There were dried beef, and dried stalks of deer's flesh, of wild pig's, of elk's, and of the muntjac's. Elk's flesh, deer's, wild pig's, and muntjac's, was (also eaten uncooked; and) cut in large leaflike slices. Pheasants and hares were (made into soup) with the duckweed. There were sparrows and finches, partridges, cicadas, bees, lichens, small chestnuts, the water-caltrops, the hovenia dulcis, the zizyphus, chestnuts, hazelnuts, persimmons, cucumbers, peaches, plums, ballaces, almonds, haws, pears, ginger, and cinnamon.

39 If a Great officer, at his ordinary meals, had mince, he did not have, at the same time, dried slices of meat; and if he had the latter, he did not have the former. An ordinary officer did not have two kinds of soup, or sliced flesh. (But) old men of the common people, did not eat their meat alone without accompaniments.

40 Mince was made in spring, with onions; in autumn, with the mustard plant. Sucking-pig was used in spring, with scallions; in autumn, with smartweed. With lard they used onions; with fat, chives. With the three victim-animals they used pepper, and employed pickle as an accompaniment. For wild animals' flesh they used plums. In quail soup, fowl soup, and with the curlew, the condiment was smartweed. Bream and tench were steamed; pullets, roasted; and pheasants, (boiled), with fragrant herbs and no smart-weed.

41 Things not eaten were the turtle, when hatching; the intestines of the wolf, which were removed, as also the kidneys of the dog; the straight spine of the wild cat; the rump of the hare; the head of the fox; the brains of the sucking-pig; the yilike bowels of fish; and the perforated openings of the turtle.

42 (Bones and sinews) were taken from the flesh; the scales were scraped from fish; dates were made to appear as new; chestnuts were selected; peaches were made smooth; k? and pears had the insects drilled out of them.

43 When an ox lowed at night, its flesh was (considered) to be rank; that of a sheep, whose long hair showed a tendency to, get matted, to be frouzy; that of a dog which was uneasy and with (the inside of) its thighs red, to be coarse; that of birds when moulting and with their voices hoarse, to be fetid; that of pigs, when they looked upwards and closed their eyes, to be

measly; that of a horse, black along the spine and with piebald fore-legs, to smell unpleasantly. A pullet, whose tail could not be grasped by the hand, was not eaten, nor the rump of a tame goose, nor the ribs of a swan or owl, nor the rump of a tame duck, nor the liver of a I fowl, nor the kidneys of a wild goose, nor the gizzard of the wild goose without the hind-toe, nor the stomach of the deer.

44 Flesh cut small was made into mince; cut into slices it was made into hash. Some say that the flesh of elks, deer, and fish was pickled; that of muntjacs also, being cut in small pieces; that of fowls and wild pigs, in larger pieces; of hares, the stomach was pickled. Onions and scallions were mixed with the brine to soften the meat.

45 Soup and boiled grain were used by all, from the princes down to the common people, without distinction of degree.

46 Great officers did not regularly have savoury meat, but when seventy they had their cupboards. The cupboards of the son of Heaven were five on the right (of the dining hall), and five on the left; those of dukes, marquises, and earls were five, all in one room; those of Great officers three (in a side chamber), and other officers had one on their buffet.

47 In nourishing the aged. (Shun), the lord of Yu, used the ceremonies of a drinking entertainment; the sovereigns of Xia, those (at entertainments after) a reverent sacrifice or offering; the men of Yin, those of a (substantial) feast; and the men of Zhou cultivated and used all the three. Those of fifty years were entertained in the schools of the districts: those of sixty. in the school of the capital: and those of seventy, in the college. This rule extended to the feudal states. An old man of eighty made his acknowledgment for the ruler's invitation by kneeling once and bringing his head to the ground twice. The blind did the same. An old man of ninety employed another to receive (the message and gift for him). For those of fifty, the grain was (fine and) different (from that used by younger men). For those of sixty, there was meat kept in store (from the day before). For those of seventy, there was a second service of savoury meat. Those of eighty were supplied regularly with delicacies. For those of ninety, food and drink were never out of their chambers; wherever they wandered, it was deemed right that savoury meat and drink should follow them. After sixty (the coffin and other things for the funeral) were seen to be in readiness (once) a year; after seventy, once a season; after eighty, once a month; and after ninety, they were every day kept in good repair. The bandages, however, the sheet, the larger coverlets, and the cases were prepared after death. At fifty, one was supposed to begin to decay; at sixty, not to feel satisfied unless he had flesh to eat. At seventy, he was thought to require silk in order to make him feel warm; at eighty, to need some one (to sleep) with him, to keep him warm; and at ninety, not to feel warm even with that. At fifty, one kept his staff in his hand in the family; at sixty, in his district; at seventy, in the city; at eighty, (an officer) did so in the court. If the son of Heaven wished to put questions to (an officer of) ninety, he went to his house, and had rich food carried after him. At seventy, (an officer) did not wait till the court was over (before he retired). At eighty, he reported every month (to the ruler's messenger) that he was still alive; at ninety, he had (delicate food) sent to him regularly every day. At fifty, one was not employed in services requiring strength; at sixty, he was discharged from bearing arms along with others; at seventy, he was exempted from the business of receiving guests and visitors; at eighty, he was free from the abstinences and other rites of mourning. When one received at fifty the rank (of a Great officer), at sixty he did not go in person to the school. At seventy he resigned office; and then and afterwards, in mourning he used only the unhemmed dress of sackcloth (without adopting the privations of the mourning rites).

The kings of the three dynasties, in nourishing the old, always caused the members of families who were advanced in years to be brought to their notice. Where an officer was eighty, one of his friends was free from all service of government; where he was ninety, all the members of his family were exempted from them. So also it was in the case of the blind. (Shun), the lord of Yu, entertained the aged (who had retired from the service) of the state in (the school called) the higher xiang, and the aged of the common people in (the school called) the lower xiang. The sovereigns of the line of Xia entertained the former in (the school called) the xu on the east, and the latter in (that called) the xu on the west. The men of Yin entertained the former in the School of the Right, and the latter in that of the Left. The men of Zhou entertained the former in the jiao on the east, and the latter in the Yu xiang. This was in the suburb of the capital on the west. The lord of Yu wore the huan cap in sacrificing (in the ancestral temple), and the white robes in entertaining the aged. The sovereigns of Xia sacrificed in the shin cap, and entertained the aged in the dark garments of undress. Those of Yin sacrificed in the xu cap, and entertained in the garments of white thin silk. Those of Zhou sacrificed in the mian cap, and entertained the aged in the dark upper garment (and the

48 Zeng-zi said, 'A filial son, in nourishing his aged, (seeks to) make their hearts glad, and not to go against their wishes;

to promote their comfort in their bed-chambers and the whole house; and with leal heart to supply them with their food and drink:—such is the filial son to the end of life. By "the end of life," I mean not the end of parents' lives, but the end of his own life. Thus what his parents loved he will love, and what they reverenced he will reverence. He will do so even in regard to all their dogs and horses, and how much more in regard to the men (whom they valued)!"

49 In all their nourishment of the aged, (the object of) the five Dis was to imitate (their virtue), while the kings of the three dynasties also begged them to speak (their lessons). The five Dis taking them as models, sought to nourish their bodily vigour, and did not beg them to speak; but what good lessons they did speak were taken down by the faithful recorders. The three (lines of) kings also took them as models, and after nourishing their age begged them to speak. If they (seemed to) diminish the ceremonies (of entertainment), they all had their faithful recorders as well (to narrate their virtue).

50 For the Rich Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over rice that had been grown on a dry soil, and then enriched it with melted fat. This was called the Rich Fry. For the Similar Fry, they put the pickled meat fried over the millet grains, and enriched it with melted fat. This was called the Similar

51 For the Bake, they took a sucking-pig or a (young) ram, and having cut it open and removed the entrails, filled the belly with dates. They then wrapped it round with straw and reeds, which they plastered with clay, and baked it. When the clay was all dry, they broke it off. Having washed their hands for the manipulation, they removed the crackling and macerated it along with rice-flour, so as to form a kind of gruel which they added to the pig. They then fried the whole in such a quantity of melted fat as to cover it. Having prepared a large pan of hot water, they placed in it a small tripod, which was filled with fragrant herbs, and the slices of the creature which was being prepared. They took care that the hot water did not cover this tripod, but kept up the fire without intermission for three days and nights. After this, the whole was served up with the addition of pickled meat and vinegar.

52 For the Pounded Delicacy, they took the flesh of ox, sheep, elk, deer and muntjac, a part of that which lay along the spine, the same in quantity of each, and beat it now as it lay flat, and then turning it on its side; after that they extracted all the nerves. (Next), when it was sufficiently cooked, they brought it (from the pan), took away the outside crust, and softened the meat (by the addition of pickle and vinegar).

53 For the Steeped Delicacy, they took the beef, which was required to be that of a newly killed animal, and cut it into small pieces, taking care to obliterate all the lines in it. It was then steeped from one morning to the next in good wine, when it was eaten with pickle, vinegar, or the juice of prunes.

54 To make the Grill, they beat the beef and removed the skinny parts. They then laid it on a frame of reeds, sprinkled on it pieces of cinnamon and ginger, and added salt. It could be eaten thus when dried. Mutton was treated in the same way as beef, and also the flesh of elk, deer, and muntjac. If they wished the flesh wet, they added water and fried it with pickled meat. If they wished it dry, they ate it as eaten (at first)

55 For the (Soup) Balls, they took equal quantities of beef, mutton and pork, and cut them small. Then they took grains of rice, which they mixed with the finely cut meat, two parts of rice to one of meat, and formed cakes or balls, which they fried.

56 For the Liver and Fat, they took a dog's liver, and wrapped it round with its own fat. They then wet it and roasted it, and took it in this condition and scorched it. No smartweed was mixed with the fat. They took the grains of rice and steeped. them in prepared rice-water. They then cut small the fat from a wolfs breast, and with it and the grains of rice made a fry.

57 The observances of propriety commence with a careful attention to the relations between husband and wife. They built the mansion and its apartments, distinguishing between the exterior and interior parts. The men occupied the exterior; the women the interior. The mansion was deep, and the doors were strong, guarded by porter and eunuch. The men did not enter the interior; the women did not come out into the exterior.

58 Males and females did not use the same stand or rack for their clothes. The wife did not presume to hang up anything on the pegs or stand of her husband; nor to put anything in his boxes or satchels; nor to share his bathing-house. When her husband had gone out (from their apartment), she put his pillow in its case, rolled up his upper and under mats, put them in their covers, and laid. them away in their proper receptacles. The young served the old; the low served the noble:-also in this way.

59 As between husband and wife, it was not until they were seventy, that they deposited these things in the same place without separation. Hence though a concubine were old, until she had completed her fiftieth year, it was the rule that she

should be with the husband (once) in five days. When she was to do so, she purified herself, rinsed her mouth and washed, carefully adjusted her dress, combed her hair, drew over it the covering of silk, fixed her hair-pins, tied up the hair in the shape of a horn, brushed the dust from the rest of her hair, put on her necklace, and adjusted her shoe-strings. Even a favourite concubine was required in dress and diet to come after her superior. If the wife were not with the husband, a concubine waiting on him, would not venture to remain the whole night.

60 When a wife was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, she occupied one of the side apartments, where her husband sent twice a day to ask for her. If he were moved and came himself to ask about her, she did not presume to see him, but made her governess dress herself and reply to him. When the child was born, the husband again sent twice a day to inquire for her. He fasted now, and did not enter the door of the side apartment. If the child were a boy, a bow was placed on the left of the door; and if a girl, a handkerchief on the right of it. After three days the child began to be carried, and some archery was practised for a boy, but not for a girl.

61 When a son and heir to the ruler of a state was born, and information of the fact was carried to him, he made arrangements to receive him at a feast where the three animals should all be provided; and the cook took in hand the (necessary) preparations. On the third day the tortoise-shell was consulted for a good man to carry the child; and he who was the lucky choice, kept a vigil over night, and then in his court robes, received him in his arms outside the chamber. The master of the archers then took a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild rubus, and shot towards heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. After this the nurse received the child and carried it in her arms. The cook (at the same time) gave (a cup of) sweet wine to the man who had carried the child, and presented him with a bundle of silks, and the tortoise-shell was again employed to determine the wife of an officer, or the concubine of a Great officer, who should be nurse.

62 In all cases of receiving a son, a day was chosen; and if it were the eldest son of the king, the three animals were killed (for the occasion). For the son of a common man, a suckingpig was killed; for the son of an officer, a single pig; for the son of a Great officer, the two smaller animals; and for the son of the ruler of a state, all the three. If it were not the eldest son, the provision was diminished in every case one degree.

63 A special apartment was prepared in the palace for the child, and from all the concubines and other likely individuals there was sought one distinguished for her generosity of mind, her gentle kindness, her mild integrity, her respectful bearing, her carefulness and freedom from talkativeness, who should be appointed the boy's teacher; one was next chosen who should be his indulgent mother, and a third who should be his guardian mother. These all lived in his apartment, which others did not enter unless on some (special) business.

64 At the end of the third month a day was chosen for shaving off the hair of the child, excepting certain portions the horn-like tufts of a boy, and the circlet on the crown of a girl. If another fashion were adopted, a portion was left on the left of the boy's head, and on the right of the girl's. On that day the wife with the son appeared before the father. If they were of noble families, they were both in full dress. From the commissioned officer downwards, all rinsed their mouths and washed their heads. Husband and wife rose early, bathed and dressed as for the feast of the first day of the month. The husband entered the door, going up by the steps on the east, and stood at the top of them with his face to the west. The wife with the boy in her arms came forth from her room and stood beneath the linted with her face to the east.

65 The governess then went forward and said for the lady, 'The mother, So and So, ventures to-day reverently to present to you the child!' The husband replied, 'Reverently (teach him to) follow the right way.' He then took hold of the right hand of his son, and named him with the smile and voice of a child. The wife responded, 'We will remember. May your words be fulfilled!' She then turned to the left, and delivered the child to his teacher, who on her part told the name all round to the wives of the relatives of all ranks who were present. The wife forthwith proceeded to the (festal) chamber.

66 The husband informed his principal officer of the name, and he in turn informed all the (young) males (of the same surname) of it. A record was made to the effect--' In such a year, in such, a month, on such a day, So and So was born,' and deposited. The officer also informed the secretaries of the hamlets, who made out two copies of it. One of these was deposited in the office of the village, and the other was presented to the secretary of the larger circuit, who showed it to the chief of the circuit; he again ordered it to be deposited in the office of the circuit. The husband meanwhile had gone into (the festal chamber), and a feast was celebrated with the ceremonies of that with which a wife first entertains her parents-in-law.

67 When an heir-son has been born, the ruler washed his head and whole bo?y, and put on his court robes. His wife did

the same, and then they both took their station at the top of the stairs on the east with their faces towards the west. One of the ladies of quality, with the child in her arms ascended by the steps on the west. The ruler then named the child; and (the lady) went down with it.

68 A (second) son or any other son by the wife proper was presented in the outer chamber, when (the ruler) laid his hand on its head, and with gentle voice named it. The other observances were as before, but without any words.

69 In naming a son, the name should not be that of a day or a month or of any state, or of any hidden ailment. Sons of Great and other officers must not be called by the same name as the heir-son of the ruler.

70 When a concubine was about to have a child, and the month of her confinement had arrived, the husband sent once a day to ask for her. When the son was born:, at the end of three months, she washed her mouth and feet, adjusted herself early in the morning and appeared in the inner chamber (belonging to the wife proper). There she was received with the ceremonies of her first entrance into the harem. When the husband had eaten, a special portion of what was left was given to her by herself; and forthwith she entered on her duties of attendance.

71 When the child of an inferior member of the ruler's harem was about to be born, the mother went to one of the side apartments, and at the end of three months, having washed her head and person, and put on her court robes, she appeared before the ruler. (One of) her waiting women (also) appeared with the child in her arms. If (the mother) was one to whom the ruler had given special favours, he himself named the son. In the case of such children generally, an officer was employed to name them.

72 Åmong the common people who had no side chambers, when the month of confinement was come, the husband left his bed-chamber, and occupied a common apartment. In his inquiries for his wife, however, and on his son's being presented to him, there was no difference (from the observances that have been detailed).

73 In all cases though the father is alive, the grandson is presented to the grandfather, who also names him. The ceremonies are the same as when the son is presented to the father; but there is no (interchange of) words (between the mother and him).

74 The nurse of the ruler's boy quitted the palace after three years, and, when she appeared before the ruler, was rewarded for her toilsome work. The son of a Great officer had a nurse. The wife of an ordinary officer nourished her child herself.

75 The son of a commissioned officer and others above him on to the Great officer was presented (to the father once) in ten days. The eldest son of a ruler was presented to him before he had eaten, when he took him by the right hand; his second or any other son by the wife proper was presented after he had eaten, when he laid his hand on his head.

76 When the child was able to take its own food, it was taught to use the right hand. When it was able to speak, a boy (was taught to) respond boldly and clearly; a girl, submissively and low. The former was fitted with a girdle of leather; the latter, with one of silk.

77 At six years, they were taught the numbers and the names of the cardinal points; at the age of seven, boys and girls did not occupy the same mat nor eat together; at eight, when going out or coming in at a gate or door, and going to their mats to eat and drink, they were required to follow their elders:—the teaching of yielding to others was now begun; at nine, they were taught how to number the days.

78 At ten, the boy went to a master outside, and stayed with him (even) over the night. He learned the (different classes of) characters and calculation; he did not wear his jacket or trousers of silk; in his manners he followed his early lessons; morning and evening he learned the behaviour of a youth; he would ask to be exercised in (reading) the tablets, and in the forms of polite conversation.

79 At thirteen, he learned music, and to repeat the odes, and to dance the ko (of the duke of Zhou). When a full-grown lad, he danced the xiang (of king Wu). He learned archery and chariot-driving. At twenty, he was capped, and first learned the (different classes of) ceremonies, and might wear furs and silk. He danced the da xia (of Yu) and attended sedulously to filial and fraternal duties. He might become very learned, but did not teach others - (his object being still) to receive and not to give out.

80 At thirty, he had a wife, and began to attend to the business proper to a man. He extended his learning without confining it to particular subjects. He was deferential to his friends, having regard to the aims (which they displayed). At forty, he was first appointed to office; and according to the business of it brought out his plans and communicated his thoughts. If the ways (which he proposed) were suitable, he followed them out; if they were not, he abandoned them. At fifty, he was appointed a Great officer, and laboured in the administration of his department. At seventy, he retired from his duties. In all salutations of males, the upper place was given to the left hand.

- 81 A girl at the age of ten ceased to go out (from the women's apartments). Her governess taught her (the arts of pleasing speech and manners, to be docile and obedient, to handle the hempen fibres, to deal with the cocoons, to weave silks and form fillets, to learn (all) woman's work, how to furnish garments, to watch the sacrifices, to supply the liquors and sauces, to fill the various stands and dishes with pickles and brine, and to assist in setting forth the appurtenances for the ceremonies.
- 82 At fifteen, she assumed the hair-pin; at twenty, she was married, or, if there were occasion (for the delay), at twenty-three. If there were the betrothal rites, she became a wife; and if she went without these, a concubine. In all salutations of females, the upper place was given to the right hand.

### LI JI CHAPTER 13 Yu Zao

Jade-Bead Pendants of the Royal Cap

- 1 The son of Heaven, when sacrificing, wore (the cap) with the twelve long pendants of beads of jade hanging down from its top before and behind, and the robe embroidered with dragons. When saluting the appearance of the sun outside the eastern gate, he wore the dark-coloured square-cut robes; and (also) when listening to the notification of the first day of the month outside the southern gate. If the month were intercalary, he caused the left leaf of the door to be shut, and stood in the middle of that (which remained open). He wore the skin cap at the daily audience in the court, after which he proceeded to take the morning meal in it. At midday he partook of what was left in the morning. He had music at his meals. Every day a sheep and a pig were killed and cooked; and on the first day of the month an ox in addition. There were five beverages: water, which was the principal; ricewater, spirits, must, and millet-water. When he had done eating, he remained at ease in the dark-coloured square-cut robes. His actions were written down by the recorder of the Left, and his utterances by the recorder of the Right. The blind musician in attendance judged whether the music were too high or too low. If the year were not good and fruitful, the son of Heaven wore white and plain robes, rode in the Plain and unadorned carriage, and had no music at his meals.
- 2 The princes of states, in sacrificing, wore their darkcoloured square-cut robes. At court-audiences (of the king), they wore the cap of the next inferior degree of rank to their own. They wore the skin-cap, when listening to the notification of the first day of the month in the Grand temples; and their court robes when holding their daily audience in the inner court-yard. (Their ministers and officers) entered (the palace) as soon as they could distinguish the dawning light. and the ruler came out daily (to the first court, inside the Khu gate), and received them. (After this audience), he retired, and went to the great chamber, there to listen to their proposals about the measures of government. He employed men to see whether the Great officers (were all withdrawn); and when they had left, he repaired to the smaller chamber, and put off his (court) robes. He resumed his court robes, when he was about to eat. There was a single animal, with three (other) dishes of meat, the lungs forming the sacrificial offering. In the evening he wore the long robe in one piece, and offered some of the flesh of the animal. On the first day of the moon, a sheep and a pig were killed, and there were five (other) dishes of meat, and four of grain. On Zi and Mao days there were only the glutinous rice and vegetable soup. His wife used the same kitchen as the ruler.
- 3 Without some cause for it, a ruler did not kill an ox, nor a Great officer a sheep, nor a lower officer a pig or a dog. A superior man had his shambles and kitchen at a distance (from the) house; he did not tread wherever there was such a thing as blood or (tainted) air.
- 4 When the eighth month came without rain, the ruler did not have full meals nor music. If the year were not abundant, he wore linen, and stuck in his girdle the tablet of an officer. Duties were not levied at the barrier-gates and dams; the prohibitions of the hills and meres were enforced, but no contributions were required (from hunters and fishermen). No earthworks were undertaken, and Great officers did not make (any new) carriages for themselves.
- 5 The officer of divination by the tortoise-shell fixed the shell (to be used); the recorder applied the ink; and the ruler determined the figures (produced by the fire).
- 6 The cross-board in front of the ruler was covered with lambskin, edged with tiger's fur; for his sacred carriage and court-carriage a Great officer had a covering of deer skin, edged with leopard's fur; as also had an ordinary officer for his sacred carriage.
- 7 The regular place for a gentleman was exactly opposite the door, (facing the light). He slept with his head to the east. When there came violent wind, or rapid thunder, or a great rain, he changed (countenance). It was the rule for him then, even in the night, to get up, dress himself, put on his cap, and take his seat. He washed his hands five times a day. He used millet-water in washing his head, and maize-water in washing his face. For his hair (when wet) he used a comb of white-grained wood, and an ivory comb for it when dry. (After his toilet), there were brought to him the (usual) cup and some

delicacy; and the musicians came up and sang. In bathing he used two towels; a fine one for the upper part (of his body), and a coarser for the lower part. When he got out of the tub, he stepped on a straw mat; and having next washed his feet with hot water, he stepped on the rush one. Then in his (bathing) robe of cloth, he dried his body (again), and put on his shoes; and a drink was then brought into him. When he had arranged to go to the ruler's, he passed the night in vigil and fasting, occupying an apartment outside his usual one. After he had washed his head and bathed, his secretary brought him the ivory tablet, on which were written his thoughts (which he should communicate to the ruler), and how he should respond to orders (that he might receive). When he was dressed he practised deportment and listened to the sounds of the gems (at his girdle pendant). When he went forth, he bowed to all in his own private court elegantly, and proceeded to mount his carriage (to go to the ruler's) in brilliant style.

- 8 The son of Heaven carried in his girdle the ting tablet, showing how exact and correct he should be in his relations with all under heaven. The feudal lords had the shu, rounded at the top and straight at the bottom, showing how they should give place to the son of Heaven. The tablet of the Great officers was rounded both at the top and the bottom; showing how they should be prepared to give place in all positions.
- 9 When a minister is sitting in attendance on his ruler, the rule was that he should occupy a mat somewhat behind him on one side. If he did not occupy such a mat, he had to draw the one assigned to him back and keep aloof from the ruler's kindred who were near him. One did not take his place on his mat from the front, to avoid seeming to step over it, When seated and unoccupied he did not take up the-whole of the mat by at least a cubit. If he were to read any writings or to eat, he sat forward to the edge. The dishes were put down a cubit from the mat.
- 10 If food were given (to a visitor), and the ruler proceeded to treat him as a guest, he would order him to present the offering, and the visitor would do so. If he took the precedence in eating, he would take a little of all the viands, drink a mouthful, and wait (for the ruler to eat). If there were one in attendance to taste the viands, he would wait till the ruler ate, and then eat himself After this eating, he would drink (a mouthful), and wait (again).
- 11 If the ruler ordered him to partake of the delicacies, he took of that which was nearest to him. If he were told to take of all, he took of whatever he liked. In all cases, in tasting of what was some way off, they began with what was near. (The visitor) did not dare to add the liquid to his rice till the ruler had touched the corners of his mouth with his hands and put them down. When the ruler had done eating, he also took of the rice in this fashion, repeating the process three times. When the ruler had the things removed, he took his rice and sauces, and went out and gave them to his attendants.
- 12 Whenever pressed (by his host) to eat, one should not eat largely; when eating at another's, one should not eat to satiety. It was only of the water and sauces that some was not put down as an offering; they were accounted too trivial for such a purpose.
- 13 If the ruler gave a cup (of drink) to an officer, he crossed over from his mat, bowed twice, laid his head to the ground and received it. Resuming his place, he poured a portion of it as an offering, drank it off, and waited. When the ruler had finished his cup, he then returned his empty. The rule for a superior man in drinking (with the ruler) was this:—When he received the first cup, he wore a grave look; when he received the second, he looked pleased and respectful. With this the ceremony stopped. At the third cup, he looked self-possessed and prepared to withdraw. Having withdrawn, he knelt down and took his shoes, retired out of the ruler's (sight) and put them on. Kneeling on his left knee, he put on the right shoe; kneeling on the right knee, he put on the left one.
- 14 At festive entertainments, of all the vases that with the dark-coloured liquor (of water) was considered the most honourable; and only the ruler sat with his face towards it. For the uncultivated people in the country districts, the vases all contained prepared liquors. Great officers had the vase on one side of them upon a tray without feet; other officers had it in a similar position on a tray with feet.
- 15 At the ceremony of capping, the first cap put on was one of black linen. The use of this extended from the feudal lords downwards. It might, after having been thus employed, be put away or disused. The dark-coloured cap, with red strings and tassels descending to the breast, was used at the capping of the son of Heaven. The cap of black linen, with strings and tassels of various colours, was used at the capping of a feudal prince. A dark-coloured cap with scarlet strings and tassels was worn by a feudal lord, when fasting. A dark-coloured cap with gray strings and tassels was worn by officers when similarly engaged. A can of white silk with the border or roll of a dark colour was worn (? at his capping) by a son or grandson (when in a certain stage of mourning). A similar cap with a plain white edging, was worn after the sacrifice at the end of the year's mourning. (The same cap) with strings hanging down five inches, served to mark the idle and listless officer. A

dark-coloured cap with the roll round it of white silk was worn by one excluded from the ranks of his compeers. The cap worn in private, with the roll or border attached to it, was used by all from the son of Heaven downwards. When business called them, the strings were tied and their ends allowed to hang down. At fifty, one did not accompany a funeral with his sackcloth hanging loose. When his parents were dead, (a son) did not have his hair dressed in tufts (any more). With the large white (cap) they did not use strings hanging down. The purple strings with the dark-coloured cap began with duke Huan of Lu

16 In the morning they wore the dark-coloured square-cut dress; in the evening, the long dress in one piece. That dress at the waist was thrice the width of the sleeve; and at the bottom twice as wide as at the waist. It was gathered in at each side (of the body). The sleeve could be turned back to the elbow. The outer or under garment joined on to the sleeve and covered a cubit of it. The collar was 2 inches wide; the cuff, a cubit and 2 inches long; the border, 1.5 inch broad. To wear silk under or inside linen was contrary to rule.

17 An ordinary officer did not wear anything woven of silk that had been first dyed. One who had left the service of his ruler wore no two articles of different colours. If the upper garment were of one of the correct colours, the lower garment was of the (corresponding) intermediate one.

18 One did not enter the ruler's gate without the proper colours in his dress; nor in a single robe of grass-cloth, fine or coarse; nor with his fur robe either displayed outside, or entirely covered.

19 Å garment wadded with new floss was called jian; with old, pao. One unlined was called jiong; one lined, but not wadded, die.

- 20 The use of thin white silk in court-robes began with Ji Kang-zi. Confucius said, 'For the audience they use the (regular) court-robes, which are put on after the announcement of the first day of the month (in the temple).' He (also) said, 'When good order does not prevail in the states and clans, (the officers) should not use the full dress (as prescribed).'
- 21 Only a ruler wore the chequered fur robes in addressing (his troops or the multitudes), and at the autumnal hunts, (For him) to wear the Great fur robe was contrary to ancient practice. When a ruler wore the robe of white fox-fur, he wore one of embroidered silk over it to display. When (the guards on) the right of the ruler wore tigers' fur, those on the left wore wolves' fur. An (ordinary) officer did not wear the fur of the white fox.
- 22 Great and other officers wore the fur of the blue fox, with sleeves of leopard's fur, and over it a jacket of dark-coloured silk to display it; which fawn's fur they used cuffs of the black wild dog, with a jacket of bluish yellow silk, to display it; with lamb's fur, ornaments of leopard's fur, and a jacket of black silk to display it; with fox-fur, a jacket of yellow silk to display it. A jacket of embroidered silk with fox-fur was worn by the feudal lords.
- 23 With dog's fur or sheep's fur, they did not wear any jacket of silk over it. Where there was no ornamentation, they did not use the jacket. The wearing the jacket was to show its beauty. When condoling, they kept the jacket covered, and did now show all its ornamental character; in the presence of the ruler, they showed all this. The covering of the dress was to hide its beauty. Hence, personators of the deceased covered their jackets of silk. Officers holding a piece of jade or a tortoise-shell (to present it) covered it; but if they had no (such official) business in hand, they displayed the silken garment, and did not presume to cover it.
- 24 For his memorandum-tablet, the son of Heaven used a piece of sonorous jade; the prince of a state, a piece of ivory; a Great officer, a piece of bamboo, ornamented with fishbone; ordinary officers might use bamboo, adorned with ivory at the bottom. When appearing before the son of Heaven, and at trials of archery, there was no such thing as being without this tablet. It was contrary to rule to enter the Grand temple without it. During the five months' mourning, it was not laid aside. When engaged in the performance of some business, and wearing the cincture, one laid it aside. When he had put it in his girdle, the bearer of it was required to wash his hands; but afterwards, though he had something to do in the court, he did not wash them (again). When one had occasion to point to or draw anything before the ruler, he used the tablet. When he went before him and received a charge, he wrote it down on it. For all these purposes the tablet was used, and therefore it was ornamental. The tablet was 2 cubits and 6 inches long. Its width at the middle was 3 inches; and it tapered away to 2.5 inches (at the ends).
- 25 The knee-covers of a ruler were of vermilion colour; those of a Great officer, white; and of another officer, purple-all of leather; and might be rounded, slanting, and straight. Those of the son of Heaven were straight (and pointed at all the corners); of the prince of a state, square both at bottom and top; of a Great officer, square at the bottom, with the corners at the top rounded off; and of another officer, straight both at bottom and top.

- 26 The width of these covers was 2 cubits at bottom, and 1 at top. Their length was 3 cubits. On each side of (what was called) the neck were 5 inches, reaching to the shoulders or corners. From the shoulders to the leathern band were 2 inches
- 27 An officer who had received his first commission wore a cover of reddish-purple, with a black supporter for his girdle-pendant. One who had received the second commission wore a scarlet cover, (also) with a black supporter for the pendant; and one who had received the third commission, a scarlet cover, with an onion-green supporter for the pendant.
- 28 The son of Heaven wore a girdle of plain white silk, with vermilion lining, and ornamented ends. (A ruler) wore a plain white girdle of silk, with ornamented ends; a Great officer, a similar girdle, with the ends hanging down; an ordinary officer, one of dyed silk, with the edges tucked in, and the ends hanging down; a scholar waiting to be employed, one of embroidered silk; and young lads, one of white silk.
- 29 The cords that formed the loops and buttons were 3 inches long, equal to the breadth of the girdle. The rule for the length of the sash (descending from the girdle) was, that, for an officer, it should be 3 cubits; for one discharging a special service, 2.5. Zi-you said, 'Divide all below the girdle into three parts, and the sash will be equal to two of them., The sash, the knee-covers, and the ties are all of equal length.'
- 30 The great girdle of a Great officer was 4 inches (wide). In variegated girdles, the colours for a ruler were vermilion and green; for a Great officer, cerulean and yellow; for an (ordinary) officer, a black border Of 2 inches, and this, when carried round the body a second time, appeared to be 4 inches. On all girdles which were tucked in there was no needlework.
- 31 The queen wore a robe with white pheasants embroidered on it; (a prince's) wife, one with green pheasants. (The wife of a count or baron) who had received a degree of honour from the ruler wore a pheasant cut out in silk on her robe; (the wife of the Great officer of a count or baron), who had received two degrees, wore a robe of fresh yellow; (the wife of a Great officer), who had received one degree, a robe of white; and the wife of an ordinary officer, a robe of black. Only the ladies of honour received their degree of appointment, when they presented their cocoons. The others all wore the dresses proper to them as the wives of their husbands.
- 32 All officers in attendance on the ruler let the sash hang down till their feet seemed to tread on the lower edge (of their skirt). Their chins projected like-the eaves of a house, and their hands were clasped before them low down. Their eyes were directed downwards, and their ears were higher than the eyes. They saw (the ruler) from his girdle up to his collar. They listened to him with their ears turned to the left.
- 33 When the ruler called (an officer) to his presence, he might send three tokens. If two of them came to him, he ran (to answer the message); if (only) one, he yet walked quickly. If in his office, he did not wait for his shoes; if he were outside elsewhere, he did not wait for his carriage.
- 34 When an officer received a visit from a Great officer, he did not venture to bow (when he went) to meet him; but be did so when escorting him on his departure. When he went to visit one of higher rank than himself, he first bowed (at the gate) and then went into his presence. If the other bowed to him in replying, he hurried on one side to avoid (the honour).
- 35 When an officer was speaking before the ruler, if he had occasion to speak of a Great officer who was dead, he called him by his posthumous epithet, or by the designation of his maturity; if of an officer (who was similarly dead), he called him by his name. When speaking with a Great officer, he mentioned officers by their name, and (other) Great officers by their designation. In speaking at a Great officer's, he avoided using the name of the (former) ruler, but not that of any of his own dead. At all sacrifices and in the ancestral temple, there was no avoiding of names. In school there was no avoiding of any character in the text.
- 36 Anciently, men of rank did not fail to wear their girdlependants with their precious stones, those on the right giving the notes Zhi and Jiao, and those on the left Gong and Yu.
- 37 When the king or ruler was walking quickly to the court of audience, he did so to the music of the Cai Qi; when walking more quickly (back to the reception-hall), they played the Si Xia. When turning round, he made a complete circle; when turning in another direction, he did so at a right angle. When advancing, he inclined forward a little; he held himself up straight; and in all these movements, the pieces of jade emitted their tinklings. So also the man of rank, when in his carriage, heard the harmonious sounds of its bells; and, when walking, those of his pendant jade-stones; and in this way evil and depraved thoughts found no entrance into his mind
- 38 When the ruler was present, (his son and heir) did not wear the pendant of jade-stones. He tied it up on the left of his girdle, and left free the pendant (of useful things) on the right. When seated at ease, he wore the (jade) pendant; but in court, he tied it up. In fasting and vigil they wore it, but the strings were turned round, and fastened at the girdle. They wore then the purple knee-covers.

39 All wore the jade-stone pendant at the girdle, excepting during the mourning rites. (At the end of the middle string) in it was the tooth-like piece, colliding with the others. A man of rank was never without this pendant, excepting for some sufficient reason; he regarded the pieces of jade as emblematic of the virtues (which he should cultivate). The son of Heaven had his pendant composed of beads of white jade, hung on dark-coloured strings; a duke or marquis, his of jade-beads of hill-azure, on vermilion strings; a Great officer, his of beads of aqua-marine, on black strings; an heir-son, his of beads of Yu jade, on variegated strings; an ordinary officer, his of beads of jade-like quartz, on orange-coloured strings. Confucius wore at his pendant balls of ivory, five inches (round), on gray strings.

40 According to the regulations for (the dress of) a lad, his upper garment was of black linen, with an embroidered edging. His sash was embroidered, and (also) the strings for the button-loops (of his girdle). With such a string he bound up his hair. The embroidered border and strings were all red. When the ends of fastening strings reached to the girdle, if they had any toilsome business to do, they put them aside. If they were running, they thrust them in the breast. A lad did not wear furs, nor silk, nor the ornamental points on his shoes. He did not wear the three months' mourning. He did not wear the hempen band, when receiving any orders. When he had nothing to do (in mourning rites), he stood on the north of the principal mourner, with his face to the south. When going to see a teacher, he followed in the suite of others, and entered his anartment.

- 41 When one was sitting at a meal with another older than himself, or of a different (and higher) rank, he was the last to put down the offering, but the first to taste the food. When the guest put down the offering, the host apologised, saying that the food was not worthy of such a tribute. When the guest was enjoying the viands, the host apologised for their being scanty and poor. When the host himself put down the pickle (for the guest), the guest himself removed it. When the members of a household ate together, not being host and guests, one of them removed the dishes; and the same was done When a company had eaten together. At all festival meals, the women (of the house) did not remove the dishes.
- 42 When eating dates, peaches, or plums, they did not cast the stones away (on the ground). They put down the first slice of a melon as an offering, ate the other slices, and threw away the part by which they held it. When others were eating fruits with a man of rank, they ate them after him; cooked viands they ate before him. At meetings of rejoicing, if there were not some gift from the ruler, they did not congratulate one another; at meetings of sorrow....
- 43 When Confucius was eating with (the head of) the Ji family, he made no attempt to decline anything, but finished his meal with the rice and liquid added to it, without eating any of the flesh.
- 44 When the ruler sent (to an officer) the gift of a carriage and horses, he used them in going to give thanks for them. When the gift was of clothes, he wore them on the same occasion. (In the case of similar gifts to a commissioner from the king), until his (own) ruler had given him orders to use them, he did not dare at once to do so. When the ruler's gift reached him, he bowed his head to the ground with his two hands also, laying one of them over the other. A gift of liquor and flesh did not require the second expression of thanks (by the visit). Whenever a gift was conferred on a man of rank, nothing was given to a small man on the same day.
- 45 In all cases of presenting offerings to a ruler, a Great officer sent his steward with them, and an. ordinary officer went with them himself. In both cases they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground as they sent the things away; and again the steward and the officer did the same at the ruler's. If the offerings were of prepared food for the ruler, there were the accompaniments of ginger and other pungent vegetables, of a peach-wood and a sedge-broom. A Great officer dispensed with the broom, and the officer with the pungent vegetables. (The bearers) went in with all the articles to the cook. The Great officer did not go in person to make obeisance, lest the ruler should come to respond to him.
- 46 When a Great officer went (next day) to do obeisance for the ruler's gift, he retired after performing the ceremony. An officer, (doing the same), waited to receive the ruler's acknowledgment (of his visit), and then retired, bowing again as he did so; but (the ruler) did not respond to his obeisance. When a Great officer gave anything in person to an ordinary officer, the latter bowed on receiving it; and also went to his house to repeat the obeisance. He did not, however, wear the clothes (which might have been the gift), in going to make that obeisance. In interchanges between) equals, if (the recipient) were in the house (when the gift arrived), he went and made his obeisance in the house (of the donor).
- 47 When any one presented an offering to his superior in rank, he did not dare to say directly that it was for him. An ordinary officer did not presume to receive the congratulations of a Great officer; but a Great officer of the lowest grade did so from one of the highest. When one was exchanging courtesies with another, if his father were alive, he

- would appeal to his authority; if the other gave him a gift, he would say, in making obeisance for it, that he did so for his father
- 48 If the ceremony were not very great, the (beauty of the) dress was not concealed. In accordance with this, when the great robe of fur was worn, it was without the appendage of one of thin silk to display it, and when (the king) rode in the grand carriage, he did not bend forward to the cross-bar (to show his reverence for any one beyond the service he was engaged on).
- 49 When a father's summons came to him, a son reverently obeyed it without any delay. Whatever work he had in hand, he laid aside. He ejected the meat that was in his mouth, and ran, not contenting himself with a measured, though rapid pace. When his parents were old and he had gone away, he did not go to a second place, nor delay his return beyond the time agreed on; when they were ailing, his looks and manner appeared troubled these were less-important observances of a filial son.
- 50 When his father died, he could not (bear to) read his books the touch of his hand seemed still to be on them. When his mother died, he could not (bear to) drink from the cups and bowls that she had used the breath of her mouth seemed still to be on them.
- 51 When a ruler, (visiting another ruler), was about to enter the gate, the attendant dusted the low post (at the middle of the threshold). The Great officers stood midway between the side-posts and this short post (behind their respective rulers). An officer, acting as an attendant, brushed the side-posts. (A Great officer) on a mission from another court, did not enter at the middle of (either half of) the gate, nor tread on the threshold. If he were come on public business, he entered on the west of the short post; if on his own business, on the east of it.
- 52 A ruler and a representative of the dead brought their feet together step by step when they walked; a Great officer stepped along, one foot after the other; an ordinary officer kept the length of his foot between his steps. In walking slowly, they all observed these rules. In walking rapidly, while they wished to push on (and did so), they were not allowed to alter the motion either of hands or feet. In turning their feet inwards or outwards, they did not lift them up, and the edge of the lower garment dragged along, like the water of a stream. In walking on the mats it was the same. When walking erect, (the body was yet bent, and) the chin projected like the eaves of a house, and their advance was straight as an arrow. When walking rapidly, the body had the appearance of rising constantly with an elevation of the feet. When carrying a cortious-shell or (a symbol of) jade, they raised their toes and trailed their heels, presenting an appearance of carefulness.
- 53 In walking (on the road), the carriage of the body was straight and smart; in the ancestral temple, it was reverent and grave; in the court, it was exact and easy. The carriage of a man of rank was easy, but somewhat slow; grave and reserved, when he saw any one whom he wished to honour. He did not move his feet lightly, nor his hands irreverently. His eyes looked straightforward, and his mouth was kept quiet and composed. No sound from him broke the stillness, and his head was carried upright. His breath came without panting or stoppage, and his standing gave (the beholder) an impression of virtue. His looks were grave, and he sat like a personator of the dead. When at leisure and at ease, and in conversation, he looked mild and bland.
- 54 At all sacrifices, the bearing and appearance (of the worshippers) made it appear as if they saw those to whom they were sacrificing. When engaged with the mourning rites, they had a wearied look, and an aspect of sorrow and unrest. Their eyes looked startled and dim, and their speech was drawling and low. The carriage of a martialist was bold and daring; his speech had a tone of decision and command; his face was stern and determined; and his eyes were clear and bright. He stood with an appearance of lowliness, but with no indication of subserviency. His head rose straight up from the centre of the neck. He stood (firm) as a mountain, and his movements were well timed. His body was well filled with the volume of his breath, which came forth powerfully like that of nature. His complexion showed (the beauty and strength of) a piece of jade.
- 55 When they spoke of themselves, the style of the son of Heaven was, 'I, the One man,' a chief of regions described himself as 'The strong minister of the son of Heaven,' the relation of a feudal lord expressed itself by 'So and So, the guardian of such and such a territory.' If the fief were on the borders, he used the style, 'So and So, the minister in such and such a screen.' Among his equals and those below him, he called himself 'The man of little virtue.' The ruler of a small state called himself 'The orphan.' The officer who answered for him (at a higher court) also styled him so. A Great officer of the highest grade (at his own court), called himself 'Your inferior minister;' (at another court), his attendant who answered for him, described him as 'The ancient of our poor ruler.' A Great officer of the lowest grade (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'Our unworthy Great officer.' The son and

heir of a feudal prince (at his own court), called himself by his name; (at another court), his attendant described him as 'The rightful son of our unworthy ruler.' A ruler's son (by an inferior lady) called himself 'Your minister, the shoot from the stock.' An (ordinary) officer styled himself 'Your minister, the fleet courier;' to a Great officer, he described himself as 'The outside commoner.' When a Great officer went on a mission about private affairs, a man of his private establishment went with him as his spokesman, and called him by his name. When an officer belonging to the ruler's establishment acted (at another court for a Great officer), he spoke of him as 'Our unworthy Great officer,' or 'The ancient of our unworthy ruler.' When a Great officer went on any mission, it was the rule that he should have such an officer from the ruler's establishment with him, to answer for him.

#### LI JI CHAPTER 14 Ming Tang Wei Places in the Hall of Distinction

1 Formerly, when the duke of Zhou gave audience to the feudal princes in their several places in the Hall of Distinction, the son of Heaven stood with his back to the axe-embroidered screen, and his face towards the south. The three dukes were in front of the steps, in the middle, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the most honourable position. The places of the marquises were at the east of the eastern steps, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the most honourable position. The lords of the earldoms were at the west of the western steps, with their faces to the east, inclining also and for the same reason to the north. The counts were on the east of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the more honourable position. The barons were on the west of the gate, with their faces to the north, inclining also and for the same reason to the east. The chiefs of the nine Yi were outside the eastern door, with their faces to the west, inclining to the north as the position of honour: those of the eight Rong were outside the door on the south, with their faces to the north, inclining for the same reason to the cast; those of the six Zung were outside the door on the west, with their faces to the east, inclining for the same reason to the south; and those of the five Di were outside the door on the north, with their faces to the south, inclining for the same reason to the east. The chiefs of the nine Cai were outside the Ying gate, with their faces to the north, inclining to the east as the position of honour for them; those of the four Sai (also) came, who had only once in their time to announce their arrival (at the court). These were the places of the lords in the Hall of Distinction (when they appeared before) the duke of Zhou. The Hall of Distinction was so called, because in it the rank of the princes was clearly shown as high or low.

- 2 Formerly, when Zhou of Yin was throwing the whole kingdom into confusion, he made dried slices of (the flesh of) the marquis of Gui, and used them in feasting the princes. On this account the duke of Zhou assisted king Wu in attacking Zhou. When king Wu died, king Cheng being young and weak, the duke took the seat of the son of Heaven, and governed the kingdom. During six years he gave audience to all the princes in the Hall of Distinction; instituted ceremonies, made his instruments of music, gave out his (standard) weights and measures, and there was a grand submission throughout the kingdom. In the seventh year, he resigned the government to king Cheng; and he, in consideration of the duke's services to the kingdom, invested him with (the territory about) Qu-fu, seven hundred li square, and sending forth a thousand chariots of war. He (also) gave charge that (the princes of) Lu, from generation to generation, should sacrifice to the duke of Zhou with the ceremonies and music proper at a sacrifice by the son of Heaven.
- 3 Thus it was that the rulers of Lu, in the first month of spring, rode in a grand carriage, displaying the banner, suspended from its bow-like arm, with the twelve streamers, and having the sun and moon emblazoned on it, to sacrifice to God in the suburb of their metropolis, associating Hou Ji as his assessor in the service according to the ceremonies used by the son of Heaven.
- 4 In the last month of summer, the sixth month, they used the ceremonies of the great sacrifice in sacrificing to the duke of Zhou in the great ancestral temple, employing for the victim to him a white bull. The cups were those with the figure of a victim bull, of an elephant, and of hills and clouds; that for the fragrant spirits was the one with gilt eyes on it. For libations they used the cup of jade with the handle made of a long rank-symbol. The dishes with the offerings were on stands of wood, adorned with jade and carved. The cups for the personator were of jade carved in the same way. There were also the plain cups and those of horn, adorned with round pieces of jade; and for the meat-stands, they used those with four feet and the cross-binders. (The singers) went up to the hall (or stage), and sang the Qing Miao; (in the court) below, (the pantomimes) performed the Xiang dance, to the accompaniment of the wind instruments. With their red shields and jade-adorned axes, and in their caps with pendants, they danced to the music of the Da Wu; in their skin caps, and large white skirts gathered at the waist, and jacket of silk,

they danced the Da Xia. There (were also) the Mei, or music of the wild tribes of the East; and the Ren, or music of those of the South. The introduction of these two in the grand temple was to signalise the distinction of Lu all over the kingdom.

- 5 The ruler, in his dragon-figured robe and cap with pendants, stood at the eastern steps; and his wife, in her headdress and embroidered robe, stood in her room. The ruler, with shoulder bared, met the victim at the gate; his wife brought in the stands for the dishes. The ministers and Great officers assisted the ruler; their wives assisted his wife. Each one discharged the duty proper to him or her. Any officer who neglected his duty was severely punished; and throughout the kingdom there was a great acknowledgment of, and submission to. (the worth of the duke of Zhou).
- 6 In Lu they offered also the sacrifices of summer, autumn, and winter (in the ancestral temple); with those at the altars of the land and grain in spring, and that at the autumnal hunt, going on to the great sacrifice of thanksgiving at the end of the year all (after the pattern of) the sacrifices of the son of Heaven.
- 7 The grand temple of Lu corresponded to the Hall of Distinction of the son of Heaven, the Ku gate of the (marquis's palace) to the Gao (or outer) gate of the king's, and the Zhi gate to the Ying.
- 8 They shook the bell with the wooden clapper in the court as was done in the royal court, in announcing governmental orders
- 9 The capitals of the pillars with hills carved on them, and the pond-weed carving on the small pillars above the beams; the second storey and the great beams projecting under the eaves; the polished pillars and the windows opposite to one another; the earthen stand on which the cups, after being used, were placed; the high stand on which the jade tokens were displayed aloft; and the slightly carved screen all these were ornaments of the temple of the son of Heaven.
- 10 The princes of Lu had, as carriages, that of Shun, the lord of Yu, furnished with bells; that of the sovereign of Xia, with its carved front; the Great carriage (of wood), or that of Yin; and the carriage (adorned with jade), or that of Zhou.
- 11 They had, as flags or banners, that of Shun, the lord of Yu; the yak's tail of the sovereign of Xia; the great white flag of Yin; and the corresponding red one of Zhou.
- 12 They had the white horses of the sovereign of Xia, with their black manes; the white horses of Yin, with their black heads; and the bay horses of Zhou, with red manes.
- 13 The sovereigns of Xia preferred black victims; those of Yin, white; and those of Zhou, victims which were red and strong.
- 14 Of jugs for liquor, they had the earthenware jug of the lord of Yu; the jug of Xia, with clouds and hills figured on it; the ko of Yin, with no base, which rested directly on the ground; and the jugs of Zhou, with a victim-bull or an elephant on them.
- 15 For bowls or cups they had the zhan of Xia; the jia of Yin; and the jia of Zhou.
- 16 For libations they had the jug of Xia, with a cock on it; the jia of Yin; and that of Zhou, with gilt eyes on it.
- 17 For ladles they had that of Xia, with the handle ending in a dragon's head; that of Yin, slightly carved all over; and that of Zhou, with the handle like plaited rushes.
- 18 They had the earthen drum, with clods for the drumstick and the reed pipe, producing the music of Yi-zhi; the pillow-like bundles of chaff, which were struck; the sounding stone of jade; the instruments rubbed or struck, (to regulate the commencement and close of the music); the great lute and great cithern; the medium lute and little citherns: the musical instruments of the four dynasties.
- 19 The temple of the duke of Lu was maintained from generation to generation like that of (king) Wen (in the capital of Zhou), and the temple of duke Wu in the same way like that of (king) Wu.
- 20 They had the xiang school of the lord of Yu, in connexion with which were kept the stores of (sacrificial) rice; the xu school of the sovereign of Xia; the school of Yin, in which the blind were honoured; and the college of Zhou, with its semicircle of water.
- 21 They had the tripods of Chong and Guan; the great jade hemisphere; and the tortoise-shell of Feng-fu all articles (properly) belonging to the son of Heaven. They (also) had the lance of Yue; and the great bow military weapons of the son of Heaven.
- 22 They had the drum of Xia supported on four legs; that of Yin supported on a single pillar; the drums of Zhou, pendent from a stand; the peal of bells of Sui; the differently toned qing (sonorous stones) of Shu; and the organ of nu-wa, with its tongues.
- 23 They had the music-stand of Xia, with its face-board and posts, on which dragons were carved; that of Yin, with the high-toothed face-board; and that of Zhou, with its round ornaments of jade, and feathers (hung from the corners).
- 24 They had the two dui of the lord of Yu for holding the grain at sacrifices; the four lian of Xia; the six hu of Yin; and the eight gui of Zhou.

- 25 They had for stands on which to set forth the flesh of the victims, the kuan of Shun; the gui of Xia; the ju of Yin; and the room-like stand of Zhou.
- 26 For the tall supports of the dishes, they used those of Xia of unadorned wood; those of Yin, adorned with jade; and those of Zhou, with feathers carved on them.
- 27 They had the plain leather knee-covers of Shun; those of Xia, with hills represented on them; those of Yin, with flames; and those of Zhou, with dragons.
- 28 They used for their sacrificial offerings to the father of Cookery, like the lord of Yu, (portions of) the head; like the sovereigns of Xia, (portions of) the heart; as they did under Yin, (portions of) the liver; and as they did under Zhou, (portions of) the lungs.

  29 They used the bright water preferred by Xia: the
- 29 They used the bright water preferred by Xia; the unfermented liquor preferred by Yin; and the completed liquor preferred by Zhou.
- 30 They used the names of the 50 officers of the lord of Yu; of the 100 of the sovereigns of Xia; of the 200 of Yin; and of the 300 Of Zhou.
- 31 At their funerals they used the feathery ornaments of the lord of Yu; the wrappings of white silk (about the flag-staffs) of the sovereigns of Xia; (the flags) with their toothed edges of Yin; and the round pieces of jade and plumes Of Zhou.
- 32 Lu thus used the robes, vessels and officers of all the four dynasties, and so it observed the royal ceremonies. It long transmitted them everywhere. Its rulers and ministers never killed one another, Its rites, music, punishments, laws, governmental proceedings, manners and customs never changed. Throughout the kingdom it was considered the state which exhibited the right ways; and therefore dependence was placed on it in the matters of ceremonies and music.

## LI JI CHAPTER 15 Sang Fu Xiao Ji

Record of Smaller Matters in the Dress of Mourning

- 1 When wearing the unhemmed sackcloth for a father, the son tied up his hair with a hempen (band), and also when wearing it for a mother. When he exchanged this band for the cincture (in the case of mourning for his mother), this was made of linen cloth. (A wife), when wearing the (one year's mourning) of sackcloth with the edges even, had the girdle (of the same), and the inferior hair-pin (of hazel-wood), and wore these to the end of the mourning.
- 2 Ordinarily men wore the cap, and women the hair-pin; in mourning men wore the cincture, and women the same after the female fashion. The idea was (simply) to maintain in this way a distinction between them.
- 3 The dark-coloured staff was of bamboo; that paired and fashioned at the end was of eleococca wood.
- 4 When the grandfather was dead, and afterwards the grandson had to go into mourning for his grandmother, he, being the representative of the family (through the death of his father), did so for three years.
- 5 The eldest son at the mourning rites for his father or mother, (before bowing to a visitor who had come to condole with him), first laid his forehead to the ground (as an expression of his sorrow). When a Great officer came to condole (with an ordinary officer), though it might be (only) in a case of the three months' mourning (the latter first) laid his forehead to the ground. A wife, at the rites for her husband or eldest son, bowed her head to the ground before she saluted a visitor; but in mourning for others, she did not do so.
- 6 The man employed to preside at the mourning rites was required to be of the same surname (as the deceased parent); the wife so employed, of a different surname.
- 7 The son who was his father's successor as now head of the family did not wear mourning for his mother who had been divorced.
- 8 In counting kindred and the mourning to be worn of them, the three closest degrees become expanded into five, and those five again into nine. The mourning diminished as the degrees ascended or descended, and the collateral branches also were correspondingly less mourned for; and the mourning for kindred thus came to an end.
- 9 At the great royal sacrifice to all ancestors, the first place was given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him. There came thus to be established four ancestral shrines. In the case of a son by another than the queen coming to be king, the same course was observed.
- 10 When a son other than the eldest became the ancestor of a branch of the same line, his successor was its Honoured Head, and he who followed him (in the line) was its smaller Honoured Head. After five generations there was a change again of the Honoured Head; but all in continuation of the High Ancestor. Hence the removal of the ancestor took place high up (in the line), and the change of the Honoured Head low down (in it). Because they honoured the ancestor, they reverenced the Honoured Head; their reverencing the Honoured Head was the way in which they expressed the honour which they paid to the ancestor and his immediate successor.

- 11 That any other son but the eldest did not sacrifice to his grandfather showed that (only he was in the direct line from) the Honoured Head (of their branch of the family). So, no son but he wore the (three years) unhemmed sackcloth for his eldest son, because the eldest son of no other continued (the direct line) of the grandfather and father. None of the other sons sacrificed to a son (of his own) who had died prematurely or one who had left no posterity. (The tablet of) such an one was placed along with that of his grandfather, and shared in the offerings made to him. Nor could any of them sacrifice to their father; showing that (the eldest son was the representative of) the Honoured Head.
- 12 In the distinctions of the mourning for the kindred who are the nearest, the honoured ones to whom honour is paid, the elders who are venerated for their age, and as the different tributes to males and females; there are seen the greatest manifestations of the course which is right for men.
- 13 Where mourning would be worn from one's relation with another for parties simply on the ground of that affinity, when that other was dead, the mourning ceased. Where it would have been worn for them on the ground of consanguinity, even though that other were dead, it was still worn. When a concubine had followed a ruler's wife to the harem, and the wife came to be divorced, the concubine, (following her out of the harem), did not wear mourning for her son.
- 14 According to the rules, no one but the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors.
- 15 The heir-son of the king or a feudal lord did not diminish the mourning for the parents of his wife. For his wife he wore the mourning which the eldest and rightful son of a Great officer did for his.
- 16 When the father was an officer, and the son came to be king or a feudal prince, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of a king or a lord; but the personator wore the dress of an officer. When the father had been the son of Heaven, or a feudal lord, and the son was (only) an officer, the father was sacrificed to with the rites of an officer, but his personator wore only the dress of an officer.
- 17 If a wife were divorced while wearing the mourning for her father or mother-in-law, she put it off. If the thing took place while she was wearing the mourning for her own parents, and before she had completed the first year's mourning, she continued to wear it for the three years; but if that term had been completed, she did not resume the mourning. If she were called back before the completion of the year, she wore it to the end of that term; but if that term had been completed before she was called back, she went on wearing it to the regular term of mourning for parents.
- 18 The mourning which lasted for two complete years was held to be for three years; and that which lasted for one complete year for two years. The mourning for nine months and that for seven months was held to be for three seasons; that for five months for two; and that for three months for one. Hence the sacrifice at the end of the completed year was according to the prescribed rule; but the putting off the mourning (or a part of it) then was the course (prompted by natural feeling). The sacrifice was not on account of the putting off of the mourning.
- 19 When the interment for some reason did not take place till after the three years, it was the rule that the two sacrifices (proper at the end of the first and second years) should then be offered. Between them, but not all at the same time, the mourning was put off.
- 20 If a relative who had himself to wear only the nine months' mourning for the deceased took the direction of the mourning rites in the case of any who must continue their mourning for three years, it was the rule that he should offer for them the two annual terminal sacrifices. If one who was merely a friend took that direction, he only offered the sacrifice of Repose, and that at the placing of the tablet in the shrine.
- 21 When the concubine of an officer had a son, he wore the three months' mourning for her. If she had no son, he did not do so.
- 22 When one had been born in another state, and had had no intercourse with his grand-uncles and aunts, uncles and cousins, and his father, on hearing of the death of any of them, proceeded to wear mourning, he did not do so. If one did not (through being abroad) hear of the death of his ruler's father or mother, wife or eldest son, till the ruler had put off his mourning, he did not proceed to wear any. If it were a case, however, where the mourning was reduced to that of three months, he wore it.
- 23 Small servants in attendance on the ruler, who had followed him abroad, when he assumed mourning (on his return, for relatives who had died when he was away), also put it on. Other and (higher officers in his train) also did so; but if the proper term for the mourning in the case were past, they did not do so. (Those who had remained at home), though the ruler could not know of their doing so, had worn the (regular) mourning.
- 24 The presiding mourner, after the sacrifice of Repose, did not carry his staff in proceeding to his apartment; after the

- placing of the tablet of the deceased (in the shrine of the grandfather), he did not carry it in going up to the hall.
- 25 The son of another lady of the harem, who had been adopted as the child of the (childless) wife of the ruler, when that wife died, did not go into mourning for her kindred.
- 26 The sash was shorter than the headband, by one-fifth of the length of the latter. The staff was of the same length as the
- 27 For the ruler's eldest son a concubine wore mourning for the same time as his wife, (the son's mother).
- 28 In putting off the mourning attire, they commenced with what was considered most important. In changing it, they commenced with what was considered least important.
- 29 When there was not the regular occasion for it, they did not open the door of the temple. All wailed in the (mourning) shed (at other times).
- 30 In calling the dead back, and writing the inscription to be exhibited over the coffin, the language was the same for all, from the son of Heaven to the ordinary officer. A man was called by his name. For a wife they wrote her surname, and her place among her sisters. If they did not know her surname, they wrote the branch-name of her family.
- 31 The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed with the unhemmed sackcloth at the end of the wailing, and the hempen girdle worn when one (first) put on the hemmed sackcloth (of one year's mourning), were of the same size. The girdle of dolychos cloth assumed (as a change) in the hemmed sackcloth mourning, and that of hempen cloth at the (beginning of the) nine months' mourning, were of the same size. When the occasion for assuming the girdle of the lighter mourning occurred, a man wore both it and the other together.
- 32 An early interment was followed by an early sacrifice of repose. But they did not end their wailing till the three months were completed.
- 33 When the mourning rites for both parents occurred at the same time, the sacrifices of repose and of the enshrining of the tablet, for the (mother) who was buried first, did not take place till after the burial of the father. The sackcloth worn at her interment was the unhemmed and jagged.
- 34 A Great officer reduced the period of mourning for a son by a concubine; but his grandson, the son of that son, did not reduce his mourning for his father. A Great officer did not preside at the mourning rites for an (ordinary) officer.
- 35 For the parents of his nurse a man did not wear mourning.
- 36 When the husband had become the successor and representative of some other man than his own father, his wife wore the nine months' mourning for his parents-in-law.
- 37 When the tablet of an ordinary officer was placed in the shrine of his grandfather who had been a Great officer, the victim due to him (as an officer) was changed (for that due to a Great officer).
- 38 A son who had not lived with his step-father did not wear mourning for him. They must have lived together and both be without sons to preside at their mourning rites; and (the stepfather moreover) must have shared his resources with the son, and enabled him to sacrifice to his grandfather and father, (in order to his wearing mourning for him);--under these conditions they were said to live together. If they had sons to preside at the mourning rites for them, they lived apart
- 39 When people wailed for a friend, they did so outside the door of the principal apartment, on the left of it, with their faces towards the south.
- 40 When one was buried in a grave already occupied, there was no divination about the site in the second case.
- 41 The tablet of an ordinary officer or of a Great officer could not be placed in the shrine of a grandfather who had been the lord of a state; it was placed in that of a brother of the grandfather who had been an (ordinary) officer or a Great officer, The tablet of his wife was placed by the tablet of that brother's wife, and that of his concubine by the tablet of that brother's concubine. If there had been no such concubine, it was placed by the tablet of that brother's grandfather; for in all such places respect was had to the rules concerning the relative positions assigned to the tablets of father and son. The tablet of a feudal lord could not be placed in the shrine of the son of Heaven (from whom he was born or descended); but that of the son of Heaven, of a feudal lord, or of a Great officer, could be placed in the shrine of an (ordinary) officer (from whom he was descended).
- 42 For his mother's mother, who had been the wife proper of her father, if his mother were dead, a son did not wear mourning.
- 43 The son who was the lineal Head of his new branch of the surname, even though his mother were alive, (his father being dead), completed the full period of mourning for his wife.
- 44 A concubine's son who had been reared by another, might act as son to that other; and she might be any concubine of his father or of his grandfather.
- 45 The mourning went on to the than ceremony for a parent, a wife, and the eldest son.

- 46 To a nursing mother, or any concubine who was a mother, sacrifice was not maintained for a second generation.
- 47 When a grown-up youth had been capped, and died, though his death could not be considered premature; and a (young) wife, after having worn the hair-pin, (died), though neither could her death be said to be premature; yet, (if they died childless), those who would have presided at their rites, if they had died prematurely, wore the mourning for them which they would then have done.
- 48 If an interment were delayed by circumstances for a long time, he who was presiding over the mourning rites was the only one who did not put off his mourning. The others having worn the hempen (band) for the number of months (proper in their relation to the deceased), put off their mourning, and made an end of it.
- 49 The hair-pin of the arrow-bamboo was worn by an unmarried daughter for her father to the end of the three years' mourning.
- 50 That in which those who wore the sackcloth with even edges for three months, and those who wore (it) for all the nine months' mourning agreed, was the shoes made of strings (of hemp).
- 51 When the time was come for the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning, they consulted the divining stalks about the day for it, and the individual who was to act as personator of the deceased. They looked that everything was clean, and that all wore the proper girdle, carried their staffs, and had on the shoes of hempen-string. When the officers charged with this announced that all was ready, (the son) laid saide his staff, and assisted at the divinations for the day and for the personator. The officers having announced that these were over, he resumed his staff, bowed to the guests (who had arrived in the meantime), and escorted them away. At the sacrifice for the end of the second year, (the son) wore his auspicious (court) robes, and divined about the personator.
- 52 The son of a concubine, living in the same house with his father, did not observe the sacrifice at the end of the mourning for his mother. Nor did such a son carry his staff in proceeding to his place for wailing. As the father did not preside at the mourning rites for the son of a concubine, that son's son might carry his staff in going to his place for wailing. Even while the father was present, the son of a concubine, in mourning for his wife, might carry his staff in going to that place.
- 53 When a feudal prince went to condole on the death of a minister of another state, (being himself there on a visit), the ruler of that state received him and acted as the presiding mourner.
- 54 The rule was that he should wear the skin cap and the starched sackcloth. Though the deceased on account of whom he paid his condolences had been interred, the presiding mourner wore the mourning cincture. If he had not yet assumed the full mourning dress, the visitor also did not wear that starched sackcloth
- 55 One who was ministering to another who was ill did not do so in the mourning clothes (which he might be wearing); and (if the patient died), he might go on to preside at the mourning rites for him. But if another relative, who had not ministered to the deceased in his illness, came in to preside at the rites for him, he did not change the mourning which he might be wearing. In ministering to one more honourable than himself, the rule required a person to change the mourning he might be wearing, but not if the other were of lower position.
- 56 If there had been no concubine of her husband's grandmother by whose tablet that of a deceased concubine might be placed, it might be placed by that of the grandmother, the victim offered on the occasion being changed.
- 57 In the mourning rites for a wife, at the sacrifices of repose and on the ending of the wailing, her husband or son presided; when her tablet was put in its place, her father-in-law presided.
- 58 An ordinary officer did not take the place of presiding at the mourning rites for a Great officer. It was only when he was the direct descendant of the Honoured Head of their branch of the surname that he could do so.
- 59 If a cousin arrived from another state to take part in the rites, before the presiding mourner had put off his mourning, the latter received him in the part of host, but without the mourning cincture.
- 60 The course pursued in displaying the articles, vessels to the eye of fancy, to be put into the grave, was this If they were (too) many as displayed, a portion of them might be put into the grave; if they were comparatively few as displayed, they might all be put into it.
- 61 Parties hurrying to the mourning rites for a brother or cousin (whose burial had taken place) first went to the grave and afterwards to the house, selecting places at which to perform their wailing. If the deceased had (only) been an acquaintance, they (first) wailed in the apartment (where the coffin had been), and afterwards went to the grave.

- 62 A father at the mourning rites for any of his other sons did not pass the night in the shed outside (the middle door, as for his eldest son by his wife).
- 63 The brothers and cousins of a feudal prince wore the unhemmed sackcloth (in mourning for him).
- 64 In the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest stage of immaturity, the sash was of bleached hemp from which the roots were not cut away. These were turned back and tucked in.
- 65 When the tablet of a wife was to be placed by that of her husband's grandmother, if there were three (who could be so denominated), it was placed by that of her who' was the mother of her husband's father.
- 66 In the case of a wife dying while her husband was a Great officer, and his ceasing, after her death, to be of that rank; if his tablet were placed (on his death) by that of his wife, the victim on the occasion was not changed (from that due to an ordinary officer). But if her husband (who had been an officer) became a Great officer after her death, then the victim at the placing of his tablet by hers was that due to a Great officer.
- 67 A son who was or would be his fathers successor did not wear mourning for his divorced mother. He did not wear such mourning, because one engaged in mourning rites could not offer sacrifice.
- 68 When a wife did not preside at the mourning rites and yet carried the staff, it was when her mother-in-law was alive, and she did so for her husband. A mother carried the eleococca staff with its end cut square for the oldest son. A daughter, who was still in her apartment unmarried, carried a staff for her father or mother. If the relative superintending the rites did not carry the staff, then this one child did so.
- 69 In the mourning for three months and five months, at the sacrifice of repose and the ending of the wailing, they wore the mourning cincture. After the interment, if they did not immediately go to perform the sacrifice of repose, they all, even the presiding mourner, wore their caps; but when they came to the sacrifice of repose, they all assumed the cincture. When they had put off the mourning for a relative, on the arrival of his interment, they resumed it; and when they came to the sacrifice of repose and the ending of the wailing, they put on the cincture. If they did not immediately perform the sacrifice, they put it off. When they had been burying at a distance, and were returning to wail, they put on their caps. On arriving at the suburbs, they put on the cincture, and came back to wail.
- 70 If the ruler came to condole with mourners, though it might not be the time for wearing the cincture, even the president of the rites assumed it, and did not allow the ends of his hempen girdle to hang loose. Even in the case of a visit from the ruler of another state, they assumed the cincture. The relatives all did so.
- 71 When they put off the mourning for one who had died prematurely, the rule was that at the (accompanying sacrifice, the dress should be dark-coloured. When they put off the mourning for one fully grown, they wore their court robes, with the cap of white, plain, silk.
- 72 A son, who had hurried to the mourning rites of his father (from a distance), bound up his hair in the raised hall, bared his chest, descended to the court, and there performed his leaping. (The leaping over, he reascended), covered his chest, and put on his sash in an apartment on the east. If the rites were for his mother, he did not bind up his hair. He bared his chest, however, in the hall, descended to the court, and went through his leaping. (Reascending then), he covered his chest, and put on the cincture in the apartment on the east. In the girdle (or the cincture), he proceeded to the appointed place, and completed the leaping. He then went out from the door (of the coffin-room), and went to (the mourning shed). The wailing commencing at death had by this time ceased. In three days he wailed five times, and thrice bared his chest for the leaping.
- 73 When an eldest son and his wife could not take the place hereafter of his parents, then, (in the event of her death), her mother-in-law wore for her (only) the five months' mourning.

### LI JI CHAPTER 16 Da Zhuan

Great Treatise

- According to the rules, only the king offered the united sacrifice to all ancestors. The chief place was then given to him from whom the founder of the line sprang, and that founder had the place of assessor to him. The sacrifices of the princes of states reached to their highest ancestor. Great officers and other officers, who had performed great services, when these were examined (and approved) by the ruler, were able to carry their sacrifices up to their high ancestor.
- 2 The field of Mu-ye was the great achievement of king Wu. When he withdrew after the victory, he reared a burning pile to God; prayed at the altar of the earth; and set forth his offerings in the house of Mu. He then led all the princes of the kingdom, bearing his offerings in their various stands, and hurrying about, and carried the title of king back to Tai who was Dan-fu, Ji-li, and king Wen who was Chang he would not approach his honourable ancestors with their former humbler titles

- 3 Thus he regulated the services to be rendered to his father and grandfather before him giving honour to the most honourable. He regulated the places to be given to his sons and grandsons below him showing his affection to his kindred. He regulated (also) the observances for the collateral branches of his cousins;-associating all their members in the feasting. He defined their places according to their order of descent; and his every distinction was in harmony with what was proper and right. In this way the procedure of human duty was made complete.
- 4 When a sage sovereign stood with his face to the south, and all the affairs of the kingdom came before him, there were five things which for the time claimed his first care, and the people were not reckoned among them. The first was the regulating what was due to his kindred (as above) the second, the reward of merit; the third, the promotion of worth; the fourth, the employment of ability; and the fifth, the maintenance of a loving vigilance. When these five things were all fully realised, the people had all their necessities satisfied, all that they wanted supplied. If one of them were defective, the people could not complete their lives in comfort. It was necessary for a sage on the throne of government to begin with the (above) procedure of human duty.
- 5 The appointment of the measures of weight, length, and capacity; the fixing the elegancies (of ceremony); the changing the commencement of the year and month; alterations in the colour of dress; differences of flags and their blazonry; changes in vessels and weapons, and distinctions in dress: these were things, changes in which could be enjoined on the people. But no changes could be enjoined upon them in what concerned affection for kin, the honour paid to the honourable, the respect due to the aged, and the different positions and functions of male and female.
- 6 Members of the same surname were united together in the various ramifications of their kinship, under the Heads of their different branches. Those of a different surname had their mutual relations regulated principally by the names assigned to them. Those names being clearly set forth, the different positions of males and females were determined. When the husband belonged to the class of fathers [or uncles], the wife was placed in that of mothers [or aunts]; when he belonged to the class of sons [or cousins], the wife was placed in that of (junior) wives. Since the wife of a younger brother was (thus) styled (junior) wife, could the wife of his elder brother be at the same time styled mother [or aunt]? The name or appellation is of the greatest importance in the regulation of the family was not anxious care required in the declaration of it?
- 7 For parties four generations removed from the same common ancestor the mourning was reduced to that worn for three months, and this was the limit of wearing the hempen cloth. If the generations were five, the shoulders were bared and the cincture assumed; and in this way the mourning within the circle of the same was gradually reduced. After the sixth generation the bond of kinship was held to be at an end. As the branch-surnames which arose separated the members of them from their relatives of a former time, and the kinship disappeared as time went on, (so far as wearing mourning was concerned), could marriage be contracted between parties (so wide apart)? But there was that original surname tying all the members together without distinction, and the maintenance of the connexion by means of the common feast - while there were these conditions, there could be no intermarriage, even after a hundred generations. Such was the rule of Zhou.
- 8 The considerations which regulated the mourning worn were six first., the nearness of the kinship; second, the honour due to the honourable; third, the names (as expressing the position in the relative circle); fourth, the cases of women still unmarried in the paternal home, and of those who had married and left it; fifth, age; and sixth, affinity, and external relationship.
- 9 Of the considerations of affinity and external relationship there were six cases those arising from inter-relationship; those in which there was no inter-relationship; those where mourning should be worn, and yet was not, those where it should not be worn, and yet was; those where it should be deep, and yet was light; and those where it should be light, and yet was deep.
- 10 Where the starting-point was affection, it began from the father. Going up from him by degrees it reached to the (high) ancestor, and was said to diminish. Where the starting-point was the consideration of what is right, it began with the ancestor. Coming down by natural degrees from him, it reached to the father, and was said to increase. In the diminution and the increase, the considerations of affection and right acted thus.
- 11 It was the way for the ruler to assemble and feast all the members of his kindred. None of them could, because of their mutual kinship, claim a nearer kinship with him than what was expressed by the places (assigned to them).
- 12 Any son but the eldest, (though all sons of the wife proper), did not sacrifice to his grandfather,--to show there was the Honoured Head (who should do so). Nor could he

wear mourning for his eldest son for three years, because he was not the continuator of his grandfather.

- 13 When any other son but the eldest became an ancestor of a line, he who succeeded him became the Honoured Head (of the branch); and his successor again became the smaller Head.
- 14 There was the great Honoured Head whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. There were the (smaller) Honoured Heads whose tablets were removed after five generations. He whose tablet was not removed for a hundred generations was the successor and representative of the other than the eldest son (who became an ancestor of a line); and he was so honoured (by the members of his line) because he continued the (High) ancestor from whom (both) he and they sprang; this was why his tablet was not removed for a hundred generations. He who honoured the continuator of the High ancestor was he whose tablet was removed after five generations. They honoured the Ancestor, and therefore they reverenced the Head. The reverence showed the significance of that honour.
- 15 There might be cases in which there was a smaller Honoured Head, and no Greater Head (of a branch family); cases in which there was a Greater Honoured Head, and no smaller Head; and cases in which there was an Honoured Head, with none to honour him. All these might exist in the instance of the son of the ruler of a state. The course to be adopted for the headship of such a son was this; that the ruler, himself the proper representative of former rulers, should for all his half-brothers who were officers and Great officers appoint a full brother, also an officer or a Great officer, to be the Honoured Head. Such was the regular course.
- 16 When the kinship was no longer counted, there was no further wearing of mourning. The kinship was the bond of connexion (expressed in the degree of mourning).
- 17 Where the starting-point was in affection, it began with the father, and ascended by steps to the ancestor. Where it was in a consideration of what was right, it began with the ancestor, and descended in natural order to the deceased father. Thus the course of humanity (in this matter of mourning) was all comprehended in the love for kindred.
- 18 From the affection for parents came the honouring of ancestors; from the honouring of the ancestor came the respect and attention shown to the Heads (of the family branches). By that respect and attention to those Heads all the members of the kindred were kept together. Through their being kept together came the dignity of the ancestral temple. From that dignity arose the importance attached to the altars of the land and grain. From that importance there ensued the love of all the (people with their) hundred surnames. From that love came the right administration of punishments and penalties. Through that administration the people had the feeling of repose. Through that restfulness all resources for expenditure became, sufficient. Through the sufficiency of these, what all desired was realised. The realisation led to all courteous usages and good customs; and from these, in fine, came all happiness and enjoyment - affording an illustration of what is said in the ode - 'Glory and honour follow Wen's great name, And ne'er will men be weary of his fame.

## LI JI CHAPTER 17 Shao Yi

Smaller Rules of Demeanour

- I have heard (the following things): When one wished to see for the first time another of character and position, his language was, 'so and so, earnestly wish my name to be reported to the officer of communication.' He could not go up the steps directly to the host. If the visitor were of equal rank with the host, he said, 'I, so and so, earnestly wish to see him.' If he were an infrequent visitor, he asked his name to be reported. If he were a frequent visitor, he added, 'this morning or evening.' If he were blind, he asked his name to be reported. If it were on an occasion of mourning, the visitor said he had come as a servant and helper; if he were a youth, that he had come to perform whatever might be required of him. If the visit were at the mourning rites for a ruler or high minister, the language was, 'I am come to be employed by the chief minister of the household.'
- 2 When a ruler was about to go out of his own state, if a minister were presenting to him money or pieces of jade, or any other article, the language was, 'I present this to the officer for the expenses of his horses.' To an equal in a similar case it was said, 'This is presented for the use of your followers.' When a minister contributed a shroud to his ruler, he said, 'I send this laid-aside garment to the valuers.' An equal, sending such a gift to another equal, simply said, 'a shroud.' Relatives, such as brothers, did not go in with the shrouds which they presented. When a minister was contributing articles or their value to his ruler who had mourning rites on hand for the previous ruler, he said, 'I present these products of my fields to the officers.'
- 3 A carriage and horses presented for a funeral, entered the gate of the ancestral temple. Contributions of money and horses with the accompanying presents of silk, the white flag (of a mourning carriage) and war chariots, did not enter the gate of the temple. When the hearer of the contribution had delivered his message, he knelt down and left the things on the

ground. The officer of communication took them up. The presiding mourner did not himself receive them

4 When the receiver stood, the giver stood; neither knelt. Parties of a straightforward character might, perhaps, do so. When (the guest was) first entering, and it was proper to give the precedence to him, the officer of communication said (to the host), 'Give precedence.' When they proceeded to their mats, he said to them, 'Yes; be seated.' When the leaves of the door were opened, only one man could take off his shoes inside the door. If there were already an honourable and elderly visitor, parties coming later could not do so.

5 When asking about the various dishes of a feast, they said, 'Have you enjoyed such and such a dish?' When asking one another about their (various) courses and accomplishments they said, 'Have you practised such and such a course? Are you skilful at such and such an accomplishment?' (A man sought to) give no occasion for doubt about himself, nor to pass his judgement on the articles of others. He did not desire the (possessions of) great families, nor speak injuriously of the things which they valued.

6 Sweeping in general was called sao. Sweeping up in front of a mat was called fan. In sweeping a mat they did not use a common broom. The sweeper held the dust-pan with its tongue towards himself.

There was no divining twice about the same thing with a double mind. In asking about what had been referred to the tortoise-shell or the stalks, two things were to be considered, whether the thing asked, about were right, and what was the diviner's own mind. On the matter of right he might be questioned, but not on what was in his own mind.

8 When others more honourable and older than one's self took precedence of him, he did not presume to ask their age. When they came to feast with him, he did not send to them any (formal) message. When he met them on the road, if they saw him, he went up to them, but did not ask to know where they were going. At funeral rites for them, he waited to observe the movements (of the presiding mourner), and did not offer his special condolences. When seated by them, he did not, unless ordered to do so, produce his lutes. He did not draw lines on the ground; that would have been an improper use of his hand. He did not use a fan. If they were asleep, and he had any message to communicate to them, he knelt in doing so.

9 At the game of archery, the inferior carried his four arrows in his hand. At that of throwing darts, he carried the four together in his breast. If he conquered, he washed the cup and gave it to the other, asking him to drink. If he were defeated, the elder went through the same process with him. They did not use the (large) horn; they did not remove the (figure of a) horse (for marking the numbers).

10 When holding the reins of the ruler's horses, the driver knelt. He wore his sword on his right side with his back to the best strap for the ruler. When handing this to him, he faced him and then drew the strap towards the cross-bar. He used the second or inferior strap to help himself in mounting. He then took the reins in hand, and began to move on.

11 One asked permission to appear at court, but not to withdraw. One was said to withdraw from court; to return home from a feast or a ramble; to close the toils of a campaign.

12 When sitting by a person of rank, if he began to yawn and stretch himself, to turn round his tablet, to play with the head of his sword, to move his shoes about, or to ask about the time of day, one might ask leave to retire.

13 For one who wished to serve his ruler, the rule was first to measure his abilities and duties, and then enter on the responsibilities; he did not enter on these, and then measure those. There was the same rule for all who begged or borrowed from others, or sought to engage in their service. In this way superiors had no ground for offence, and inferiors; avoided all risk of guilt. They did not spy into privacies nor form intimacies on matters aside from their proper business. They did not speak of old affairs, nor wear an appearance of being in sport.

14 One in the position of a minister and inferior might remonstrate (with his ruler), but not speak ill of him; might withdraw (from the state), but not (remain and) hate (its Head); might praise him, but not flatter; might remonstrate, but not give himself haughty airs (when his advice was followed). (If the ruler were) idle and indifferent, he might arouse and assist him; if (the government) were going to wreck, he might sweep it away, and institute a new one. Such a minister would be pronounced as doing service for the altars (of the state).

15 Do not commence or abandon anything hastily. Do not take liberties with or weary spiritual Beings. Do not try to defend or cover over what was wrong in the past, or to, fathom what has not yet arrived. A scholar should constantly pursue what is virtuous, and amuse himself with the accomplishments. A workman should follow the rules (of his art), and amuse himself with the discussion (of their application). One should not think about the clothes and elegant articles (of others), nor try to make good in himself what is doubtful in words (which he has heard). The style prized in conversation required that it should be grave and

distinct. The demeanour prized in the court required that it should be well regulated and urbane: that at sacrifices was to be grave, with an appearance of anxiety. The horses of the chariot were to be well-paced and matched. The beauty of their bells was that they intimated dignity and harmony.

16 To a question about the age of a ruler's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to attend to the business of the altars.' If he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to drive' or 'He is not vet able to drive.' To the same question about a Great officer's son, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to take his part in music;' if still young, it was said, 'He is able to take lessons from the music-master,' or 'He is not yet able to do so.' To the same question about the son of an ordinary officer, if he were grown up, it was said, 'He is able to guide the plough:' if he were still young, it was said, 'He is able to carry firewood,' or 'He is not yet able to do so.

17 When carrying a symbol of jade, a tortoiseshell, or the divining stalks, one did not walk hastily. Nor did he do so in the raised hall, or on a city wall. In a war chariot he did not bow forward to the cross-bar. A man in his mail did not try to

18 A wife, on festive occasions, even though it were on receiving a gift from the ruler, (only) made a curtsy. When seated as a personatrix (of the deceased grandmother of her husband), she did not bow with her head to her hands, but made the curtsy. When presiding at the mourning rites, she did not bow with her head to her hands lowered to the ground. (After the sacrifice of repose), her head-band was of dolychos cloth, and her girdle of hempen.

19 When taking meat from a stand or putting meat on it, they did not kneel. An empty vessel was carried (with the same care) as a full one, and an empty apartment entered (with the same reverence) as if there were people in it. At all sacrifices, whether in the apartment or in the hall, they did not have their feet bare. At a feast they might. Till they had offered a portion in the temple, they did not eat of a new crop.

20 In the case of a charioteer and the gentleman whom he was driving, when the latter mounted or descended, the other handed him the strap. When the driver first mounted, he bowed towards the cross-bar. When the gentleman descended to walk. (he also descended), but (immediately) returned to the carriage and stood. The riders in an attendant carriage (to court or temple), bowed forward to the bar, but not if it were to battle or hunt. Of such attendant carriages, the ruler of a state had seven; a Great officer of the highest grade, five; and one of the lowest grade, three. People did not speak of the age of the horses or of the carriages of those who possessed such attendant carriages; nor did they put a value on the dress, or sword, or horses of a gentleman whom they saw before them.

21 In giving to an inferior or offering to a superior, four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog, (the messenger) put down the liquor, and carried (only) the dried meat in his hand, when discharging his commission, but he also said that he was the bearer of four pots of spirits, a bundle of dried meat, and a dog. In presenting a tripod of flesh, he carried (one piece) in his hand. In presenting birds, if there were more than a couple, he carried a couple in his hand, leaving the others outside. The dog was held by a rope. A watch dog or a hunting dog was given to the officer who was the medium of communication; and on receiving it, he asked its name. An ox was held by the tether, and a horse by the bridle. They were both kept on the right of him who led them: but a prisoner or captive, who was being presented, was kept

22 In presenting a carriage, the strap was taken off and carried in the hand of the messenger. In presenting a coat of mail, if there were other things to be carried before it, the messenger bore them. If there were no such things, he took off its covering, and bore the helmet in his hands. In the case of a vessel, he carried its cover. In the case of a bow, with his left hand he stript off the case, and took hold of the middle of the back. In the case of a sword, he opened the cover of its case, and placed it underneath. Then he put into the case a silken cloth, on which he placed the sword

23 Official tablets; writings; stalks of dried flesh; parcels wrapped in reeds; bows; cushions; mats; pillows; stools; spikes; staffs; lutes, large and small; sharp-edged lances in sheaths; divining stalks; and flutes - these all were borne with the left hand upwards. Of sharp-pointed weapons, the point was kept behind, and the ring presented; of sharp-edged weapons, the handle was presented. In the case of all sharp-pointed and sharp-edged weapons, the point was turned away in handing them to others.

24 When leaving the city, in mounting a war-chariot, the weapon was carried with the point in front; when returning and entering it again, the end. The left was the place for the general and officers of an army; the right, for the soldiers.

25 For visitors and guests the principal thing was a courteous humility: at sacrifices reverence: at mourning rites sorrow; at meetings and reunions, an active interest. In the operations of war, the dangers had to be thought of. One concealed his own feelings in order to judge the better of those

26 When feasting with a man of superior rank and character, the guest first tasted the dishes and then stopt. He should not bolt the food, nor swill down the liquor. He should take small and frequent mouthfuls. While chewing quickly, he did not make faces with his mouth. When he proceeded to remove the dishes, and the host declined that service from him, he stopt.

27 The cup with which the guest was pledged was placed on the left: those which had been drunk (by the others) on the right. Those of the guest's attendant, of the host himself, and of the host's assistant - these all were placed on the right. In putting down a boiled fish to be eaten, the tail was laid in front. In winter it was placed with the fat belly on the right; in summer with the back. The slices offered in sacrifice (to the father of the fish-diet were thus more easily cut). All condiments were taken up with the right (hand), and were therefore placed on the left. He who received the presents offered (to the ruler) was on his left; he who transmitted his words, on the right. A cup was poured out for the driver of a personator of the dead as for the driver of the ruler. In the carriage, and holding the on the right and left (to the father of charioteering), and then drank off the cup.

28 Of all viands which were placed on the stands, the offering was put down inside the stand.

29 A gentleman did not eat the entrails of grain-fed animals. 30 A boy ran, but did not walk quickly with measured steps. When he took up his cup, he knelt in offering (some of the contents) in sacrifice, and then stood up and drank (the rest). Before rinsing a cup, they washed their hands. In separating the lungs of oxen and sheep, they did not cut out the central

portion of them; when viands were served up with sauce, they did not add condiments to it. 31 In selecting an onion or scallion for a gentleman, they cut off both the root and top.

32 When the head was presented among the viands, the snout was put forward, to be used as the offering.

33 He who set forth the jugs considered the left of the cupbearer to be the place for the topmost one. The jugs and jars were placed with their spouts towards the arranger. The drinkers at the ceremonies of washing the head and cupping, in presence of the stand with the divided victims on it. did not kneel. Before the common cup had gone round, they did not taste the viands.

34 The flesh of oxen, sheep, and fish was cut small, and made into mince. 'That of elks and deer was pickled; that of the wild pig was hashed: these were all sliced, but not cut small. The flesh of the muntjac was alone pickled, and that of fowls and hares, being sliced and cut small. Onions and shalots were sliced, and added to the brine to soften the meat. When the pieces of the divided body were on the stand, in taking one of them to offer and in returning it, they did not kneel. So it was when they made an offering of roast meat. If the offerer, however, were a personator of the dead, he knelt.

35 When a man had his robes on his person, and did not know their names (or the meaning of their names), he was ignorant indeed.

36 If one came late and yet arrived before the torches were lighted, it was announced to him that the guests were all there, and who they were. The same things were intimated to a blind musician by the one who bid him. At a drinking entertainment, when the host carried a light, or bore a torch before them, the guests rise and decline the honour done to them. On this he gave the torch to a torchbearer, who did not move from his place, nor say a word, nor sing.

37 When one was carrying in water or liquor and food to a superior or elder, the rule was not to breathe on it; and if a question was asked, to turn the mouth on one side.

38 When one conducted sacrifice for another (and was sending to others the flesh of the victim), the message was, 'Herewith (the flesh of) blessing.' When sending of the flesh of his own sacrifice to a superior man, the party simply announced what it was. If it were flesh of the sacrifice on placing the tablet of the deceased in the temple, or at the close of the first year's mourning, the fact was announced. The principal mourner spread out the portions, and gave them to. his messenger on the south of the eastern steps, bowing twice, and laying his head to the ground as he sent him away; when he returned and reported the execution of his commission, the mourner again bowed twice and laid his head to the ground. If the sacrifice were a great one, consisting of the three victims, then the portion sent was the left quarter of the ox, dividedinto nine pieces from the shoulder. If the sacrifice were the smaller, the portion sent was the left quarter, divided into seven pieces. If there were but a single pig, the portion was the left quarter, divided into five portions.

# LLJI CHAPTER 18 Xue Ji

Record on the Subject of Education

1 When a ruler is concerned that his measures should be in accordance with law, and seeks for the (assistance of the) good and upright, this is sufficient to secure him a considerable reputation, but not to move the multitudes. When he cultivates the society of the worthy, and tries to embody the views of those who are remote (from the court), this is sufficient to move the multitudes, but not to transform the people. If he wish to transform the people and to perfect their manners and customs, must he not start from the lessons of the school?

- 2 The jade uncut will not form a vessel for use; and if men do not learn, they do not know the way (in which they should go). On this account the ancient kings, when establishing states and governing the people, made instruction and schools a primary object; as it is said in the Charge to Yue, 'The thoughts from first to last should be fixed on learning.'
- 3 However fine the viands be, if one do not eat, he does not know their taste; however perfect the course may be, if one do not learn it, be does not know its goodness. Therefore when he learns, one knows his own deficiencies; when he teaches, he knows the difficulties of learning. After he knows his deficiencies, one is able to turn round and examine himself; after he knows the difficulties, he is able to stimulate himself to effort. Hence it is said, Teaching and learning help each other;' as it is said in the Charge to Yueh, 'Teaching is the half of learning.'
- 4 According to the system of ancient teaching, for the families of (a hamlet) there was the village school; for a neighbourhood there was the xiang; for the larger districts there was the xu; and in the capitals there was the college. Every year some entered the college, and every second year there was a comparative examination. In the first year it was seen whether they could read the texts intelligently, and what was the meaning of each; in the third year, whether they were reverently attentive to their work, and what companionship was most pleasant to them; in the fifth year, how they extended their studies and sought the company of their teachers; in the seventh year, how they could discuss the subjects of their studies and select their friends. They were now said to have made some small attainments. In the ninth year, when they knew the different classes of subjects and had gained a general intelligence, were firmly established and would not fall back, they were said to have made grand attainments. After this the training was sufficient to transform the people, and to change (anything bad in) manners and customs. Those who lived near at hand submitted with delight, and those who were far off thought (of the teaching) with longing desire. Such was the method of the Great learning; as is said in the Record, 'The little ant continually exercises the art (of amassing).
- 5 At the commencement of the teaching in the Great college (the masters) in their skin caps presented the offerings of vegetables (to the ancient sages), to show their pupils the principle of reverence for them; and made them sing (at the same time) the (first) three pieces of the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, as their first lesson in the duties of officers. When they entered the college, the drum was beaten and the satchels were produced, that they might begin their work reverently. The cane and the thorns were there to secure in them a proper awe. It was not till the time for the summer sacrifice was divined for, that the testing examination was held; -- to give composure to their minds. They were continually under inspection, but not spoken to, -- to keep their minds undisturbed. They listened, but they did not ask questions; and they could not transgress the order of study (imposed on them). These seven things were the chief regulations in the teaching. As it is expressed in the Record, 'In all learning, for him who would in be an officer the first thing is (the knowledge of) business; for scholars the first thing is the directing of the mind.'
- 6 In the system of teaching at the Great college, every season had its appropriate subject; and when the pupils withdrew, and gave up their lessons (for the day), they were required to continue their study at home. If a student do not learn (at college) to play in tune, he cannot quietly enjoy his lutes; if he do not learn extensively the figures of poetry, he cannot quietly enjoy the odes; if he do not learn the varieties of dress, he cannot quietly take part in the different ceremonies; if he do not acquire the various accomplishments, he cannot take delight in learning. Therefore a student of talents and virtue pursues his studies, withdrawn in college from all besides, and devoted to their cultivation, or occupied with them when retired from it, and enjoying himself. Having attained to this, he rests quietly in his studies and seeks the company of his teachers; he finds pleasure in his friends, and has all confidence in their course. Although he should be separated from his teachers and helpers, he will not act contrary to the course; as it is said in the Charge to Yueh, 'Maintain a reverent humility, and strive to be constantly earnest. In such a case the cultivation will surely come.
- 7 According to the system of teaching now-a-days, (the masters) hum over the tablets which they see before them, multiplying their questions. They speak of the learners' making rapid advances, and pay no regard to their reposing (in what they have acquired). In what they lay on their learners they are not sincere, nor do they put forth all their ability in teaching them. What they inculcate is contrary to what is right, and the learners are disappointed in what they seek for. In such a case, the latter are distressed by their studies and hate their masters; they are embittered by the

difficulties, and do not find any advantage from their (labour). They may seem to finish their work, but they quickly give up its lessons. That no results are seen from their instructions:-is it not owing to these defects?

- 8 The rules aimed at in the Great college were the prevention of evil before it was manifested; the timeliness of instruction just when it was required; the suitability of the lessons in adaptation to circumstances; and the good influence of example to parties observing one another. It was from these four things that the teaching was so effectual and flourishing. Prohibition of evil after it has been manifested meets with opposition, and is not successful. Instruction given after the time for it is past is done with toil, and carried out with difficulty. The communication of lessons in an undiscriminating manner and without suitability produces injury and disorder, and fails in its object. Learning alone and without friends makes one feel solitary and uncultivated, with but little information. Friendships of festivity lead to opposition to one's master. Friendships with the dissolute lead to the neglect of one's learning. These six things all tend to make teaching vain.
- 9 When a superior man knows the causes which make instruction successful, and those which make it of no effect, he can become a teacher of others. Thus in his teaching, he leads and does not drag; he strengthens and does not discourage; he opens the way but does not conduct to the end (without the learner's own efforts). Leading and not dragging produces harmony. Strengthening and not discouraging makes attainment easy. Opening the way and not conducting to the end makes (the learner) thoughtful. He who produces such harmony, easy attainment, and thoughtfulness may be pronounced a skilful teacher.
- 10 Among learners there are four defects with which the teacher must make himself acquainted. Some err in the multitude of their studies; some, in their fewness; some, in the feeling of ease (with which they proceed); and some, in the readiness with which they stop. These four defects arise from the difference of their minds. When a teacher knows the character of his mind, he can save the learner from the defect to which he is liable. Teaching should be directed to develop that in which the pupil excels, and correct the defects to which he is prone. The good singer makes men (able) to continue his notes, and (so) the good teacher makes them able to carry out his ideas. His words are brief, but far-reaching; unpretentious, but deep; with few illustrations, but instructive. In this way he may be said to perpetuate his ideas.
- 11 When a man of talents and virtue knows the difficulty (on the one hand) and the facility (on the other) in the attainment of learning, and knows (also) the good and the bad qualities (of his pupils), he can vary his methods of teaching. When he can vary his methods of teaching, he can be a master indeed. When he can be a teacher indeed, he can be the Head (of an official department). When he can be such a Head, he can be the Ruler (of a state). Hence it is from the teacher indeed, that one learns to be a ruler, and the choice of a teacher demands the greatest care; as it is said in the Record, "The three kings and the four dynasties were what they were by their teachers."
- 12 In pursuing the course of learning, the difficulty is in securing the proper reverence for the master. When that is done, the course (which he inculcates) is regarded with honour. When that is done, the people know how to respect learning. Thus it is that there are two among his subjects whom the ruler does not treat as subjects. When one is personating (his ancestor), he does not treat him as such, nor does he treat his master as such. According to the rules of the Great college, the master, though communicating anything to the son of Heaven, did not stand with his face to the north. This was the way in which honour was done to him.
- 13 The skilful learner, while the master seems indifferent, yet makes double the attainments of another, and in the sequel ascribes the merit (to the master). The unskilful learner, while the master is diligent with him, yet makes (only) half the attainments (of the former), and in the sequel is dissatisfied with the master. The skilful questioner is like a workman addressing himself to deal with a hard tree. First he attacks the easy parts, and then the knotty. After a long time, the pupil and master talk together, and the subject is explained. The unskilful questioner takes the opposite course. The master who skilfully waits to be questioned, may be compared to a bell when it is struck. Struck with a small hammer, it gives a small sound. Struck with a great one, it gives a great sound. But let it be struck leisurely and properly, and it gives out all the sound of which it is capable. He who is not skilful in replying to questions is the opposite of this. This all describes the method of making progress in learning.
- 14 He who gives (only) the learning supplied by his memory in conversations is not fit to be a master. Is it not necessary that he should hear the questions (of his pupils)? Yes, but if they are not able to put questions, he should put subjects before them. If he do so, and then they do not show any knowledge of the subjects, he may let them alone.
- 15 The son of a good founder is sure to learn how to make a fur-robe. The son of a good maker of bows is sure to learn

how to make a sieve. Those who first yoke a (young) horse place it behind, with the carriage going on in front of it. The superior man who examines these cases can by them instruct himself in (the method of) learning.

- 16 The ancients in prosecuting their learning compared different' things and traced the analogies between them. The drum has no special relation to any of the musical notes; but without it they cannot be harmonised. Water has no particular relation to any of the five colours; but without it they cannot be displayed. Learning has no particular relation to any of the five senses; but without it they cannot be regulated. A teacher has no special relation to the five degrees of mourning; but without his help they cannot be worn as they ought to be.
- 17 A wise man has said, 'The Great virtue need not be confined to one office; Great power of method need not be restricted to the production of one article; Great truth need not be limited to the confirmation of oaths; Great seasonableness accomplishes all things, and each in its proper time.' By examining these four cases, we are taught to direct our aims to what is fundamental.

## LI JI CHAPTER 19 Yue Ji

Record on the Subject of Music

- I All the modulations of the voice arise from the mind, and the various affections of the mind are produced by things (external to it). The affections thus produced are manifested in the sounds that are uttered. Changes are produced by the way in which those sounds respond to one another; and those changes constitute what we call the modulations of the voice. The combination' of those modulated sounds, so as to give pleasure, and the (direction in harmony with them of the) shields and axes, and of the plumes and ox-tails, constitutes what we call music.
- 2 Music is (thus) the production of the modulations of the voice, and its source is in the affections of the mind as it is influenced by (external) things. When the mind is moved to sorrow, the sound is sharp and fading away; when it is moved to pleasure, the sound is slow and gentle; when it is moved to joy, the sound is exclamatory and soon disappears; when it is moved to anger, the sound is coarse and fierce; when it is moved to reverence, the sound is straightforward, with an indication of humility; when it is moved to love, the sound is harmonious and soft. These six peculiarities of sound are not natural'; they indicate the impressions produced by (external) things. On this account the ancient kings were watchful in regard to the things by which the mind was affected. And so (they instituted) ceremonies to direct men's aims aright: music to give harmony to their voices; laws to unify their conduct; and punishments to guard against their tendencies to evil. The end to which ceremonies, music, punishments, and laws conduct is one; they are the instruments by which the minds of the people are assimilated, and good order in government is made to appear.
- 3 All modulations of the voice spring from the minds of men. When the feelings are moved within, they are manifested in the sounds of the voice; and when those sounds are combined so as to form compositions, we have what are called airs. Hence, the airs of an age of good order indicate composure and enjoyment. The airs of an age of disorder indicate dissatisfaction and anger, and its government is perversely bad. The airs of a state going to ruin are expressive of sorrow and (troubled) thought.
- 4 There is an interaction between the words and airs (of the people) and the character of their government. (The note) gong represents the ruler; shang, the ministers; jiao, the people; zhi, affairs; and yu, things. If there be no disorder or irregularity in these five notes, there will be no want of harmony in the state. If gong be irregular, (the air) is yerky; the offices of the state are decayed. If jiao be irregular, (the air) is jerky; the offices of the state are decayed. If jiao be irregular, (the air) expresses anxiety; the people are dissatisfied. If zhi be irregular, (the air) expresses orrow; affairs are strained. If yu be irregular, (the air) is expressive of impending ruin; the resources (of the state) are exhausted. If the five notes are all irregular, and injuriously interfere with one another, they indicate a state of insolent disorder; and the state where this is the case will at no distant day meet with extinction and ruin.

The airs of Zheng and Wei were those of an age of disorder, showing that those states were near such an abandoned condition. The airs near the river Pu, at the mulberry forest, were those of a state going to ruin. The government (of Wei) was in a state of dissipation, and the people were unsettled, calumniating their superiors, and pursuing their private aims beyond the possibility of restraint.

5 All modulations of sound take their rise from the mind of man; and music is the intercommunication of them in their relations and differences. Hence, even beasts know sound, but not its modulations, and the masses of the common people know the modulations, but they do not know music. It is only the superior man who can (really) know music. On this account we must discriminate sounds in order to know the airs; the airs in order to know the music; and the music in

order to know (the character of) the government. Having attained to this, we are fully provided with the methods of good order. Hence with him who does not know the sounds we cannot speak about the airs, and with him who does not know the airs we cannot speak about the music. The knowledge of music leads to the subtle springs that underlie the rules of ceremony. He who has apprehended both ceremonies and music may be pronounced to be a possessor of virtue. Virtue means realisation (in one's self).

6 Hence the greatest achievements of music were not in the perfection of the airs; the (efficacy) of the ceremonies in the sacrificial offerings was not in the exquisiteness of the flavours. In the lute's for the Qing Miao the strings were of red (boiled) silk, and the holes were wide apart; one lute began, and (only) three others joined it; there was much melody not brought out. In the ceremonies of the great sacrifices, the dark-coloured liquor took precedence, and on the stands were uncooked fish, while the grand soup had no condiments: there was much flavour left undeveloped. Thus we see that the ancient kings, in their institution of ceremonies and music, did not seek how fully they could satisfy the desires of the appetite and of the ears and eyes; but they intended to teach the people to regulate their likings and dislikings, and to bring them back to the normal course of humanity.

7 It belongs to the nature of man, as from Heaven, to be still at his birth. His activity shows itself as he is acted on by external things, and developes the desires incident to his nature. Things come to him more and more, and his knowledge is increased. Then arise the manifestations of liking and disliking. When these are not regulated by anything within, and growing knowledge leads more astray without, he cannot come back to himself, and his Heavenly principle is extinguished.

8 Now there is no end of the things by which man is affected; and when his likings and dislikings are not subject to regulation (from within), he is changed into the nature of things as they come before him; that is, he stifles the voice of theavenly principle within, and gives the utmost indulgence to the desires by which men may be possessed. On this we have the rebellious and deceitful heart, with licentious and violent disorder. The strong press upon the weak; the many are cruel to the few; the knowing impose upon the dull; the bold make it bitter for the timid; the diseased are not nursed; the old and young, orphans and solitaries are neglected - such is the great disorder that ensues.

9 Therefore the ancient kings, when they instituted their ceremonies and music, regulated them by consideration of the requirements of humanity. By the sackcloth worn for parents, the wailings, and the weepings, they defined the terms of the mourning rites. By the bells, drums, shields, and axes, they introduced harmony into their seasons of rest and enjoyment. By marriage, capping, and the assumption of the hair-pin, they maintained the separation that should exist between male and female. By the archery gatherings in the districts, and the feastings at the meetings of princes, they provided for the correct maintenance of friendly intercourse. Ceremonies afforded the defined expression for the (affections of the) people's minds; music secured the harmonious utterance of their voices; the laws of government were designed to promote the performance (of the ceremonies and music); and punishments, to guard against the violation of them. When ceremonies, music, laws, and punishments had everywhere full course, without irregularity or collision, the method of kingly rule was complete.

10 Similarity and union are the aim of music; difference and distinction, that of ceremony. From union comes mutual affection: from difference, mutual respect. Where music prevails, we find a weak coalescence; where ceremony prevails, a tendency to separation. It is the business of the two to blend people's feelings and give elegance to their outward manifestations. Through the perception of right produced by ceremony, came the degrees of the noble and the mean; through the union of culture arising from music, harmony between high and low. By the exhibition of what was to be liked and what was to be disliked, a distinction was made between the worthy and unworthy. When violence was prevented by punishments, and the worthy were raised to rank, the operation of government was made impartial. Then came benevolence in the love (of the people), and righteousness in the correction (of their errors); and in this way good government held its course.

11 Music comes from within, and ceremonies from without. Music, coming from within, produces the stillness (of the mind); ceremonies, coming from without, produce the elegancies (of manner). The highest style of music is sure to be distinguished by its ease; the highest style of elegance, by its undemonstrativeness. Let music attain its full results, and there would be no dissatisfactions (in the mind); let ceremony do so, and there would be no quarrels. When bowings and courtesies marked the government of the kingdom, there would be what might be described as music and ceremony indeed. Violent oppression of the people would not arise; the princes would appear submissively at court as guests; there would be no occasion for the weapons of war, and no

employment of the five punishments; the common people would have no distresses, and the son of Heaven no need to be angry - such a state of things would be an universal music. When the son of Heaven could secure affection between father and son, could illustrate the orderly relation between old and young, and make mutual respect prevail all within the four seas, then indeed would ceremony (be seen) as power.

12 In music of the grandest style there is the same harmony that prevails between heaven and earth; in ceremonies of the grandest form there is the same graduation that exists between heaven and earth. Through the harmony, things do not fail (to fulfil their ends); through the graduation we have the sacrifices to heaven and those to earth. In the visible sphere there are ceremonies and music; in the invisible, the spiritual agencies. These things being so, in all within the four seas. there must be mutual respect and love. The occasions and forms of ceremonies are different, but it is the same feeling of respect (which they express). The styles of musical pieces are different, but it is the same feeling of love (which they promote). The essential nature of ceremonies and music being the same, the intelligent kings, one after another, continued them as they found them. The occasions and forms were according to the times when they were made; the names agreed with the merit which they commemorated.

13 Hence the bell, the drum, the flute, and the soundingstone; the plume, the fife, the shield, and the axe are the instruments of music; the curvings and stretchings (of the body), the bending down and lifting up (of the head); and the evolutions and numbers (of the performers), with the slowness or rapidity (of their movements), are its elegant accompaniments. The dishes, round and square, the stands, the standing dishes, the prescribed rules and their elegant variations, are the instruments of ceremonies; the ascending and descending, the positions high and low, the wheelings about, and the changing of robes, are their elegant accompaniments. Therefore they who knew the essential nature of ceremonies and music could frame them; and they who had learned their elegant accompaniments could hand them down. The framers may be pronounced sage; the transmitters, intelligent. Intelligence and sagehood are other names for transmitting and inventing.

14 Music is an echo of the harmony between heaven and earth; ceremonies reflect the orderly distinctions (in the operations of) heaven and earth. From that harmony all things receive their being; to those orderly distinctions they owe the differences between them. Music has its origin from heaven; ceremonies take their form from the appearances of earth. If the imitation of those appearances were carried to excess, confusion (of ceremonies) would appear; if the framing of music were carried to excess, it would be too vehement. Let there be an intelligent understanding of the nature and interaction of (heaven and earth), and there will be the ability to practise well both ceremonies and music.

15 The blending together without any mutual injuriousness (of the sentiments and the airs on the different instruments) forms the essence of music; and the exhilaration of joy and the glow of affection are its business. Exactitude and correctness, without any inflection or deviation, form the substance of ceremonies, while gravity, respectfulness, and a humble consideration are the rules for their discharge. As to the employment of instruments of metal and stone in connexion with these ceremonies and this music, the manifestation of them by the voice and its modulations, the use of them in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and in sacrificing to (the spirits of) the hills and streams, and to the general spiritual agencies (in nature) - these are (external demonstrations), natural even to the people.

16 When the ancient kings had accomplished their undertakings, they made their music (to commemorate them): when they had established their government, they framed their ceremonies. The excellence of their music was according to the greatness of their undertakings; and the completeness of their ceremonies was according to the comprehensiveness of their government. The dances with shields and axes did not belong to the most excellent music, nor did the sacrifices with cooked flesh mark the highest ceremonies. The times of the five Dis were different, and therefore they did not each adopt the music of his predecessor. The three kings belonged to different ages, and so they did not each follow the ceremonies of his predecessor. Music carried to an extreme degree leads to sorrow, and coarseness in ceremonies indicates something one-sided. To make the grandest music, which should bring with it no element of sorrow, and frame the completest ceremonies which yet should show no one-sidedness, could be the work only of the great sage.

17 There are heaven above and earth below, and between them are distributed all the (various) beings with their different (natures and qualities) - in accordance with this proceeded the framing of ceremonies. (The influences of) heaven and earth flow forth and never cease; and by their united action (the phenomena of) production and change ensue - in accordance with this music arose. The processes of growth in spring, and of maturing in summer (suggest the

idea of) benevolence; those of in-gathering in autumn and of storing in winter, suggest righteousness. Benevolence is akin to music, and righteousness to ceremonies. Harmony is the thing principally sought in music - it therein follows heaven, and manifests the spirit-like expansive influence characteristic of it. Normal distinction is the thing aimed at in ceremonies - they therein follow earth, and exhibit the spirit-like retractive influence characteristic of it. Hence the sages made music in response to heaven, and framed ceremonies in correspondence with earth. In the wisdom and-completeness of their ceremonies and music we see the directing power of heaven and earth.

18 The relation between ruler and minister was determined from a consideration of heaven (conceived of as) honourable, and earth (conceived of as) mean. The positions of noble and mean were fixed with a reference to the heights and depths displayed by the surface (of the earth). The regularity with which movement and repose follow each other (in the course of nature) led to the consideration of affairs as small and great. The different quarters (of the heavens) are grouped together, and the things (of the earth) are distinguished by their separate characteristics; and this gave rise to (the conception of) natures and their attributes and functions. In heaven there are formed its visible signs, and earth produces its (endless variety of) things; and thus it was that ceremonies were framed after the distinction, between heaven and earth.

19 The breath or influence of earth ascends on high, and that of heaven descends below. These in their repressive and expansive powers come into mutual contact, and heaven and earth act on each other. (The susceptibilities of nature) are roused by the thunder, excited by the wind and rain, moved by the four seasons, and warmed by the sun and moon; and all the processes of change and growth vigorously proceed. Thus it was that music was framed to indicate the harmonious action of heaven and earth.

20 If these processes took place out of season, there would be no vigorous life; and if no distinction were observed between males and females, disorder would arise and grow such is the nature of the (different qualities of) heaven and earth. When we think of ceremonies and music, how they reach to the height of heaven and embrace the earth; how there are in them the phenomena of retrogression and expansion, and a communication with the spirit-like (operations of nature), we must pronounce their height the highest, their reach the farthest, their depth the most profound, and their breadth the greatest. Music appeared in the Grand Beginning (of all things), and ceremonies had their place on the completion of them. Their manifestation, being ceaseless, gives (the idea of) heaven; and again, being motionless, gives (the idea of) earth. Through the movement and repose (of their interaction) come all things between heaven and earth. Hence the sages simply spoke of ceremonies and music.

21 Anciently, Shun made the lute with five strings, and used it in singing the Nan Feng. Kui was the first who composed (the pieces of) music to be employed by the feudal lords as an expression of (the royal) approbation of them.

22 Thus the employment of music by the son of Heaven was intended to reward the most virtuous among the feudal lords. When their virtue was very great, and their instructions were honoured, and all the cereals ripened in their season, then they were rewarded by (being permitted) the use of the music. Hence, those of them whose toils in the government of the people were conspicuous, had their rows of pantomimes extended far; and those of them who had been indifferent to the government of the people had those rows made short. On seeing their pantomimes, one knew what was (the degree of) their virtue, (just as) on hearing their posthumous designations, we know what had been (the character of) their conduct

23 The Da Zhang expressed the brilliance of its author's virtue; the Xian Chi, the completeness (of its author's); the Shao showed how (its author) continued (the virtue of his predecessor); the Xia, the greatness (of its author's virtue); the music of Yin and Zhou embraced every admirable quality.

24 In the interaction of heaven and earth, if cold and heat do not come at the proper seasons, illnesses arise (among the people); if wind and rain do not come in their due proportions, famine ensues. The instructions (of their superiors) are the people's cold and heat; if they are not what the time requires, an injury is done to society. The affairs (of their superiors) are the people's wind and rain; if they are not properly regulated, they have no success. In accordance with this, the object of the ancient kings in their practice of music was to bring their government into harmony with those laws (of heaven and earth). If it was good, then the conduct (of the people) was like the virtue (of their superiors).

25 The feast on grain-fed animals, with the adjunct of drinking, was not intended to produce evil, and yet cases of litigation are more numerous in consequence of it - it is the excessive drinking which produces the evil. Therefore the former kings framed the rules to regulate the drinking. Where there is (but) one presentation of the cup (at one time), guest and host may bow to each other a hundred times, and drink

together all the day without getting drunk. This was the way in which those kings provided against evil consequences. Such feasts served for the enjoyment of the parties at them. The music was intended to illustrate virtue; the ceremonies to restrain excess.

26 Hence the former kings, on occasions of great sorrow, had their rules according to which they expressed their grief; and on occasions of great happiness, they had their rules by which they expressed their pleasure. The manifestations, whether of grief or joy, were all bounded by the limits of these rules. In music the sages found pleasure, and (saw that) it could be used to make the hearts of the people good. Because of the deep influence which it exerts on a man, and the change which it produces in manners and customs, the ancient kings appointed it as one of the subjects of instruction.

27 Now, in the nature of men there are both the energy of their physical powers and the intelligence of the mind; but for their (affections of) grief, pleasure, joy, and anger there are no invariable rules. They are moved according to the external objects which excite them, and then there ensues the manifestation of the various faculties of the mind. Hence when a (ruler's) aims are small, notes that quickly die away characterise the music, and the people's thoughts are sad; when he is generous, harmonious, and of a placid and easy temper, the notes are varied and elegant, with frequent changes, and the people are satisfied and pleased; when he is coarse, violent, and excitable, the notes, vehement at first and distinct in the end, are full and hold throughout the piece. and the people are resolute and daring: when he is pure and straightforward, strong and correct, the notes are grave and expressive of sincerity, and the people are self-controlled and respectful; when he is magnanimous, placid, and kind, the notes are natural, full, and harmonious, and the people are affectionate and loving; when he is careless, disorderly, perverse, and dissipated, the notes are tedious and illregulated, and the people proceed to excesses and disorder.

28 Therefore the ancient kings in framing their music, laid its foundations in the feelings and nature of men; they examined (the notes) by the measures (for the length and quality of each); and adapted it to express the meaning of the ceremonies (in which it was to be used). They (thus) brought it into harmony with the energy that produces life, and to give expression to the performance of the five regular constituents of moral worth. They made it indicate that energy in its Yang or phase of vigour, without any dissipation of its power, and also in its Yin or phase of remission, without the vanishing of its power. The strong phase showed no excess like that of anger, and the weak no shrinking like that of These four characteristics pusillanimity. blended harmoniously in the minds of men, and were similarly manifested in their conduct. Each occupied quietly in its proper place, and one did not interfere injuriously with another. After this they established schools for (teaching their music), and different grades for the learners. They marked most fully the divisions of the pieces, and condensed into small compass the parts and variations giving beauty and elegance, in order to regulate and increase the inward virtue (of the learners). They gave laws for the great and small notes according to their names, and harmonised the order of the beginning and the end, to represent the doing of things. Thus they made the underlying principles of the relations between the near and distant relatives, the noble and mean, the old and young, males and females, all to appear manifestly in the music. Hence it is said that 'in music we must endeavour to see

29 When the soil is worn out, the grass and trees on it do. not grow well. When water is often troubled, the fish and tortoises in it do not become large. When the energy (of nature) is decayed, its production of things does not proceed freely. In an age of disorder, ceremonies are forgotten and neglected, and music becomes licentious. In such a case the notes are melancholy but without gravity, or joyous without repose. There is remissness (in ceremonies) and the violation of them is easy. One falls into such a state of dissoluteness that he forgets the virtue properly belonging to his nature. In great matters he is capable of treachery and villainy; in small matters he becomes greedy and covetous. There is a diminution in him of the enduring, genial forces of nature, and an extinction of the virtue of satisfaction and harmony. On this account the Superior man despises such (a style of music and ceremonies).

30 Whenever notes that are evil and depraved affect men, a corresponding evil spirit responds to them (from within); and when this evil spirit accomplishes its manifestations, licentious music is the result. Whenever notes that are correct affect men, a corresponding correct spirit responds to them (from within); and when this correct spirit accomplishes its manifestations, harmonious music is the result. The initiating cause and the result correspond to each other. The round and the deflected, the crooked and the straight, have each its own category; and such is the character of all things, that they affect one another severally according to their class. Hence the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature) in order to bring his will into harmony with them,

and compares the different qualities (of actions) in order to perfect his conduct. Notes that are evil and depraved, and sights leading to disorder, and licentiousness, are not allowed to affect his ears or eyes. Licentious music and corrupted ceremonies are not admitted into the mind to affect its powers. The spirit of idleness, indifference, depravity, and perversity finds no exhibition in his person. And thus he makes his ears, eyes, nose, and mouth, the apprehensions of his mind, and the movements of all the parts of his body, all follow the course that is correct, and do that which is right.

31 After this there ensues the manifestation (of the inward thoughts) by the modulations of note and tone, the elegant accompaniments of the lutes, small and large, the movements with the shield and battleaxe, the ornaments of the plumes and ox-tails, and the concluding with the pipes and flutes. All this has the effect of exhibiting the brilliance of complete virtue, stirring up the harmonious action of the four (seasonal) energies; and displaying the true natures and qualities of all things. Hence in the fine and distinct notes we have an image of heaven; in the ample and grand, an image of earth; in their beginning and ending, an image of the four seasons; in the wheelings and revolutions (of the pantomimes), an image of the wind and rain. (The five notes, like) the five colours, form a complete and elegant whole, without any confusion. (The eight instruments of different materials, like) the eight winds, follow the musical accords, without any irregular deviation. The lengths of all the different notes have their definite measurements, without any uncertainty. The small and the great complete one another. The end leads on to the beginning, and the beginning to the end. The key notes and those harmonising with them, the sharp and the bass, succeed one another in their regular order. Therefore, when the music has full course, the different relations are clearly defined by it; the perceptions of the ears and eyes become sharp and distinct; the action of the blood and physical energies is harmonious and calm; (bad) influences are removed, and manners changed; and all under heaven there is entire repose.

32 Hence we have the saying, 'Where there is music there is joy.' Superior men rejoice in attaining to the course (which they wish to pursue); and smaller men in obtaining the things which they desire. When the objects of desire are regulated by a consideration of the course to be pursued, there is joy without any disorder. When those objects lead to the forgetfulness of that course, there is delusion, and no joy.

33 It is for this purpose that the superior man returns to the (good) affections (proper to his nature), in order to bring his will into harmony with them, and makes extensive use of music in order to perfect his instructions. When the music has free course, the people direct themselves to the quarter (to which they should proceed), and we can see (the power of) his virtue. Virtue is the strong stein of (man's) nature, and music is the blossoming of virtue. Metal, stone, silk, and bamboo are (the materials of which) the instruments of music (are made). Poetry gives expression to the thoughts; singing prolongs the notes (of the voice); pantomimic movements put the body into action (in harmony with the sentiments). These three things originate in the mind, and the instruments of the music accompany them. In this way the affections (from which comes the music) are deeply seated, and the elegant display of them is brilliant. All the energies (of the nature) are abundantly employed, and their transforming power is mysterious and spirit-like. A harmonious conformity (to virtue) is realised within, and the blossoming display of it is conspicuous without, for in music, more than other things, there should be nothing that is pretentious or hypocritical.

34 Music springs from the movement of the mind; the notes are the manifestation of the music; the elegant colours and various parts are the ornaments of the notes. The superior man puts its fundamental cause in movement, makes its manifesting notes into music, and regulates its ornaments.

35 Thus they first strike the drum to warn (the performers) to be in readiness, and (the pantomimes) take three steps to show the nature of the dance. This is done a second time and they begin to move forward; and when they have completed their evolutions, they return and dress their ranks. However rapid their movements may be, there is nothing violent in them; however mysterious they may be, they are not beyond the power of being understood. One, studying them alone, finds pleasure in the object of them, and does not tire in his endeavours to understand them. When he has fully understood them, he does not keep what he desires to himself. Thus the affections (of joy) are displayed; the (ideal) of righteousness is established; and when the music is ended, the (due) honour has been paid to virtue. Superior men by it nourish their love of what is good; small men in it hear the (correction of) their errors. Hence it is said, that 'for the courses to be pursued by men the influence of music is great.'

36 In music we have the outcome and bestowal (of what its framers felt); in ceremonies a return (for what their performers had received). Music expresses the delight in what produces it, and ceremonies lead the mind back to (the favours) which originate them. Music displays the virtue (of the framer); ceremonies are a return of the feelings (which led to them), as carrying the mind back to what originated them.

37 What is called 'a Grand carriage' is one which is (the gift) of the son of Heaven; the flag with dragons, and a nine-scolloped border, was the banner (conferred by) the son of Heaven; that with the azure and black edging exhibited the precious tortoises, and was (also the gift of) the son of Heaven; and when these were followed by herds of oxen and sheep, they were the gifts bestowed on the feudal lords.

38 In music we have the expression of feelings which do not admit of any change; in ceremonies that of principles which do not admit of any alteration. Music embraces what all equally share; ceremony distinguishes the things in which men differ. Hence the theory of music and ceremonies embraces the whole nature of man.

39 To go to the very root (of our feelings) and know the changes (which they undergo) is the province of music; to display sincerity and put away all that is hypocritical is the grand law of ceremonies. Ceremonies and music resemble the nature of Heaven and Earth, penetrate to the virtues of the spiritual Intelligences, bring down the spirits from above, and raise up those whose seat is below. They give a sort of substantial embodiment of what is most subtle as well as material, and regulate the duties between father and son, ruler and subject.

40 Therefore, when the Great man uses and exhibits his ceremonies and music, Heaven and Earth will in response to him display their brilliant influences. They will act in happy union, and the energies (of nature), now expanding, now contracting, will proceed harmoniously. The genial airs from above and the responsive action below will overspread and nourish all things. Then plants and trees will grow luxuriantly; curling sprouts and buds will expand; the feathered and winged tribes will be active; horns and antlers will grow; insects will come to the light and revive; birds will breed and brood; the hairy tribes will mate and bring forth; the mammalia will have no abortions, and no eggs will be broken or addled - and all will have to be ascribed to the power of music.

41 When we speak of music we do not mean the notes emitted by the Guang Zhong, Da Lu, (and the other musical pipes), the stringed instruments and the singing, or the (brandishing of the) shields and axes. These are but the small accessories of the music; and hence lads act as the pantomimes. (In the same way), the spreading of the mats, the disposing of the vases, and the arranging of the stands and dishes, with the movements in ascending and descending, are but the small accessories of ceremonies; and hence there are the (smaller) officers who direct them. The music-masters decide on the tunes and the pieces of poetry; and hence they have their places with their stringed instruments, and their faces directed to the north. The prayer-officers of the ancestral temple decide on the various ceremonies in it, and hence they keep behind the representatives of the deceased. Those who direct the mourning rites after the manner of the Shang dynasty, have their places (for the same reason) behind the presiding mourner. It is for this reason that the practice of virtue is held to be of superior worth, and the practice of any art of inferior; that complete virtue takes the first place, and the doing of anything, (however ingenious, only) the second. Therefore the ancient kings had their distinctions of superior and inferior, of first and last; and so they could frame their music and ceremonies for the whole kingdom.

42 The marquis Wen of Wei asked Zi-xia, saying, 'When in my square-cut dark robes and cap I listen to the ancient music, I am only afraid that I shall go to sleep. When I listen to the music of Kang and Wei, I do not feel tired; let me ask why I should feel so differently under the old and the new music.'

Zi-xia replied, 'In the old music, (the performers) advance and retire all together; the music is harmonious, correct, and in large volume; the stringed instruments (above) and those made from gourd shells with the organs and their metal tongues (below), are all kept waiting for the striking of the drum. The music first strikes up at the sound of the drum; and when it ends, it is at the sound of the cymbals. The close of each part of the performance is regulated by the Xiang, and the rapidity of the motions by the Ya. In (all) this the superior man speaks of, and follows, the way of antiquity. The character is cultivated; the family is regulated; and peace and order are secured throughout the kingdom. This is the manner of the ancient music.

'But now, in the new music, (the performers) advance and retire without any regular order; the music is corrupt to excess; there is no end to its vileness. Among the players there are dwarfs like monkeys, while boys and girls are mixed together, and there is no distinction between father and son. Such music can never be talked about, and cannot be said to be after the manner of antiquity. This is the fashion of the new music. What you ask about is music; and what you like is sound. Now music and sound are akin, but they are not the same.'

The marquis asked him to explain, and Zi-xia replied, 'In antiquity, Heaven and Earth acted according to their several natures, and the four seasons were what they ought to be. The people were virtuous, and all the cereals produced abundantly. There were no fevers or other diseases, and no apparitions or

other prodigies. This was what we call "the period of great " After this arose the sages, and set forth the duties between father and son, and between ruler and subject, for the guidance of society. When these guiding rules were thus correctly adjusted, all under heaven, there was a great tranquillity; after which they framed with exactness the six accords (upper and lower), and gave harmony to the five notes (of the scale), and the singing to the lutes of the odes and praise-songs; constituting what we call "the virtuous airs. Such virtuous airs constituted what we call "Music," as is declared in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 7, 4), 'Silently grew the fame of his virtue, His virtue was highly intelligent; Highly intelligent, and of rare discrimination; Able to lead, able to rule, To rule over this great country, Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union. When (the sway) came to king Wen, His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with. He received the blessing of God, And it was extended to his descendants." May I not say that what you love are the vile

The marquis said, "Let me ask where the vile airs come from?" Zi-xia replied, 'The airs of Zheng go to a wild excess, and debauch the mind; those of Song tell of slothful indulgence and women, and drown the mind; those of Wei are vehement and rapid, and perplex the mind; and those of Qi are violent and depraved, and make the mind arrogant. The airs of those four states all stimulate libidinous desire, and are injurious to virtue;—they should therefore not be used at sacrifices. It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, i [Part ii], ode 5), "In solemn unison (the instruments) give forth their notes; Our ancestors will hearken to them." That solemn unison denotes the grave reverence and harmony of their notes - with reverence, blended with harmony, what is there that cannot be done?

'A ruler has only to be careful of what he likes and dislikes. What the ruler likes, his ministers will practise; and what superiors do, their inferiors follow. This is the sentiment in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 10, 6), "To lead the people is very easy." Seeing this, and after (the repose of the people was secured), the sages made hand-drums and drums, the stopper and the starter, the earthen whistle and the bamboo flute - the six instruments which produced the sounds of their virtuous airs. After these came the bell, the sounding-stone, the organ with thirty-six pipes, and the large lute, to be played in harmony with them; the shields, axes, ox-tails, and plumes, brandished by the pantomimes in time and tune. These they employed at the sacrifices in the temple of the former kings, at festivals in offering and receiving the pledge cup; in arranging the services of officers (in the temple) according to the rank due to each, as noble or mean, and in showing to future ages how they observed the order due to rank and to age.

'The bells give out a clanging sound as a signal. The signal is recognised by all, and that recognition produces a martial enthusiasm. When the ruler hears the sound of the bell, he thinks of his officers of war. The sounding-stones give out a tinkling sound as a summons to the exercise of discrimination That discrimination may lead to the encountering of death. When the ruler hears the sounding-stone, he thinks of his officers who die in defence of his frontiers. The stringed instruments give out a melancholy sound, which produces the thought of purity and fidelity, and awakens the determination of the mind. When the ruler hears the sound of the lute and cithern, he thinks of his officers who are bent on righteousness The instruments of bamboo give out a sound like that of overflowing waters, which suggests the idea of an assembly, the object of which is to collect the multitudes together. When the ruler hears the sound of his organs, pipes, and flutes, he thinks of his officers who gather the people together. The drums and tambours give out their loud volume of sound, which excites the idea of movement, and tends to the advancing of the host. When the ruler hears the sounds of his drums and tambours, he thinks of his leaders and commanders. When a superior man thus hears his musical instruments, he does not hear only the sounds which they emit. There are associated ideas which accompany these.

43 Bin-mou Jia was sitting with Confucius. Confucius talked with him about music, and said, 'At (the performance of) the Wu, how is it that the preliminary warning (of the drum) continues so long?' The answer was, 'To show (the king's) anxiety that all his multitudes should be of one mind with him.'

'How is it that (when the performance has commenced) the singers drawl their notes so long, and the pantomimes move about till they perspire?' The answer was, 'To show his apprehension that some (princes) might not come up in time for the engagement.'

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'How is it that the violent movement of the arms and stamping fiercely with the feet begin so soon?' The answer was, 'To show that the time for the engagement had arrived.'

'How is it that, (in the performance of the Wu,) the pantomimes kneel on the ground with the right knee, while the left is kept up?' The answer was, 'There should be no kneeling in the Wu.'

'How is it that the words of the singers go on to speak eagerly of Shang?' The answer was, 'There should be no such sounds in the Wu.'

'But if there should be no such sound in the Wu, where does it come from?' The answer was, 'The officers (of the music) failed to hand it down correctly. If they did not do so, the aim of king Wu would have been reckless and wrong.' The Master said, 'Yes, what I heard from Chang Hong was to the same effect as what you now say.'

44 Bin-mao Jia rose up, left his mat, and addressed Confucius, saying, 'On the long-continued warning (of the drum) in the Wu, I have heard your instructions; but let me ask how it is that after that first delay there is another, and that a long one?'

The Master said, 'Sit down, and I will tell you. Music is a representation of accomplished facts. The pantomimes stand with their shields, each erect and firm as a hill, representing the attitude of king Wu. The violent movements of the arms and fierce stamping represent the enthusiasm of Tai-gong. The kneeling of all at the conclusion of the performance represents the government (of peace, instituted) by (the dukes of) Zhou and Shao. Moreover, the pantomimes in the first movement proceed towards the north (to imitate the marching of king Wu against Shang); in the second, they show the extinction of Shang; in the third, they show the return march to the south; in the fourth, they show the laying out of the Southern states; in the fifth, they show how (the dukes of) Zhou and Shao were severally put in charge of the states on the left and right; in the sixth, they again unite at the point of starting to offer their homage to the son of Heaven. Two men, one on each side of the performers, excite them with bells, and four times they stop and strike and thrust, showing the great awe with which (king Wu) inspired the Middle states. Their advancing with these men on each side shows his eagerness to complete his helpful undertaking. The performers standing long together show how he waited for the arrival of the princes.

'And have you alone not heard the accounts of Mu-ye? King Wu, after the victory over Yin, proceeded to (the capital of) Shang; and before he descended from his chariot he invested the descendants of Huang Di with Ji; those of the Di Yao with Zhu: and those of the Di Shun with Chen. When he had descended from it, he invested the descendant of the sovereign of Xia with Qi; appointed the descendants of Yin to Song; raised a mound over the grave of the king's son, Bi-gan; released the count of Ji from his imprisonment, and employed him to restore to their places the officers who were acquainted with the ceremonial usages of Shang. The common people were relieved from (the pressure) of the (bad) government which they had endured, and the emoluments of the multitude of (smaller) officers were doubled. (The king then) crossed the He, and proceeded to the West. His horses were set free on the south of mount Hua, not to be yoked again. His oxen were dispersed in the wild of the Peach forest, not to be put to the carriages again. His chariots and coats of mail were smeared with blood, and despatched to his arsenals, not to be used again. The shields and spears were turned upside down and conveyed away, wrapped in tiger skins, which were styled "the appointed cases." The leaders and commanders were then constituted feudal lords; and it was known throughout the kingdom that king Wu would have recourse to weapons of war no more. The army having been disbanded (the king commanded) a practice of archery at the colleges in the suburbs. At the college on the left (or east) they shot to the music of the Li-shou; at that on the right (or west) they shot to the music of the Zou-yu; and (from this time) the archery which consisted in going through (so many) buffcoats ceased. They wore (only) their civil robes and caps, with their ivory tokens of rank stuck in their girdles; and the officers of the guard put off their swords. (The king) offered sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction, and the people learned to be filial. He gave audiences at court, and the feudal lords knew how they ought to demean themselves. He ploughed in the field set apart for that purpose, and the lords learned what should be the object of reverence to them (in their states), These five things constituted great lessons for the whole kingdom.

In feasting the three (classes of the) old and the five (classes of the) experienced in the Great college, he himself (the son of Heaven) had his breast bared and cut up the animals. He (also) presented to them the condiments and the cups. He wore the royal cap, and stood with a shield before him. In this way he taught the lords their brotherly duties. In this manner the ways of Zhou penetrated everywhere, and the interaction of ceremonies and music was established - is it not right that in the performance of the Wu there should be that gradual and long-continuing action?'

45 A superior man says: 'Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered completely (the principles of) music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long-continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) Heaven. Heaven-like, (his action) is spirit-

like. Heaven-like, he is believed without the use of words. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, without any display of rage. So it is, when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart. When one has mastered completely (the principle of) ceremonies so as to regulate his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he comes to be regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and respectfulness, indifference and rudeness show themselves.

Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies a perfect observance (of propriety). When one's inner man is (thus) harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and acts within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule), and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are sure (in the same way) to accept and obey him. Hence it is said, "Carry out perfectly ceremonies and music, and give them their outward manifestation and application, and under heaven nothing difficult to manage will appear."

46 Music springs from the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This rule for ceremonies leads to the forward exhibition of them, and therein their beauty resides; that for music leads to the introspective consideration of it, and therein its beauty resides. If ceremonies demanding this condensation were not performed with this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with this introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is its introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises pleasure; and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises the (feeling of) repose. The responses of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.

47 Now music produces pleasure - what the nature of man cannot be without. That pleasure must arise from the modulation of the sounds, and have its embodiment in the movements (of the body) - such is the rule of humanity. These modulations and movements are the changes required by the nature, and they are found complete in music. Thus men will not be without the ministration of pleasure, and pleasure will not be without its embodiment, but if that embodiment be not suitably conducted, it is impossible that disorder should not arise. The ancient kings, feeling that they would feel ashamed (in the event of such disorder arising), appointed the tunes and words of the Ya and the Sung to guide (in the music), so that its notes should give sufficient pleasure, without any intermixture of what was bad, while the words should afford sufficient material for consideration without causing weariness; and the bends and straight courses, the swell and diminution, the sharp angles, and soft melody throughout all its parts, should be sufficient to stir up in the minds of the hearers what was good in them, without inducing any looseness of thought or depraved air to be suggested. Such was the plan of the ancient kings when they framed their

48 Therefore in the ancestral temple, rulers and ministers, high and low, listen together to the music, and all is harmony and reverence; at the district and village meetings of the heads of clans, old and young listen together to it, and all is harmony and deference. Within the gate of the family, fathers and sons, brothers and cousins, listen together to it, and all is harmony and affection. Thus in music there is a careful discrimination (of the voices) to blend them in unison so as to bring out their harmony; there is a union of the (various) instruments to give ornamental effect to its different parts; and these parts are combined and performed so as to complete its elegance. In this way fathers and sons, rulers and subjects are united in harmony, and the people of the .myriad states are associated in love. Such was the method of the ancient kings when they framed their music.

49 In listening to the singing of the Ya and the Song, the aims and thoughts receive an expansion. From the manner in which the shields and axes are held and brandished, and from the movements of the body in the practice with them, now turned up, now bent down, now retiring, now stretching forward, the carriage of the person receives gravity. From the way in which (the pantomimes) move to their several places, and adapt themselves to the several parts (of the performance), the arrangement of their ranks is made correct, and their order in advancing and re tiring is secured. In this way music becomes the lesson of Heaven and Earth, the regulator of true harmony, and what the nature of man cannot dispense with. It was by music that the ancient kings gave elegant expression to

their joy; by their armies and axes that they gave the same to their anger. Hence their joy and anger always received their appropriate response. When they were joyful, all under heaven were joyful with them; when they were angry, the oppressive and disorderly feared them. In the ways of the ancient kings, ceremonies and music may be said to have attained perfection.

50 (Once), when Zi-gong had an interview with the musicmaster Yi, he asked him, saying, 'I have heard that in the music and words belonging to it there is that which is specially appropriate to every man; what songs are specially appropriate to me?' The other replied, 'I am but a poor musician, and am not worthy to be asked what songs are appropriate for particular individuals; allow me to repeat to you what I have heard, and you can select for yourself (what is appropriate to you). The generous and calm, the mild and correct, should sing the Sung; the magnanimous and calm, and those of wide penetration and sincere, the Da Ya (Major Odes of the Kingdom); the courteous and self-restraining, the lovers of the rules of propriety, the Xiao Ya (Minor Odes of the Kingdom); the correct, upright, and calm, the discriminating and humble, the Fang, (Airs of the States); the determinedly upright, but yet gentle and loving, the Shang; and the mild and honest, but yet capable of decision, the Qi. The object of this singing is for one to make himself right, and then to display his virtue. When he has thus put himself in a condition to act, Heaven and Earth respond to him, the four seasons revolve in harmony with him, the stars and constellations observe their proper laws, and all things are nourished and thrive.

'What are called the Shang were the airs and words transmitted from the five Dis; and having been remembered by the people of Shang, we call them the Shang. What are called the Qi were transmitted from the three dynasties; and having been remembered by the people of Qi, we call them the Qi. He who is versed in the airs of the Shang will generally be found to manifest decision in the conduct of affairs. He who is versed in the airs of the Qi, when he is attracted by the prospect of profit, will yet give place to others. To manifest decision in the conduct of affairs is bravery; to give. place to others in the prospect of gain is righteousness. Who, without singing these songs, can assure himself that he will always preserve such bravery and righteousness? In singing, the high notes rise as if they were borne aloft; the low descend as if they were falling to the ground; the turns resemble a thing broken off; and the finale resembles the breaking) of a willow tree; emphatical notes seem made by the square; quavers are like the hook (of a spear); and those prolonged on the same key are like pearls strung together. Hence, singing means the prolonged expression of the words; there is the utterance of the words, and when the simple utterance is not sufficient, the prolonged expression of them. When that prolonged expression is not sufficient, there come the sigh and exclamation. When these are insufficient, unconsciously there come the motions of the hands and the stamping of the feet. (Such was the answer to) Zi-gong's question about music.

# LI JI CHAPTER 20 Za Ji 1

Miscellaneous Records Part 1

1 When a feudal lord was on the march and died in his lodging, they called back his soul in the same way as in his state. If he died on the road, (one) got up on the nave of the left wheel of the chariot in which he had been riding, and called it, waving the pennon of his flag. (For the carriage with the bier) there was a pall, and attached to it a fringe made of black cloth, like a lower garment, serving as a curtain (to the temporary coffin), and the whole was made into a sort of house by a covering of white brocade. With this they travelled (back to his state), and on arriving at the gate of the temple, without removing the (curtain) wall, they entered and went straight to the place where the coffining was to take place. The pall was removed at the outside of the door.

2 When a Great officer or an ordinary officer died on the road, (one) got up on the left end of the nave of his carriage, and called back his soul, waving his pennon. If he died in his lodging, they called the soul back in the same manner as if he had died in his house. In the case of a Great officer they made a pall of cloth, and so proceeded homewards. On arriving at the house, they removed the pall, took the (temporary) coffin on a handbarrow, entered the gate, and proceeding to the eastern steps, there halted and removed the barrow, after which they took the body up the steps, right to the place where it was to be coffined. The pall-house made over the body of an ordinary officer was made of the phragmites rush; and the fringe for a curtain below of the typha.

3 In every announcement of a death to the ruler it was said, 'Your lordship's minister, so and so, has died. When the announcement was from a parent, a wife, or an eldest son, it was said, 'Your lordship's minister, my ----, has died.' In an announcement of the death of a ruler to the ruler of another state, it was said, 'My unworthy ruler has ceased to receive his emoluments. I venture to announce it to your officers.' If the announcement were about the death of his wife, it was said, 'The inferior partner of my poor ruler has ceased to receive

her emoluments.' On the death of a ruler's eldest son, the announcement ran, 'The heir-Son of my unworthy ruler, so and so has died

4 When an announcement of the death of a Great officer was sent to another of the same grade, in the same state, it was said, 'So and so has ceased to receive his emoluments.' The same terms were employed when the announcement was to an ordinary officer. When it was sent to the ruler of another state. it ran, 'Your lordship's outside minister, my poor Great officer, so and so, has died.' If it were to one of equal degree (in the other state), it was said, 'Sir, your outside servant, our poor Great officer, has ceased to receive his emoluments, and I am sent here to inform you.' If it were to an ordinary officer, the announcement was made in the same terms. In the announcement of the death of an ordinary officer to the same parties, it was made in the same-style, only that 'So and so has died,' was employed in all the cases.

5 A Great officer had his place in the lodgings about the palace, till the end of the mourning rites (for a ruler), while another officer returned to his home on the completion of a year. An ordinary officer had his place in the same lodgings. A Great officer occupied the mourning shed; another officer, the unplastered apartment.

6 In the mourning for a cousin, either paternal or maternal, who had not attained to the rank of a Great officer, a Great officer wore the mourning appropriate for an ordinary officer; and an ordinary officer, in mourning similarly for a cousin on either side who had been a Great officer, wore the same mourning. The son of a Great officer by his wife proper wore the mourning appropriate for a Great officer. The son of a Great officer by any other member of his harem, who was himself a Great officer wore for his father or mother the mourning of a Great officer; but his Place was only the same as that of a son by the proper wife who was not a Great officer.

7 When the son of an ordinary officer had become a Great officer, his parents could not preside at his mourning rites. They made his son do so; and if he had no son, they appointed some one to perform that part, and be the representative of the deceased.

8 When they were divining by the tortoise-shell about the grave and the day of interment of a Great officer, the officer superintending (the operation) wore an upper robe of sackcloth, with (strips of) coarser cloth (across the chest), and a girdle of the same and the usual mourning shoes. His cap was of black material, without any fringe. The diviner wore a skin cap. If the stalks were employed, then the manipulator wore a cap of plain silk, and the long robe. The reader of the result wore his court robes.

9 At the mourning rites for a Great officer preparatory to the interment, the horses were brought out. The man who brought them wailed, stamped, and went out. After this (the son) folded up the offerings, and read the list (of the gifts that had been sent).

10 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, one from the department of the chief superintendent of the ancestral temple assisted (the presiding mourner), and one from that of the assistant superintendent put the question to the tortoise-shell, which was then manipulated in the proper form by the diviner.

11 In calling back the soul of a feudal lord, they used the robe which had first been conferred on him, with the cap and corresponding robes, varying according to the order of his nobility. (In calling back the soul of) a friends wife, they used the black upper robe with a purple border, or that with pheasants embroidered on it in various colours; both of them lined with white crape. (In calling back that of) the wife of a high noble, they used the upper robe of light green, worn on her first appointment to that position, and lined with white crape; (in calling back that of the wife of) a Great officer of the lowest grade, the upper robe of plain white. (The souls of other wives were called back) by parties with the same robe as in the case of an ordinary officer. In the calling back, they stood (with their faces to the north), inclining to the west.

12 To the pall over the coffin of a Great officer there was not attached the (curtain of) yellow silk with pheasants on it, descending below the (bamboo) catch for water.

13 The tablet of a grandson who had been a Great officer was placed in the shrine of his grandfather who had (only) been an officer; but not if he had only been an officer, and the grandfather a Great officer. In that case, the tablet was placed in the shrine of a brother of the grandfather (who had only been an officer). If there were no such brother, (it was placed in the shrine of their high ancestor), according to the regular order of relationship. Even if his grand-parents were alive, it

14 The tablet of a) wife was placed after that of the wife (of the principal of the shrine), in which her husband's tablet was placed. If there had been no such wife, it was placed in the shrine of the wife of the high ancestor, according to the regular order of relationship. The (tablet of a) concubine was placed in the shrine of her husband's grandmother (concubine). If there had been no such concubine, then (it was placed in that of the concubine of the high ancestor) according to the regular order of relationship.

15 The tablet of an unmarried son was placed in the shrine of his grandfather, and was used at sacrifices. That of an unmarried daughter was placed in the shrine of her grandmother, but was not used at sacrifices. The (tablet of) the son of a ruler was placed in the shrine of (one of) the sons (of his grandfather), that grandfather having also been a ruler.

16 When a ruler died, his eldest son was simply styled son (for that year), but he was treated (by other rulers) as the

17 If one, after wearing for a year the mourning and cap proper to the three years for a parent, met with the death of a relative for whom he had to wear the mourning of nine months, he changed it for the hempen-cloth proper to the nine months; but he did not change the staff and shoes.

18 In mourning for a parent, (after a year) the sackcloth of the nine months' mourning is preferred; but if there occurred the placing in its shrine of the tablet of a brother who had died prematurely, the cap and other mourning worn during that first year was worn in doing so. The youth who had died prematurely was called 'The Bright Lad,' and (the mourner said), 'My so and so,' without naming him. This was treating him with reference to his being in the spirit-state.

19 In the case of brothers living in different houses, when one first heard of the death of another, he might reply to the messenger simply with a wail. His first step then was to put on the sackcloth, and the girdle with dishevelled edges. If, before he had put on the sackcloth, he hurried off to the mourning rites, and the presiding mourner had not yet adjusted his head-band and girdle, in the case of the deceased being one for whom he had to mourn for five months, he completed that term along with the presiding mourner. If nine months were due to the deceased, he included the time that had elapsed since he assumed the sackcloth and girdle.

20 The master, presiding at the mourning rites for a concubine, himself conducted the placing of her tablet (in its proper shrine). At the sacrifices at the end of the first and second years, he employed her son to preside at them. The sacrifice at her offering did not take place in the principal apartment.

21 A ruler did not stroke the corpse of a servant or a concubine

22 Even after the wife of a ruler was dead, the concubines of the harem wore mourning for her relatives. If one of them took her place (and acted as mistress of the establishment), she did not wear mourning for the relatives.

23 If one heard of the mourning rites for a cousin for whom he had to wear mourning for nine months or more, when he looked in the direction of the place where those rites were going on, he wailed. If he were going to accompany the funeral to the grave, but did not get to the house in time, though he met the presiding mourner returning, he himself went on to the grave. The president at the mourning rites for a cousin, though the relationship might not have been near, also presented the sacrifice of Repose.

24 On all occasions of mourning, if, before the mourning robes had all been completed, any one arrived to offer condolences, (the president) took the proper place, wailed, bowed to the visitor, and leaped.

25 At the wailing for a Great officer, another of the same rank, wore the conical cap, with a sackcloth band round it. He wore the same also when engaged with the coffining. If he had on the cap of dolichos-cloth in mourning for his own wife or son, and were called away to the lighter mourning for a distant relative, he put on the conical cap and band.

26 In wailing for an eldest son, he carried a staff, but not for that son's son; he went without it to the place of wailing. (An eldest son), going to wail for his wife, if his parents were alive, did not carry a staff, nor bow so as to lay his forehead on the ground. If (only) his mother were alive, he did not lay his forehead to the ground. Where such a prostration should have taken place, as in the case of one who brought a gift with his condolence, an ordinary bow was made.

27 An officer who had left a feudal prince and gone into the service of a Great officer did not on the lord's death return and wear mourning for him; nor did one who had left a Great officer to serve a prince, return to mourn on the death of the former.

28 The strings of the mourning cap served to distinguish it from one used on a festive occasion. The silk cap worn after a year's mourning, and belonging to that for three years, had such strings, and the seam of it was on the right. That worn in the mourning of five months, and a still shorter time, was seamed on the left. The cap of the shortest mourning had a tassel of reddish silk. The ends of the girdle in the mourning of nine months and upward hung loose.

29 Court robes were made with fifteen skeins 1200 threads in the warp. Half that number made the coarse cloth for the shortest mourning, which then was glazed by being steeped with ashes

30 In sending presents to one another for the use of the dead, the princes of the states sent their carriages of the second class with caps and robes. They did not send their carriages of the first class, nor the robes which they had themselves received (from the king).

- 31 The number of small carriages sent to the grave was according to that of the parcels of flesh to be Conveyed. Each one had a pall of coarse cloth. All round were ornamental figures. These parcels were placed at the four corners of the coffin. (Sometimes) rice was sent, but You-zi said that such an offering was contrary to rule. The food put down (by the dead) in mourning was only dried meat and pickled.
- 32 At the sacrifices (after the sacrifice of Repose), the mourner styled himself 'The filial son,' or 'The filial grandson,' at the previous rites, 'The grieving son,' or 'The grieving grandson.'
- 33 In the square upper garment of the mourner and the sackcloth over it, and in the carriage in which he rode to the grave, there was no difference of degree.
- 34 The white cap of high antiquity and the cap of black cloth were both without any ornamental fringe. The azure-coloured and that of white silk with turned-up rim had such a fringe.
- 35 A Great officer wore the cap with the square top when assisting at a sacrifice of his ruler; but that of skin when sacrificing at his own shrines. An ordinary officer used the latter in his ruler's temple, and the cap (of dark cloth) in his own. As an officer wore the skin cap, when going in person to meet his bride, he might also use it at his own shrines.
- 36 The mortar for the fragrant herbs, in making sacrificial spirits, was made of cypress wood, and the pestle of dryandria. The ladle (for lifting out the flesh) was of mulberry wood, three, some say five, cubits long. The scoop used in addition was of mulberry, three cubits long, with its handle and end carved.
- 37 The girdle over the shroud used for a prince or a Great officer was of five colours; that used for another officer, only of two.
- 38 The must put into the grave was made from the malt of rice. There were the jars (for it and other liquids), the baskets (for the millet), and the boxes (in which these were placed). These were placed outside the covering of the coffin; and then the tray for the mats was put in.
- 39 The spirit-tablet which had been set up over the coffin was buried after the sacrifice of Repose.
- 40 The mourning rites for all wives were according to the rank of their husbands.
- 41 Visitors who had arrived during the slighter dressing of the corpse, the more complete dressing, or the opening (the enclosure where the coffin was), were all saluted and bowed to (after these operations were finished).
- 42 At the wailing morning and evening, the coffin was not screened from view. When the bier had been removed, the curtain was no more suspended.
- 43 When the ruler came to condole, after the carriage with its coffin (had reached the gate of the temple), the presiding mourner bowed towards him with his face towards the east, and moving to the right of the gate, leaped there, with his face towards the north. Going outside, he waited till the ruler took his departure and bade him go back, after which he put down (by the bier the gifts which the ruler had brought).
- 44 When Zi-gao was fully dressed after his death, first, there were the upper and lower garments both wadded with floss silk, and over them a suit of black with a purple border below; next, there was a. suit of white made square and straight, (the suit belonging to) the skin cap; next, that belonging to the skin cap like the colour of a sparrow's head; and next, (that belonging to) the dark-coloured cap, with the square top. Zeng-zi said, 'In such a dressing there should be nothing of woman's dress.'
- 45 When an officer died on some commission, upon which he had gone for his ruler, if the death took place in a public hotel, they called his soul back; if in a private hotel, they did not do so. By a public hotel was meant a ruler's palace, or some other building, erected by him, and by a private hotel, the house of a noble, a Great officer, or an officer below that rank.
- 46 On the death of a ruler, there is the leaping for him for seven days in succession; and on that of a Great officer, it lasts for five days. The women take their share in this expression of grief at intervals, between the presiding mourner and his visitors. On the death of an ordinary officer, it lasts for three days; the women taking their part in the same way.
- 47 In dressing the corpse of a ruler, there is first put on it the upper robe with the dragon; next, a dark-coloured square-cut suit; next, his court-robes; next, the white lower garment with gathers; next, a purple-coloured lower garment; next, a sparrow-head shin cap; next, the dark-coloured cap with the square top; next, the robe given on his first investiture; next, a girdle of red and green; over which was laid out the great girdle.
- 48 At the slight dressing of the corpse the son (or the presiding mourner) wore the band of sackcloth about his head. Rulers, Great officers, and ordinary officers agreed in this.
- 49 When the ruler came to see the great dressing of the corpse, as he was ascending to the hall, the Shang priest spread the mat (afresh), and proceeded to the dressing.
- 50 The gifts (for the dead, and to be placed in the grave), contributed by the people of Lu, consisted of three rolls of

- dark-coloured silk, and two of light red, but they were (only) a cubit in width, and completing the length of (one) roll.
- 51 When one came (from another ruler) with a message of condolence, he took his place outside, on the west of the gate, with his face to the east. The chief officer attending him was on the south-east of him, with his face to the north, inclining to the west, and west from the gate. The orphan mourner, with his face to the west, gave his instructions to the officer waiting on him, who then went to the visitor and said, 'My orphaned master has sent me to ask why you have given yourself this trouble,' to which the visitor replies, 'Our ruler has sent me to ask for your master in his trouble.' With this reply the officer returned to the mourner and reported it, returning and saying, 'My orphaned master is waiting for you.' On this the visitor advanced. The mourning host then went up to the reception hall by the steps on the east, and the visitor by those on the west. The latter, with his face to the east, communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has heard of the bereavement you have sustained, and has sent me to ask for you in your sorrows.' The mourning son then bowed to him, kneeling with his forehead to the ground. The messenger then descended the steps, and returned to his place.
- 52 The attendant charged with the jade for the mouth of the deceased, and holding it in his hands flat round piece of jade communicated his instructions, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me with the gem for the mouth.' The officer in waiting went in and reported the message, then returning and saying, 'Our orphaned master is waiting for you.' The bearer of the gem then advanced, ascended the steps, and communicated his message. The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground. The bearer then knelt, and placed the gem on the south-east of the coffin, upon a phragmites mat; but if the interment had taken place, on a typha mat. After this, he descended the steps, and returned to his place, The majordomo, in his court robes, but still wearing his mourning shoes, then ascended the western steps, and kneeling with his face to the west, took up the piece of jade, and descending by the same steps, went towards the east (to deposit it in the proper
- 53 The officer charged with the grave-clothes said, 'Our ruler has sent me with the grave-clothes.' The officer in waiting, having gone in and reported, returned and said, 'Our orphaned master is waiting for you.' Then the other took up first the cap with the square top and robes, with his left hand holding the neck of the upper garment, and with his right the waist. He advanced, went up to the hall, and communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me with the graveclothes' The son bowed to him with his forehead to the ground; and when the bearer laid down the things on the east of the coffin, he then went down, and received the skin cap of the sparrow's-head colour, with the clothes belonging to it inside the gate, under the eaves. These he presented with the same forms; then the skin cap and clothes which he received in the middle of the courtvard; then the court robes; then the dark-coloured, square-cut garments, which he received at the foot of the steps on the west. When all these presentations were made, five men from the department of the major-domo took the things up, and going down the steps on the west, went away with them to the-east. They all took them up with their faces towards the west.
- 54 The chief of the attendants (of the messenger) had charge of the carriage and horses, and with a long symbol of jade in his hand communicated his message, saying, 'Our ruler has sent me to present the carriage and horses.' The officer in waiting went in and informed the presiding mourner, and returned with the message, 'The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.' The attendant then had the team of yellow horses and the grand carriage exhibited in the central courtyard, with the front to the north; and with the symbol in hand he communicated his message. His grooms were all below, on the west of the carriage. The son bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground. He then knelt, and placed his symbol in the corner, on the southeast of the coffin. The major-domo then took the symbol up, and proceeded with it to the east.
- 55 The message was always delivered with the face turned towards the coffin, and the son always bowed to the attendant charged with it, with his forehead down to the ground. The attendant then knelt with his face to the west, and deposited his gift (or its representative). The major-domo and his employees ascended by the steps on the west to take these up, and did so with their faces towards the west, descending (again) by the same steps. The attendant charged with the carriage and horses went out, and returned to his place outside the gate.
- 56 The chief visitor then, (wishing) to perform the ceremony of wailing, said, 'My ruler, being engaged in the services of his own ancestral temple, could not come and take part in your rites, and has sent me, so and so, his old servant, to assist in holding the rope.' The officer in waiting (reported his request), and returned with the message, 'The orphan, so and so, is waiting for you.' The messenger then entered and took his place on the right of the gate. His attendants all followed him, and stood on his left, on the east. The superintendent of ceremonies introduced the visitor, and went

- up on the hall, and received his ruler's instructions, then descending and saying,' The orphan ventures to decline the honour which you propose, and begs you to return to your place.' The messenger, however, replied. 'My ruler charged me that I should not demean myself as a visitor or guest, and I venture to decline doing as you request.' The other then reported this reply, and returned, and told the messenger that the orphan firmly declined the honour which he proposed, and repeated the request that he would return to his place. The messenger repeated his reply, saying that he also firmly declined (to return to his place). The same message from the mourner was repeated, and the same reply to it, (after which) the mourner said, 'Since he thus firmly declines what I request, I will venture respectfully to comply with his wish.'
- 57 The messenger then stood on the west of the gate, and his attendants on his left, facing the west. The orphaned mourner descended by the steps on the east, and bowed to him, after which they both ascended and wailed, each of them leaping three times in response to each other. The messenger then went out, escorted by the mourner outside of the gate, who then bowed to him, with his forehead down to the ground.
- 58 When the ruler of a state had mourning rites in hand for a parent, (any officer who was mourning for a parent) did not dare to receive visits of condolence (from another state).
- 59 The female relatives of the exterior kept in their apartments; the servants spread the mats; the officer of prayer, who used the Shang forms, spread out the girdle, sash, and upper coverings; the officers washed their hands, standing on the north of the vessel; they then removed the corpse to the place where it was to be dressed. When the dressing was finished, the major-domo reported it. The son then leant on the coffin and leaped. The wife with her face to the east, also leant on it, kneeling; and then she got up and leaped.
- 60 There are three things in the mourning rites for an officer which agree with those used on the death of the son of Heaven the torches kept burning all night (when the coffin is to be conveyed to the grave); the employment of men to draw the carriage; and the keeping of the road free from all travellers on it.

#### LLJI CHAPTER 21 Za Ji 2

Miscellaneous Records Part 2

- 61 When a man was wearing mourning for his father, if his mother died before the period was completed, he put off the mourning for his father (and assumed that proper for his mother). He put on, however, the proper dress when sacrificial services required it; but when they were over, he returned to the mourning (for his mother).
- 62 When occasion occurred for wearing the mourning for uncles or cousins, if it arrived during the period of mourning for a parent, then the previous mourning was not laid aside, save when the sacrificial services in these cases required it to be so; and when they were finished, the mourning for a parent was resumed
- 63 If during the three years' mourning (there occurred also another three years' mourning for the eldest son), then after the coarser girdle of the Jiong hemp had been assumed in the latter case, the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year's mourning for a parent might be proceeded with.
- 64 When a grandfather had died, and his grandson also died before the sacrifices at the end of the first or second year had been performed, (his spirit-tablet) was still placed next to the grandfather's.
- 65 When a mourner, while the coffin was in the house, heard of the death of another relative at a distance, he went to another apartment and wailed for him. (Next day), he entered where the coffin was, and put down the offerings (to the deceased), after which he went out, changed his clothes, went to the other apartment, and repeated the ceremony of the day before
- 66 When a Great officer or another officer was about to take part in a sacrifice at his ruler's, if, after the inspection of the washing of the vessels to be used, his father or mother died, he still went to the sacrifice; but took his place in a different apartment. After the sacrifice he put off his (sacrificial) dress, went outside the gate of the palace, wailed, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as he would have done in hurrying to the mourning rites. If the parent's death took place before the inspection of the washing, he sent a messenger to inform the ruler of his position; and when he returned, proceeded to wail (for his deceased parent). When the death that occurred was that of an uncle, aunt, or cousin, if he had received the previous notice to fast, he went to the sacrifice; and when it was over, he went out at the ruler's gate, put off his (sacrificial) dress, and returned to his own house. In other respects he acted as if he had been hurrying to the mourning rites. If the deceased relative lived under the same roof with him, he took up his residence in other apartments.
- 67 Zeng-zi asked, 'When a high minister or Great officer is about to act the part of the personator of the dead at a sacrifice by his ruler, and has received instructions to pass the night previous in solemn vigil, if there occur in his own family occasion for him to wear the robe of hemmed sackcloth, what is he to do?' Confucius said, 'The rule is for him to leave his

own house, and lodge in the ruler's palace till the service (for the ruler) is accomplished.

68 Confucius said, 'When the personator of the dead comes forth in his leathern cap, or that with the square top, ministers, Great officers, and other officers, all should descend from their carriages when he passes. He should bow forward to them, and he should (also) have people going before him (to notify his approach, that people may get out of the way).

69 During the mourning rites for a parent, when the occasion for one of the sacrifices was at hand, if a death occurred in the family of a brother or cousin, the sacrifice was postponed till the burial of the dead had taken place. If the cousin or brother were an inmate of the same palace with himself, although the death were that of a servant or concubine, the party postponed his sacrifice in this way, At the sacrifice the mourner went up and descended the steps with only one foot on each, all assisting him, doing the same. They did so even for the sacrifice of Repose, and to put the spirit-tablet in its place.

70 From the feudal rulers down to all officers, at the sacrifice at the end of the first year's mourning for a parent, when the chief mourner took the cup offered to him by the chief among the visitors, he raised it to his teeth, while the visitors, brothers, and cousins all sipped the cups presented to them. After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, the chief mourner might sip his cup, while all the visitors, brothers, and cousins might drink off their cups.

71 The attendants at the sacrifices during the funeral rites give notice to the visitors to present the offerings, of which, however, they did not afterwards partake.

72 Zi-gong asked about the rites of mourning (for parents), and the Master said, 'Reverence is the most important thing; grief is next to it; and emaciation is the last. The face should wear the appearance of the inward feeling, and the demeanour and carriage should be in accordance with the dress.' He begged to ask about the mourning for a brother, and the Master said, 'The rites of mourning for a brother are to be found in the tablets where they are written.'

73 A superior man will not interfere with the mourning of other men to diminish it, nor will he do so with his own mourning.

74 Confucius said, 'Shao-lian and Da-lian demeaned themselves skilfully during their mourning (for their parents). During the (first) three days they were alert; for the (first) three months they manifested no weariness; for the (first) year they were full of grief; for the (whole) three years they were sorrowful. (And yet) they belonged to one of the rude tribes on the East'

75 During the three years of mourning (for his father), a son might speak, but did not discourse; might reply, but did not ask questions. In the shed or the unplastered apartment he sat (alone), nobody with him. While occupying that apartment, unless there were some occasion for him to appear before his mother, he did not enter the door (of the house). On all occasions of wearing the sackcloth with its edges even, he occupied the unplastered apartment, and not the shed. To occupy the shed was the severest form in mourning.

76 The grief in mourning for a wife was like that for an uncle or aunt; that for a father's sister or one's own sister was like that for a cousin; that for any of the three classes of minors dying prematurely was as if they had been full-grown.

77 The mourning for parents is taken away at the end of three years, but only its external symbols; the mourning for brothers (at the end of one year), (and also) internally.

78 The period of mourning for ruler's mother or wife is the same as that for brothers. But (beyond) what appears in the countenance is this, that (in the latter case) the mourners do not eat and drink (as usual).

79 After a man has put off the mourning (for his father), if, when walking along the road, he sees one like (his father), his eyes look startled. If he hear one with the same name, his heart is agitated. In condoling with mourners on occasion of a death, and inquiring for one who is ill, there will be something in his face and distressed manner different from other men. He who is thus affected is fit to wear 'the three years' mourning. So far as other mourning is concerned, he may walk right on (without anything) having such an effect on him.

80 The sacrifice at the end of the second year is signalized by the principal mourner putting off his mourning dress. The evening (before), he announces the time for it, and puts on his court robes, which he then wears at the sacrifice.

81 Zi-you said, 'After the sacrifice at the end of the second year, although the mourner should not wear the cap of white silk, (occasions may occur when) he must do so. Afterwards he resumes the proper dress.'

82 At the mourning rites of an officer, if, when he had bared his breast, a Great officer arrived (on a visit of condolence), although he might be engaged in the leaping, he put a stop to it, and went to salute and bow to him. Returning then, he resumed his leaping and completed it, after which he readjusted his dress and covered his breast. In the case of a visit from another officer, he went on with his leaping, completed it, readjusted his upper dress, and then

went to salute and bow to him, without having occasion to resume and complete the leaping.

83 At the sacrifice of Repose for a Great officer of the highest grade, there were offered a boar and a ram; at the conclusion of the wailing, and at the placing of his spirit-tablet, there was, in addition, the bull. On the similar occasions for a Great officer of the lowest grade, there was in the first case a single victim, and in the others the boar and the ram.

84 In consulting the tortoise-shell about the burial and sacrifice of Repose, the style of the petition was as follows - A son or grandson spoke of himself as 'the sorrowing,' (when divining about his father or grandfather); a husband (divining about his wife) said, 'So and so for so and so;' an elder brother about a younger brother, simply said, 'So and so,' a younger brother about an elder brother said, 'For my elder brother, so and so.'

85 Anciently, noble and mean all carried staffs. (On one occasion) Shu-sun Wu-shu, when going to court, saw a wheelwright put his staff through the nave of a wheel, and turn it round. After this (it was made a rule that) only men of rank should carry a staff.

86 The custom of making a hole in the napkin (covering the face of the dead) by which to introduce what was put into the mouth, was begun by Gong yang Jia.

87 What were the grave-clothes (contributed to the dead)? The object of them was to cover the body. From the enshrouding to the slighter dressing, they were not put on, and the figure of the body was seen. Therefore the corpse was first enshrouded, and afterwards came the grave-clothes.

88 Someone asked Zeng-zi, 'After sending away to the grave the offerings to the dead, we wrap up what up remains; is this not like a man, after partaking of a meal, wrapping-what is left (to take with him)? Does a gentleman do such a thing? Zeng-zi said, 'Have you not seen what is done at a great feast? At a great feast, given by a Great officer, after all have partaken, he rolls up what is left on the stands for the three animals, and sends it to the lodgings of his guests. When a son treats his parents in this way as his (honoured) guests, it is an expression of his grief (for their loss). Have you, Sir, not seen what is done at a great feast?' Excepting at men's funeral rites, do they make such inquiries and present such gifts as they then do?

89 At the three years' mourning, the mourner bows to his visitors in the manner appropriate to the occasion; at the mourning of a shorter period, he salutes them in the usual way.

90 During the three years' mourning, if any one sent wine or flesh to the mourner, be received it after declining it thrice; he received it in his sackcloth and band. If it came from the ruler with a message from him, he did not presume to decline it; he received it and presented it (in his ancestral temple). One occupied with such mourning did not send any gift, but when men sent gifts to him he received them. When engaged in the mourning rites for an uncle, cousin, or brother, and others of a shorter period, after the wailing was concluded, he might send gifts to others.

91 Xian-zi said, 'The pain occasioned by the mourning for three years is like that of beheading; that arising from the one year's mourning, is like the stab from a sharp weapon.'

92 During the one year's mourning, in the eleventh month, they put on the dress of silk, which was called lian; in the thirteenth month they offered the xiang sacrifice, and in the same month that called tan - which concluded the mourning. During the mourning for three years, even though they had occasion to assume the dress proper for the nine months' mourning, they did not go to condole (with the other mourners). From the feudal lords down to all officers, if they had occasion to dress and go to wail (for a relative newly deceased), they did so in the dress proper to the mourning for him, After putting on the lian silk, they paid visits of condolence.

93 When one was occupied with the nine months' mourning, if the burial had been performed, he might go and condole with another mourner, retiring after he had wailed without waiting for any other part of the mourner's proceedings. During the mourning for one year, if before the burial one went to condole with another in the same district, he withdrew after he had wailed, without waiting for the rest of the proceedings. If condoling during the mourning for nine months, he waited to see the other proceedings, but did not take part in them. During the mourning for five months or three months, he waited to assist at the other proceedings, but did not take part in the (principal) ceremony.

94 When one (was condoling with) another whom he had been accustomed to pass with a hasty step, (at the interment of his dead relative), he retired when the bier had passed out from the gate of the temple. If they had been on bowing terms, he retired when they had reached the station for wailing. If they had been in the habit of exchanging inquiries, he retired after-the coffin was let down into the grave. if they had attended court together, he went back to the house with the other, and wailed with him. If they were intimate friends, he did not retire till after the sacrifice of Repose, and the placing of the spirit tablet of the deceased in the shrine. Condoling

friends did not (merely) follow the principal mourner. Those who were forty (or less) held the ropes when the coffin was let down into the grave. Those of the same district who were fifty followed him back to the house and wailed; and those who were forty waited till the grave was filled up.

95 During mourning, though the food might be bad, the mourner was required to satisfy his hunger with it. If for hunger he had to neglect anything, this was contrary to the rules. If he through satiety forgot his sorrow, that also was contrary to the rules. It was a distress to the wise men (who made the rules) to think that a mourner should not see or hear distinctly; should not walk correctly or be unconscious of his occasion for sorrow; and therefore (they enjoined) that a mourner, when ill, should drink wine and eat flesh; that people of fifty should do nothing to bring on emaciation; that at sixty they should not be emaciated; that at seventy they should drink liquor and eat flesh - all these rules were intended as preventives against death.

96 If one, while in mourning, was invited by another to eat with him, he did not go while wearing the nine months' mourning or that of a shorter period; if the burial had taken place, he might go to another party's house. If that other party belonged to his relative circle, and wished him to eat with him, he might do so; if he did not belong to that circle, he did not eat with him. While wearing the mourning of nine months, one might eat vegetables and fruits, and drink water and congee, using no salt or cream. If he could not eat dry provisions, he might use salt or cream with them.

97 Confucius said, 'If a man have a sore on his body, he should bathe. If he have a wound on his head, he should wash it. If he be ill, he should drink liquor and eat flesh. A superior man will not emaciate himself so as to be ill. If one die from such emaciation, a superior man will say of him that he has failed in the duty of a son.'

98 Excepting when following the carriage with the bier to the grave, and returning from it, one was not seen on the road with the mourning cap, which was used instead of the ordinary one.

99 During the course of mourning, from that worn for five months and more, the mourner did not wash his head or bathe, excepting for the sacrifice of Repose, the placing the spirittablet in the shrine, the assuming the dress of lian silk, and the sacrifice at the end of a year.

100 During mourning rites, when the sackcloth with the edges even was worn, after the burial, if one asked an interview with the mourner, he saw him, but he himself did not ask to see any person. He might do so when wearing the mourning of five months. When wearing that for nine months, he did not carry the introductory present in his hand (when seeking an interview). It was only when wearing the mourning for a parent that the mourner did not avoid seeing any one, (even) while the teats were running from him.

101 A man while wearing the mourning for three years might execute any orders of government after the sacrifice at the end of a year. One mourning for a year, might do so when the wailing was ended; one mourning for nine months, after the burial; one mourning for five months or three, after the encoffining and dressing.

102 Zeng Shen asked Zeng-zi, saying, 'In wailing for a parent, should one do so always in the same voice?' The answer was, 'When a child has lost its mother on the road, is it possible for it to think about the regular and proper voice?'

103 After the wailing was ended, there commenced the avoiding of certain names. (An officer) did not use the name of his (paternal) grandfather or grandmother, of his father's brothers or uncles; of his father's aunts or sisters. Father and son agreed in avoiding all these names. The names avoided by his mother the son avoided in the house. Those avoided by his wife he did not use when at. her side. If among them there were names which had been borne by his own paternal great-grandfather or great-grand-uncles, he avoided them (in all places).

104 When the time for capping a young man came during the time of the mourning rites, though they were those for a parent, the ceremony might be performed. After being capped in the proper place, the subject went in, wailed and leaped,—three times each bout, and then came out again.

105 At the end of the nine months' mourning, it was allowable to cap a son or to marry a daughter. A father at the end of the five months' mourning, might cap a son, or marry a daughter, or take a wife (for a son). Although one himself were occupied with the five months' mourning, yet when he had ended the wailing, he might be capped, or take a wife. If it were the five months' mourning for one who had died in the lowest degree of immaturity, he could not do so.

106 Whenever one wore the cap of skin with a sackcloth band (in paying a visit of condolence), his upper garment of mourning had the large sleeves.

107 When the father was wearing mourning, a son, who lived in the same house with him, kept away from all music. When the mother was wearing it, the son might listen to music, but not play himself. When a wife was wearing it, the son, (her husband), did not play music by her side. When an occasion for the nine months' mourning was about to occur,

the lute and cithern were laid aside. If it were only an occasion for the five months' mourning, music was not stopped.

108 When an aunt or sister died (leaving no son), if her husband (also) were dead, and there were no brother or cousin in his relative circle, some other of her husband's more distant relatives was employed to preside at her mourning rites. None of a wife's relatives, however near, could preside at them. If no distant relative even of her husband could be found, then a neighbour, on the east or the west, was employed. If no such person (suitable) could be found, then the head man of the neighbourhood presided. Some say, 'One (of her relatives) might preside, but her tablet was placed by that of the (proper) relative of her husband.'

109 The girdle was not used along with the sackcloth band. That band could not be used by one who carried in his hand his jade-token; nor could it be used along with a dress of various colours.

110 On occasions of prohibitions issued by the state (in connexion with the great sacrifices), the wailing ceased; as to the offerings deposited by the coffin, morning and evening, and the repairing to their proper positions, mourners proceeded as usual.

111 A lad, when wailing, did not sob or quaver; did not leap; did not carry a staff; did not wear the straw sandals; and did not occupy the mourning shed.

112 Confucius said, 'For grand-aunts the mourning with the edges even is worn, but the feet in leaping are not lifted from the ground. For aunts and sisters the mourning for nine months is worn, but the feet in leaping are lifted from the ground. If a man understands these things, will he not (always) follow, the right forms of ceremonies? Will he not do so?'

113 When the mother of Yi Liu died, his assistants in the rites stood on his left; when Yi Liu died, they stood on his right. The practice of the assistants (at funeral rites) giving their aid on the right, originated from the case of Yi Liu.

114 The mouth of the son of Heaven was stuffed after death with nine shells; that of a feudal lord, with seven; that of a Great officer, with five; and that of an ordinary officer, with three.

115 An officer was interred after three months, and the same month the wailing was ended. A Great officer was interred (also) after three months, and after five months the wailing was ended. A prince was interred after five months, and after seven the wailing was ended. For an officer the sacrifice of Repose was offered three times; for a Great officer, five times; and for a feudal prince, seven times.

116 A feudal lord sent a messenger to offer his condolences; and after that, his contributions for the mouth, the grave-clothes, and the carriage. All these things were transacted on the same day, and in the order thus indicated.

117 When a high minister or Great officer was ill, the ruler inquired about him many times. When an ordinary officer was ill, he inquired about him once. When a Great officer or high minister was buried, the ruler did not eat flesh; when the wailing was finished, he did not have music. When an officer was encoffined, he did not have music.

118 After they had gone up, and made the bier ready, in the case of the burial of a feudal lord, there were 500 men to draw the ropes. At each of the four ropes they were all gagged. The minister of War superintended the clappers; eight men with these walking on each side of the bier. The chief artizan, carrying a shade of feathers, guided the progress (of the procession). At the burial of a Great officer, after they had gone up and made the bier ready, 300 men drew the ropes; four men with their clappers walked on each side of the bier; and its progress was guided (by the chief artizan) with a reed of white grass in his hand.

119 Confucius said, 'Guan Zhong had carving on the square vessels for holding the grain of his offerings, and red ornaments for his cap; he set up a screen where he lodged on the way, and had a stand of earth on which the cups he had used, in giving a feast, were replaced; he had hills carved on the capitals of his pillars, and. pondweed on the lower pillars supporting the rafters'. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his superiors (to distinguish themselves from him). Yan Ping-zhong, in sacrificing to his father and other progenitors, used only the shoulders of a pig, not large enough to cover the dish. He was a worthy Great officer, but made it difficult for his inferiors (to distinguish themselves from him). A superior man will not encroach on (the observances of) those above him, nor put difficulties in the way of those below him.'

120 Excepting on the death of her father or mother, the wife (of a feudal lord) did not cross the boundaries of the state to pay a visit of condolence. On that occasion she did so, and went back to her original home, where she used the ceremonies of condolence proper to a feudal lord, and she was treated as one. When she arrived, she entered by the women's gate, and went up (to the reception hall) by steps at the side (of the principal steps), the ruler receiving her at the top of the steps on the east. The other ceremonies were the same as those of a guest who hastened to attend the funeral rites.

121 A sister-in-law did not lay the soothing hand on the corpse of her brother-in-law; and vice versa.

122 There are three things that occasion sorrow to a superior man (who is devoted to learning) - If there be any subject of which he has not heard, and he cannot get to hear of it; if he hear of it, and cannot get to learn it; if he have learned it, and cannot get to carry it out in practice. There are five things that occasion shame to a superior man (who is engaged in governmental duties) - If he occupy an office, and have not well described its duties; if he describe its duties well, but do not carry them into practice; if he have got his office, and lost again; if he be charged with the care of a large territory, and the people be not correspondingly numerous; if another, in a charge like his own, have more merit than he.

123 Confucius said, 'In bad years they used in their carriages their poorest horses, and in their sacrifices the victims lowest (in the classes belonging to them).'

124 At the mourning rites for Xu You, duke Ai sent Ru Bei to Confucius to learn the rites proper at the mourning for the officer. Those rites were thus committed at that time to writing

125 Zi-gong having gone to see the agricultural sacrifice at the end of the year, Confucius said to him, 'Ci, did it give you pleasure?' The answer was, 'The people of the whole state appeared to be mad; I do not know in what I could find pleasure.' The Master said, 'For their hundred days' labour in the field, (the husbandmen) receive this one day's enjoyment (from the state);—this is what you do not understand. (Even) Wen and Wu could not keep a bow (in good condition), if it were always drawn and never relaxed; nor did they leave it always relaxed and never drawn. To keep it now strung and now unstrung was the way of Wen and Wu.'

126 Meng Xian-zi said, 'If in the first month at the (winter) solstice it be allowable to offer the (border) sacrifice to God, in the seventh month, at the summer solstice, we may offer the sacrifice in the temple of the ancestor (of our ruling House).' Accordingly Xian-zi offered that sacrifice to all the progenitors (of the line of Lu) in the seventh month'.

127 The practice of not obtaining from the son of Heaven the confirmation of her dignity for the wife (of the ruler of Lu) began with duke Zhao.

128 The mourning of a ruler and his wife were regulated by the same rules for the ladies of his family married in other states and for those married in his own.

129 When the stables of Confucius were burned, and the friends of his district came (to offer their condolences) on account of the fire, he bowed once to the ordinary officers, and twice to the Greater officers - according to the rule on occasions of mutual condolence.

130 Confucius said, 'Guan Zhong selected two men from among (certain) thieves with whom he was dealing, and appointed them to offices in the state, saying, "They were led astray by bad men with whom they had associated, but they are proper men themselves." When he died, duke Huan made these two wear mourning for him. The practice of old servants of a Great officer wearing mourning for him, thus arose from Guan Zhong. But these two men only mourned for him by the duke's orders.'

131 When an officer, in a mistake, used a name to his ruler which should be avoided, he rose to his feet. If he were speaking to any one who had the name that should be avoided with the ruler, he called him by the name given to him on his maturity.

132 A Great officer took no part in any seditious movements within his state, and did not try to avoid calamities coming from without.

133 The treatise on the duties of the Chief Internuncius says, 'The length of the long symbol of rank was for a duke, nine inches; for a marquis or earl, seven; for a count or baron, five. The width in each case was three inches; and the thickness, half an inch. They tapered to the point for one inch and a half. They were all of jade. The mats for them were made with three different colours, (two rows of each,) six in all.'

134 Duke Ai asked Zi-gao, 'When did members of your family first begin to be in office?' The answer was, 'My ancestor held a small office under duke Wen.'

135 When a temple was completed, they proceeded to consecrate it with the following ceremony - The officer of prayer, the cook, and the butcher, all wore the cap of leather of the colour of a sparrow's head, and the dark-coloured dress with the purple border. The butcher rubbed the sheep clean, the officer of prayer blessed it, and the cook with his face to the north took it to the pillar and placed it on the south-east of it. Then the butcher took it in his arms, went up on the roof at the middle point between the east and west, and with his face to the south stabbed it, so that the blood ran down in front; and then he descended. At the gate of the temple, and of each of the two side apartments, they used a fowl, one at the gate of each (going up as before and stabbing them). The hair and feathers about the ears were first pulled out under the roof (before the victims were killed). When the fowls were cut at the gates of the temple, and the apartments on each side of it, officers stood, opposite to each gate on the north. When the thing was over, the officer of prayer announced that it was so, and they all retired, after which he announced it to the ruler, saying, 'The blood-consecration has been performed.' This announcement was made at the door of the back apartment of the temple, inside which the ruler stood in his court-robes, looking towards the south. This concluded the ceremony, and all withdrew.

136 When the great apartment (of the palace) was completed, it was inaugurated (by a feast), but there was no shedding of blood. The consecration by blood of the temple building was the method taken to show how intercourse with the spirits was sought. All the more distinguished vessels of the ancestral temple were consecrated, when completed, by the blood of a young boar.

137 When a feudal lord sent his wife away, she proceeded on her journey to her own state, and was received there with the observances due to a lord's wife. The messenger, accompanying her, then discharged his commission, saying, 'My poor ruler, from his want of ability, was not able to follow her, and take part in the services at your altars and in your ancestral temple. He has, therefore, sent me, so and so, and I venture to inform your officer appointed for the purpose of what he has done.' The officer presiding (on the occasion) replied, 'My poor ruler in his former communication did not lay (her defects) before you, and he does not presume to do anything but respectfully receive your lord's message.' The officers in attendance on the commissioner then set forth the various articles sent with the other the lady on her marriage, and those on side received them.

138 When the wife went away from her husband, she sent a messenger and took leave of him, saying, 'So and so, through her want of ability, is not able to keep on supplying the vessels of grain for your sacrifices, and has sent me, so and so, to, presume to announce this to your attendants.' The principal party (on the other side) replied, 'My son, in his inferiority, does not presume to avoid you punishing him, and dares not but respectfully receive your orders.' The messenger then retired, the principal party bowing to him, and escorting him. If the father-in-law were alive, then he named him self; if he were dead, an elder brother of the husband acted for him, and he message was given as from him; if there were no elder brother, then it ran as from the husband himself. The message, as given above, was) 'The son of me, so and so, in his inferiority.' (At the other end of the transaction), if the lady were an aunt, an elder sister, or a younger, she was mentioned as such.

139 Confucius said, 'When I was at a meal at Shao-shi's, I ate to the full. He entertained me courteously, according to the rules. When I was about to offer some in sacrifice, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "My poor food is not worth being offered in sacrifice." When I was about to take the concluding portions, he got up and wished to stop me, saying, "I would not injure you with my poor provisions."

140 A bundle of silk (in a marriage treaty) contained live double rolls, each double roll being forty cubits in length.

141 At the (first) interview of a wife with her father and mother-in-law, (her husband's) unmarried aunts and sisters all stood below the reception hall, with their faces towards the west, the north being the place of honour. After this interview, she visited all the married uncles of her husband, each in his own apartment.

142 Although not engaged to be married, the rule was for a young lady to wear the hair-pin - she was thus treated with the honours of maturity. The (principal) wife managed the ceremony. When she was unoccupied and at ease, she wore her hair without the pin, on each side of her head.

143 The apron (of the full robes) was three cubits long, two cubits wide at the bottom, and one at the top. The border at the top extended five inches; and that at the sides was of leather the colour of a sparrow's head, six inches wide, terminating five inches from the bottom. The borders at top and bottom were of white silk, embroidered with the five colours

## LI JI CHAPTER 22 Sang Da Ji

Greater Record of Mourning Rites

I When the illness was extreme, all about the establishment was swept clean, inside and out. In the case of a ruler or Great officer, the stands, with the martial instruments suspended from them, were removed; in that of an officer, his lute and cithern. The sufferer lay with his head to the east, under the window on the north. His couch was removed (and he was laid on the ground). The clothes ordinarily worn at home were removed, and new clothes substituted for them. (In moving the body) one person took hold of each limb. Males and females changed their dress. Some fine floss was put (on the mouth and nostrils), to make sure that the breath was gone. A man was not permitted to die in the hands of the women, or a woman in the hands of the men.

2 A ruler and his wife both died in the Great chamber, a Great officer and his acknowledged wife in the Proper chamber; the not yet acknowledged wife of a high minister, in an inferior chamber, but the corpse was then removed to the higher chamber. The wives of officers died in their chambers.

3 At (the ceremony of) calling back the soul, if (the deceased were a lord on whose territory) there were forests and copses, the forester arranged the steps (by which to go up on the roof);

and if there were no forests, one of the salvage men (employed about the court in menial offices) did so. An officer of low rank performed the ceremony. All who did so employed some of the court robes (of the deceased) - for a ruler, the robe with the descending dragon; for the wife, that with the descending pheasant; for a Great officer, the dark robe and red skirt; for his recognised wife, the robe of fresh yellow; for an officer, that worn with the cap of deep purple leather; and for his wife, the dark dress with the red border. In all cases they ascended from the east wing to the middle of the roof, where the footing was perilous. Facing the north, they gave three loud calls for the deceased, after which they rolled up the garment they had employed, and cast it down in front, where the curator of the robes received it, and then they themselves descended by the wing on the north-west. If the deceased were a visitor, and in a public lodging, his soul was called back; if the lodging were private, it was not called back. If he were in the open country, one got up on the left end of the nave of the carriage in which he had been riding, and called it back.

4 The garment which had been used in calling the soul back was not employed to cover the corpse, nor in dressing it. In calling back the soul of a wife, the upper robe with the purple border in which she had been married was not employed. In all cases of calling back the soul, a man was called by his name, and a woman by her designation. Nothing but the wailing preceded the calling the soul back. After that calling they did what was requisite on an occasion of death.

5 Immediately after death, the principal mourners sobbed; brothers and cousins (of the deceased) wailed; his female relatives wailed and leaped.

6 When the dead body (of a ruler) had been placed properly (beneath the window with the head to the south), his son sat (or knelt) on the east; his ministers, Great officers, uncles, cousins, their sons and grandsons, stood (also) on the east; the multitude of ordinary officers, who had the charge of the different departments, wailed below the hall, facing the north. His wife knelt on the west; the wives, aunts, sisters, their daughters and grand-daughters, whose husbands were of the same surname as he, stood (behind her) on the west; and the wives, his relatives of the same surname, whose position had been confirmed in their relation to their husbands, at the head of all the others married similarly to husbands of other surnames, wailed above in the hall, facing the north.

7 At the mourning rites (immediately after death) of a Great officer, the (son), presiding, knelt on the east, and the wife, presiding, on the west. The husbands and wives (among the relations) whose positions had been officially confirmed, sat (or knelt); others who had not that confirmation, stood. At the rites for a deceased officer, the son presiding, uncles, brothers, and cousins, with their sons and grandsons, all sat (or knelt) on the east; the wife presiding, aunts, sisters, and cousins, with their female children and grandchildren, all sat (or knelt) on the west. Whenever they wailed by the corpse in the apartment, the presiding mourner did so, holding up the shroud with his two hands at the same time.

8 At the mourning rites of a ruler, before the slighter dressing was completed, the principal mourner came out to receive the visit of a refugee ruler, or a visitor from another state. At those for a Great officer, at the same period, he came out to receive a message from his ruler. At those for an ordinary officer, also at the same period, he came out to receive a Great officer, if he were not engaged in the dressing.

9 Whenever the presiding mourner went forth (to meet visitors), he had his feet bare, his skirt tucked under his girdle, and his hands across his chest over his heart. Having gone down by the steps on the west, if a ruler, he bowed to a refugee ruler, or a minister commissioned from another state, each in his proper place. When a message from his ruler came to a Great officer, he came to the outside of the door of the apartment (where the dead was), to receive the messenger who had ascended to the hall and communicated his instructions. (They then went down together), and the mourner bowed to the messenger below. When a Great officer came himself to condole with an ordinary officer, the latter wailed along with him, but did not meet him outside the gate.

10 The wife of a ruler went out (of her apartment) on a visit from the wife of a refugee ruler. The confirmed wife (of a Great officer) went out (in the same way) on the arrival of a message from the ruler's wife. The wife of an officer, if not engaged in the dressing, (also) went out to receive the confirmed wife (of a Great officer).

11 At the slighter dressing, the presiding mourner took his place inside the door (on the east of it), and the presiding wife had her face to the east. When the dressing was ended, both of them made as if they leant on the body, and leaped. The mourner unbared his breast, took off the tufts of juvenility, and bound up his hair with sackcloth. The wife knotted up her hair, and put on her sackcloth girdle in her room.

12 When the curtain (which screened the body) was removed, the men and women carried it and put it down in the hall, (the eldest son) going down the step's and bowing (to the visitors)

13 The (young) ruler (who was mourning) bowed to refugee lords, and to ministers, commissioners from other states.

Great officers and other officers bowed to ministers and Great officers in their respective places. In the case of (the three grades of) officers, they received three side bows, one for each grade. The ruler's wife also bowed to the wife of a refugee lord, above in the hall. With regard to the wives of Great officers and of other officers, she bowed specially to each whose position had received the official appointment; to the others she gave a general bow - all above in the hall.

14 When the mourner had gone to his own place (after bowing to his visitors), he closed the robe which was drawn on one side, covering his breast, put on his girdle and headhand, and leapt. When the mourning was for his mother, he went to his place, and tied up his hair, after which he put down the offerings by the body. The visitors who had come to condole, covered their fur robes, put the roll at the back of their caps, assumed their girdles and head-bands, and leapt in correspondence with the mourner.

15 Åt the funeral rites for a ruler, the chief forester supplied wood and horns; the chief of the salvage-men supplied the vases for water; the chief of the slaughtering department supplied boilers; and (an officer from the department of) the minister of War (saw to the) hanging of these. Thus they secured the succession of wailers. Some of those in the department took their part in the wailing. If they did not hang up the vases, and the Great officers were sufficient to take the wailing in turns, then they did not use those others. In the hall of the ruler there were two lights above and two below; for that of an ordinary officer, one above and one below.

16 When the guests went out, the curtain was removed.

17 When they were wailing the corpse above in the hall, the principal mourner was at the east; visitors coming from without, took their place at the west, and the women stood facing the south.

18 The wife (presiding), in receiving guests and escorting them, did not go down from the hall with them. If she did go down (as with the wife of the ruler), she bowed to her, but did not wail. If the son (presiding), had occasion to go outside the door of the apartment, and saw the guest (whom he so went to meet), he did not wail. When there was no female to preside, a son did so, and bowed to the female visitors inside the door of the apartment. If there were no son to preside, a daughter did so, and bowed to the male visitors at the foot of the steps on the east. If the son were a child, then he was carried in his sackcloth in the arms, and his bearer bowed for him. If the successor of the deceased were not present, and wag a man of rank, an apology was made to the guests; if he were not a man of rank some other one bowed to them for him. If he were anywhere in the state, they waited for him: if he had gone beyond it, the encoffining and burial might go on. The funeral rites might proceed without the presence of the successor of the deceased, but not without one to preside over

19 At the mourning rites for a ruler, on the third day his son and his wife assumed the staff. On the fifth day, when the corpse was put into the coffin, his daughters who had become the wives of Great officers were allowed to use it. His (eldest) son and Great officers used it outside the door of the apartment (where the coffin was); inside the door they carried it in their hands (but did not use it). The wife and his daughters, the wives of Great officers, used the staff in their rooms; when they went to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was), people were employed to hold it for them. When a message came from the king, (the son presiding) put away his staff; when one came from the ruler of another state, he only held it in his hand. When attending to any consultation of the tortoise-shell about the corpse he put away his staff. A Great officer, in the place of the ruler, carried his staff in his hand; at another Great officer's, he used

20 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, on the morning of the third day, when the body was put into the coffin, his son presiding, his wife presiding, and the steward of the House, all assumed the staff. On a message from the ruler, the (new) Great officer put away his staff; on a message from another Great officer, he carried it in his hand. His wife, on a message from the wife of the ruler, put her staff away; on a message from the confirmed wife (of another Great officer), she gave it to some one to hold for her.

21 At the mourning rites for an officer, the body on the second day was put into the coffin. On the morning of the third day, the presiding mourner assumed the staff, and his wife also. The same observances as in the rites fur a Great officer were observed on messages arriving from the ruler or his wife, or from a Great officer and his confirmed wife.

22 All the sons assumed the staff, but only the eldest son used it when they were going to their places (in the apartment where the coffin was). Great officers and other officers, when wailing by the coffin, used the staff; when wailing by the bier, they carried it in their hands. When the staff (used in mourning) was thrown away, it was broken and thrown away in secret.

23 As soon as death took place, the corpse was transferred to the couch, and covered with a large sheet. The clothes in

which the deceased had died were removed. A servant plugged the mouth open with the spoon of horn; and to keep the feet from contracting, an easy stool was employed. These observances were the same for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.

24 The servant in charge of the apartments drew the water, and without removing the well-rope from the bucket gathered it up, and carried the whole up to the top of the steps. There, without going on the hall, he gave it to the attendants in waiting on the body. These then went in to wash the corpse, four lower servants holding up the sheet, and two performing the washing; having put the water in basins, to which they took it with ladles. In washing they used napkins of fine linen, and in drying the body the ordinary bathing clothes. Another servant then pared the nails of the feet, after which they threw away the rest of the water into the pit. At the funeral rites for a mother (or other female), the female attendants in waiting in the inner room held up the sheet and washed the body.

25 The servant in charge of the apartments, having drawn water and given it to the attendants in waiting on the body, these prepared the wash for the head, above in the hall - for a ruler, made from maize-water; for a Great officer, from that of the glutinous millet; and for an ordinary officer, that from maize-water. After this, some of the forester's department made a sort of furnace at the foot of the wall on the west; and the potter brought out a large boiler, in which the servant in charge of the apartments should boil the water. The servants of the forester's department brought the fuel which he had removed from the crypt in the north-west of the apartment, now converted into a shrine, to use for that purpose. When the water was heated, he gave it to the attendants, who proceeded to wash the head, and poured the water into an earthenware basin, using the napkin as on ordinary occasions to dry the head. Another servant then clipped the nails of the fingers, and wiped the beard. The water was then thrown into the pit.

26 For a ruler they put down a large vessel, full of ice; for a Great officer, a middle-sized one, full of ice; and for an ordinary officer, only one of earthenware, without any ice in it. Over these they placed the couch with a single sheet and pillow on it; another couch on which the jade should be put into the mouth; and another still, where the fuller dressing should be done. Then the corpse was removed to a couch in the hall, on which was a pillow and mat. The same forms were observed for a ruler, a Great officer, and an ordinary officer.

27 At the mourning rites for a ruler, his (eldest) son, Great officers, his other sons and all the (other) officers (employed about the court), ate nothing for three days, but confined themselves to gruel. (Afterwards) for their consumption they received in the morning a handful of rice, and another in the evening; which they ate without any observance of stated times. Officers (at a distance) were restricted to coarse rice and water for their drink, without regard to any stated times. The wife (of the new ruler), the confirmed wives (of the Great officers), and all the members of their harems, had coarse rice and drank water, having no regard in their eating to stated

28 At the mourning rites for a Great officer, the presiding mourner, the steward, and grandsons, all were confined to gruel. All the inferior officers were restricted to coarse rice, and water to drink. Wives and concubines took coarse rice, and water to drink. At the rites for an ordinary officer the same rules were observed.

29 After the burial, the presiding mourner had (only) coarse rice and water to drink; he did not eat vegetables or fruits. His wife observed the same rule. So it was in the case of rulers, Great officers, and other officers. After the change of mourning, towards the end of the year, they ate vegetables and fruit; and after the subsequent sacrifice, they ate flesh. They took their gruel in bowls, and did not wash their bands (before doing so). When they took their rice from the basket, they washed their hands. They ate their vegetables along with pickles and sauces. When they first ate flesh, it was dry flesh; when they first drank liquor, it was that newly made.

30 During the mourning of a year, on three occasions they abstained from eating. When eating coarse rice, with water to drink, they did not eat vegetables or fruits. After the burial, at the end of three months, they ate flesh and drank liquor. When the year's mourning was ended, they did not eat flesh nor drink liquor. When the father was alive, in the mourning of nine months, the rules were the same as in that for a year, on account of the mother or of the wife. Though they ate flesh and drank liquor, they could not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others.

31 During the mourning for five months, and that for three months, it was allowable to abstain from eating once or twice. Between the coffining and burial, when eating flesh and drinking liquor, they did not take the enjoyment of these things in company with others. While mourning for an aunt, the confirmed wife of an uncle, one's old ruler, or the head of a clan, they ate flesh and drank liquor. If a mourner could not eat the gruel, he might eat soup of vegetables. If he were ill, he might eat flesh and drink liquor. At fifty, one did not go

through all the observances of mourning. At seventy, he simply wore the sackcloth on his person.

- 32 After the burial, if his ruler feasted a mourner, he partook of the viands; if a Great officer or a friend of his father did so, he partook in the same way. He, did not even decline the grain and flesh that might be set before him, but wine and new wine he declined.
- 33 The slighter dressing was performed inside the door of the apartment where the body was; the fuller dressing (at the top of) the steps (leading up to the reception hall) on the east. The body of a ruler was laid on a mat of fine bamboo; of a Great officer, on one of typha grass; and of an ordinary officer, on one of phragmites grass. At the slighter dressing one band of cloth was laid straight, and, there were three bands laid cross-wise. The sheet for a ruler's body was embroidered; for a Great officer's, white; for an ordinary officer's, black each had one sheet. There were nineteen suits of clothes; those for the ruler, displayed in the corridor on the east; and those for a Great officer, or a common officer, inside the apartments all with their collars towards the west, those in the north being with their collars towards the west, those in the north being the best. The sash and sheet were not reckoned among them.
- 34 At the fuller dressing there were three bands of cloth laid straight, and five laid cross-wise. There were (also) strings of cloth, and two sheets equally for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer. The clothes for a ruler consisted of one hundred suits, displayed in the courtyard, having their collars towards the north, those on the west being the best; those of a Great officer were fifty suits, displayed in the corridor on the east, having the collars towards the west, those on the south being the best; those of a common officer were thirty suits, displayed also in the corridor on the east, with their collars towards the west, the best on the south. The bands and strings were of the same quality as the court robes. One strip of the band-cloth was divided into three, but at the ends was not further divided. The sheets were made of five pieces, without strings or buttons.
- 35 Among the clothes at the slighter dressing, the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. For the ruler no clothes were used that were presented. For a Great officer and a common officer, the sacrificial (and other) robes belonging to the principal mourner were all used, and then they used those contributed by their relatives; but these were not displayed along with the others. At the slighter dressing, for a ruler, a Great officer, and a common officer, they used wadded upper robes and sheets. At the greater dressing, the number of sacrificial (and other) robes put on a ruler, a Great officer, or another officer', was not definitely fixed; but the upper robes and sheets for a ruler had only a thin lining, (instead of being wadded); for a Great officer and a common officer, they were as at the slighter dressing.
- 36 The long robe worn in private had a shorter one placed over it; it was not displayed alone. It was the rule that with the upper garment the lower one should also be shown. So only could they be called a suit.
- 37 All who set forth the clothes took them from the chests in which they had been deposited; and those who received, the clothes brought (as contributions) placed them in (similar) chests. In going up to the hall and descending from it, they did so by the steps on the west. They displayed the clothes without rumpling them. They did not admit any that were not correct; nor any of fine or coarse dolychos fibre or of coarse
- 38 All engaged in dressing the corpse had their arms bared; those who moved it into the coffin, had their breasts covered. At the funeral rites for a ruler, the Great officer of prayer performed the dressing, assisted by all the members of his department; at those for a Great officer, the same officer stood by, and saw all the others dress the body; at those of a common officer, the members of that department stood by, while other officers (his friends) performed the dressing.
- 39 At both the dressings the sacrificial robes were not placed below the others. They were all placed with the lappel to lie on the left side. The bands were tied firmly, and not in a bow-knot.
- 40 The rule was that the dressers should wail, when they had completed their work. But in the case of an officer, as the dressing was performed by those who had served in office along with him, they, after the work was done, omitted a meal. In all cases the dressers were six.
- 41 The body cases (used before the dressing) were made for a ruler, the upper one embroidered, and the lower one striped black and white, with seven strings on the open side; for a Great officer, the upper one dark blue, and the lower one striped black and white, with five tie-strings on the side; for a common officer, the upper one black, and the lower one red, with three tie-strings at the side. The upper case came down to the end of the hands, and the lower case was three feet long. At the smaller dressing and afterwards, they used coverlets laid on the body (instead of these cases), their size being the same as that of the cases.
- 42 When the great dressing of a ruler's body was about to commence, his son, with the sackcloth band about his cap, went to his place at the (south) end of the (eastern) corridor, while the ministers and Great officers took theirs at the corner

of the hall, with the pillar on their west, their faces to the north, and their row ascending to the east. The uncles, brothers, and cousins were below the hall, with their faces to the north, The (son's) wife, and other wives whose position had been confirmed were on the west of the body, with their faces to other states the east. The female relations from the other states were in their apartments with their faces to the south. Inferior officers spread the mats. The Shang officers of prayer spread the strings, the coverlet, and clothes. The officers had their hands over the vessels. They then lifted the corpse and removed it to the place for the dressing. When the dressing was finished, the superintendent announced the fact. The son then (seemed to) lean on it, and leaped while his wife did the same, with her face to the east.

43 At the mourning rites of a Great officer, they were about to proceed to the great dressing, and the tie-strings, coverlets, and clothes had all been spread out, the ruler arrived, and was met by (the son), the principal mourner. The son entered before him, (and stood) at the right of the gate, outside which the exorcist stopped. The ruler having put down the vegetables (as an offering to the spirit of the gate), and the blesser entered preceding him, entered and went up to the hall. He then repaired to his place at the end of the corridor, while the ministers, and Great officers took theirs at the corner of the hall on the west of the pillar, looking to the north, their row ascending to the east. The presiding mourner was outside the apartment (where the corpse was), facing the south. His wife presiding was on the west of the body, facing the east. When they had moved the corpse, and finished the dressing. the steward reported that they had done so, and the presiding mourner went down below the hall, with his face to the north. There the ruler laid on him the soothing hand, and he bowed with his forehead, to the ground. The ruler signified to him to go up, and lean on the body, and also requested his wife, presiding, to lean on it.

- 44 At the mourning rites for a common officer, when they were about to proceed to the great dressing, the ruler was not present. In other respects the observances were the same as in the case of a Great officer.
- 45 They also leaped at the spreading out of the ties and strings; of the sheet; of the clothes; at the moving of the corpse; at the putting on of the clothes; of the coverlet; and of the adjusting of the ties and bands.
- 46 The ruler laid his hand on the body of a Great officer, and on that of the most honourable ladies of his own harem. A Great officer laid his hand on the body of the steward of his house, and on that of his niece and the sister of his wife, who had accompanied her to the harem. The ruler and a Great officer leant closely with their breasts over the bodies of their parents, wives, and eldest sons, but not over those of their other sons. A common officer, however, did so also to all his other sons. If a son by a concubine had a son, the parents did not perform this ceremony over him. When it was performed, the parents did it first, and then the wife and son. A ruler laid his hand on the body of a minister; parents, while bending over that of a son, also took hold of his hand. A son bent over his parents, bringing his breast near to theirs. A wife seemed as if she would place her two arms beneath the bodies of her parents-in-law; while they (simply) laid their hands on her. A wife made as if she would cling to her husband's body; while the husband held her hand as he did that of a brother or cousin. When others brought the breast near the body of a corpse, they avoided the point at which the ruler had touched it. After every such mark of sorrow, the mourner rose up and
- 47 At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) occupied the slanting shed, unplastered; slept on straw, with a clod of earth for his pillow. He spoke of nothing but what related to the rites. A ruler enclosed this hut; but Great and common officers left it exposed. After the burial, the inclined posts were set up on lintels, and the hut was plastered, but not on the outside which could be seen. Rulers, Great and common officers, all had it enclosed. All the other sons, but the eldest by the proper wife, even before the burial had huts made for themselves in out-of-the-way places.
- 48 After the burial, the son would stand with others. If a ruler, he would speak of the king's affairs, but not of those of his own state. If a Great officer, or a common officer, he would speak of the ruler's affairs, but not of those of his own clan or family.
- 49 When the ruler was buried, the royal ordinances came into the state. After the wailing was finished, the new ruler engaged in the king's affairs. When a Great officer or a common officer was buried, the ordinances of the state came to his family. After the wailing was finished, while continuing the sackcloth band round his cap, and the girdle, he might don his armour and go into the field.
- 50 After the mourning was changed at the end of a year, (the sons) occupied the unplastered apartment, and did not occupy one along with others. Then the ruler consulted about the government of the state; and Great officers and common officers about the affairs of their clan and families. After the sacrifice at the end of two years, the ground of the apartment was made of a dark green, and the walls were whitened. After

this, they no longer wailed outside; and after the sacrifice at the end of twenty-seven months, they did not do so inside; for, after it, music began to be heard.

- 51 After that sacrifice, at the end of twenty-seven months, (the son) attended to all his duties; and after the felicitous sacrifice (of re-arranging the tablets in his ancestral temple), he returned to his (usual) chamber. At the one year's mourning, he occupied the hut; and when it was completed, the occasions on which he did not seek the nuptial chamber were:-when his father was alive, and he had been wearing the hemmed sackcloth of a year for his mother or his wife, and when he had been wearing the cloth mourning of nine months; on these occasions, for three months he did not seek the intercourse of the inner chamber. A wife did not occupy the hut, nor sleep on the straw. At the mourning for her father or mother, when she had changed the mourning at the end of a year, she returned to her husband; when the mourning was that of nine months, she returned after the burial.
- 52 At the mourning rites for a duke (of the royal domain), his Great officers continued till the change of mourning at the end of a year, and then returned to their own residences. A common officer returned at the conclusion of the wailing.
- 53 At the mourning rites for their parents, (the other sons who were) Great officers or common officers, returned to their own residences after the change of the mourning at the end of the year; but on the first day of the month and at full moon, and on the return of the death-day, they came back and wailed in the house of him who was now the Head of their family. At the mourning for uncles and cousins, they returned to their own residences at the conclusion of the wailing.
- 54 A father did not take up his quarters (during the mourning) at a son's, nor an elder brother at a younger's.
- 55 At the mourning rites for a Great officer or his acknowledged wife, a ruler (went to see) the greater dressing; but if he wished to show special favour, he attended the slighter dressing. The ruler, in the case of an acknowledged wife, married to a Great officer of a different surname from his own, arrived after the lid was put on the coffin. He went to an officer's, when the body was put into the coffin.; but if he wanted to show special favour, he attended at the greater dressing. The ruler's wife, at the mourning for a (Great officer's) acknowledged wife, attended at the greater dressing: but if she wished to show special favour, at the slighter. In the case of his other wives, if she wished to show special favour, she attended at the greater dressing in the case of a Great officer's acknowledged wife, who was of a different surname from her own, she appeared after the coffining had taken place.
- 56 When the ruler went to a Great officer's or a common officer's, after the coffining had taken place, he sent word beforehand of his coming. The chief mourner provided all the offerings to be set down for the dead in the fullest measure, and waited outside the gate, till he saw the heads of the horses. He then led the way in by the right side of the gate. The exorcist stopped outside, and the blesser took his place, and preceded the ruler, who put down the offerings of vegetables (for the spirit of the gate) inside it. The blesser then preceded him up the eastern steps, and took his place with his back to the wall, facing the south. The ruler took his place at (the top of) the steps; two men with spears standing before him, and two behind. The officer of reception then advanced. The chief mourner bowed, laying his forehead to the ground. The ruler then said what he had to say; looked towards the blesser and leaped. The chief mourner then (also) leaped.
- 57 If the visit were paid to a Great officer, the offerings might at this point be put down by the coffin. If it were to a common officer, he went out to wait outside the gate. Being requested to return and put down the offerings, he did so. When this was done, he preceded the ruler, and waited for him outside the gate. When the ruler retired, the chief mourner escorted him outside the gate, and bowed to him, with his forehead to the ground.
- 58 When a Great officer was ill, the ruler thrice inquired for him; and when his body was coffined, visited (his son) thrice. When a common officer was ill, he inquired for him once; and when his body was coffined, visited (his son) once. When the ruler came to condole (after the coffining), the (son) put on again the clothes he had worn at the coffining.
- 59 When the ruler's wife went lo condole at a Great officer's or a common officer's, the chief mourner went out to meet her outside the gate, and, when he saw her horses heads, went in before her by the right side of the gate. She then entered, went up to the hall, and took her place. The wife presiding went down by the steps on the west, and bowed with her head to the ground below (the hall). The ruler's wife looked towards her eldest son (who had accompanied her), and leaped. The offerings were put down according to the rules for them on the visit of the ruler. When she retired, the wife presiding went with her to the inside of the door of the apartment, and bowed to her with her head to the ground. The chief mourner escorted her to the outside of the great gate, but did not bow.
- 60 When a Great officer came to the mourning rites of one of his officers to whom he stood in the relation of ruler, the officer did not meet him outside the gate. He entered and took

his place below the hall. The chief mourner (stood on the south of his place), with his face to the north, though the general rule for chief mourners was to face the south. The wife took her place in the room. If, at this juncture, there came a message from the ruler of the state, or one from a confirmed (Great) officer or his confirmed wife, or visitors from, the neighbouring states, the Great officer-ruler, having the chief mourner behind him, performed the bow of ceremony to each visitor.

61 When a ruler, on a visit of condolence, saw the bier for the corpse, he leaped. If a ruler had not given notice beforehand of his coining to a Great officer or a common officer, and he had not prepared the various offerings to be put down by the coffin on the occasion, when the ruler withdrew, the rule was that they should then be put down.

62 The largest (or outermost) coffin of the ruler of a state was eight inches thick; the next, six inches; and the innermost, four inches. The larger coffin of a Great officer of the highest grade was eight inches thick; and the inner, six inches; for one of the lowest grade, the dimensions were six inches and four. The coffin of a common officer was six inches thick. The (inner) coffin of a ruler was lined with red (silk), fixed in its place with nails of various metals; that of a Great officer with (silk of a) dark blue, fixed with nails of ox-bone; that of a common officer was lined, but had no nails. The lid of a ruler's coffin was varnished, with three double wedges (at the edges) over which were three bands; that of a Great officer's was (also) varnished, with two double wedges and two bands; that of a common officer was not varnished, but it had two double wedges and two bands.

63 The accumulated hair and nails of a ruler and Great officer were placed in bags at the four corners of the coffin; those of an officer were buried (without being put in the coffin). The coffin of a ruler was placed upon a bier, which was surrounded with high stakes, inclined over it till, when all was finished and plastered, there was the appearance of a house. That of a Great officer, having been covered with a pall, was placed in the did not western corridor and staked, but the plastering did not reach all over the coffin. That of a common officer was placed so that the double wedges could be seen; above that it was plastered. All were screened.

64 Of scorehed grain there were put by the coffin of a ruler eight baskets, containing four different kinds; by that of a Great officer, six baskets, containing three kinds; by that of a common officer, four baskets, containing two kinds. Besides these, there were (dried) fish and flesh.

65 Ornamenting the coffin (on its way to the grave), there were for a ruler - the curtains with dragons (figured on them). and over them three gutter-Spouts: the fluttering ornaments (with pheasants figured on them and the ends of the curtains); above (on the sloping roof of the catafalque) were figures of axe-heads, of the symbol of discrimination, thrice repeated, and of flames, thrice repeated. These occupied the pall-like roof of white silk, as embroidery, and above it was the false covering attached to it by six purple ties, and rising up with ornaments in five, colours and five rows of shells. There were (at the corners) two streamers of feathers, suspended from a frame with the axes on it; two from another, bearing the symbol of discrimination; two from another, variously figured; all the frames on staffs, showing jade-symbols at the top. Fishes were made as if leaping at the ends of the gutters, The whole of the catafalque was kept together by six supports rising from the coffin, and wound round with purple silk, and six sustaining ropes, also purple, (drawn through the

66 For the catafalque of a Great officer there were painted curtains, with two gutter-spouts (above them); there were not the fluttering ornaments; above (on the sloping roof) there were flames painted, thrice repeated; and three symbols of discrimination, These formed the pall-like roof, and there were two purple ties, and two of deep blue. At the very top there were ornaments in three colours, and three rows of shells. There were two feather-streamers from a frame with axes, and two from a painted frame; all the frames on staffs with plumage at the tops. Figures of fishes were made at the ends of the gutters. The front supports of a Great officer's catafalque were purple, and those behind deep blue. So also were the sustaining ropes.

67 For the catafalque of a common officer, the curtains were of (plain) linen, and there was the sloping roof. There was (but) one gutter-spout. There were the fluttering pheasants on the bands. The purple ties were two, and the black also two. At the very top the ornaments were of three colours, and there was only one row of shells. The streamers of feathers from a painted frame were two, the staffs of which had plumage at their tops. The front supports of the catafalque were purple, and those behind black. The sustaining ropes were purple.

68 In burying the coffin of a ruler, they used a bier, four ropes, and two pillars. Those guiding the course of the coffin carried the shade with pendent feathers. In burying a Great officer, they used two ropes and two pillars. Those who guided the coffin used a reed of white grass. In burying a common officer, they used a carriage of the state. They

employed two ropes and no post. As soon as they left the residence, those who directed the coffin used the shade of merit

69 In letting down the coffin into the grave, they removed the ropes from the posts, and pulled at them with their. backs to the posts. For a ruler's coffin, they also used levers, and for a Great officer's or a common officer's, ropes attached to the sides of the coffin. Orders were given that they should not cry out in letting down that of the ruler. They let it down as guided by the sound of a drum. in letting down a Great officer's, they were commanded not to wail. In letting down a common officer's, those who began to wail stopped one another

70 The outer shell of the coffin of a ruler was of pine; of a Great officer, of cypress; of another officer, of various kinds of wood. The surface between the coffin and shell of a ruler was sufficient to contain a music stopper; in the case of the coffin and shell of a Great officer, a vase for water; in that of the coffin and shell of a common officer, a jar of liquor. In the rites of a ruler, the shell was lined, and there were baskets of yu; in those of a Great officer, the shell was not lined; in those of a common officer, there were no baskets of yu.

#### LI JI CHAPTER 23 Ji Fa

Law of Sacrifices

1 According to the law of sacrifices, (Shun), the sovereign of the line of Yu, at the great associate sacrifice, gave the place of honour to Huang Di, and at the border sacrifice made Ku the correlate of Heaven; he sacrificed (also) to Zhuan-xu as his ancestor (on the throne) and to Yao as his honoured predecessor. The sovereigns of Xia, at the corresponding sacrifice, gave the place of honour also to Huang Di, and made Gun the correlate at the border sacrifice; they sacrificed to Zhuan-xu as their ancestor, and to Yu as their honoured predecessor. Under Yin, they gave the place of honour to Ku, and made Ming the correlate at the border sacrifice: they sacrificed to Xie as their ancestor, and to Tang as their honoured predecessor. Under Zhou they gave the place of honour to Ku, and made Ji the correlate at the border sacrifice, they sacrificed to king Wen as their ancestor, and to king Wu as their honoured predecessor.

2 With a blazing pile of wood on the Grand altar they sacrificed to Heaven; by burying (the victim) in the Grand mound, they sacrificed to the Earth. (In both cases) they used a red victim. By burying a sheep and a pig at the (altar of) Great brightness, they sacrificed to the seasons. (With similar) victims they sacrificed to (the spirits of cold and heat, at the pit and the altar, using prayers of deprecation and petition; to the sun, at the (altar called the) royal palace; to the moon, at the (pit called the) light of the night; to the stars at the honoured place of gloom; to (the spirits of) flood and drought at the honoured altar of rain; to the (spirits of the) four quarters at the place of the four pits and altars; mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mounds, which are able to produce clouds and occasion winds and rain were all regarded as (dominated by) spirits. He by whom all under the sky was held sacrificed to all spirits. The princes of states sacrificed to those which were in their own territories; to those which were not in their territories, they did not sacrifice.

3 Generally speaking, all born between heaven and earth were said to have their allotted times; the death of all creatures is spoken of as their dissolution; but man when dead is said to be in the ghostly state. There was no change in regard to these points in the five dynasties. What, the seven dynasties made changes in, were the assessors at the Great associate and the border sacrifices, and the parties sacrificed to in the ancestral temple; they made no other changes.

4 The sovereigns, coming to the possession of the kingdom, divided the land and established the feudal principalities; they assigned (great) cities (to their nobles), and smaller towns (to their chiefs); they made ancestral temples, and the arrangements for altering the order of the spirit-tablets; they raised altars, and they cleared the ground around them for the performance of their sacrifices. In all these arrangements they made provision for the sacrifices according to the nearer or more remote kinship, and for the assignment of lands of greater or less amount.

Thus the king made for himself seven ancestral temples, with a raised altar and the surrounding area for each. The temples were-his father's; his grandfather's; his great-grandfather's; his great-grandfather's; his great-grandfather's; and the temple of his (high) ancestor. At all of these a sacrifice was offered every month. The temples of the more remote ancestors formed the receptacles for the tablets as they were displaced; they were two, and at these only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For the removed tablet of one more remote, an altar was raised and its corresponding area; and on occasions of prayer at this altar and area, a sacrifice was offered, but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no sacrifice); he was left in his ghostly state.

A feudal prince made for himself five ancestral temples, with an altar and a cleared area about it for each. The temples were--his father's; his grandfather's; and his greatgrandfather's; in all of which a sacrifice was offered every month. In the temples of the great-great-grandfather, and that of the (high) ancestor only, the seasonal sacrifices were offered. For one beyond the high ancestor a special altar was raised, and for one still more remote, an area was prepared. If there were prayer at these, a sacrifice was offered; but if there were no prayer, there was no sacrifice. In the case of one still more remote, (there was no service); he was left in his ghostly state

A Great officer made for himself three ancestral temples and two altars. The temples were-his father's; his grandfather's; and his great-grandfather's. In this only the seasonal sacrifices were offered. To the great-great-grandfather and the (high) ancestor there were no temples. If there were occasion for prayer to them, altars were raised, and sacrifices offered on them. An ancestor still more remote was left in his ghostly state.

An officer of the highest grade had two ancestral temples and one altar; the temples of his father and grandfather, at which only the seasonal sacrifices were presented. There was no temple for his great-grandfather. If there were occasion to pray to him, an altar was raised, and a sacrifice offered to him. Ancestors more remote were left in their ghostly state.

An officer in charge merely of one department had one ancestral temple; that, namely, of his father. There was no temple for his grandfather, but he was sacrificed to (in the father's temple.) Ancestors beyond the grandfather were left in their ghostly state.

The mass of ordinary officers and the common people had no ancestral temple. Their dead were left in their ghostly state, (to have offerings presented to them in the back apartment, as occasion required).

5 The king, for all the people, erected an altar to (the spirit of) the ground, called the Grand altar, and one for himself, called the Royal altar. A feudal prince, for all his people, erected one called the altar of the state, and one for himself called the altar of the prince. Great officers and all below them in association erected such an altar, called the Appointed altar.

6 The king, for all the people, appointed (seven altars for) the seven sacrifices - one to the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and the rain from the roofs; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of kings who had died without posterity; one for the guardian of the door; and one for the guardian of the furnace. He also had seven corresponding altars for himself.

A feudal prince, for his state, appointed (five altars for) the five sacrifices - one for the superintendent of the lot; one in the central court, for the admission of light and rain; one at the gates of the city wall; one in the roads leading from the city; one for the discontented ghosts of princes who had died without posterity. He also had five corresponding altars for himself.

A Great officer appointed (three altars for) the three sacrifice - one for the discontented ghosts of his predecessors who had died without posterity; one at the gates of his city; and one on the roads leading from it.

An officer of the first grade appointed (two altars for) the two sacrifices - one at the gates; and one on the roads (outside the gates).

Other officers and the common people had one (altar and one) sacrifice. Some raised one altar for the guardian of the door; and others, one for the guardian of the furnace.

7 The king, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to five classes of those who had died prematurely - namely, to the rightful eldest sons (of former kings); to rightful grandsons; to rightful great-grandsons; to rightful great-grandsons; and to the rightful sons of these last.

A feudal prince, carrying down (his favour), sacrificed to three classes; a Great officer similarly to two; another officer of the first grade and the common people sacrificed only to the son who had died prematurely.

8 According to the institutes of the sage kings about sacrifices, sacrifice should be offered to him who had given (good) laws to the people to him who had laboured to the death in the discharge of his duties; to him who had strengthened the state by his laborious toil; to him who had boldly and successfully met great calamities; and to him who had warded off great evils. Such were the following - Nong, the son of the lord of Li-shan, who possessed the kingdom, and showed how to cultivate all the cereals; and Ji (the progenitor) of Zhou, who continued his work after the decay of Xia, and was sacrificed to under the name of Ji; Hou-tu, a son of the line of Gong-gong, that swayed the nine provinces, who was able to reduce them all to order, and was sacrificed to as the spirit of the ground; the Di Ku, who could define all the zodiacal stars, and exhibit their times to the people; Yao, who rewarded (the worthy), made the penal laws impartial, and the end of whose course was distinguished by his righteousness; Shun, who, toiling amid all his affairs, died in the country (far from his capital); Yu, (the son of) Gun, who was kept a prisoner till death for trying to dam up the waters of the flood, while Yu completed the work, and atoned for his father's failure; Huang Di, who gave everything its right name,

thereby showing the people how to avail themselves of its qualities; Zhuan-xu, who completed this work of Huang Di; Xie, who was minister of Instruction, and perfected the (condition and manners of the) people; Ming, who, through his attention to the duties of his office, died in the waters; Thang, who ruled the people with a benignant sway and cut off their oppressor; and king Wen, who by his peaceful rule, and king Wu, who by his martial achievements, delivered the people from their afflictions. All these rendered distinguished services to the people. As to the sun and moon, the stars and constellations, the people look up to them, while mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mountains supply them with the materials for use which they require. Only men and things of this character were admitted into the sacrificial canon.

#### LI JI CHAPTER 24 Ji YI Meaning of Sacrifices

1 Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated. Such frequency is indicative of importunateness; importunateness is inconsistent with reverence. Nor should they be at distant intervals. Such infrequency is indicative of indifference; and indifference leads to forgetting them altogether. Therefore the superior man, in harmony with the course of Heaven, offers the sacrifices of spring and autumn. When he treads on the dew which has descended as hoar-frost he cannot help a feeling of sadness, which arises in his mind, and cannot be ascribed to the cold. In spring, when he treads on the ground, wet with the rains and dews that have fallen heavily, he cannot avoid being moved by a feeling as if he were seeing his departed friends. We meet the approach of our friends with music, and escort them away with sadness, and hence at the sacrifice in spring we use music, but not at the sacrifice in autumn.

2 The severest vigil and purification is maintained and carried on inwardly; while a looser vigil is maintained externally. During the days of such vigil, the mourner thinks of his departed, how and where they sat, how they smiled and spoke, what were their aims and views, what they delighted in, and what things they desired and enjoyed. On the third day of such exercise he will see those for whom it is employed.

3 On the day of sacrifice, when he enters the apartment (of the temple), he will seem to see (the deceased) in the place (where his spirit-tablet is). After he has moved about (and performed his operations), and is leaving at the door, he will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing.

4 Thus the filial piety taught by the ancient kings required that the eyes of the son should not forget the looks (of his parents), nor his ears their voices; and that he should retain the memory of their aims, likings, and wishes. As he gave full play to his love, they seemed to live again; and to his reverence, they seemed to stand out before him. So seeming to live and stand out, so unforgotten by him, how could his sacrifices be without the accompaniment of reverence?

The superior man, while (his parents) are alive, reverently nourishes them; and, when-they are dead, he reverently sacrifices to them; his (chief) thought is how to the end of life not to disgrace them. The saying that the superior man mourns all his life for his parents has reference to the recurrence of the day of their death. That he does not do his ordinary work on that day does not mean that it would be unpropitious to do so; it means that on that day his thoughts are occupied with them, and he does not dare to occupy himself as on other days with his private and personal affairs.

5 It is only the sage who can sacrifice to God, and (only) the filial son who can sacrifice to his parents. Sacrificing means directing one's self to, The son directs his thoughts (to his parents), and then he can offer his sacrifice (so that they shall enjoy it). Hence the filial son approaches the personator of the departed without having occasion to blush; the ruler leads the victim forward, while his wife puts down the bowls; the ruler presents the offerings to the personator, while his wife sets forth the various dishes; his ministers and Great officers assist the ruler, while their acknowledged wives assist his wife. How well sustained was their reverence! How complete was the expression of their loyal devotion! How earnest was their wish that the departed should enjoy the service!

6 King Wen, in sacrificing, served the dead as if he were serving the living. He thought of them dead as if he did not wish to live (any longer himself). On the recurrence of their death-day, he was sad; in calling his father by the name elsewhere forbidden, he looked as if he saw him. So sincere was he in sacrificing that he looked as if he saw the things which his father loved, and the pleased expression of his face such was king Wen! The lines of the ode (II, v, ode 2), 'When early dawn unseals my eyes, Before my mind my parents rise,' might be applied to king Wen. On the day after the sacrifice, when the day broke, he did not sleep, but hastened to repeat it; and after it was finished, he still thought of his parents. On the day of sacrifice his joy and sorrow were blended together. He could not but rejoice in the opportunity of offering the sacrifice; and when it was over, he could not but be sad.

7 At the autumnal sacrifice, when Zhong-ni advanced, bearing the offerings, his general appearance was indicative of simple sincerity, but his steps were short and oft repeated. When the sacrifice was over, Zi-gong questioned him, saying, 'Your account of sacrificing was that it should be marked by the dignity and intense absorption of all engaged in it; and now how is it that in your sacrificing there has been no such dignity and absorption?'

The Master said, 'That dignity of demeanour should belong to those who are only distantly connected (with him who is sacrificed to), and that absorbed demeanour to one whose thoughts are turned in on himself (lest he should make any mistake). But how should such demeanour consist with communion with the spirits (sacrificed to)? How should such unity and absorption be seen in my sacrifice? (At the sacrifices of the king and rulers) there is the return of the personator to his apartment, and the offering of food to him there; there are the performances of the music, and the setting forth of the stands with the victims on them; there are the ordering of the various ceremonies and the music; and there is the complete array of the officers for all the services. When they are engaged in the maintenance of that dignity and absorption in their duties, how can they be lost in their abandonment to intercourse with the spiritual presences? Should words be understood only in one way? Each saying has its own appropriate application.'

8 When a filial son is about to sacrifice, he is anxious that all preparations should be made beforehand; and when the time arrives, that everything necessary should be found complete; and then, with a mind free from all pre-occupation, he should address himself to the performance of his sacrifice. The temple and its apartments having been repaired, the walls and roofs having been put in order, and all the assisting officers having been provided, husband and wife, after vigil and footing, bathe their heads and persons, and array themselves in full dress. In coming in with the things which they carry, how grave and still are they! how absorbed in what they do! as if they were not able to sustain their weight, as if they would let them fall - Is not theirs the highest filial reverence? He sets forth the stands with the victims on them; arranges all the ceremonies and music; provides the officers for, the various ministries. These aid in sustaining and bringing in the things, and thus he declares his mind and wish, and in his lost abstraction of mind seeks to have communion with the dead in their spiritual state, if peradventure they will enjoy his offerings, if peradventure they will do so. Such is the aim of the filial son (in his sacrifices)!

9 The filial son, in sacrificing, seems never able to exhaust his earnest purpose, his sincerity, and reverence. He observes every rule, without transgression or short-coming. His reverence appears in his movements of advancing and retiring, as if he were hearing the orders (of his parents), or as if they were perhaps directing him.

10 What the sacrifice of a filial son should be can be known. While he is standing waiting for the service to commence, he should be reverent, with his body somewhat bent; while he is. engaged in carrying forward the service, he should be reverent, with an expression of pleasure; when he is presenting the offerings, he should be reverent, with an expression of desire. He should then retire and stand, as if he were about to receive orders; when he has removed the offerings and (finally) retires. the expression of reverent gravity should continue to be worn on his face. Such is the sacrifice of a filial son. To stand without any inclination of the body would show insensibility; to carry the service forward without an expression of pleasure would show indifference; to present the offerings without an expression of desire (that they may be enjoyed) would show a want of love; to retire and stand without seeming to expect to receive orders would show pride; to retire and stand, after the removal of the offerings, without an expression of reverent gravity would show a forgetfulness of the parent to whom he owes his being. A sacrifice so conducted would be wanting in its proper characteristics.

11 A filial son, cherishing a deep love for his parents, is sure to have a bland air; having a bland air, he will have a look of pleasure; having a look of pleasure, his demeanour will be mild and compliant. A filial son will move as if he were carrying a jade symbol, or bearing a full vessel. Still and grave, absorbed in what he is doing, he will seem as if he were unable to sustain the burden, and in danger of letting it fall. A severe gravity and austere manner are not proper to the service of parents:—such is the manner of a full-grown man.

12 There were five things by means of which the ancient kings secured the good government of the whole kingdom the honour which they paid to the virtuous; to the noble; and to the old; the reverence which they showed to the aged; and their kindness to the young. It was by these five things that they maintained the stability of the kingdom. Why did they give honour to the virtuous? Because of their approximation to the course of duty. They did so to the noble because of their approximation to the position of the ruler; and to the old because of their approximation to that of parents. They showed reverence to the aged, because of their approximation

to the position of elder brothers; and kindness to the young, because of their approximation to the position of sons.

13 Therefore he who is perfectly filial approximates to be king, and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain. He who is perfectly filial approximates to being king, for even the son of Heaven had the father (whom he must revere); and he who is perfectly fraternal approximates to being presiding chieftain, for even a feudal lord had his elder brothers (or cousins), (whom he must obey). The observance of the lessons of the ancient kings, without admitting any change in them, was the way by which they united and kept together the kingdom with its states and families.

14 The Master said, 'The laying the foundation of all love in the love of parents teaches people concord. The laying the foundation of (all) reverence in the reverence of elders teaches the people obedience. When taught loving harmony, the people set the (proper) value on their parents; when taught to reverence their superiors, the people set the (Proper) value in obeying the orders given to them. Filial piety in the service of parents, and obedience in the discharge of orders can be displayed throughout the kingdom, and they will everywhere take effect.

15 At the time of the border sacrifice to Heaven, those who are engaged in funeral rites do not dare to wail, and those who are wearing mourning do not dare to enter the gate of the capital - this is the highest expression of reverence.

16 On the day of sacrifice, the ruler led the victim forward, along with and assisted by his son on the opposite side; while the Great officers followed in order. When they had entered the gate of the temple, they fastened the victim to the stone pillar. The ministers and Great officers then bared their arms, and proceeded to inspect the hair, paying particular attention to that of the ears. They then with the knife with the bells attached to it, cut it open, took out the fat about the inwards, and withdrew (for a time). Afterwards they offered some of the flesh boiled, and some raw, then (finally) withdrawing. There was the highest reverence about everything.

17 The sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to Heaven, and it was specially addressed to the sun, with which the moon was associated. The sovereigns of Xia presented it in the dark. Under the Yin dynasty they did so at noon. Under the Zhou they sacrificed all the day, especially at daybreak, and towards evening. They sacrificed to the sun on the altar, and to the moon in the hollow - to mark the distinction between (the) gloom (of the one) and (the) brightness (of the other), and to show the difference between the high and the low. They sacrificed to the sun in the east, and to the moon in the west - to mark the distinction between (the) forthcoming (of the former) and (the) withdrawing (of the latter), and to show the correctness of their (relative) position. The sun comes forth from the east, and the moon appears in the west; the darkness and the light are now long, now short; when the one ends, the other begins. in regular succession - thus producing the harmony of all under the sky.

18 The rites to be observed by all under heaven were intended to promote the return (of the mind) to the beginning (= Creator of all); to promote (the honouring of) spiritual Beings; to promote the harmonious use (of all resources and appliances) of government; to promote righteousness; and to promote humility. They promote the return to the beginning, securing the due consideration, of their originator. They promote (the honouring) of spiritual Beings, securing the giving honour to superiors. They promote the (proper) use of all resources, thereby establishing the regulations (for the well-being of) the people. They promote righteousness, and thus there are no oppositions and conflictings between high and low. They promote humility, in order to prevent occasions of strife. Let these five things be united through the rites for the regulation of all under heaven, and though there may be some extravagant and perverse who are not kept in order, they will be few.

19 Zai Wo said, 'I have heard the names Gui and Shen, but I do not know what they mean.' The Master said, 'The (intelligent) spirit is of the shen nature, and shows that in fullest measure; the animal soul is of the gui nature, and shows that in fullest measure. It is the union of gui and shen that forms the highest exhibition of doctrine. All the living must die, and dying, return to the ground; this is what is called kwei. The bones and flesh, moulder below, and, hidden away, become the earth of the fields. But the spirit issues forth, and is displayed on high in a condition of glorious brightness. The vapours and odours which produce a feeling of sadness, (and arise from the decay of their substance), are the subtle essences of all things, and (also) a manifestation of the shan nature. On the ground of these subtle essences of things, with an extreme decision and inventiveness, (the sages) framed distinctly (the names of) kwei and shan, to constitute a pattern for the blackhaired race; and all the multitudes were filled with awe, and the myriads of the people constrained to submission."

20 The sages did not consider these (names) to be sufficient, and therefore, they built temples with their (different) apartments, and framed their rules for ancestors who were

always to be honoured, and those whose tablets should be removed;--thus making a distinction for nearer and more distant kinship, and for ancestors the remote and the recent, and teaching the people to go back to their oldest fathers, and retrace their beginnings, not forgetting those to whom they owed their being. In consequence of this the multitude submitted to their lessons, and listened to them with a quicker readiness. These two elements (of the human constitution) having been established (with the two names), two ceremonies were framed in accordance with them. They appointed the service of the morning, when the fat of the inwards was burned so as to bring out its fragrance, and this was mixed with the blaze of dried southern-wood. This served as a tribute to the (intelligent) spirit, and taught all to go back to their originating ancestors. They (also) presented millet and rice, and offered the delicacies of the liver, lungs, head, and heart, along with two bowls (of liquor) and odoriferous spirits. This served as a tribute to the animal soul, and taught the people to love one another, and high and low to cultivate good feeling between them - such was the effect of those ceremonies

21 'The superior man, going back to his ancient fathers, and returning to the authors of his being, does not forget those to whom he owes his life, and therefore he calls forth all his reverence, gives free vent to his feelings, and exhausts his strength in discharging the above service;-as a tribute of gratitude to his parents he dares not but do his utmost.' Thus it was that anciently the, son of Heaven had his field of a thousand acres, in which he himself held the plough, wearing the square-topped cap with red ties. The feudal princes also had their field of a hundred acres, in which they did the same, wearing the same cap with green ties. They did this in the service of Heaven, Earth, the Spirits of the land and grain, and their ancient fathers, to supply the new wine, cream, and vessels of grain. In this way did they procure these things - it was a great expression of their reverence.

22 Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their officers who attended to their animals; and at the proper seasons, after vigil and fasting, they washed their heads, bathed, and visited them in person, taking from them for victims those which were spotless and perfect - it was a great expression of their reverence. The ruler ordered the oxen to be brought before him, and inspected them; he chose them by their hair, divined whether it would be fortunate to use them, and if the response were favourable, he had them cared for. In his skin cap, and the white skirt gathered up at the waist, on the first day and at the middle of the month, he inspected them. Thus did he do his utmost - it was the height of filial piety.

23 Anciently, the son of Heaven and the feudal lords had their own mulberry trees and silkworms' house; the latter built near a river, ten cubits in height, the surrounding walls being topped with thorns, and the gates closed on the outside. In the early morning of a very bright day, the ruler, in his skin can and the white skirt divined for the most auspicious of the honourable ladies in the three palaces of his wife, who were then employed to take the silkworms into the house. They washed the seeds in the stream, gathered the leaves from the mulberry trees, and dried them in the wind to feed the worms. When the (silkworm) year was ended, the honourable ladies had finished their work with the insects, and carried the cocoons to show them to the ruler. They then presented them to his wife, who said, 'Will not these supply the materials for the ruler's robes?' She forthwith received them, wearing her head-dress and the robe with pheasants on it, and afterwards caused a sheep and a pig to be killed and cooked to treat (the ladies). This probably was the ancient custom at the presentation of the cocoons. Afterwards, on a good day, the wife rinsed some of them thrice in a vessel, beginning to unwind them, and then distributed them to the auspicious and honourable ladies of her three palaces to (complete) the unwinding. They then dyed the thread red and green, azure and yellow, to make the variously coloured figures on robes. When the robes were finished, the ruler wore them in sacrificing to the former kings and dukes; all displayed the greatest reverence.

24 The superior man says, 'Ceremonies and music should not for a moment be neglected by any one. When one has mastered (the principles of) music, and regulates his heart and mind accordingly, the natural, correct, gentle, and honest heart is easily developed, and with this development of the heart comes joy. This joy goes on to a feeling of repose. This repose is long continued. The man in this constant repose becomes (a sort of) heaven. Heaven-like, his action is spiritlike. Heaven-like, he is believed, though he do not speak. Spirit-like, he is regarded with awe, though he display no rage. So it is when one by his mastering of music regulates his mind and heart. When one has mastered (the principle of) ceremonies, and regulates his person accordingly, he becomes grave and reverential. Grave and reverential, he is regarded with awe. If the heart be for a moment without the feeling of harmony and joy, meanness and deceitfulness enter it. If the outward demeanour be for a moment without gravity and reverentialness, indifference and rudeness show themselves.

Therefore the sphere in which music acts is the interior of man, and that of ceremonies is his exterior. The result of music is a perfect harmony, and that of ceremonies is a perfect observance (of propriety). When one's inner man is thus harmonious, and his outer man thus docile, the people behold his countenance and do not strive with him; they look to his demeanour, and no feeling of indifference or rudeness arises in them. Thus it is that when virtue shines and moves within (a superior), the people are sure to accept (his rule) and hearken to him; and when the principles (of propriety) are displayed in his conduct, the people are all sure to accept (his rule) and obey him. Therefore it is said, "Let ceremonies and music have their course till all under heaven is filled with them; then give them their manifestation and application, and nothing difficult to manage will appear."

'Music affects the inward movements (of the soul); ceremonies appear in the outward movements (of the body). Hence it is the rule to make ceremonies as few and brief as possible, and to give to music its fullest development. This leads to the forward exhibition of ceremonies, and therein their beauty resides; and to the introspective consideration of music, and therein its beauty resides. If ceremonies, demanding this condensation, did not receive this forward exhibition of them, they would almost disappear altogether; if music, demanding this full development, were not accompanied with the introspection, it would produce a dissipation of the mind. Thus it is that to every ceremony there is its proper response, and for music there is this introspection. When ceremonies are responded to, there arises pleasure, and when music is accompanied with the right introspection, there arises repose. The response of ceremony and the introspection of music spring from one and the same idea, and have one and the same object.'

25 Zeng-zi said, 'There are three degrees of filial piety. The highest is the honouring of our parents; the second is the not disgracing them; and the lowest is the being able to support them.' (His disciple), Gong-ming Yi, said, 'Can you, master, be considered (an example of a) filial son?' Zeng-zi replied, 'What words are these? What words are these? What the superior man calls filial piety requires the anticipation of our parents' wishes, the carrying out of their aims and their instruction in the path (of duty). I am simply one who supports his parents; how can I be considered filial?'

26 Zeng-zi said, 'The body is that which has been transmitted to us by our parents; dare any one allow himself to be irreverent in the employment of their legacy? If a man in his own house and privacy be not grave, he is not filial; if in serving his ruler, he be not loyal, he is not filial; if in discharging the duties of office, he be not reverent, he is not filial; if with friends he be not sincere, he is not filial; if on the field of battle he be not brave, he is not filial. If he fail in these five things, the evil (of the disgrace) will reach his parents; dare he but reverently attend to them?'

To prepare the fragrant flesh and grain which he has cooked, tasting and then presenting them before his parents, is not filial piety; it is only nourishing them. He whom the superior man pronounces filial is he whom (all) the people of (his) state praise, saying with admiration, 'Happy are the parents who have such a son as this!' - that indeed is what can be called being filial. The fundamental lesson for all is filial piety. The practice of it is seen in the support (of parents). One may be able to support them; the difficulty is in doing so with the proper reverence. One may attain to that reverence; the difficulty is to do so without self-constraint. That freedom from constraint may be realised; the difficulty is to maintain it to the end. When his parents are dead, and the son carefully watches over his actions, so that a bad name, (involving) his parents, shall not be handed down, he may be said to be able to maintain his piety to the end. True love is the love of this: true propriety is the doing of this; true righteousness is the rightness of this; true sincerity is being sincere in this; true strength is being strong in this joy springs from conformity to this; punishments spring from the violation of this

27 Zeng-zi said, 'Set up filial piety, and it will fill the space from earth to heaven; spread it out, and it will extend over all the ground to the four seas;' hand it down to future ages, and from morning to evening it will be observed; push it on to the eastern sea, the western sea, the southern sea, and the northern sea, and it will be (everywhere) the law for men, and their obedience to it will be uniform. There will be a fulfilment of the words of the ode (III, i, ode 10, 6), "From west to east, from south to north, There was no unsubmissive thought."

28 Zeng-zi said, 'Trees are felled and animals killed, (only) at the proper seasons. The Master said, "To fell a single tree, or kill a single animal, not at the proper season, is contrary to filial piety." There are three degrees of filial piety - the least, seen in the employment of one's strength (in the service of parents); the second, seen in the endurance of toil (for them); and the greatest, seen in its never failing. Thinking of the gentleness and love (of parents) and forgetting our toils (for them) may be called the employment of strength. Honouring benevolences and resting with the feeling of repose in righteousness may be called the endurance of toil; the wide

dispensation of benefits and the providing of all things (necessary for the people) may be called the piety that does not fail. When his parents love him, to rejoice, and not allow himself to forget them; when they hate him, to fear and yet feel no resentment; when they have faults, to remonstrate with them, and yet not withstand them; when they are dead, to ask (the help only of) the good to obtain the grain with which to sacrifice to them - this is what is called the completion (by a son) of his proper services.

29 The disciple Yue-zheng Chun injured his foot in descending from his hall, and for some months was not able to go out. Even after this he still wore a look of sorrow, and (one of the) disciples of the school said to him, 'Your foot, master, is better; and though for some months you could not go out, why should you still wear a look of sorrow?' Yue-zheng Chun replied, 'It is a good question which you ask! It is a good question which you ask! I heard from Zang-dze what he had heard the Master say, that of all that Heaven produces and Earth nourishes, there is none so great as man. His parents give birth to his person all complete, and to return it, to them all complete may be called filial duty. When no member has been mutilated and no disgrace done to any part of the person, it may be called complete; and hence a superior man does not dare to take the slightest step in forgetfulness of his filial duty. But now I forgot the way of that, and therefore I wear the look of sorrow. (A son) should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, nor in the utterance of a single word. He should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, and therefore he will walk in the highway and not take a by-path, he will use a boat and not attempt to wade through a stream - not daring, with the body left him by his parents, to go in the way of peril. He should not forget his parents in the utterance of a single word, and therefore an evil word will not issue from his mouth, and an angry word will not come back to his person. Not to disgrace his person and not to cause shame to his parents may be called filial duty.'

30 Anciently, the sovereigns of the line of Yu honoured virtue, and highly esteemed age; the sovereigns of Xia honoured rank, and highly esteemed age; under Yin they honoured riches, and highly esteemed age; under Zhou, they honoured kinship, and highly esteemed age. Yu, Xia, Yin, and Zhou produced the greatest kings that have appeared under Heaven, and there was not one of them who neglected age. For long has honour been paid to years under the sky; to pay it is next to the service of parents.

31 Therefore, at court among parties of the same rank, the highest place was given to the oldest. Men of seventy years carried their staffs at the court. When the ruler questioned one of them, he made him sit on a mat. One of eighty years did not wait out the audience, and when the ruler would question him he went to his house. Thus the submission of a younger brother (and juniors generally) was recognised at the court.

32 A junior walking with one older (than himself), if they were walking shoulder to shoulder, yet it was not on the same line. If he did not keep transversely (a little behind), he followed the other. When they saw an old man, people in carriages or walking got out of his way. Men, where the white were mingling with their black hairs, did not carry burdens on the roads. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised on the public ways. Residents in the country took their places according to their age, and the old and poor were not neglected, nor did the strong come into collision with the weak, or members of a numerous clan do violence to those of a smaller. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the country districts and hamlets.

33 According to the ancient rule, men of fifty years were not required to serve in hunting expeditions; and in the distribution of the game, a larger share was given to the more aged. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the arrangements for the hunts. In the tens and fives of the army and its detachments, where the rank was the same, places were given according to age. Thus the submission of juniors was recognised in the army.

34 The display of filial and fraternal duty in the court; the practice of them on the road; their reaching to the districts and hamlets; their extension to the huntings; and the cultivation of them in the army, (have thus been described). All would have died for them under the constraint of righteousness, and not dared to violate them.

35 The sacrifice in the Hall of Distinction served to inculcate filial duty on the feudal lords; the feasting of the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced in the Great college served to inculcate brotherly submission on those princes; the sacrifices to the worthies of former times in the western school served to inculcate virtue on them; the (king's) ploughing in the field set apart for him, served to teach them the duty of nourishing (the people); their appearances at court in spring and autumn served to inculcate on them their duty as subjects or ministers. Those five institutions were the great lessons for the kingdom.

36 When feasting the three classes of the old and five classes of the experienced, the son of Heaven bared his arm, cut up the bodies of the victims, and handed round the condiments; he also presented the cup with which they rinsed their mouths,

wearing the square-topped cap, and carrying a shield. It was thus he inculcated brotherly submission on the princes. It was thus that in the country and villages regard was paid to age, that the old and poor were not neglected, that the strong did not attack the weak, and that the members of a numerous clan did hot oppress those of a smaller - these things came from the Great college. The son of Heaven appointed the four schools; and when his eldest son entered one of them, he took his place according to his age.

37 When the son of Heaven was on a tour of inspection, the princes (of each quarter) met him on their borders. The son of Heaven first visited those who were a hundred years old. If there were those of eighty or ninety, on the way to the east, he, though going to the west, did not dare to pass by (without seeing them); and so, if their route was to the west, and his to the west. If he wished to speak of matters of government, he, though ruler, might go to them.

38 Those who had received the first degree of office took places according to age (at meetings) in the country and villages; those who had received the second, took places in the same way (at meetings) of all the members of their relatives. Those who had received the third degree did not pay the same regard to age. But at meetings of all the members of a clan no one dared to take precedence of one who was seventy years old. Those who were seventy, did not go to court unless for some great cause. When they did so for such a cause, the ruler would bow and give place to them, afterwards going on to the parties possessed of rank.

39 Whatever good was possessed by the son of Heaven, he humbly ascribed the merit of it to Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a feudal lord, he ascribed it to the son of Heaven; whatever good was possessed by a minister or Great officer, he attributed it to the prince of his state; whatever good was possessed by an officer or a common man, he assigned the ground of it to his parents, and the preservation of it to his elders. Emolument, rank, felicitations, and rewards were (all) transacted in the ancestral temple; and it was thus that they showed (the spirit of) submissive deference.

40 Anciently, the sages, having determined the phenomena of heaven and earth in their states of rest and activity, made them the basis of the Yi (and divining by it). The diviner held the tortoise-shell in his arms, with his face towards the south, while the son of Heaven, in his dragon-robe and square-topped cap, stood with his face to the north. The latter, however intelligent might be his mind, felt it necessary to set forth and obtain a decision on what his object was;-showing that he did not dare to take his own way, and giving honour to Heaven (as the supreme Decider). What was good in him (or in his views) he ascribed to others; what was wrong, to himself; thus teaching not to boast, and giving honour to men of talents and virtue.

41 When a filial son was about to sacrifice; the rule was that he should have his mind well adjusted and grave, to fit him for giving to all matters their full consideration, for providing the robes and other things, for repairing the temple and its fanes, and for regulating everything. When the day of sacrifice arrived, the rule was that his countenance should be mild, and his movements show an anxious dread, as if he feared his love were not sufficient. When he put down his offerings, it was required that his demeanour should be mild, and his body bent, as if (his parents) would speak (to him) and had not yet done so; when the officers assisting had all gone out, he stood lowly and still, though correct and straight, as if he were about to lose the sight (of his parents). After the sacrifice, he looked pleased and expectant, as if they would again enter. In this way his ingenuousness and goodness were never absent from his person; his ears and eves were never withdrawn from what was in his heart; the exercises of his thoughts never left his parents. What was bound up in his heart was manifested in his countenance; and he was continually examining himself: such was the mind of the filial son.

42 The sites for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain were on the right; that for the ancestral temple on the left.

# LI JI CHAPTER 25 Ji Tong

A Summary Account of Sacrifices

1 Of all the methods for the good ordering of men, there is none more urgent than the use of ceremonies. Ceremonies are of five kinds, and there is none of them more important than sacrifices. Sacrifice is not a thing coming to a man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart. When the heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it by ceremonies; and hence, only men of ability and virtue can give complete exhibition to the idea of sacrifice.

2 The sacrifices of such men have their own blessing;--not indeed what the world calls blessing. Blessing here means perfection;-it is the name given to the complete and natural discharge of all duties. When nothing is left incomplete or improperly discharged;--this is what we call perfection, implying the doing everything that should be done in one's internal self, and externally the performance of everything according to the proper method. There is a fundamental agreement between a loyal subject in his service of his ruler and a filial son in his service of his parents. In the supernal

sphere there is a compliance with (what is due to) the repose and expansion of the energies of nature; in the external sphere, a compliance with (what is due) to rulers and elders; in the internal sphere, the filial service of parents;—all this constitutes what is called perfection. It is only the able and virtuous man who can attain to this perfection; and can sacrifice when he has attained to it. Hence in the sacrifices of such a man he brings into exercise all sincerity and good faith, with all right-heartedness and reverence; he offers the (proper) things; accompanies them with the (proper) rites; employs the soothing of music; does everything suitably to the season. Thus intelligently does he offer his sacrifices, without seeking for anything to be gained by them - such is the heart and mind of a filial son.

3 It is by sacrifice that the nourishment of parents is followed up and filial duty to them Perpetuated. The filial heart is a storehouse (of all filial duties). Compliance with everything that can mark his course, and be no violation of the relation (between parent and child) - the keeping of this is why we call it a storehouse. Therefore in three ways is a filial son's service of his parents shown - while they are alive, by nourishing them; when they are dead, by all the rites of mourning; and when the mourning is over by sacrificing to them. In his nourishing them we see his natural obedience; in his funeral rites we see his sorrow; in his sacrifices we see his reverence and observance of the (proper) seasons. In these three ways we see the practice of a filial son.

4 When a son had done everything (for his sacrifices) that he could do himself, he proceeded to seek assistance from abroad: and this came through the rites of marriage. Hence the language of a ruler, when about to marry a wife, was - 'I beg you, O ruler, to give me your elegant daughter, to share this small state with my poor self, to do service in the ancestral temple, and at the altars to (the spirits of) the land and grain. This underlay his seeking for that assistance (from abroad). In sacrificing, husband and wife had their several duties which they personally attended to; and on this account there was the array of officials belonging to the exterior and interior departments (of the palace). When these officers were complete, all things necessary (for the service) were made ready - small things, such as the sourcrout of water plants and pickles from the produce of dry grounds; and fine things, such as the stands for the bodies of the three victims, and the supplies for the eight dishes. Strange insects and the fruits of plants and trees, produced under the best influences of light and shade, were all made ready. Whatever heaven produces, whatever earth developes in its growth;--all were then exhibited in the greatest abundance. Everything was there from without, and internally there was the utmost effort of the will - such was the spirit in sacrificing.

5 For this reason, also, the son of Heaven himself guided the plough in the southern suburb, to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels; and the queen looked after her silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. The princes of the states guided the plough in their eastern suburb, also to provide the grain for the sacrificial vessels, and their wives looked after their silkworms in the northern suburb, to provide the cap and robes of silk. This was not because the son of Heaven and the princes had not men to plough for them, or 'because the queen and the princes' wives had not women to tend the silkworms for them; it was to give the exhibition of their personal sincerity. Such sincerity was what is called doing their utmost; and such doing of their utmost was what is called reverence. When they had reverently done their utmost, they could serve the spiritual Intelligences--such was the way of sacrificing.

6 When the time came for offering a sacrifice, the man wisely gave himself to the work of purification. That purification meant the production of uniformity (in all the thoughts):-it was the giving uniformity to all that was not uniform, till a uniform direction of the thoughts was realised. Hence a superior man, unless for a great occasion, and unless he were animated by a great reverence, did not attempt this purification. While it was not attained, he did not take precautions against the influence of (outward) things, nor did he cease from all (internal) desires. But when he was about to attempt it, he guarded against all things of an evil nature, and suppressed all his desires, His ears did not listen to music; -- as it is said in the Record, 'People occupied with purification have no music,' meaning that they did not venture to allow its dissipation of their minds. He allowed no vain thoughts in his heart, but kept them in a strict adherence to what was right. He allowed no reckless movement of his hands or feet, but kept them firmly in the way of propriety. Thus the superior man, in his purification, devotes himself to carrying to its utmost extent his refined and intelligent virtue.

7 Therefore there was the looser ordering of the mind for seven days, to bring it to a state of fixed determination; and the complete ordering of it for three days, to effect the uniformity of all the thoughts. That determination is what is called purification; the final attainment is when the highest degree of refined intelligence is reached. After this it was possible to enter into communion with the spiritual Intelligences. Moreover, on the eleventh day, before that

appointed for the sacrifice, the governor of the palace gave warning notice to the wife of the ruler, and she also conducted that looser ordering of her thoughts for seven days, and that more complete ordering of them for three. The ruler accomplished his purification in the outer apartment, and the wife her purification in the inner. After this they met in the grand temple.

8 The ruler, in the dark-coloured square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the east; his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe stood in the eastern chamber. The ruler from his mace-handled libation-cup poured out the fragrant spirit before the personator of the dead; and the great minister in charge of the temple with his halfmacehandled cup poured the second libation (for the wife). When the victim was introduced, the ruler held it by the rope; the ministers and Great officers followed; other officers carried the dried grass (to lay on the ground when it should be killed); the wives of the ruler's surname followed the wife with the basins; she presented the purified liquid; the ruler held in his hand the knife with bells; he prepared the lungs (to be offered to the personator); and his wife put them on the dishes and presented them. All this shows what is meant in saving that husband and wife had their parts which they personally performed.

9 When they went in for the dance, the ruler, holding his shield and axe, went to the place for the performance. He took his station at the head of those on the east, and in his square-topped cap,, carrying his shield, he led on all his officers, to give pleasure to the august personator of the dead. Hence the son of Heaven in his sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all in the kingdom. (In the same way) the feudal princes at their sacrifices (gave expression to) the joy of all within their territories. In their square-topped caps, and carrying their shields, they led on all their officers, to give joy to the august personators - with the idea of showing the joy of all within their territories.

10 At a sacrifice there were three things specially important. Of the offerings there was none more important than the libation; of the music there was none more important than the singing in the hall. above; of the pantomimic evolutions there was none more important than that representing (king) Wu's (army) on the night (before his battle). Such was the practice of the Zhou dynasty. All the three things were designed to increase the aim of the superior man by the use of these external representations. Hence their movements in advancing and retreating were regulated by (the degree of) that aim. If it were less intense, they were lighter; if it were more intense, they were more vehement. If the aim were less intense, and they sought to make the outward representation more vehement, even a sage could not have accomplished this. Therefore the superior man, in sacrificing, exerted himself to the utmost in order to give clear expression to these more important things. He conducted everything according to the rules of ceremony, thereby giving prominent exhibition to them, and displaying them to the august personator - Such was the method of the sages.

11 At sacrifices there are the provisions that are left. The dealing with these is the least important thing in sacrifices, but it is necessary to take knowledge of it. Hence there is the saying of antiquity, 'The end must be attended to even as the beginning:'--there is an illustration of it in these leavings. Hence it was the remark of a superior man of antiquity, that The personator also eats what the spirits have left;--it is a device of kindness, in which may be seen (the method of) government.' Hence, when the personator rose, the ruler and his three ministers partook of what he had left. When the ruler had risen, the six Great officers partook;-the officers partook of what the ruler had left. When the Great officers rose, the eight officers partook - the lower in rank ate what the higher had left. When these officers rose, each one took what was before him and went out, and placed it (in the court) below the hall, when all the inferior attendants entered and removed it - the inferior class ate what the superior had left.

12 Every change in the disposal of these relics was marked by an increase in the number (of those who partook of them); and thus there was marked the distinction between the degrees of the noble and the mean, and a representation given of the dispensation of benefits (by the sovereign). Hence by means of the four vessels of millet there is shown the cultivation of this in the ancestral temple, which becomes thereby a representation of all comprised within the confines (of the state). What is done at sacrifices afforded the greatest example of the dispensation of favours. Hence when the superior possessed the greatest blessing, acts of favour were sure to descend from him to those below him, the only difference being that he enjoyed the blessing first, and those below him afterwards;--there was no such thing as the superior's accumulating a great amount for himself, while the people below him might be suffering from cold and want. Therefore when the superior enjoyed his great blessing, even private individuals waited till the stream should flow down, knowing that his favours would surely come to them. This was shown by what was done with the relics at sacrifices, and hence came

the saying that 'By the dealing with these was seen (the method of) government.'

13 Sacrifice is the greatest of all things. Its apparatus of things employed in it is complete, but that completeness springs from all being in accordance with the requirements (of nature and reason) is it not this which enables us to find in it the basis of all the lessons of the sages? Therefore those lessons, in the external sphere, inculcated the honouring of the ruler and of elders, and, in the internal sphere, filial piety towards parents. Hence, when there was an intelligent ruler above, all his ministers submitted to and followed him. When he reverently sacrificed in his ancestral temple, and at the altars to the (spirits of the) land and grain, his sons and grandsons were filially obedient. He did all his duty in his own walk, and was correct in his righteousness; and thence grew up the lessons (of all duty).

14 Therefore a superior man, in the service of his ruler, should find (guidance for) all his personal conduct. What does not satisfy him in (the behaviour of) his superiors, he will not show in his employment of those below himself; and what he dislikes in the behaviour of those below him, he will not show in the service of his superiors. To disapprove of anything in another, and do the same himself, is contrary to the rule of instruction. Therefore the superior in the inculcation of his lessons, ought to proceed from the foundation (of all duty). This will show him pursuing the greatest method of what is natural and right in the highest degree; and is not this what is seen in sacrifice? Hence we have the saying that 'The first and greatest teaching is to be found in sacrifice.'

15 In sacrifice there is a recognition of what belongs to ten relationships. There are seen in it the method of serving spiritual Beings; the righteousness between ruler and subject; the relation between father and son; the degrees of the noble and mean; the distance gradually increasing between relatives; the bestowment of rank and reward; the separate duties of husband and wife; impartiality in government affairs; the order to be observed between old and young; and the boundaries of high and low. These are what are called the (different duties in the) ten relationships.

16 The spreading of the mat and placing on it a stool to serve for two, was intended as a resting-place for the united spirits (of husband and wife). The instruction to the blesser in the apartment and the going out to the inside of the gate, was the method pursued in (seeking) communion with the spirits.

17 The ruler went to meet the victim, but not to meet the representative of the dead;-to avoid misconstruction. While the representative was outside the gate of the temple, he was to be regarded only as a subject; inside the temple, he had the full character of a ruler. While the ruler was outside the gate of the temple, he was there the ruler; when he entered that gate (on the occasion of the sacrifice), he had the full character of a subject, or a son. Hence his not going forth (to meet the representative) made clear the right distinction between the ruler and subject.

18 According to the rule in sacrifices, a grandson acted as the representative of his grandfather. Though employed to act the part of representative, yet he was only the son of the sacrificer. When his father, with his face to the north, served him, he made clear how it is the way of a son to serve his father. Thus (sacrifice) illustrated the relation of father and son

19 When the representative had drunk the fifth cup, the ruler washed the cup of jade, and presented it to the ministers. When he had drunk the seventh cup, that of green jasper was presented to the Great officers. When he had drunk the ninth cup, the plain one varnished was presented to the ordinary officers, and all who were taking part in the service. In all the classes the cup passed from one to another, according to age; and thus were shown the degrees of rank as more honourable and lower.

20 At the sacrifice the parties taking part in it were arranged on the left and right, according to their order of descent from the common ancestor, and thus the distinction was maintained between the order of fathers and sons, the near and the distant, the older and the younger, the more nearly related and the more distantly, and there, was no confusion. Therefore at the services in the grand ancestral temple, all in the two lines of descent were present, and no one failed to receive his proper place in their common relationship. This was what was called (showing) the distance gradually increasing between relatives.

21 Anciently the intelligent rulers conferred rank on the virtuous, and emoluments on the meritorious; and the rule was that this should take place in the Grand temple, to show that they did not dare to do it on their own private motion. Therefore, on the day of sacrifice, after the first presenting (of the cup to the representative), the ruler descended and stood on the south of the steps on the east, with his face to the south, while those who were to receive their appointments stood facing the north. The recorder was on the right of the ruler, holding the tablets on which the appointments were written. He read these, and (each man) bowed twice, with his head to the ground, received the writing, returned (home), and

presented it in his (own) ancestral temple - such was the way in which rank and reward were given.

22 The ruler, in the dragon robe and square-topped cap, stood at the top of the steps on the east, while his wife in her head-dress and pheasant-embroidered robe, stood in the chamber on the east. When the wife presented and put down the dishes or, stands, she held them by the foot; (the officer) who held the vessels with new wine, presented them to her, holding them by the bottom; when the representative of the dead was handing, the cup to the wife, he held it by, the handle, and she gave it to him by the foot; when husband and wife were giving and receiving, the one did not touch the place where the other had held the article; in passing the pledge cup, they changed the cups - so was the distinction to be maintained between husband and wife shown.

23 In all arrangements with the stands, the chief attention was given to the bones. Some bones were considered nobler, and some meaner. Under the Yin they preferred the thigh bone; and under the Zhou, the shoulder bone. Generally, the bones in front were thought nobler than those behind. The stands served to illustrate the rule in sacrifices of showing favours. Hence the nobler, guests received the nobler bones, and the lower, the less noble; the nobler did not receive very much, and the lower were not left without any - impartiality was thus shown. With impartiality of favours, government proceeded freely; with the free proceeding of government, undertakings were accomplished; with the accomplishment of undertakings, merit was established. It is necessary that the way in which merit is established should be known. The stands served to show the rule for the impartial bestowment of favours. So did the skilful administrators of government proceed, and hence it is said that (sacrifices showed the principle of) impartiality in the business of government.

24 Whenever they came to the (general) circulation of the cup, those whose place was on the left stood in one row, and also those whose place was on the right. The members of each row had places according to their age; and in the same way were arranged all the assistants at the service. This was what was called (exhibiting) the order of the old and young.

25 At sacrifices there were portions given to the skinners, cooks, assistants, feather-wavers, and doorkeepers, -- showing how favours should descend to the lowest. Only a virtuous ruler, however, could do this; having intelligence sufficient to perceive (the wisdom of) it, and benevolence equal to the bestowment of it. Apportioning means bestowing; they were able to bestow what was left on those below them. Skinners were the meanest of those who looked after the buff-coats; cooks' assistants, the meanest of those who looked after the flesh: feather-wavers, the meanest of those who had to do with the music; door-keepers, those who looked after the doors; for anciently they did not employ men who had suffered dismemberment to keep the doors. These four classes of keepers were the meanest of the servants; and the representative of the dead was the most honoured of all. When the most honoured, at the close of the sacrifice, did not forget those who were the most mean, but took what was left and bestowed it on them, (it may be seen how) with an intelligent ruler above, there would not be any of the people within his territory who suffered from cold and want. This is what was meant by saying that sacrifices show the relation between high and low

26 For the sacrifices (in the ancestral temple) there were the four seasons. That in spring was called yue; that in summer, di; that in autumn, chang; and that in winter, zheng. The yue and di expressed the idea in the bright and expanding (course of nature); the chang and zheng, that in the sombre and contracting (course). The di showed the former in its fullest development, and the chang showed the latter in the same Hence it is said, 'There is nothing more important than the di and chang.' Anciently, at the di sacrifice, they conferred rank, and bestowed robes - acting according to the idea in the bright and expanding (course); and at the khang they gave out fields and homesteads, and issued the rules of autumnwork - acting according to the idea in the sombre and contracting (course). Hence it is said in the Record, 'On the day of the chang sacrifice they gave forth (the stores of) the ruler's house;' showing how rewards (were then given). When the plants were cut down, the punishment of branding might be inflicted. Before the rules of autumn-work were issued, the people did not dare to cut down the grass. Hence it is said that 'the ideas in the di and chang are great, and lie at the, foundation of the government of a state: and should by all means be known.' It is for the ruler to know clearly those ideas, and for the minister to be able to execute (what they require). The ruler who does not know the ideas is not complete, and the minister who cannot carry them into execution is not

27 Now the idea serves to direct and help the aim, and leads to the manifestation of all virtue. Hence he whose virtue is the completest, has the largest aims; and he whose aims are the largest, has the clearest idea. He whose idea is the clearest, will be most reverent in his sacrifices. When the sacrifices (of a state) are reverent, none of the sons and grandsons within its borders will dare to be irreverent. Then the superior man.

when he has a sacrifice, will feel it necessary to preside at it in person. if there be a (sufficient) reason for it, he may commit the performance of it to another. But when committing the performance to another, the ruler will not fail (to think) of its meaning, because he understands the ideas in it. He whose virtue is slight, has but a small aim. He who is in doubts as to the idea in it, and will yet seek to be reverent in his sacrifice, will find it impossible to be so; and how can he, who sacrifices without reverence, be the parent of his people?

28 The tripods (at the sacrifices) had inscriptions on them. The maker of an inscription named himself, and took occasion to praise and set forth the excellent qualities of his ancestors, and clearly exhibit them to future generations. Those ancestors must have had good qualities and also bad. But the idea of an inscription is to make mention of the good qualifies and not of the bad - such is the heart of a filial descendant; and it is only the man of ability and virtue who can attain to it.

29 The inscriber discourses about and panegyrises the virtues and goodness of his ancestors, their merits and zeal, their services and toils, the congratulations and rewards (given to them), their fame recognised by all under heaven; and in the discussion of these things on his spiritual vessels, he "makes himself famous; and thus he sacrifices to his ancestors. In the celebration of his ancestors he exalts his filial piety. That he himself appears after them is natural. And in the clear showing (of all this) to future generations, he is giving instruction.

30 By the one panegyric of an inscription benefit accrues to the ancestors, to their descendant and to others after them. Hence when a superior man looks at an inscription, while he admires those whom it praises, he also admires him who made it. That maker had intelligence to see (the excellences of his ancestors), virtue to associate himself with them, and wisdom to take advantage (of his position);-he may be pronounced a man of ability and virtue. Such worth without boasting may be pronounced courteous respect.

31 Thus the inscription on the tripod of Kong Kui of Wei was: 'In the sixth month, on the day ding-hai, the duke went to the Grand Temple, and said, "My young uncle, your ancestor Zhuang Shu assisted duke Cheng, who ordered him to follow him in his difficulties on the south of the Han, and afterwards to come to him in his palace (of imprisonment) in the honoured capital of Zhou; and all these hurried journeyings he endured without wearying of them. From him came the helper of duke Xian, who charged your (later) ancestor Zhuang Shu to continue the service of his ancestor. Your deceased father Wen Shu cherished and stimulated in himself the old desires and aims, roused and led on the admirable officers, and showed his own great personal interest in the state of Wei. His labours for our ducal house never wearied early or late, so that the people all testified how good he was." The duke further said, "My young uncle, I give you (this tripod with) its inscription. Carry on and out the services of your father." Kui bowed with his head to the ground, and said, "In response to the distinction (you have conferred upon me) I will take your great and important charge, and I will put it on the vases and tripods of my winter sacrifice." Such was the inscription on the tripod of Kong Kui of Wei.

32 In this way the superior men of antiquity panegyrised the excellent qualities of their ancestors, and clearly exhibited them to future generations, thereby having the opportunity to introduce their own personality and magnify their states. If descendants who maintain their ancestral temples and the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, praised their ancestors for good qualities which they did not possess, that was falsehood; if they did not take knowledge of the good qualities which they did possess, that showed their want of intelligence; if they knew them and did not transmit them (by their inscriptions), that showed a want of virtue - these are three things of which a superior man should have been ashamed.

33 Anciently, Dan, duke of Zhou, did most meritorious service for the kingdom. After his death the kings Cheng and Kang, bearing in mind all his admirable work, and wishing to honour Lu, granted to its lords the right of offering the greatest sacrifices - those in the borders of their capital to Heaven and Earth, in the wider sphere of sacrifice; and the great summer and autumnal sacrifices in the ancestral temple of the state. At those great summer and autumnal sacrifices, on the hall above, they sang the Qing Miao, and in the courtyard below it they danced the Xiang to the flute; they carried red shields and axes adorned with jade in performing the Da Wu dance; and this was the music employed by the son of Heaven. (Those kings) in acknowledgment of the great merit of the duke of Zhou, allowed (the use of those sacrifices and this music) to the (marguis of) Lu. His descendants have continued it, and down to the present day it is not abolished, thereby showing clearly the virtue of the lords of Zhou and magnifying their state.

LI JI CHAPTER 26 Jing Jie

Different Teaching of the Different Kings
1 Confucius said, 'When you enter any state you can know what subjects (its people) have been taught. If they show themselves men who are mild and gentle, sincere and good, they have been taught from the Book of Poetry. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, they have been taught from the Book of History. If they be large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, they have been taught from the Book of Music. If they be pure and still, refined and subtile, they have been taught from the Yi. If they be courteous and modest, grave and respectful, they have been taught from the Book of Rites and Ceremonies. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, they have been taught from the Chun Oiu. Hence the failing that may arise in connexion with the study of the Poems is a stupid simplicity; that in connexion. with the History is duplicity; that in connexion with Music is extravagance; that in connexion with the Yi is the violation (of reason); that in connexion with the practice of Rites and Ceremonies is fussiness: and that in connexion with the Chun Oiu is insubordination.

2 'If they show themselves men who are mild and gentle, sincere and good, and yet free from that simple stupidity, their comprehension of the Book of Poetry is deep. If they have a wide comprehension (of things), and know what is remote and old, and yet are free from duplicity, their understanding of the Book of History is deep. If they are large-hearted and generous, bland and honest, and yet have no tendency to extravagance, their knowledge of Music is deep. If they are pure and still, refined and subtle, and yet do not violate (reason), they have made great attainments in the Yi. If they are courteous and modest, grave and reverent, and yet not fussy, their acquaintance with the Book of Rites and Ceremonies is deep. If they suitably adapt their language to the things of which they speak, and yet have no disposition to be insubordinate, their knowledge of the Chun Qiu is deep.'

3 The son of Heaven forms a ternion with heaven and earth Hence, in power of his goodness he is their correlate, and his benefits extend at once to all things. His brilliancy is equal to that of the sun and moon, and enlightens all within the four seas, not excepting anything, however minute and small. In the audiences at his court everything is done according to the orderly procedure of benevolence, wisdom, propriety, and righteousness. At his entertainments he listens to the singing of the Odes of the Kingdom and the Odes of the Temple and Altar. When he walks, there are the notes from his girdle pendant. When he rides in his chariot, there are the harmonious sounds of the bells attached to his horses. When he is in private at ease, there is the observance of the rules of propriety. When he advances or retires, he does so according to rule and measure. All the officers fulfil their duties rightly, and all affairs are carried on with order. It is as described in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, 3), 'That virtuous man, the princely one, Has nothing wrong in his deportment; He has nothing wrong in his deportment, And thus he rectifies the four quarters of the state.

4 When (a ruler) issues his notices and gives forth his orders, and the people are pleased, we have what may be called the condition of harmony. When superiors and inferiors love one another, we have the condition of benevolence. When the people get what they desire without seeking for it, we have the condition of confidence. When all things in the operations of heaven and earth that might be injurious are taken out of the way, we have the condition of rightness. Rightness and confidence, harmony and benevolence are the instruments of the presiding chieftain and the king. If anyone wishes to govern the people, and does not employ these instruments, he will not be successful.

5 In the right government of a state, the Rules of Propriety serve the same purpose as the steelyard in determining what is light and what is heavy; or as the carpenter's line in determining what is crooked and what is straight; or as the circle and square in determining what is square and what is round. Hence, if the weights of the steel-vard be true, there can be no imposition in the matter of weight; if the line be truly applied, there can be no imposition in the evenness of a surface; if the square and compass be truly employed, there can be no imposition in the shape of a figure. When a superior man (conducts, the government of his state) with a discriminating attention to these rules, he cannot be imposed on by traitors and impostors.

6 Hence he who has an exalted idea of the rules, and guides his conduct by them, is called by us a mannerly gentleman, and be who has no such exalted idea and does not guide his conduct by the rules, is called by us one of the unmannerly people. These rules (set forth) the way of reverence and courtesy; and therefore when the services in the ancestral temple are performed according to them, there is reverence; when they are observed in the court, the noble and the mean have their proper positions; when the family is regulated by them, there is affection between father and son, and harmony among brothers; and when they are honoured in the country districts and villages, there is the proper order between old

and young. There is the verification of what was said by Confucius, 'For giving security to superiors and good government Of the people, there is nothing more excellent than the Rules of Propriety.

7 The ceremonies at the court audiences of the different seasons were intended to illustrate the righteous relations between ruler and subject; those of friendly messages and inquiries, to secure mutual honour and respect between the feudal princes; those of mourning and sacrifice, to illustrate the kindly feelings of ministers and sons; those of social meetings in the country districts, to show the order that should prevail between young and old; and those of marriage, to exhibit the separation that should be maintained between males and females. Those ceremonies prevent the rise of disorder and confusion, and are like the embankments which prevent the overflow of water. He who thinks the old embankments useless and destroys them is sure to suffer from the desolation caused by overflowing water; and he who should consider the old rules of propriety useless and abolish them would be sure to suffer from the calamities of disorder.

8 Thus if the ceremonies of marriage were discontinued, the path of husband and wife would be embittered, and there would be many offences of licentiousness and depravity. If the drinking ceremonies at country feasts were discontinued, the order between old and young would be neglected, and quarrelsome litigations would be numerous. If the ceremonies of mourning and sacrifice were discontinued, the kindly feeling of officers and sons would become small: there would be numerous cases in which there was a revolt from the observances due to the dead, and an oblivion of (those due) to the living. If the ceremonies of friendly messages and court attendances were discontinued, the positions of ruler and subject would fall into disuse, the conduct of the feudal princes would be evil, and the ruin wrought by rebellion, encroachment, and oppression would ensue.

9 Therefore the instructive and transforming power of ceremonies is subtile; they stop depravity before it has taken form, causing men daily to move towards what is good, and keep themselves farther apart from guilt, without being themselves conscious of it. It was on this account that the ancient kings set so high a value upon them. This sentiment is found in the words of the Yi, 'The superior man is careful at the commencement; a mistake, then, of a hair's breadth, will lead to an error of a thousand 1i.

#### LI JI CHAPTER 27 Ai Gong Wen Ouestions of Duke Ai

1 Duke Ai asked Confucius, saying, 'What do you say about the great rites? How is it that superior men, in speaking about them, ascribe so much honour to them?' Confucius said, 'I, Qiu, am a small man, and unequal to a knowledge of the rites. 'By no means,' said the ruler. 'Tell me what you think, my Master.' Then Confucius replied, 'According to what I have heard, of all things by which the people live the rites are the greatest. Without them they would have no means of regulating the services paid to the spirits of heaven and earth; without them they would have no means of distinguishing the positions proper to father and son, to high and low, to old and young; without them they would have no means of maintaining the separate character of the intimate relations between male and female, father and son, elder brother and younger, and conducting the intercourse between the contracting families in a marriage, and the frequency or infrequency (of the reciprocities between friends). These are the grounds on which superior men have honoured and reverenced (the rites) as they did. Thereafter, (having this view of the rites), they taught them to the people, on the ground of their ability (to practise them), not disregarding their general principles or the limitations (that circumstances impose in particular cases). When their object had been accomplished (so far), they proceeded to give rules for the engraving (of the ceremonial vessels), and the embroidering in various colours (of the robes), in order to secure the transmission (of the rites). Having obtained the concurrence (of the people in these things), they proceeded to tell them the different periods of mourning; to provide the full amount of tripods and stands; to lay down the (offerings of) pork and dried meats; to maintain in good order their ancestral temples; and then at the different seasons of the year reverently to present their sacrifices; and to arrange thereat, in order, the different branches and members of their kindred. Meanwhile (they themselves) were content to live economically, to have nothing fine about their dress; to have their houses low and poor; to eschew much carving about their carriages; to use their vessels without carving or graving; and to have the plainest diet, in order to share all their advantages in common with the people. In this manner did the superior men of

2 The duke said 'How is it that the superior men of the present day do not practise them (in this way).' Confucius said, The superior men of the present day are never satisfied in their fondness for wealth, and never wearied in the extravagance of their conduct. They are wild, idle, arrogant, and insolent. They determinedly exhaust the (resources of the)

antiquity practise the rites.

people, put themselves in opposition to the multitude, and seek to overthrow those who are pursuing the right way. They seek to get whatever they desire, without reference to right or reason. The former using of the people was according to the ancient rules; the using of them now-a-days is according to later rules. The superior men of the present day do not practise the rites (as they ought to be practised).

3 Confucius was sitting beside duke Ai, when the latter said. 'I venture to ask, according to the nature of men, which is the greatest thing (to be attended to in dealing with them). Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and replied, 'That your lordship should put this question is a good thing for the people. How should your servant dare but express his opinion on it?' Accordingly he proceeded, and said, According to the nature of men, government is the greatest thing for them.'

4 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by the practice of government.' Confucius replied, 'Government is rectification. When the ruler is correct himself, all the people will follow his government. What the ruler does is what the people follow. How should they follow what he does not do?'

5 The duke said, 'I venture to ask how this practice of government is to be effected?' Confucius replied, 'Husband and wife have their separate functions; between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister there should be a strict adherence to their several parts. If these three relations be correctly discharged, all other things will follow.

6 The duke said, 'Although I cannot, in my unworthiness, count myself as having attained, I should like to hear how these three things which you have mentioned can be rightly secured. May I hear it from you?' Confucius replied, 'With the ancients in their practice of government the love of men was the great point; in their regulation of this love of men, the rules of ceremony was the great point; in their regulation of those rules, reverence was the great point. For of the extreme manifestation of reverence we find the greatest illustration in the great (rite of) marriage. Yes, in the great (rite of) marriage there is the extreme manifestation of respect; and when one took place, the bridegroom in his square-topped cap went in person to meet the bride; -- thus showing his affection for her. It was his doing this himself that was the demonstration of his affection. Thus it is that the superior man commences with respect as the basis of love. To neglect respect is to leave affection unprovided for. Without loving there can be no real union; and without respect the love will not be correct. Yes, love and respect lie at the foundation of government.'

7 The duke said, 'I wish that I could say I agree with you, but for the bridegroom in his square-topped cap to go in person to meet the bride - is it not making too much (of the ceremony)?' Confucius looked startled, changed countenance, and said, '(Such a marriage) is the union of (the representatives of) two different surnames in friendship and love, in order to continue the posterity of the former sages, and to furnish those who shall preside at the sacrifices to heaven and earth, at those in the ancestral temple, and at those at the altars to the spirits of the land and grain - how can your lordship say that the ceremony is made too great?'

8 The duke said, 'I am stupid. But if I were not stupid, how should I have heard what you have just said? I wish to question you, but cannot find the proper words (to do so); I beg you to go on a little further.' Confucius said, 'If there were not the united action of heaven and earth, the world of things would not grow. By means of the grand rite of marriage, the generations of men are continued through myriads of ages. How can your lordship say that the ceremony in question is too great?

He immediately added. 'In their own peculiar sphere, (this marriage) serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, and is sufficient to supply the correlates to the spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth; in the (wider) sphere abroad, it serves for the regulation of the ceremonies of the court, and is sufficient to establish the respect of those below him to him who is above them all. If there be ground for shame on account of (a deficiency of) resources, this is sufficient to stimulate and secure them; if there be ground for shame on account of the condition of the states, this is sufficient to revive and renew them. Ceremonies are the first thing to be attended to in the practice of government. Yes, (this) ceremony (of marriage) lies at the foundation of government!'

Confucius continued, 'Anciently, under the government of the intelligent kings of the three dynasties, it was required of a man to show respect to his wife and son. When the path (of right government) was pursued, the wife was the hostess of the (deceased) parents - could any husband dare not to show her respect? And the son was the descendant of those parents could any father dare not to show him respect? The superior man's respect is universal. Wherein it appears the greatest is in his respect for himself. He is in his person a branch from his parents - can any son but have this self-respect? If he is not able to respect his own person, he is wounding his parents. If he wound his parents, he is wounding his own root; and when

the root is wounded, the branches will follow it in its dying. These three things are an image of what is true with the whole people (in the body politic). One's own person reaches to the persons of others; one's own son to the sons of others; one's own wife to the wives of others. If a ruler do these things, the spirit of his conduct will reach to all under the sky. If the course of the great king be thus, all the states and families will be docilely obedient.

9 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "respecting one's self." Confucius replied, 'When a man who is over others transgresses in his words, the people will fashion their speech accordingly; when he transgresses in his actions, the people will make him their model. If in his words he do not go beyond what should be said, nor in his actions what should be a model, then the people, without being commanded, will reverence and honour him. When this obtains, he can be said to have respected his person. Having succeeded in respecting his person, he will (at the same time) be able to do all that can be done for his parents.'

10 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by doing all that can be done for one's parents?' Confucius replied, 'Jun-zi is the completest name for a man; when the people apply the name to him, they say (in effect) that he is the son of a Jun-zi; and thus he makes his parents (?father) to be a Jun-zi. This is what I intend by saying that he does all that can be done for his parents.'

Confucius forthwith added, 'In the practice of government in antiquity, the love of men was the great point. If (a ruler) be not able to love men he cannot possess his own person; unable to possess his own person, he cannot enjoy in quiet his land; unable to enjoy in quiet his land, he cannot rejoice in Heaven; unable to rejoice in Heaven, he cannot do all that can be done for his person.'

11 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what is meant by "doing all that could be done for one's person."' Confucius replied, 'It is keeping from all transgression of what is due in all the sphere beyond one's self.'

12 The duke said, 'I venture to ask what it is that the superior man values in the way of Heaven.' Confucius replied, 'He values its unceasingness. There is, for instance, the succession and sequence of the sun and moon from the east and west - that is the way of Heaven. There is the long continuance of its progress without interruption - that is the way of Heaven. There is its making (all) things complete without doing anything - that is the way of Heaven. There is their brilliancy when they have been completed - that is the way of Heaven.'

13 The duke said, 'I am very stupid, unintelligent also, and occupied with many things; do you, Sir, help me that I may keep this lesson in my mind.' Confucius looked grave, moved a little from his mat, and replied, 'A man of all-comprehensive virtue does not transgress what is due from him in all the sphere beyond himself, and it is the same with a filial son. Therefore a son of all-comprehensive virtue serves his parents as he serves Heaven, and serves Heaven as he serves his parents.' Hence a filial son does all that can be done for his person.'

14 The duke said, 'I have heard your (excellent) words;--how is it that I shall hereafter not be able to keep from the guilt (of transgressing)?' Confucius answered, 'That your lordship gives expression to such words is a happiness to me.'

## LI JI CHAPTER 28 Zhongni Yan Ju

Zhongni at Home at Ease

1 Zhong-ni 'being at home at ease,' with Zi-zhang, Zi-gong, and Yan You by him, their conversation went on from general matters to the subject of ceremonies. The Master said, 'Sit down, you three, and I will discourse to you about ceremonies, so that you may rightly employ them everywhere and in all circumstances.' Zi-gong crossed over (Zi-zhang's) mat, and replied, 'Allow me to ask what you mean.' The Master said, 'Respect shown without observing the rules of propriety is called vulgarity; courtesy without observing those rules is called forwardness; and boldness without observing them is called violence.' The Master added, 'Forwardness takes away from gentleness and benevolence.'

2 The Master said, 'Shi, you err by excess, and Shang by defect.' Zi-chan might be regarded as a mother of the people. He could feed them, but he could not teach them'. Zi-gong (again) crossed the mat, and replied, 'Allow me to ask by what means it is possible to secure this due mean.' The Master said, 'By means of the ceremonial rules; by the rules. Yes, it is those rules which define and determine the due mean.'

3 Zi-gong having retired, Yan You advanced, and said, 'May I be allowed to ask whether the rules of ceremony do not serve to control what is bad, and to complete what is good?' The Master said, 'They do.' 'Very well, and how do they do it?' The Master said, 'The idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth is that they should give expression to the loving feeling towards the spirits; the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services in the ancestral temple give expression to the loving feeling towards all in the circle of the kindred; the ceremony of putting down food (by the deceased) serves to express the loving feeling towards those who are dead and for

whom they are mourning; the ceremonies of the archery fetes and the drinking at them express the loving feeling towards all in the district and neighbourhood; the ceremonies of festal entertainments express the loving feeling towards visitors and muests.

The Master said, 'An intelligent understanding of the idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and of the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services, would make the government of a state as easy as to point to one's palm. Therefore let the ceremonial rules be observed:-in the ordinary life at home, and there will be the (right) distinction between young and old; inside the door of the female apartments, and there will be harmony among the three branches of kin; at court, and there will be the right ordering of office and rank; in the different hunting expeditions, and skill in war will be acquired; in the army and its battalions, and military operations will be successful. In this way, houses and their apartments will be made of the proper dimensions; measures and tripods will have their proper figure; food will have the flavour proper to its season; music will be according to the rules for it; carriages will have their proper form; spirits will receive their proper offerings; the different periods of mourning will have their proper expression of sorrow; discussions will be conducted by those who from their position should take part in them; officers will have their proper business and functions; the business of government will be properly distributed and applied. (The duty) laid on (each) person being discharged in the matter before him (according to these rules), all his movements, and every movement will be what they ought to be.'

4 The Master said, 'What is (the object of) the ceremonial rules? It is just the ordering of affairs. The wise man who has affairs to attend to must have the right method of ordering them. (He who should attempt) to regulate a state without those rules would be like a blind man with no one to lead him: groping about, how could he find his way? Or he would be like one searching all night in a dark room without a light; how could he see anything? If one have not the ceremonial rules, he would not (know how to) dispose of his hands and feet, or how to apply his ears and eyes; and his advancing and retiring, his bowings and giving place would be without any definite rules. Hence, when the rules are thus neglected - in the ordinary life at home, then the right distinction between old and young will be lost; in the female apartments, then the harmony among the three branches of kin will be lost; in the court, then the order of office and rank will be lost; in the different hunting expeditions, then the prescribed methods of military tactics will be lost; in the army and its battalions. then the arrangements that secure success in war will be lost. (Also), houses and apartments will want their proper dimensions; measures and tripods will want their proper figure; food will want its seasonal flavour; music will want its proper parts; carriages will want their proper forms; Spirits will want their proper offerings; the different periods of mourning will want their proper expression of sorrow; discussions will not be conducted by the proper men for them; officers will not have their proper business; the affairs of government will fail to be properly distributed and applied; and (in the duties) laid on (each) person to be discharged in the matters before him, all his movements, every movement, will fail to be what they ought to be. In this condition of things it will be impossible to put one's self at the head of the multitudes, and secure harmony among them.

5 The Master said, 'Listen attentively, you three, while I discourse to you. Regarding the ceremonial rules, there are still nine things (to be described), and four of them belong to the Grand festive entertainments. When you know these, though your lot may lie among the channeled fields, if you carry them into practice, you will become wise as sages. When one ruler is visiting another, they bow to each other, each courteously declining to take the precedence, and then enter the gate. As soon as they have done so, the instruments of music, suspended from their frames, strike up. They then bow and give place to each other again, and ascend to the hall; and when they have gone up, the music stops. In the court below, the dances Xiang and Wu are performed to the music of the flute, and that of Xia proceeds in due order with (the brandishing of feathers and) fifes. (After this), the stands with their offerings are set out, the various ceremonies and musical performances go on in regular order, and the array of officers provided discharge their functions. In this way the superior man perceives the loving regard (which directs the entertainment). They move forward in perfect circles; they return and form again the squares. The bells of the equipages are tuned to the Cai-qi; when the guest goes out they sing the Yong; when the things are being taken away, they sing the Zhen-yu; and thus the superior man (sees that) there is not a single thing for which there is not its proper ceremonial usage. The striking up of the instruments of metal, when they enter the gate, serves to indicate their good feeling; the singing of the Qing Miao, when they have gone up to the hall, shows the virtue (they should cultivate); the performance of the Xiang to the flute in the court below, reminds them of the events (of history). Thus the superior men of antiquity did not need to

set forth their views to one another in words; it was enough for them to show them in their music and ceremonies.

6 The Master said, 'Ceremonial usages are (the prescriptions of) reason; music is the definite limitation(of harmony). The superior man makes no movement without (a ground of) reason, and does nothing without its definite limitation. He who is not versed in the odes will err in his employment of the usages, and he who is not versed in music will be but an indifferent employer of them. He whose virtue is slender will vainly perform the usages.'

7 The Master said, 'The determinate measures are according to the rules; and the embellishments of them are also so; but the carrying them into practice depends on the men.'

8 Zi-gong crossed over the mat and replied, 'Allow me to ask whether even Kui was ignorant (of the ceremonial usages)?' The Master said, 'Was he not one of the ancients? Yes, he was one of them. To be versed in the ceremonial usages, and not versed in music, we call being poorly furnished. To be versed in music and not versed in the usages, we call being one-sided. Now Kui was noted for his acquaintance with music, and not for his acquaintance with ceremonies, and therefore his name has been transmitted with that account of him (which your question implies). But he was one of the men of antiquity.'

9 Zi-gong asked about government. The Master said, 'Shi, did I not instruct you on that subject before? The superior man who is well acquainted with ceremonial usages and music has only to take and apply them (in order to practise government).' Zi-zhang again put the question, and the Master said, 'Shi, do you think that the stools and mats must be set forth, the hall ascended and descended, the cups filled and offered, the pledge-cup presented and returned, before we can speak of ceremonial usages? Do you think that there must be the movements of the performers in taking up their positions, the brandishing of the plumes and fifes, the sounding of the bells and drums before we can speak of music? To speak and to carry into execution what you have spoken is ceremony; to act and to give and receive pleasure from what you do is music. The ruler who vigorously pursues these two things may well stand with his face to the south, for thus will great peace and order be secured all under heaven; the feudal lords will come to his court; all things will obtain their proper development and character; and no single officer will dare to shrink from the discharge of his functions. Where such ceremony prevails, all government is well ordered; where it is neglected, all falls into disorder and confusion. A house made by a good (though unassisted) eye will yet have the corner of honour, and the steps on the east for the host to ascend by; every mat have its upper and lower end; every chariot have its right side and left; walkers follow one another, and those who stand observe a certain order - such were the right rules of antiquity. If an apartment were made without the corner of honour and the steps on the east, there would be confusion in the hall and apartment. If mats had not their upper and lower ends, there would be confusion among the occupants of them; if carriages were made without their left side and right, there would be confusion in their seats; if people did not follow one another in walking, there would be confusion on the roads; if people observed no order in standing, there would be disorder in the places they occupy. Anciently the sage Dis and intelligent kings and the feudal lords, in making a distinction between noble and mean, old and young, remote and near, male and female, outside and inside, did not presume to allow any to transgress the regular rule they had to observe, but all proceeded in the path which has been indicated.' When the three disciples had heard these words from the Master, they saw clearly as if a film had been removed from their eyes.

# LI JI CHAPTER 29 Kongzi Xian Ju

Confucius at Home at Leisure

I Confucius being at home at leisure, with Zi-xia by his side, the latter said, 'With reference to the lines in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 8, 1), "The happy and courteous sovereign, is the father and mother of the people;" I beg to ask what the sovereign must be, who can be called "the parent of the people." Confucius said, 'Ah! the parent of the people! He must have penetrated to the fundamental principles of ceremonies and music, till he has reached the five extreme points to which they conduct, and the three that have no positive existence, and be able to exhibit these all under heaven; and when evil is impending in any part of the kingdom, he must have a foreknowledge of it - such an one is he whom we denominate 'the parent of the people.'

2 Zi-xia said, 'I have thus heard (your explanation) of the name "parent of the people;" allow me to ask what "the five extreme points" (that you mention) mean.' Confucius said, 'The furthest aim of the mind has also its furthest expression in the Book of Poetry. The furthest expression of the Book of Poetry has also its furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages. The furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages has also its furthest indication in music. The furthest indication of music has also its furthest indication in the voice of sorrow. Sorrow and joy produce, each the other; and thus it is that when we look with the directest vision of the eyes at (these

extreme points) we cannot see them, and when we have bent our ears with the utmost tension we cannot hear them. The mind and spirit must embrace all within heaven and earth these are what we denominate "the five extreme points."

- 3 Zi-xia said, 'I have heard your explanation of "the five extreme points;" allow me to ask what "the three points that have no positive existence" mean.' Confucius said, 'The music that has no sound; ceremonial usages that have no embodiment; the mourning that has no garb these are what we denominate "the three points that have no positive existence." Zi-xia said, 'I have heard what you have said on those three negations; allow me to ask in which of the odes we find the nearest expression of them.' Confucius said, 'There is that (IV, ii, ode 1, 6), "Night and day he enlarged its foundations by his deep and silent virtue" there is music without sound. And that (I, iii, ode 1, 3), "My deportment has been dignified and good, Without anything wrong that can be pointed out" there is the ceremony that has no embodiment. And that (I, iii, ode 10, 4), "When among any of the people there was a death, I crawled on my knees to help them" there is the mourning that has no garb.'
- 4 Zi-xia said, 'Your words are great, admirable, and complete. Do they exhaust all that can be said on the subject? Is there nothing more?' Confucius said, 'How should it be so? When a superior man practises these things, there still arise five other points.' Zi-xia said, 'How is that?' Confucius said, 'When there is that music without sound, there is no movement of the spirit or will in opposition to it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is calm and gentle. When there is that mourning without garb, there is an inward reciprocity, and great pitifulness. When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are mastered. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, all the demeanour is marked by courtesy. When there is that mourning without garb, it reaches to all in all quarters. When there is that music without sound, the spirit and will are followed. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, high and low are harmonious and united. When there is that mourning without garb, it goes on to nourish all regions. When there is that music without sound, it is daily heard in all the four quarters of the kingdom. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, there is a daily progress and a monthly advance. When there is that mourning, without garb, the virtue (of him who shows it) becomes pure and very bright. When there is that music without sound, all spirits and wills are roused by it. When there is that ceremony without embodiment, its influence extends to all within the four seas. When there is that mourning without garb, it extends to future generations.
- 5 Zi-xia said, '(It is said that) the virtue of the kings (who founded the) three dynasties was equal to that of heaven and earth; allow me to ask of what nature that virtue was which could be said to put its possessors on an equality with heaven and earth.' Confucius said, 'They reverently displayed the Three Impartialities, while they comforted all beneath the sky under the toils which they imposed.'

Zi-xia said, 'Allow me to ask what you call the "Three Impartialities." Confucius said, 'Heaven overspreads all without partiality; Earth sustains and contains all without partiality; Earth sustains and contains all without partiality. Reverently displaying these three characteristics and thereby comforting all under heaven under the toils which they imposed, is what is called "the Three Impartialities." It is said in the Book of Poetry (IV, iii, ode 4, 3), "God in His favour Tang's House would not leave, And then Tang rose that favour to receive. Tang's birth was not from Xie too far removed, His sagely reverence daily greater proved. For long to Heaven his brilliant influence rose, And while his acts the fear of God disclose, God Tang as model fit for the nine regions chose" - such was the virtue of Tang.

To Heaven belong the four seasons, spring, autumn, winter, summer, with wind, rain, hoar-frost, and dew; -- (in the action) of all and each of these there is a lesson. Earth contains the mysterious energy (of nature). That mysterious energy (produces) the wind and thunder-clap. By the wind and thunder-clap the (seeds of) forms are carried abroad, and the various things show the appearance of life - in all and each of these things there is a lesson. When the personal character is pure and bright, the spirit and mind are like those of a spiritual being. When what such an one desires is about to come, there are sure to be premonitions of it in advance, (as when) Heaven sends down the seasonable rains, and the hills produce the clouds. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 5, 1), "How grand and high, with hugest bulk, arise. Those southern hills whose summits touch the skies! Down from them came a Spirit to the earth, And to the sires of Fu and Shan gave birth. In those two states our Zhou a bulwark has. O'er which the southern foemen dare not pass. And all its states they screen, and through them spread. Lessons of virtue, by themselves displayed" - such was the virtue of (kings) Wen and Wu. As to the kings (who founded) the three dynasties, it was necessary that they should be preceded by the fame of their forefathers. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 8, 6), "Very intelligent were the sons of Heaven, Their

good fame was without end" - such was the virtue of (the founders) of the three dynasties. (And again), "He displayed his civil virtues, And they permeated all parts of the kingdom" - such was the virtue of king Tai.' Zi-xia rose up with a sudden joy, and, standing with his back to the wall, said, 'Your disciple dares not but receive (your instructions) with reverence'

LI JI CHAPTER 30 Fang Ji Record of the Dykes

- I According to what the Masters said, the ways laid down by the superior men may be compared to dykes, the object of which is to conserve that in which the people may be deficient; and though they may be on a great scale, the people will yet pass over them. Therefore the superior men framed rules of ceremony for the conservation of virtue; punishments to serve as a barrier against licentiousness; and declared the allotments (of Heaven), as a barrier against evil desires.
- 2 The Master said, 'The small man, when poor, feels the pinch of his straitened circumstances; and when rich, is liable to become proud. Under the pinch of that poverty he may proceed to steal; and when proud, he may proceed to deeds of disorder. The rules of propriety recognise these feelings of men, and lay down definite regulations for them, to serve as dykes for the people. Hence the sages dealt with riches and honours, so that riches should not have power to make men proud; that poverty should not induce that feeling of being pinched; and that men in positions of honour should not be intractable to those above them. In this way the causes of disorder would more and more disappear.'
- 3 The Master said, 'Under heaven the cases are few in which the poor yet find enjoyment', the rich yet love the rules of propriety, and a family that is numerous (and strong) yet remains quiet and at peace. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 3, 11), "The people desire disorder, And find enjoyment in bitter, poisonous ways." Hence it was made the rule that no state should have more than 1000 chariots, no chief city's wall more than 100 embrasures, no family, however rich, more than 100 chariots. These regulations were intended for the protection of the people, and yet some of the lords of states rebelled against them.'
- 4 The Master said, 'It is by the rules of ceremony that what is doubtful is displayed, and what is minute is distinguished, that they may serve as dykes for the people. Thus it is that there are the grades of the noble and the mean, the distinctions of dress, the different places at court; and so the people (are taught to) give place to one another.'

  5 The Master said. 'There are not two suns in the sky, nor
- 5 The Master said, 'There are not two suns in the sky, nor two kings in a territory, nor two masters in a family, nor two superiors of equal honour; and the people are shown how the distinction between ruler and subject should be maintained. The Chun Qiu does not mention the funeral rites for the kings of Chu and Yue. According to the rules, the ruler of a state is not spoken of as "Heaven's," and a Great officer is not spoken of as "a ruler" lest the people should be led astray. It is said in the ode, "Look at (that bird) which in the night calls out for the morning." Even this is still occasion for being dissatisfied with it.'
- 6 The Master said, 'A ruler does not ride in the same carriage with those of the same surname with himself; and when riding with those of a different surname, he wears a different dress to show the people that they should avoid what may give rise to suspicion. This was intended to guard the people (from incurring suspicion), and yet they found that there were those of the same surname who murdered their ruler.'
- 7 The Master said, 'The superior man will decline a position of high honour, but not one that is mean; and riches, but not poverty. In this way confusion and disorder will more and more disappear. 'Hence the superior man, rather than have his emoluments superior to his worth, will have his worth superior to his emoluments.'
- § The Master said, 'In the matter of a cup of liquor and a dish of meat, one may forego his claim and receive that which is less than his due; and yet the people will try to obtain more than is due to their years. When one's mat has been spread for him in a high place, he may move and take his seat on a lower; and yet the people will try to occupy the place due to rank. From the high place due to him at court one may in his humility move to a meaner place; and yet the people shall be intrusive even in the presence of the ruler. As it is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 4), "When men in disputations fine, To hear their consciences refuse, Then 'gainst each other they repine, And each maintains his special views. If one a place of rank obtain, And scorn humility to show, The others view him with disdain, And, wrangling, all to ruin go."
- 9 The Master said, 'The superior man exalts others and abases himself; he gives the first place to others and takes the last himself and thus the people are taught to be humble and yielding. Thus when he is speaking of the ruler of another state, he calls him "The Ruler;" but when mentioning his own ruler, he calls him "Our ruler of little virtue."
- 10 The Master said, 'When advantages and rewards are given to the dead first, and to the living afterwards, the

people will not act contrarily to the (character of) the dead. When (the ruler) places those who are exiles (from and for their state) first, and those who remain in it last, the people may be trusted with (the most arduous duties). It is said in the Book of Poetry (1, iii, ode 3, 4), "In thinking of our deceased lord, She stimulated worthless me." When this dyke is set up for the people, will they still act contrarily to the dead and have to bewail their lot, with none to whom to appeal?"

- 11 The Master said, 'When the ruler of a state, with its clans, thinks much of the men and little of the emoluments (which he bestows on them), the people give place readily (to those men). When he thinks much of their ability, and little of the chariots (with which he rewards them), the people address themselves to elegant arts. Hence a superior man keeps his speech under control, while the small man is forward to speak.'
- 12 The Master said, 'If superiors consider and are guided by the words of the people, the people receive their gifts or commands as if they were from Heaven. If superiors pay no regard to the words of the people, the people put themselves in opposition to them. When inferiors do not receive the gifts of their superiors as if they were from Heaven, there ensues violent disorder. Hence, when the superior exhibits his confidence and courtesy in the government of the people, then the usages of the people in response to him are very great. It is said in the Book of Poetry (3:2, ode 10, 3), "Remember what in days of old they spake, With grass and fuel-gatherers counsel take.""
- 13 The Master said, 'If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, the people will not contend (among themselves). If he ascribe what is good to others, and what is wrong to himself, dissatisfactions will more and more disappear. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, v, ode 4, 2), "You had consulted the tortoise-shell; you had consulted the stalks; In their responses there was nothing unfavourable."
- 14 The Master said, 'If (the ruler) ascribe what is good to others and what is wrong to himself, the people will yield to others (the credit of) what is good in them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 7), "He examined and divined, did the king, About settling in the capital of Hao. The tortoise-shell decided the site, And king Wu completed the city."
- 15 The Master said, 'If (ministers) ascribe what is good to their ruler and what is wrong to themselves, the people will become loyal. It is said in the Book of History (V, xxi, 6), "When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your ruler in the court; and thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, 'This plan, or this view, is all due to the virtue of our ruler!' Oh! in this way how good and distinguished will you be!"
- 16 The Master said, 'If (a ruler, being a son,) ascribe what is good to his father, and what is wrong to himself, the people will become filial. It is said in "The Great Declaration," "If I subdue Zhou, it will not be my prowess, but the faultless virtue of my deceased father Wen. If Zhou subdues me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wen, but because I, who am as a little child, am not good'" (Shu, V, i, sect. 3, 6).
- 17 The Master said "A superior man will forget and not make much of the errors of his father, and will show his reverence for his excellence. It is said in the Lun Yu (I, xi), "He who for three years does not change from the way of his father, may be pronounced filial;" and in the Gao Zong (Shu, III, viii, i) it is said, "For three years he kept without speaking; when he did speak, they were delighted."
- 18 The Master said, 'To obey (his parents') commands without angry (complaint); to remonstrate with them gently without being weary; and not to murmur against them, though they punish him, may be pronounced filial piety. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 5), "Your filial son was unceasing in his service."
- 19 The Master said, 'To cultivate harmony with all the kindred of parents may be pronounced filial! It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vii, ode 9, 3), "Brethren whose virtue stands the test, By bad example still unchanged, Their generous feelings manifest, Nor grow among themselves estranged. But if their virtue weakly fails, The evil influence to withstand, Then selfishness o'er love prevails, And troubles rise on every hand."
- 20 The Master said, '(A son) may ride in the chariot of an intimate friend of his father, but he should not wear his robes. By this (rule) the superior man widens (the sphere of) his filial duty.'
- 21 The Master said, 'Small men are all able to support their parents. If the superior man do not also reverence them, how is his supporting to be distinguished (from theirs)?'
- 22 The Master said, 'Father and son should not be in the same (official) position to magnify the reverence (due to the father). It is said in the Book of History (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 3), 'IIf the sovereign do not show himself the sovereign, he disgraces his ancestors.'"
- 23 The Master said, 'Before his parents (a son) should not speak of himself as old; he may speak of the duty due to parents, but not of the gentle kindness due from them; inside the female apartments he may sport, but should not sigh. By

these (rules) the superior man would protect the people (from evil), and still they are found slight in their acknowledgment of filial duty, and prompt in their appreciation of gentle kindness.'

- 24 The Master said, 'When they who are over the people show at their courts their respect for the old, the people become filial'
- 25 The Master said, 'The (use of) the representatives of the deceased at sacrifices, and of one who presides (at the services) in the ancestral temple, was intended to show the people that they had still those whom they should serve. The repairing of the ancestral temple and the reverential performance of the sacrifices were intended to teach the people to follow their dead with their filial duty. These things should guard the people (from evil), and still they are prone to forget their parents.'

26 The Master said, 'When (it is wished to) show respect (to guests), the vessels of sacrifice are used. Thus it is that the superior man will not in the poverty of his viands neglect the rules of ceremony, nor in their abundance and excellence make those rules disappear. Hence, according to the rules of feasting, when the host gives in person anything to a guest, the guest offers a portion in sacrifice, but he does not do so with what the host does not himself give him. Therefore, when there is no ceremony in the gift, however admirable it may be, the superior man does not partake of it. It is said in the Yi, "The ox slain in sacrifice by the neighbour on the east is not equal to the spare spring sacrifice of the neighbour on the west, (whose sincerity) receives the blessing." It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 1), "You have made us drink to the full of your spirits, You have satiated us with your virtue." But though in this way the people are admonished, they will still keep striving after profit, and forget righteousness.'

27 The Master said. 'There are the seven days of fasting, and the three days of vigil and adjustment of the thoughts; there is the appointment of the one man to act as the personator of the dead, in passing whom it is required to adopt a hurried pace all to teach reverence (for the departed).' The sweet liquor is in the apartment (where the personator is); the reddish in the hall: and the clear in the court below - all to teach the people not to go to excess in being greedy. The personator drinks three cups, and all the guests drink one - teaching the people that there must be the distinction of high and low. The ruler takes the opportunity of the spirits and flesh of his sacrifice to assemble all the members of his kindred - teaching the people to cultivate harmony. Thus it is that on the hall above they look at what is done in the anartment, and in the court below at what is done by those in the hall (for their pattern); as it is said in the Book of Poetry (II. vi, ode 5, 3), 'Every form is according to rule; Every smile and word is as it should be.

28 The Master said, The giving place to a visitor at every stage of his advancing (from the entrance gate), according to the rules for visitors; and the repetition of the ceremonies, according to the mourning rites, in an ever-increasing distance from the apartment of the corpse; the washing of the corpse over the pit in the centre of the open court; the putting the rice into the mouth under the window; the slighter dressing of the corpse inside the door of the apartment; the greater dressing at the top of the steps on the east; the coffining in the place for guests; the sacrifice on taking the road (with the coffin) in the courtyard; and the interment in the grave - these were intended to teach the people how the element of distance enters into the usages. Under the Yin dynasty they condoled with the mourners at the grave; they do so under Zhou in the house - showing the people that they should not neglect the custom.

29 The Master said, '(These services in connexion with) death are the last duties which the people have to pay (to their departed). I follow Zhou in them. They were intended to serve as guards to the people (to keep them from error). Among the princes, however, there still were those who did not attend the burials of other princes, and take part in them.'

30 The Master said, 'The going up to the hall by the steps for the guests, and receiving the condolences sent to him in the guests' place, are designed to teach the filial to continue their filial duty even to the dead. Until the mourning rites are finished, a son is not styled "Ruler" - showing the people that there ought to be no contention (between father and son). Hence in the Chun Qiu of Lu, recording deaths in Qin, it is said, "(Li Ke) killed Xi-qi, the son of his ruler, and his ruler Zhuo - "a barrier was thus raised to prevent the people (from doing such deeds). And yet there were sons who still murdered their fathers.'

31 The Master said, 'Filial duty may be transferred to the service of the ruler, and brotherly submission to the service of elders - showing the people that they ought not to be double-minded. Hence a superior man, while his ruler is alive, should not take counsel about taking office (in another state). It is only on the day of his consulting the tortoise-shell (about such a thing) that he will mention two rulers.' The mourning for a father lasts for three years, and that for a ruler the same time - showing the people that they must not doubt (about the duty which they owe to their ruler). While his parents are

alive, a son should not dare to consider his wealth as his own. nor to hold any of it as for his own private use - showing the people how they should look on the relation between high and low. Hence the son of Heaven cannot be received with the ceremonies of a guest anywhere within the four seas, and no one can presume to be his host. Hence, also, when a ruler goes to a minister's (mansion) he goes up to the hall by the (host's) steps on the east and proceeds to the place (of honour) in the hall: showing the people that they should not dare to consider their houses their own. While his parents are alive, the gifts presented to a son should not extend to a carriage and its team showing the people that they should not dare to monopolise (any honours). All these usages were intended to keep the people from transgressing their proper bounds; and yet there are those who forget their parents, and are double-minded to their ruler.

32 The Master said, 'The ceremony takes place before the silks (offered in connexion with it) are presented - this is intended to teach the people to make the doing of their duties the first thing, and their salaries an after consideration. If money be sought first and the usages of propriety last, then the people will be set on gain: if the mere feeling be acted on, without any expressions (of courtesy and deference), there will be contentions among the people. Hence the superior man, when presents are brought to him, if he cannot see him who offers them, does not look at the presents. It is said in the Yi, "He reaps without having ploughed that he may reap; he gathers the produce of the third year's field without having cultivated them the first year; there will be evil." In this way it is sought to guard the people, and yet there are of them who value their emoluments and set little store by their practice.'

33 The Master said, 'The superior man does not take all the profit that he might do, but leaves some for the people. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 8, 3), "There shall be handfuls left on the ground, And ears here and there left untouched; For the benefit of the widow." Hence, when a superior man is in office (and enjoys its emoluments), he does not go in for farming; if he hunts, he does not (also) fish; he eats the (fruits of the) season, and is not eager for delicacies; if a Great officer, he does not sit on sheepskins; if a lower officer, he does not sit on dogskins. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iii, ode 10, 1), "When we gather the mustard-plant and earthmelons, We do not reject them because of their roots. While I do nothing contrary to my good name, I should live with you till our death." In this way it was intended to guard the people against loving wrong; and still some forget righteousness and struggle for gain, even to their own ruin.

34 The Master said. 'The ceremonial usages serve as dykes to

34 The Master said, The ceremonial usages serve as dykes to the people against bad excesses (to which they are prone). They display the separation which should be maintained between the sexes), that there may be no occasion for suspicion, and the relations of the people be well defined. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, viii, ode vi, 3, 4), How do we proceed in hewing an axe-handle? Without another axe it cannot be done. How do we proceed in taking a wife? Without a go-between it cannot be done. How do we proceed in planting hemp? The acres must be dressed length-wise and crosswise. How do we proceed in taking a wife? Announcement must first be made to our parents." In this way it was intended to guard the people (against doing wrong), and still there are some (women) among them, who offer themselves (to the male).

35 The Master said, 'A man in taking a wife does not take one of the same surname with himself - to show broadly the distinction (to be maintained between man and wife). Hence, when a man is buying a concubine, if he do not know her surname, he consults the tortoise-shell about it. In this way it was intended to preserve the people (from going wrong in the matter); and yet the Chun Qiu of Lu still suppresses the surname of duke Zhao's wife, simply saying "Wu," and the record of her death is "Meng (the elder) Zi died."

36 The Master said, 'According to the rules, male and female do not give the cup to one another, excepting at sacrifice. This was intended to guard the people against (undue freedom of intercourse); and yet the marquis of Yang killed the marquis of Mu, and stole away his wife. Therefore the presence of the wife at the grand entertainments was disallowed.'

37 The Master said, 'With the son of a widow one does not have interviews - this would seem to be an obstacle to friendship, but a superior man will keep apart from intercourse in such a case, in order to avoid (suspicion). Hence, in the intercourse of friends, if the master of the house be not in, a visitor, unless there is some great cause, does not enter the door. This was intended to preserve the people (from all appearance of evil); and yet there are of them who pay more regard to beauty than to virtue.'

38 The Master said, 'The love of virtue should be like the love of beauty (from an inward constraint). Princes of states should not be like fishers for beauty (in the families) below them. Hence the superior man keeps aloof from beauty, in order to constitute a rule for the people. Thus male and female, in giving and receiving, do not allow their hands to touch; in driving his wife in a carriage, a husband advances his left hand;

when a young aunt, a sister, or a daughter has been married, and returns (to her father's house), no male can sit on the same mat with her; a widow should not wail at night; when a wife is ill, in asking for her, the nature of her illness should not be mentioned:-in this way it was sought to keep the people (from irregular connexions); and yet there are those who become licentious, and introduce disorder and confusion among their kindred.'

39 The Master said, 'According to the rules of marriage, the son-in-law should go in person to meet the bride. When he is introduced to her father and mother, they bring her forward, and give her to him' - being afraid things should go contrary to what is right. In this way a dyke is raised in the interest of the people; and yet there are cases in which the wife will not go (to her husband's).'

LI JI CHAPTER 31 Zhong Yong or: Doctrine of the Mean or The State of Equilibrium and Harmony

(by Zisi, also known as Kong Ji 483—402BC, the only grandson of Confucius) 1 What Heaven has conferred is called The Nature; an

accordance with this nature is called The Path of duty; the regulation of this path is called Instruction. The path may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone. While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of Equilibrium. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the

state of Harmony. This Equilibrium is the great root from

which grow all the human actings in the world, and this

Harmony is the universal path which they all should pursue.

Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection,

and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth,

and all things will be nourished and flourish.

2 Zhong-ni said, "The superior man embodies the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean. The superior man's embodying the course of the Mean is because he is a superior man, and so always maintains the Mean. The mean man's acting contrary to the course of the Mean is because he is a mean man, and has no caution."

3 The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practice it!"

4 The Master said, "I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not walked in: The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood: The men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it. There is no body but eats and drinks. But they are few who can distinguish flavors."

5 The Master said, "Alas! How is the path of the Mean untrodden!"

6 The Master said, "There was Shun: He indeed was greatly wise! Shun loved to question others, and to study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad in them and displayed what was good. He took hold of their two extremes, determined the Mean, and employed it in his government of the people. It was by this that he was Shun!"

7 The Master said "Men all say, 'We are wise'; but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, they know not how to escape. Men all say, 'We are wise'; but happening to choose the course of the Mean, they are not able to keen it for a round month."

8 The Master said "This was the manner of Hui: he made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not lose it "

9 The Master said, "The kingdom, its states, and its families, may be perfectly ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined; naked weapons may be trampled under the feet; but the course of the Mean cannot be attained to."

10 Zi-lu asked about energy. The Master said, "Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself? To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to revenge unreasonable conduct - this is the energy of southern regions, and the good man makes it his study. To lie under arms; and meet death without regret - this is the energy of northern regions, and the forceful make it their study. Therefore, the superior man cultivates a friendly harmony, without being weak. How firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side. How firm is he in his energy! When good principles prevail in the government of his country, he does not change from what he was in retirement. How firm is he in his energy! When bad principles prevail in the country, he maintains his course to death without changing. How firm is he in his energy!

11 The Master said, "To live in obscurity, and yet practice wonders, in order to be mentioned with honor in future ages: this is what I do not do. The good man tries to proceed according to the right path, but when he has gone halfway, he abandons it:-I am not able so to stop. The superior man accords with the course of the Mean. Though he may be all unknown, unregarded by the world, he feels no regret. It is only the sage who is able for this.

12 The way which the superior man pursues, reaches wide and far, and yet is secret. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find some things in them with which to be dissatisfied. Thus it is that, were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it, and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep." This expresses how this way is seen above and below. The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through heaven and earth.

13 The Master said "The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course, which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered The Path. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'In hewing an ax handle, in hewing an ax handle, the pattern is not far off. We grasp one ax handle to hew the other; and yet, if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them, and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops. When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others. In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained.-To serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me to this I have not attained Earnest in practicing the ordinary virtues, and careful in speaking about them, if, in his practice, he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself; and if in his words, he has any excess, he dares not allow himself such license. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?

14 The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this. In a position of wealth and honor, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honor. In a poor and low position, he does what is proper to a poor and low position. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper to a situation among barbarous tribes. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper to a position of sorrow and difficulty. The superior man can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself. In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation, he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men. Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments of Heaven, while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences.

15 The Master said, "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself. The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in traveling, when to go to a distance we must first traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height, when we must begin from the lower ground. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When there is concord among brethren, the harmony is delightful and enduring. Thus may you regulate your family, and enjoy the pleasure of your wife and children." The Master said, "In such a state of things, parents have entire complacence!"

16 The Master said, "How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them! We look for them, but do not see them; we listen to, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them. They cause all the people in the kingdom to fast and purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of their worshippers. It is said in the Book of Poetry, The

approaches of the spirits, you cannot surmise; and can you treat them with indifference? Such is the manifestness of what is minute! Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!"

17 The Master said, "How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself. Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain to his long life. Thus it is that Heaven, in the production of things, is sure to be bountiful to them, according to their qualities. Hence the tree that is flourishing, it nourishes, while that which is ready to fall, it overthrows. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'The admirable amiable prince displayed conspicuously his excelling virtue, adjusting his people, and adjusting his officers. Therefore, he received from Heaven his emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne; sending from Heaven these favors, as it were repeatedly.' We may say therefore that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven.

18 The Master said, "It is only King Wen of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was King Ji, and his son was King Wu. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it. King Wu continued the enterprise of King Tai, King Ji, and King Wen. He once buckled on his armor, and got possession of the kingdom. He did not lose the distinguished personal reputation which he had throughout the kingdom. His dignity was the royal throne. His riches were the possession of all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants maintained the sacrifices to himself. It was in his old age that King Wu received the appointment to the throne, and the duke of Zhou completed the virtuous course of Wen and Wu. He carried up the title of king to Tai and Ji, and sacrificed to all the former dukes above them with the royal ceremonies. And this rule he extended to the princes of the kingdom, the great officers, the scholars, and the common people. If the father were a great officer and the son a scholar, then the burial was that due to a great officer, and the sacrifice that due to a scholar. If the father were a scholar and the son a great officer, then the burial was that due to a scholar, and the sacrifice that due to a great officer. The one year's mourning was made to extend only to the great officers, but the three years' mourning extended to the Son of Heaven. In the mourning for a father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean.

19 The Master said, "How far-extending was the filial piety of King Wu and the duke of Zhou! Now filial piety is seen in the skillful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers, and the skillful carrying forward of their undertakings. In spring and autumn, they repaired and beautified the temple halls of their fathers, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons. By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years. They occupied the places of their forefathers, practiced their ceremonies, and performed their music. They reverenced those whom they honored, and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them - the height of filial piety. By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served God, and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm!"

20 The Duke Ai asked about government. The Master said, The government of Wen and Wu is displayed in the records the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men and the government will flourish; but without the men, their government decays and ceases. With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth; and, moreover, their government might be called an easilygrowing rush. Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men. Such men are to be got by means of the ruler's own character. That character is to be cultivated by his treading in the ways of duty. And the treading those ways of duty is to be cultivated by the cherishing of benevolence. Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy. The decreasing

measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honour due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety. When those in inferior situations do not possess the confidence of their superiors, they cannot retain the government of the people. Hence the sovereign may not neglect the cultivation of his own character. Wishing to cultivate his character, he may not neglect to serve his parents. In order to serve his parents, he may not neglect to acquire knowledge of men. In order to know men, he may not dispense with a knowledge of Heaven. The duties of universal obligation are five and the virtues wherewith they are practiced are three. The duties are those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends. Those five are the duties of universal obligation. Knowledge, magnanimity, and energy, these three, are the virtues universally binding. And the means by which they carry the duties into practice is singleness. Some are born with the knowledge of those duties; some know them by study; and some acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of their ignorance. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to the same thing. Some practice them with a natural ease; some from a desire for their advantages; and some by strenuous effort. But the achievement being made, it comes to the same thing."

21 The Master said, "To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practice with vigor is to be near to magnanimity. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy. He who knows these three things knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with all its states and families. All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have nine standard rules to follow;-viz., the cultivation of their own characters; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the states. By the ruler's cultivation of his own character, the duties of universal obligation are set forth. By honoring men of virtue and talents, he is preserved from errors of judgement. By showing affection to his relatives, there is no grumbling nor resentment among his uncles and brethren. By respecting the great ministers, he is kept from errors in the practice of government. By kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers, they are led to make the most grateful return for his courtesies. By dealing with the mass of the people as his children, they are led to exhort one another to what is good. By encouraging the resort of an classes of artisans, his resources for expenditure are rendered ample. By indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they are brought to resort to him from all quarters. And by kindly cherishing the princes of the states, the whole kingdom is brought to revere him. Self-adjustment and purification, with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety this is the way for a ruler to cultivate his person. Discarding slanderers, and keeping himself from the seductions of beauty; making light of riches, and giving honor to virtue-this is the way for him to encourage men of worth and talents. Giving them places of honor and large emolument. and sharing with them in their likes and dislikes-this is the way for him to encourage his relatives to love him. Giving them numerous officers to discharge their orders and commissions:-this is the way for him to encourage the great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large:-this is the way to encourage the body of officers. Employing them only at the proper times, and making the imposts light:-this is the way to encourage the people. By daily examinations and monthly trials, and by making their rations in accordance with their labors:-this is the way to encourage the classes of artisans. To escort them on their departure and meet them on their coming; to commend the good among them, and show compassion to the incompetent:-this is the way to treat indulgently men from a distance. To restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and to revive states that have been extinguished; to reduce to order states that are in confusion, and support those which are in peril; to have fixed times for their own reception at court, and the reception of their envoys; to send them away after liberal treatment, and welcome their coming with small contributions: this is the way to cherish the princes of the states. All who have the government of the kingdom with its states and families have the above nine standard rules. And the means by which they are carried into practice is singleness.

22 "In all things success depends on previous preparation, and without such previous preparation there is sure to be failure. If what is to be spoken be previously determined, there will be no stumbling. If affairs be previously determined, there will be no difficulty with them. If one's actions have been previously determined, there will be no sorrow in connection

with them. If principles of conduct have been previously determined, the practice of them will be inexhaustible. When those in inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign;-if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not get the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way to being trusted by one's friends;-if one is not obedient to his parents, he will not be true to friends. There is a way to being obedient to one's parents:-if one, on turning his thoughts in upon himself, finds a want of sincerity, he will not be obedient to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self; -if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself. Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men. He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought;-he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast. To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it. The superior man, while there is anything he has not studied, or while in what he has studied there is anything he cannot understand, will not intermit his labor. While there is anything he has not inquired about, or anything in what he has inquired about which he does not know, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not reflected on, or anything in what he has reflected on which he does not apprehend, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not discriminated or his discrimination is not clear, he will not intermit his labor. If there be anything which he has not practiced, or his practice fails in earnestness, he will not intermit his labor. If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand. Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become intelligent; though weak, he will surely become

strong."
23 When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature: when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion

24 Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots of goodness in him. From those he can attain to the possession of sincerity. This sincerity becomes apparent. From being apparent, it becomes manifest. From being manifest, it becomes brilliant. Brilliant, affects others. Affecting others, they are changed by it. Changed by it, they are transformed. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can transform.

25 It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and affect the movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possessed of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit.

26 Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself. Sincerity is the end and beginning of things; without sincerity there would be nothing. On this account, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing. The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the selfcompletion of himself. With this quality he completes other men and things also. The completing himself shows his perfect virtue. The completing other men and things shows his knowledge. But these are virtues belonging to the nature, and this is the way by which a union is effected of the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he-the entirely sincere manemploys them,-that is, these virtues, their action will be right. Hence to entire sincerity there belongs ceaselessness. Not ceasing, it continues long. Continuing long, it evidences itself. Evidencing itself, it reaches far. Reaching far, it becomes large and substantial Large and substantial it becomes high and brilliant. Large and substantial;-this is how it contains all things. High and brilliant;-this is how it overspreads all things. Reaching far and continuing long;-this is how it perfects all things. So large and substantial, the individual possessing it is the co-equal of Earth. So high and brilliant, it

makes him the co-equal of Heaven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite. Such being its nature, without any display, it becomes manifested; without any movement, it produces changes; and without any effort, it accomplishes its ends.

27 The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely declared in one sentence. They are without any doubleness, and so they produce things in a manner that is unfathomable. The way of Heaven and Earth is large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long-enduring. The Heaven now before us is only this bright shining spot; but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac, are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. The earth before us is but a handful of soil: but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwa and the Yo, without feeling their weight, and contains the rivers and seas, without their leaking away. The mountain now before us appears only a stone; but when contemplated in all the vastness of its size, we see how the grass and trees are produced on it, and birds and beasts dwell on it, and precious things which men treasure up are found on it. The water now before us appears but a ladleful; yet extending our view to its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanodons, dragons, fishes, and turtles, are produced in it, articles of value and sources of wealth abound in it. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The ordinances of Heaven, how profound are they and unceasing! The meaning is, that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven. And again. "How illustrious was it, the singleness of the virtue of King Wen!" indicating that it was thus that King Wen was what he was. Singleness likewise is unceasing.

28 How great is the path proper to the Sage! Like overflowing water, it sends forth and nourishes all things, and rises up to the height of heaven. All-complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of demeanor. It waits for the proper man, and then it is trodden. Hence it is said, "Only by perfect virtue can the perfect path, in all its courses, be made a fact." Therefore, the superior man honors his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the more exquisite and minute points which it embraces, and to raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean. He cherishes his old knowledge, and is continually acquiring new. He exerts an honest, generous earnestness, in the esteem and practice of all propriety. Thus, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. When the kingdom is well governed, he is sure by his words to rise; and when it is ill governed, he is sure by his silence to command forbearance to himself. Is not this what we find in the Book of Poetry,-"Intelligent is he and prudent, and so preserves his person?"

29 The Master said, Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgement; let a man without rank be fond of assuming a directing power to himself; let a man who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity; on the persons of all who act thus calamities will be sure to come. To no one but the Son of Heaven does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix the measures, and to determine the written characters. Now over the kingdom, carriages have all wheels, of the-same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules. One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he may not dare to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he do not occupy the throne, he may not presume to make ceremonies or music.

30 The Master said, "I may describe the ceremonies of the Xia dynasty, but Oi cannot sufficiently attest my words. I have learned the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, and in Song they still continue. I have learned the ceremonies of Zhou, which are now used, and I follow Zhou." He who attains to the sovereignty of the kingdom, having those three important things, shall be able to effect that there shall be few errors under his government. However excellent may have been the regulations of those of former times, they cannot be attested. Not being attested, they cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow them. However excellent might be the regulations made by one in an inferior situation, he is not in a position to be honored. Unhonored, he cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow his rules. Therefore the institutions of the Ruler are rooted in his own character and conduct, and sufficient attestation of them is given by the masses of the people. He examines them by comparison with those of the three kings, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before Heaven and Earth, and finds nothing in them contrary to their mode of operation. He presents himself with them before spiritual beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after and has no misgivings. His presenting himself with his institutions before spiritual beings, without any doubts arising about them, shows that he knows Heaven. His being prepared, without any misgivings, to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, shows that he knows men. Such

being the case, the movements of such a ruler, illustrating his institutions, constitute an example to the world for ages. His acts are for ages a law to the kingdom. His words are for ages a lesson to the kingdom. Those who are far from him look longingly for him; and those who are near him are never wearied with him. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Not disliked there, not tired of here, from day to day and night tonight, will they perpetuate their praise." Never has there been a ruler, who did not realize this description, that obtained an early renown throughout the kingdom.

31 Zhong-ni handed down the doctrines of Yao and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wen and Wu taking them as his model. Above, he harmonized with the times of Heaven, and below, he was conformed to the water and land. He may be compared to Heaven and Earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon in their successive shining. All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. The courses of the seasons, and of the sun and moon, are pursued without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

32 It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and allembracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean, and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination. All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due season his virtues. All-embracing and vast, he is like Heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him. Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach: wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall:-all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said, "He is the equal of Heaven."

33 It is only the individual possessed of the most entire sincerity that can exist under Heaven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth;-shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends? Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he! Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all Heavenly virtue?

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Over her embroidered robe she puts a plain single garment," intimating a dislike to the display of the elegance of the former. Just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment of his virtue, while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the mean ann to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. He knows how what is minute becomes manifested. Such a one, we may be sure, will enter into virtue.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Although the fish sink and lie at the bottom, it is still quite clearly seen." Therefore the superior man examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and that he may have no cause for dissatisfaction with himself. That wherein the superior man cannot be equaled is simply this,-his work which other men cannot see.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Looked at in your apartment, be there free from shame as being exposed to the light of Heaven." Therefore, the superior man, even when he is not moving, has a feeling of reverence, and while he speaks not, he has the feeling of truthfulness.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In silence is the offering presented, and the spirit approached to; there is not the slightest contention." Therefore the superior man does not use rewards, and the people are stimulated to virtue. He does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "What needs no display is virtue. All the princes imitate it." Therefore, the superior man being sincere and reverential, the whole world is conducted to a state of happy tranquility.

It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I regard with pleasure your brilliant virtue, making no great display of itself in sounds and appearances." The Master said, "Among the appliances to transform the people, sound and appearances are but trivial influences. It is said in another ode, 'His Virtue is light as a hair.' Still, a hair will admit of comparison as to its size. 'The doings of the supreme Heaven have neither sound nor smell. 'That is perfect virtue."

#### LI JI CHAPTER 32 Biao Ji

Record on Example

- 1 These were the words of the Master 'Let us return.' The superior man, in obscurity, yet makes himself manifest; without giving himself any airs, his gravity is acknowledged; without the exercise of severity, he inspires awe; without using words, he is believed.
- 2 The Master said, 'The superior man takes no erroneous step before men, nor errs in the expression of his countenance, nor in the language of his speech. Therefore his demeanour induces awe, his countenance induces fear, and his words produce confidence. It is said in The Punishments of Fu (The Shu, V, xxvii, ii): "They were all reverence and caution. They had no occasion to make choice of words in reference to their conduct."
- 3 The Master said, 'The dress and the one worn over it do not take the place, the one of the other, it being intimated to the people thereby that they should not trouble or interfere with one another.'
- 4 The Master said, 'When a sacrifice has come to the point of greatest reverence, it should not be immediately followed by music. When the discussion of affairs at court has reached its utmost nicety, it should not be immediately followed by an idle indifference.'
- 5 The Master said, 'The superior man is careful (in small things), and thereby escapes calamity. His generous largeness cannot be kept in obscurity. His courtesy keeps shame at a distance.'
- 6 The Master said, 'The superior man, by his gravity and reverence, becomes every day stronger (for good); while indifference and want of restraint lead to a daily deterioration. The superior man does not allow any irregularity in his person, even for a single day how should he be like (a small man) who will not end his days (in honour)?'
- 7 The Master said, 'Vigil and fasting are required (as a preparation) for serving the spirits (in sacrifice); the day and month in which to appear before the ruler are chosen beforehand these observances were appointed lest the people should look on these things without reverence.'
- 8 The Master said, '(The small man) is familiar and insolent. He may bring death on himself (by being so), and yet he stands in no fear'.'
- 9 The Master said, Without the interchange of the formal messages, there can be no reception of one party by another; without the presenting of the ceremonial (gifts), there can be no interview (with a superior) these rules were made that the people might not take troublesome liberties with one another! It is said in the Yi, "When he shows (the sincerity that marks) the first recourse to divination, I instruct him. If he apply a second and third time, that is troublesome, and I do not instruct the troublesome."
- 10 These were the words of the Master:'(Humanity, of which the characteristic is) Benevolence, is the Pattern for all under Heaven; Righteousness is the Law for all under Heaven; and the Reciprocations (of ceremony) are for the Profit of all under Heaven.'
- 11 The Master said, 'When kindness is returned for kindness, the people are stimulated (to be kind). When injury is returned for injury, the people are warned (to refrain from wrong-doing). It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 26) "Answers to every word will leap, Good deeds their recompense shall reap." It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, V, v, sect. 2, 2), "Without the sovereign, the people cannot enjoy repose with one another; without the people, the sovereign would have none to rule over in the four quarters (of the kingdom)."
- 12 The Master said, 'They who return kindness for injury are such as have a regard for their own persons. They who return injury for kindness are men to be punished and put to death.'
- 13 The Master said, 'Under heaven there is, only a man (here and there) who loves what is proper to humanity without some personal object in the matter, or who hates what is contrary to humanity without being apprehensive (of some evil). Therefore the superior man reasons about the path to be trodden from the standpoint of himself, and lays down his laws from the (capabilities of the) people.'
- 14 The Master said, '(The virtues of) humanity appear in three ways. (In some cases) the work of humanity is done, but under the influence of different feelings. In these, the (true character of the) humanity cannot be known; but where there is some abnormal manifestation of it, in those the true character can be known. Those to whom it really belongs practise it easily and naturally; the wise practise it for the sake of the advantage which it brings; and those who fear the guilt of transgression practise it by constraint. Humanity is the

right hand; pursuing the right path is the left. Humanity comprehends the (whole) man; the path pursued is the exhibition of righteousness. Those whose humanity is large, while their exhibition of righteousness is slight, are loved and not honoured. Those whose righteousness is large and their humanity slight are honoured and not loved. There is the perfect path, the righteous path, and the calculated path. The perfect path conducts to sovereignty; the righteous path, to chieftaincy; and the calculated path, to freedom from error and failure.

15 These were the words of the Master - 'Of humanity there are various degrees; righteousness is now long, now short, now great, now small. Where there is a deep and compassionate sympathy in the heart, we have humanity evidenced in the love of others; where there is the following of (old) examples, and vigorous endeavour, we have the employment of humanity for the occasion. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 10, 6), "Where the Fang-water flows, Is the white millet grown. So his men Wu employed, And his merit was shown! To his sons he would leave His wise plans and his throne And our Wu was a sovereign true." That was a humanity extending to many generations. In the Lessons from the States it is said (I, iii, ode 10, 3), "Person slighted, life all blighted, What can the future prove?" That was a humanity extending (only) to the end of the speaker's life.'

16 The Master said, 'Humanity is like a heavy vessel, and like a long road. He who tries to lift the vessel cannot sustain its weight; he who travels the road cannot accomplish all its distance. There is nothing that has so many different degrees as (the course of) humanity; and thus he who tries to nerve himself to it finds it a difficult task. Therefore when the superior man measures men with the scale of righteousness, he finds it difficult to discover the men (whom he seeks); when he looks at men and compares them with one another, he knows who among them are the more worthy.'

17 The Master said, 'It is only one man (here and there) under heaven, who with his heart of hearts naturally rests in humanity. It is said in the Da Ya, or Major Odes of the Kingdom (III, iii, ode 6, 6), "Virtue is very light, Light as a hair, yet few can bear The burden of its weight. 'Tis so; but Zhong Shan, as I think, Needs not from virtue's weight to shrink That other men defies. Aid from my love his strength rejects. (if the king's measures have defects, What's needed he supplies)." In the Xiao Ya, or Minor Odes of the Kingdom, it is said (II, vii, ode 4, 5), "To the high hills I looked; The great way I pursued.""

18 The Master said, 'So did the poets love (the exhibition of) humanity. (They teach us how) one should pursue the path of it, not giving over in the way, forgetting his age, taking no thought that the years before him will not be sufficient (for his task), urging on his course with earnestness from day to day, and only giving up when he sinks in death.'

19 The Master said, 'Long has the attainment of a perfect humanity been difficult among men! all men err in what they love - and hence it is easy to apologise for the errors of those who are seeking this humanity.'

20 The Master said, 'Courtesy is near to propriety; economy is near to humanity; good faith is near to the truth of things. When one with respect and humility practises these (virtues), though he may fall into errors, they will not be very great. Where there is courtesy, the errors are few; where there is truth, there can be good faith; where there is economy, the exercise of forbearance is easy - will not failure be rare in the case of those who practise these things? It is said in the Book of Poetry (III. iii, ode 2, 9), "Mildness and reverence base supply For virtue's structure, broad and high."

21 The Master said, 'Long has the attainment of perfect humanity been difficult among men; it is only the superior man who is able to reach it. Therefore the superior man does not distress men by requiring from them that which (only) he himself can do, nor put them to shame because of what they cannot do. Hence the sage, in laying down rules for conduct, does not make himself the rule, but gives them his instructions so that they shall be able to stimulate themselves to endeavour, and have the feeling of shame if they do not put them in practice. (He enjoins) the rules of ceremony to regulate the conduct; good faith to bind it on them; right demeanour to set it off; costume to distinguish it; and friendship to perfect it - he desires in this way to produce a uniformity of the people. It is said in the Xiao Ya (V, ode 5, 3), "Shall they unblushing break man's law? Shall they not stand of Heaven in awe?"

Therefore, when a superior man puts on the dress (of his rank), he sets it off by the demeanour of a superior man. That demeanour he sets off with the language of a superior man, and that language he makes good by the virtues of a superior man. Hence the superior man is ashamed to wear the robes, and not have the demeanour; ashamed to have the demeanour, and not the style of speech; ashamed to have the virtues, and not the conduct proper to them. Thus it is that when the superior man has on his sackcloth and other mourning, his countenance wears an air of sorrow; when he wears the square-cut dress and square-topped cap, his countenance wears an air of respect; and when he wears his mail-coat and

helmet, his countenance says that he is not to be meddled with. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 2, 2), "Like pelicans, upon the dam Which stand, and there their pouches cram, Unwet the while their wings, Are those who their rich draws display. But no befitting service pay, Intent on meanest things."

22 These were the words of the Master - 'What the superior man calls righteousness is, that noble and mean all have the services which they discharge throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven himself ploughs the ground for the rice with which to fill the vessels, and the black millet from which to distil the spirit to be mixed with fragrant herbs, for the services of God, and in the same way the feudal lords are diligent in discharging their services to the son of Heaven.'

23 The Master said, 'In serving (the ruler) his superior, (an officer) from his position has great opportunity to protect the people; but when he does not allow himself to have any thought of acting as the ruler of them, this shows a high degree of humanity. Therefore, the superior man is courteous and economical, seeking to exercise his benevolence, and sincere and humble in order to practise his sense of propriety. He does not himself seta high value on his services: he does not himself assert the honour due to his person. He is not ambitious of (high) position, and is very moderate in his desires. He gives place willingly to men of ability and virtue. He abases himself and gives honour to others. He is careful and in fear of doing what is not right. His desire in all this is to serve his ruler. If he succeed in doing so (and obtaining his ruler's approbation), he feels that he has done right; if he do not so succeed, he still feels that he has done right - prepared to accept the will of Heaven concerning himself.

It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 5, 6), "How the creepers close twine Round the branches and stems! Self-possession and ease Robed our prince as with gems. Happiness increased unsought, Nor by crooked ways was bought." Might not this have been said of Shun, Yu, king Wen, or the duke of Zhou, who had the great virtues (necessary) to govern the people, and yet were (only) careful to serve their rulers? It is said again in the same Book of Poetry (III, i, ode 2, 3), "This our king Wen in all his way Did watchful reverence display, With clearest wisdom serving God, Who, pleased to see the course he trod, Him with great favour crowned. His virtue no deflection knew, But always to the right was true. The states beheld, and all approved. With loyal ardour stirred and moved, Wen as their head they owned."

24 The Master said, 'The practice of the ancient kings in conferring honorary posthumous names was to do honour to the fame (of the individuals); but they limited themselves to one excellence (in the character) - they would have been ashamed if the name had been beyond the actions (of the life). An accordance with this the superior man does not himself magnify his doings, nor himself exalt his merit, seeking to be within the truth; actions of an extraordinary character he does not aim at, but seeks to occupy himself only with what is substantial and good. He displays prominently the good qualities of others, and celebrates their merits, seeking to place himself below them in the scale of worth. Therefore, although the superior man abases himself, yet the people respect and honour him.'

respect and honour him.'

25 The Master said, 'The meritorious services of Hou Ji were the greatest of all under Heaven; could his hands and feet be described as those of an ordinary man? But all which he desired was that his doings should be superior to his name, and therefore he said of himself that he was simply "a man useful to others."

26 These were the words of the Master - 'Difficult is it to attain to what is called the perfect humanity of the superior man! It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The happy and courteous prince Is the father and mother of his people." Happy, he (yet) vigorously teaches them; courteous, he makes them pleased and restful. With all their happiness, there is no wild extravagance; with all their observance of ceremonial usages, there is the feeling of affection. Notwithstanding his awing gravity, they are restful; notwithstanding his son-like gentleness, they are respectful. Thus he causes them to honour him as their father, and love him as their mother. There must be all this before he is the father and mother of his people. Could any one who was not possessed of perfect virtue be able to accomplish this?

'Here now is the affection of a father for his sons - he loves the worthy among them, and places on a lower level those who do not show ability; but that of a mother for them is such, that while she loves the worthy, she pities those who do not show ability - the mother deals with them on the ground of affection and not of showing them honour; the father, on the ground of showing them honour and not of affection. (So we may say of) water and the people, that it manifests affection to them, but does not give them honour; of fire, that it gives them honour, but does not manifest affection, of the ground, that it manifests affection, but does not manifest affection; of the nature conferred on them, that it manifests affection, but does not give them honour, and of the manes of

their departed, that they give honour, but do not manifest affection.'

27 The Master said, 'Under the Xia dynasty it was the way to give honour to the nature conferred on men; they served the manes of the departed, and respected Spiritual Beings, keeping them at a distance, while they brought the people near, and made them loyal; they put first the (attraction) of emolument, and last the terrors of power; first rewards, and then punishments; showing their affection (for the people), but not giving them honour. The bad effect on the people was, that they became stupid and ignorant, proud and clownish, and uncultivated, without any accomplishments. Under the Yin dynasty, they honoured Spiritual Beings, and led the people on to serve them; they put first the service of their manes, and last the usages of ceremony; first punishments, and then rewards; giving honour (to the people), but not showing affection for them. The bad effect on the people was, that they became turbulent and were restless, striving to surpass one another without any sense of shame. Under the Zhou dynasty, they honoured the ceremonial usages, and set a high value on bestowing (favours); they served the manes and respected Spiritual Beings, yet keeping them at a distance; they brought the people near, and made them loyal; in rewarding and punishing they used the various distinctions and arrangements of rank; showing affection (for the people), but not giving them honour. The bad effects on the people were, that they became fond of gain and crafty; were all for accomplishments, and shameless; injured one another, and had their moral sense obscured.'

28 The Master said, 'It was the method of the Xia dynasty not to trouble (the people) with many notices; it did not require everything from the people, nor (indeed) look to them for great things; and they did not weary of the affection (between them and their rulers). Under the Yin dynasty, they did not trouble (the people) with ceremonies, and yet they required everything from them. Under the Zhou dynasty, they were rigorous with the people, and not troublesome in the services to the spirits; but they did all that could be done in the way of awards, conferring rank, punishments, and penalties.'

29 The Master said, 'Under the methods of (the dynasties of the line of) Yu and Xia, there were few dissatisfactions among the people. The methods of Yin and Zhou were not equal to the correction of their errors.'

30 The Master said, 'The plain and simple ways of (the dynasties of the line of) Yu and Xia, and the multiplied forms of Yin and Zhou were both extreme. The forms of Yu and Xia did not neutralise their simplicity, nor was there sufficient simplicity under Yin and Zhou to neutralise their forms.'

- 31 These were the words of the Master 'Although in subsequent ages there arose (distinguished sovereigns), yet none of them succeeded in equalling the Di of (the line of) Yu He ruled over all under heaven, but, while he lived, he had not a selfish thought, and when he died, he did not make his son great (with the inheritance). He treated the people as his sons, as if he had been their father and mother. He had a deep and compassionate sympathy for them (like their mother); he instructed them in loyalty and what was profitable (like their father). While he showed his affection for them, he also gave them honour; in his natural restfulness, he was reverent; in the terrors of his majesty, he yet was loving; with all his riches, he was yet observant of the rules of propriety; and his kindness was yet (rightly) distributed. The superior men who stood in connexion with him gave honour to benevolence, and stood in awe of righteousness; were ashamed of lavish expenditure, and set little store by their accumulation of substance; loyal, but not coming into collision with their sovereign; righteous, and yet deferential to him; accomplished, and yet restful; generous, and yet discriminating. It is said in Fu on Punishments. "He sought to awe the people by his virtue, and all were filled with dread; he proceeded to enlighten them by his virtue, and all were enlightened." Who but the Di of (the line of) Yu could have been able to do this?' (Shu, V, xxvii, 7.)
- 32 These were the words of the Master '(A minister) in the service of his ruler will first offer his words of counsel, and (when they are accepted), he will bow and voluntarily offer his person to make good his sincerity. Hence, whatever service a ruler requires from his minister, the minister will die in support of his words. In this way the salary which he receives is not obtained on false pretences, and the things for which he can be blamed will be more and more few.'
- 33 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, when great words are spoken to (and accepted by) him, great advantages (to the state) may be expected from them; and when words of small importance are presented to him, only small advantages are to be looked for. Therefore a superior man will not for words of small importance receive great emolument, nor for words of great importance small emolument. It is said in the Yi, "He does not enjoy his revenues in his own family, (but at court); there will be good fortune."
- 34 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, (a minister) should not descend to subjects beneath him, nor set a high value on speeches, nor accept an introduction from improper individuals. It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, vi, ode 3, 4), "Your

duties quietly fulfil, And hold the upright in esteem, With friendship fast; So shall the Spirits hear your cry, You virtuous make, and good supply In measure vast."

35 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, for (a minister) whose place is remote from (the court), to remonstrate is an act of sycophancy; for one whose place is near the ruler, not to remonstrate is to hold his office idly for the sake of gain.'

36 The Master said, 'Ministers near (the ruler) should (seek to) preserve the harmony (of his virtues). The chief minister should maintain correctness in all the departments. Great ministers should be concerned about all parts (of the kingdom).'

37 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler there should be the wish to remonstrate, but no wish to set forth (his faults). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 4, 4), "I cherish those men in my heart; Might not my words my love impart? No - if the words were once but spoken, The charm of love might then be broken. The men shall dwell within my heart, Nor thence with lapse of time depart."

38 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, when it is difficult to advance and easy to retire, there is a proper order maintained in the occupancy of places (according to the character of their holders). If it were easy to advance and difficult to retire, there would be confusion. Hence a superior (visitor) advances (only) after he has been thrice bowed to, while he retires after one salutation on taking leave; and thus confusion is prevented.'

39 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, if (an officer), after thrice leaving the court (on his advice being rejected), do not cross the borders (of the state), he is remaining for the sake of the profit and emolument. Although men say that he is not trying to force (his ruler), I will not believe them.'

40 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, (an officer) should be careful at the beginning, and respectful to the end.'

41 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, one may be in a high position or a low, rich or poor, to live or to die (according to the will of the ruler), but he should not allow himself to be led to do anything contrary to order or right.'

42 The Master said, 'In the service of a ruler, if it be in the army, (an officer) should not (try to) avoid labour and danger; if it be at court he should not refuse a mean office. To occupy a post and not perform its business is contrary to order and right. Hence, when a ruler employs him on any duty, if it suit his own mind, he thinks carefully of what it requires, and does it; if it do not suit his own mind, he thinks the more carefully of what it requires, and does it. When his work is done, he retires from Office - such is an officer who well discharges his duty. It is said in the Yi (vol. xvi, p. 96), "He does not serve either king or feudal lord, but in a lofty spirit prefers (to attend to) his own affairs."

43 The Master said, 'It is only the son of Heaven who receives his appointment from Heaven; officers receive their appointments from the ruler. Therefore if the ruler's orders be conformed (to the mind of Heaven), his orders to his ministers are also conformed to it; but if his orders be contrary (to that mind), his orders to them are also contrary to it. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, iv, ode 5, 2), "How strong the magpies, battling fierce, Each one to keep his mate! How bold the quails together rush, Upon the same debate! This woman, with no trait that's good, Is stained by vicious crime, Yet her I hail as marchioness - Alas! woe worth the time!"

44 The Master said, 'The superior man does not consider that his words (alone) show fully what a man is. Hence when right ways prevail in the kingdom, the branches and leaves (from the stem) of right conduct appear; but when there are not right ways in the kingdom, the branches and leaves of (mere) words appear. In accordance with this, when a superior man is by the side of one occupied with the mourning rites, and cannot contribute to assist him in his expenditure. he does not ask him what it is; when he is by the side of one who is ill, and cannot supply him with food, he does not ask what he would like; when he has a visitor for whom he cannot provide a lodging, he does not ask where he is staying. Hence the intercourse of a superior man may be compared to water, and that of a small man, to sweet wine. The superior man seems insipid, but he helps to perfection; the small man seems sweet, but he leads to ruin. It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, v, ode 4, 3), "He trusts the rogues that lie and sneak, And make things worse; Their duties shirked, their words so meek Prove but a curse.'

45 The Master said, 'The superior man does not confine himself to praising men with his words; and so the people prove loyal to him. Thus, when he asks about men who are suffering from cold, he clothes them; or men who are suffering from want, he feeds them; and when he praises a man's good qualities, he (goes on to) confer rank on him. It is said in the Lessons from the States (I, xiv, ode 1, 3), "I grieve; would they but lodge with me!"

46 The Master said, 'Dissatisfaction and calamity will come to him whose lip-kindness is not followed by the corresponding deeds. Therefore the superior man will rather incur the resentment arising from his refusal than the charge of promising (and then not fulfilling). It is said in the Lessons from the States (V, ode 4, 6), "I wildly go; I'll never know Its

smiles and chat again, To me you clearly swore the faith, Which now to break you're fain. Could I foresee so false you'd be? And now regrets are vain."'

47 The Master said, 'The superior man is not affectionate to others with his countenance (merely) as if, while cold in feeling, he could assume the appearance of affection. That belongs to the small man, and stamps him as no better than the thief who makes a hole in the wall.'

48 The Master said, 'What is required in feeling is sincerity; in words, that they be susceptible of proof.'

49 These were the words of the Master - 'The ancient and intelligent kings of the three dynasties all served the Spiritual Intelligences of heaven and earth, but invariably used the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. They did not presume to employ their own private judgement in the service of God. In this way they did not transgress in the matter of the day or month, for they did not act contrary to the result of the divination. The tortoise and the shell were not consulted in succession on the same point. For the great (sacrificial) services there were (fixed) seasons and days; for the smaller services these were not fixed. They fixed them by divination (near the time). (In divining) about external affairs they used the odd days; and for internal affairs, the even. They did not go against the (intimations of the) tortoise-shell and stalks.'

50 The Master said, 'With the victims perfect, the proper ceremonies and music, and the vessels of grain, (they sacrificed); and thus no injury was received from the Spiritual Powers, and the people had no occasion for dissatisfaction.'

51 The Master said, 'The sacrifices of Hou Ji were easily provided. His language was reverential; his desires were restricted; and the blessings received extended down to his descendants. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 1, 8), "Hou Ji founded the sacrifice; No one has failed in it, Down to the present day."

52 The Master said, 'The shell and stalks employed by the great men must be held in awe and reverence. But the son of Heaven does not divine by the stalks. While the princes are keeping guard in their states, they divine by the stalks. When the son of Heaven is on the road (travelling), he (also) divines by the stalks. In any other state but their own they do not divine by the stalks. They consult the tortoise-shell about the chambers and apartments of the houses (where they lodge). The son of Heaven does not so consult the tortoise-shell he stays always in the grand ancestral temples.'

53 The Master said, 'The men of rank, on occasions of special respect, use their sacrificial vessels. On this account they do not fail to observe the set seasons and days, and do not act contrary to the intimations of the shell and stalks; thus seeking to serve with reverence the ruler and their superiors. In this way superiors are not troublesome to the people, and the people do not take liberties with their superiors.'

### LI JI CHAPTER 33 Zi Yi

Black Robes

I These were the words of the Master: 'When the superior is easily served, his inferiors are easily known, and in this case punishments are not numerous (in the state).'

2 The Master said, 'When (the superior) loves the worthy as (the people of old loved him of) the black robes (Shi, I, vii, ode 1), and hates the bad as Xiang-bo (hated them; II, v, ode 6), then without the frequent conferring of rank the people are stimulated to be good, and without the use of punishments they are all obedient to his orders. It is said in the Da Ya (III, i, ode 1, 7), "From Wen your pattern you must draw, And all the states will own your law."

3 The Master said, 'If the people be taught by lessons of virtue, and uniformity sought to be given to them by the rules of ceremony, their minds will go on to be good. If they be taught by the laws, and uniformity be sought to be given to them by punishments, their minds will be thinking of how they can escape (the punishment; Analects, II, iii). Hence, when the ruler of the people loves them as his sons, they feel to him as a parent; when he binds them to himself by his good faith, they do not turn away from him; when he presides over them with courtesy, their hearts are docile to him. It is said in the Punishments of Fu (Shu, V, xxvii, 3), "Among the people of Miao they did not use orders simply, but the restraints of punishment. They made the five punishments engines of oppression, calling them the laws." In this way their people became bad, and (their rulers) were cut off for ever (from the land)."

4 The Master said, 'Inferiors, in serving their superiors, do not follow what they command, but what they do. When a ruler loves anything, those below him are sure to do so much more. Therefore the superior should by all means be careful in what he likes and dislikes. This will make him an example to the people.'

5 The Master said, 'When Yu had been on the throne three years, the humanity of the common people was in accordance with his - was it necessary that all (at court) should be perfectly virtuous? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 7, 1), "Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master Yin, And the people all look up to you." It is said in the Punishments of Fu (V, xxvii, 13), "I, the One man, will have felicity, and the

millions of the people will look to you as their sure dependence." It is said in the Da Ya (III, i, ode 9, 3), "King Wu secured the people's faith, And gave to all the law."

6 The Master said, 'When superiors are fond of showing their humanity, inferiors strive to outstrip one another in their practice of it. Therefore those who preside over the people should cherish the clearest aims and give the correct lessons, honouring the requirement of their humanity by loving the people as their sons; then the people will use their utmost efforts with themselves to please their superiors. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 2), "Where from true virtue actions spring, All their obedient homage bring."

7 The Master said, 'The kings words are (at first) as, threads of silk; but when given forth, they become as cords. Or they are (at first) as cords; but when given forth, they become as ropes. Therefore the great man does not take the lead in idle speaking. The superior does not speak words which may be spoken indeed but should not be embodied in deeds; nor does he do actions which may be done in deed but should not be expressed in words. When this is the case, the words of the people can be carried into action without risk, and their actions can be spoken of without risk. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 8), "Keep on your acts a watchful eye, That you may scrutiny defy."

8 The Master said, 'The superior man leads men on (to good) by his words, and keeps them (from evil) by (the example of) his conduct. Hence, in speaking, he must reflect on what may be the end of his words, and examine whether there may not be some error in his conduct; and then the people will be attentive to their words, and circumspect in their conduct. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5), "Be circumspect in all you say, And reverent bearing still display." It is said in the Da Ya (III, i, ode 1, 4), "Deep were Wen's thoughts, unstained his ways; His reverence lit its trembling rays."

9 The Master said, 'When the heads of the people use no (improper) variations in their dress, and their manners are always easy and unconstrained, and they seek thus to give uniformity to the people, the virtue of the people does become uniform. It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode i, i), 'In the old capital they stood, With yellow fox-furs plain; Their manners all correct and good, Speech free from vulgar stain. Could we go back to Zhou's old days, All would look up to them with praise."

10 The Master said, 'When (the ruler) above can be known by men looking at him, and (his ministers) below can have their doings related and remembered, then the ruler has no occasion to doubt his ministers, and the ministers are not led astray by their ruler. The Announcement of Yin says (Shu, IV, vi, 3), "There were I, Yin, and Tang; both possessed the same pure virtue." It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, 3), "In soul so steadfast is that princely man, Whose course for fault or flaw we vainly scan."

fault or flaw we vainly scan."

11 The Master said, 'When the holders of states and clans give distinction to the righteous and make it painful for the bad, thus showing the people the excellence (they should cultivate), then the feelings of the people do not swerve (to what is evil). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, vi, ode 3, 5), "Your duties quietly fulfil, And hold the upright in esteem, With earnest love "

12 The Master said, "when the highest among men has doubts and perplexities, the common people go astray. When (the ministers) below him are difficult to be understood, the toil of the ruler is prolonged. Therefore when the ruler exhibits clearly what he loves, and thus shows the people the style of manners (they should aim at), and is watchful against what he dislikes, and thereby guards the people against the excesses (of which they are in danger), then they do not go astray. When the ministers are exemplary in their conduct, and do not set a value on (fine) speeches; when they do not try to lead (the ruler) to what is unattainable, and do not trouble him with what cannot be (fully) known, then he is not toiled. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III. ii. ode 10. i). "Reversed is now the providence of God; The lower people groan beneath their load." It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, v, ode 4, 4), "They do not discharge their duties, But only cause distress to the king."

13 The Master said, 'When (the measures of) government do not take effect, and the lessons of the ruler do not accomplish their object, (it is because) the giving of rank and emoluments is unfit to stimulate the people to good, and (the infliction of) punishments and penalties is unfit to make them ashamed (of evil). Therefore (the ruler) above must not be careless in punishing, nor lightly confer rank. It is said in the Announcement to the Prince of Kang (Shu, V, ix, 8), "Deal reverently and understandingly in your infliction of punishments;" and in the Punishments of Fu (Shu, V, xxvii, 12), "He spreads abroad his lessons to avert punishments."

14 The Master said, 'When the great ministers are not on terms of friendly intimacy (with the ruler), and the common people consequently are not restful, this is because the loyalty (of the ministers) and the respect (of the ruler) are not sufficient, and the riches and rank conferred (on the former)

are excessive. (The consequence is, that) the great ministers do not discharge their functions of government, and the ministers closer (to the ruler) form parties against them. Therefore the great ministers should by all means be treated with respect; they are examples to the people; and ministers nearer (to the ruler) should by all means be careful - they direct the way of the people. Let not the ruler consult with inferior officers about greater, nor with those who are from a distance about those who are near to him, nor with those who are beyond the court about those who belong to it. If he act thus, the great ministers will not be dissatisfied; the ministers closer to him will not be indignant; and those who are more remote will not be kept in obscurity. The duke of She in his dying charge said, "Do not by little counsels ruin great enterprises: do not for the sake of a favourite concubine provoke queen Zhuang; do not for the sake of a favourite officer provoke your grave officers - the Great officers or high

15 The Master said, 'If the great man be not in affectionate sympathy with (his officers) whom he considers worthy, but give his confidence to others whom he despises, the people in consequence will not feel attached to him, and the lessons which he gives them will be troublesome (and ineffective). It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, ii, ode 8), "As if I were hidden they sought me at first, At court for a pattern to shine; 'Tis with hatred intense they now bend their scowls, And my services curtly decline." It is said in the Jun-chen (Shu, V, xxiv, 4), "While they have not seen a sage, (they are full of desire) as if they could not get a sight of him; but after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him."

16 The Master said, 'A small man is drowned in the water; a superior man is drowned or ruined by his mouth; the great man suffers his ruin from the people - all suffer from what they have played and taken liberties with. Water is near to men, and yet it drowns them. Its nature makes it easy to play with. but dangerous to approach - men are easily drowned in it. The mouth is loquacious and troublesome; for words once uttered there is hardly a place of repentance - men are easily ruined by it. The people, restricted in their humanity, have vulgar and rude minds; they should be respected, and should not be treated with contempt - men are easily ruined by them. Therefore the superior man should by all means be careful in his dealings with them. It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 5, 7), "Do not frustrate the charge to me, and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the string, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go." It is said in the Charge to Yue (III. viii. Sect. 2. 4). "It is the mouth which gives occasion to shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward) should not be taken (lightly from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself." It is said in the Tai Jia (Shu, III, v, sect. 2, 3), "Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided; but from those brought on by one's self there is no escape." It is said in the Announcement of Yin (Shu, III, v, sect. 1, 3), "I have seen it myself in Xia with its western capital, that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same.'

17 The Master said, 'To the people the ruler is as their heart; to the ruler the people are as his body. When the heart is composed, the body is at ease; when the heart is reverent, the body is respectful; when the heart loves anything, the body is sure to rest in it. (So), when the ruler loves anything, the people are sure to desire it. The body is the complement of the heart, and a wound in it makes the heart also suffer. So the ruler is preserved by the people, and perishes also through the people. It is said in an ode, "Once we had that former premier, His words were wise and pure: The states and clans by him were at rest, The chief cities and towns by him were well regulated, All the people by him enjoyed their life. Who (now) holds the ordering of the kingdom? Not himself attending to the government, The issue is toil and pain to the people." It is said in, the Jun-ya (Shu, V, xxv, 5), "In the heat and rain of summer days the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it may be said of them in the great cold of winter.'

18 The Master said, 'In the service by an inferior of his superior, if his personal character be not correct, his words will not be believed; and in this case their views will not be the same, and the conduct (of the superior) will not correspond (to the advice given to him).'

19 The Master said, 'Words should be capable of proof by instances, and conduct should be conformed to rule; when the case is so, a man's aim cannot be taken from him while he is alive, nor can his good name be taken away when he is dead. Therefore the superior man, having heard much, verifies it by inquiry, and firmly holds fast (what is proved); he remembers much, verifies it by inquiry, and makes it his own; when he knows it exactly, he carries the substance of it into practice. It is said in the Jun-chen (Shu, V, xxi, 5), "Going out and coming in, seek the judgement of the people about things, till you find a general agreement upon them." It is said in the

Book of Poetry (I, xiv, ode 3, i), "The virtuous man, the princely one, Is uniformly correct in his deportment."

20 The Master said, 'It is only the superior man who can love what is correct, while to the small man what is correct is as poison. Therefore the friends of the superior man have the definite aims which they pursue, and the definite courses which they hate. In consequence, those who are near at hand have no perplexities of thought about him, and those who are far off, no doubts. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 1, 1), "For our prince a good mate.""

21 The Master said, 'When a man on light grounds breaks off his friendship with the poor and mean, and only on great grounds with the rich and noble, his love of worth cannot be great, nor does his hatred of evil clearly appear. Though men may say that he is not influenced by (the love of) gain, I do not believe them. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, ii, ode 3, 4), "And all the friends assisting you Behave with reverent mien."

22 The Master said, 'The superior man will not voluntarily remain to share in private acts of kindness not offered on grounds of virtue. In the Book of Poetry it is said (II, i, ode 1, 1), "They love me, and my mind will teach How duty's highest aim to reach."

23 The Master said, 'If there be a carriage (before you), you are sure (by-and-by) to see the cross-board (in front); if there be a garment, you are sure (in the same way) to see (the traces of) its being worn; if one speaks, you are sure to hear his voice; if one does anything, you are sure to see the result. It is said in the Book of Poetry (I, i, ode 2, 2), "I will wear them without being weary of them."

24 The Master said, 'When one says anything, and immediately proceeds to act it out, his words cannot embellish it; and when one does anything, and immediately proceeds to describe it, the action cannot be embellished. Hence the superior man saying little, and acting to prove the sincerity of his words, the people cannot make the excellence of their deeds greater than it is, nor diminish the amount of their badness. It is said in the Book of Poetry (III, iii, ode 2, 5), "A flaw in mace of white jade may By patient toil be ground away; But for a flaw we make in speech, What can be done? 'Tis past our reach." It is said in the Xiao Ya (II, iii, ode 5, 8), "Well does our lord become his place, And high the deeds his reign have crowned." It is said to the Prince Shi (Shu, V, xvi, 11), "Aforetime, when God beheld the virtue of king Wen in the fields of Zhou, he made the great decree light on his person."

25 The Master said, 'The people of the south have a saying that "A man without constancy cannot be a diviner either with the tortoise-shell or the stalks." This was probably a saying handed down from antiquity. If such a man cannot know the tortoise-shell and stalks, how much less can he know other men? It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, v, ode 1, 3), "Our tortoise-shells are wearied out, And will not tell us anything about the plans." The Charge to Yue says (Shu, IV, Viii, sect. 2, 5, 11), "Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices. (If they be), how can the people set themselves to correct their ways? If this be sought merely by sacrifices, it will be disrespectful (to the spirits). When affairs come to be troublesome, there ensues disorder; when the spirits are served so, difficulties ensue." It is said in the Yi, 'When one does not continuously maintain his virtue, some will impute it to him as a disgrace - (in the position indicated in the Hexagram.) When one does maintain his virtue continuously (in the other position indicated), this will be fortunate in a wife, but in a husband evil."

## LI JI CHAPTER 34 Ben Sang

Rules on Hurrying to Mourning Rites

1 According to the rules for hurrying to attend the mourning rites, when one first heard that the mourning rites for a relative were going on, he wailed as he answered the messenger, and gave full vent to his sorrow. Having asked all the particulars, he wailed again, with a similar burst of grief, and immediately arranged to go (to the place). He went 100 li a day, not travelling in the night. Only when the rites were those for a father or a mother did he travel while he could vet see the stars, and rested when he (again) saw them. If it was impossible for him to go (at once), he assumed the mourning dress, and then went (as soon as he could). When he had passed through be state (where he was), and reached its frontier, he stopped and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. He avoided wailing in the market-place and when near the court. He looked towards the frontier of his own state when he wailed.

2 When he came to the house, he entered the gate at the left side of it, (passed through the court), and ascended to the hall by the steps on the west. He knelt on the east of the coffin, with his face to the west, and wailed, giving full vent to his grief. He (then) tied up his hair in a knot, bared his arms, and went down from the hall, proceeding to his place on the east, where he wailed towards the west. Having completed the leaping, he covered his arms and put on his sash of sackcloth in the corridor on the east; and after tucking up the ends of his sash, he returned to his place. He bowed to the visitors, leaping with them, and escorted them (to the gate), returning

(afterwards) to his place. When other visitors arrived, he bowed to them, leaped with them, and escorted them - all in the same way. (After this), all the principal mourners, with their cousins, went out at the gate, stopping there while they wailed. The gate was then closed, and the director told them to go to the mourning shed.

3 At the next wailing, the day after, they tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing next day, they again tied up their hair, bared their arms, and went through the leaping. On these three days, the finishing the mourning dress, bowing to and escorting the visitors, took place as in the first case.

4 If he who has hurried to be present at the rites were not the presiding mourner on the occasion, then that presiding mourner, instead of him, bowed to the visitors and escorted them.

5 When one hurried to the rites, even where they were less than those for a mother or father, which required the wearing of sackcloth, with even edge or frayed, he entered the gate at the left side of it, and stood in the middle of the court-yard with his face to the north, wailing and giving full vent to his sorrow. He put on the cincture for the head and the sackcloth girdle in the corridor on the east, and repaired to his place, where he bared his arms. Then he wailed along with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. For the wailing on the second day and the third, they wore the cincture and bared the arms. If there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them on their arrival, and escorted them. The husbands and wives (of the family) waited for him at the wailing-places for every morning and evening, without making any change.

6 When one hurries to the mourning rites for a mother, he wails with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then ties up his hair, bares his arms, descends from the hall, and goes to his station on the east, where, with his face to the west, he wails and goes through the leaping. After that, he covers his arms and puts on the cincture and sash in the corridor on the east. He bows to the visitors, and escorts them (to the gate) in the same way as if he had hurried to the rites for his father. At the wailing on the day after, he does not tie up his hair.

7 When a wife hurried to the mourning rites, she went up to the hall by the (side) steps on the east, and knelt on the east of the coffin with, her face to the west. There she wailed, giving full vent to her grief. Having put on the lower cincture on the east, she went to the station (for wailing), and there leaped alternately with the presiding mourner.

8 When one, hurrying to the mourning rites, did not arrive while the coffin with the body was still in the house, he first went to the grave; and there kneeling with his face to the north, he wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. The principal mourners have been waiting for him (at the grave), and have taken their stations - the men on the left of it, and the wives on the right. Having gone through the leaping, and given full expression to his sorrow, he tied up his hair, and went to the station of the principal mourners on the east. In his headband of sackcloth, and sash with the ends tucked up, he wailed and went through the leaping. He then bowed to the visitors, and returned to his station, going (again) through the leaping, after which the director announced that the business was over He then put on the cap, and returned to the house. There he entered at the left side of the door, and, with his face to the north, wailed and gave full vent to his sorrow. He then tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going to his station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them, and escorted them. When other visitors afterwards arrived, he bowed to them, went through the leaping, and escorted them in the same way. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate. wailed there and stopped, when the directors instructed them to go to the shed. At the wailing next day, he bound up his hair and went through the leaping. At the third wailing, he did the same. On the third day he completed his mourning dress (as was required). After the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

9 Wherein the usages at the rites for a mother differed from those at the rites for a father, was that there was but one tying up of the hair. After that the cincture was worn to the end of the business. In other respects the usages were the same as at the rites for a father.

10 At the rites for other relations, after those for the mother or father, the mourner who did not arrive while the coffin was in the house, first went to the grave, and there wailed with his face to the west, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture and hempen sash, and went to his station on the east, where he wailed with the presiding mourner, and went through the leaping. After this he covered his arms; and if there were visitors, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them away. If any other visitors afterwards came, he bowed to them, as in the former case, and the director announced that the business was over. Immediately after he put on the cap, and returned to the house. Entering at the left side of the door, he wailed with his

face to the north, giving full vent to his sorrow. He then put on the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Going then to the station on the east, he bowed to the visitors, and went through the leaping again. When the visitors went out, the presiding mourner bowed to them and escorted them. At the wailing next day, he wore the cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb; and at the fifth wailing, the director announced that the business was over.

11 When one heard of the mourning rites, and it was impossible in his circumstances to hurry to be present at them, he wailed and gave full vent to his grief. He then asked the particulars, and (on hearing them) wailed again, and gave full vent to his grief. He then made a place (for his mourning) .where he was, tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. Having covered his arms, and put on the higher cincture and his sash with the ends tucked up, he went (back) to his place. After bowing to (any visitors that arrived), he returned to the place, and went through the leaping. When the visitors went out, he, as the presiding mourner, bowed to them, and escorted them outside the gate, returning then to his station. If any other visitors came afterwards, he bowed to them and went through the leaping, then escorting them as before. At the wailing next day, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. At the third wailing he did the same. On the third day, he put on his mourning-garb, wailed, bowed to his visitors, and escorted them as before.

12 If one returned home after the mourning rites had been completed, he went to the grave, and there wailed and went through the leaping. On the east of it, he tied up his hair, bared his arms, put on the cincture for the head, bowed to the visitors, and went (again) through the leaping. Having escorted the visitors, he returned to his place, and again wailed, giving full vent to his grief With this he put off his mourning. In the house he did not wail. The principal mourner, in his treatment of him, made no change in his dress; and though he wailed with him (at the grave), he did not leap.

13 Wherein at other observances than those for the death of a mother or father, the usages (of such a mourner) differed from the above, were in the cincture for the head and the hempen sash.

14 In all cases where one made a place for his mourning away from home, if it were not on occasion of the death of a parent, but for some relative of the classes not so nearly related, he went to the station, and wailed, giving full vent to his sorrow. Having put on the cincture for the head and the girdle on the east, he came back to the station, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. He then covered his arms, bowed to the visitors, went back to the station, wailed, and went through the leaping. (After this), he escorted the guests away, and came back to the station, when the director told him to go to the shed. When the fifth wailing was ended, on the third day, the presiding mourner came forth and escorted the visitors away. All the principal mourners and their cousins went out at the gate, wailed, and stopped there. The director announced to them that the business was ended. He put on his full mourning-garb, and bowed to the visitors.

15 If the home were far distant from the place which an absent mourner has selected (for his wailing), they completed all their arrangements about dress before they went to it.

16 One hurrying to mourning rites, if they were for a parent, wailed when he looked towards the district (where they had lived); if they were for a relation for whom nine months' mourning was due, he wailed when he could see the gate of his house; if for one to whom five months' mourning was due, he wailed when he got to the door; if for one to whom but three months' mourning was due, he wailed when he took his station.

17 For one of his father's relations for whom he did not need to go into mourning a man wailed in the ancestral temple; for one of his mother or wife's relatives, in the back chamber of the temple; for his teacher, outside the gate of the temple; for a friend, outside the door of the back-chamber; for an acquaintance, in the open country, having pitched a tent for the occasion. Some say the wailing for a mother's relation was in the temple.

18 In all cases where a station was selected, away from the house of mourning, for paying funeral rites, no offerings were put down (for the departed).

19 For the son of Heaven they wailed nine days; for a feudal prince, seven; for a high minister and Great officer, five; for another officer, three.

20 A Great officer, in wailing for the ruler of his state, did not presume to bow to the visitors.

21 Ministers in other states, when they selected a station for their wailing, did not presume to bow to the visitors.

22 Officers, of the same surname with a feudal prince, but who were serving in other states, also made a place at which to wail for him (on his death).

23 In all cases where one made a place at a distance at which to wail, he bared his arms only once.

24 In condoling with the relations of an acquaintance after he has been buried, one first wailed in his house, and afterwards went to the grave, in both cases accompanying the wailing with the leaping. He alternated his leaping with that of the presiding mourner, keeping his face towards the north.

25 At all mourning rites in a household, if the father were alive, he acted as presiding mourner; if he were dead, and brothers lived together in the house, each presided at the mourning for one of his own family-circle. If two brothers were equally related to the deceased for whom rites were necessary, the eldest presided at those rites; if they were not equally related, the one most nearly so presided.

26 When one heard of the death of a brother or cousin at a distance, but the news did not arrive till the time which his own mourning for him would have taken had expired, he (notwithstanding) put on the mourning cincture, bared his arms, and went through the leaping. He bowed to his visitors, however, with the left hand uppermost.

27 The only case in which a place was chosen in which to wail for one for whom mourning was not worn, was the death of a sister-in-law, the wife of an elder brother. For a female member of the family who had married, and for whom therefore mourning was not worn, the hempen sash was assumed.

28 When one had hurried to the mourning rites, and a Great officer came to condole with him, he bared his arms, and bowed to him. When he had gone through the leaping, he covered his arms. In the case of a similar visit from an ordinary officer, he covered his arms, and then bowed to him.

### LI JI CHAPTER 35 Wen Sang

Questions About Mourning Rites

I Immediately after his father's death, the son put off his cap, and kept his hair, with the pin in it, in the bag (of silk); went barefoot, with the skirt of his dress tucked up under his girdle; and wailed with his hands across his breast. In the bitterness of his grief, and the distress and pain of his thoughts, his kidneys were injured, his liver dried up, and his lungs scorched, while water or other liquid did not enter his mouth, and for three days fire was not kindled (to cook anything for him). On this account the neighbours prepared for him gruel and rice-water, which were his (only) meat and drink. The internal grief and sorrow produced a change in his outward appearance; and with the severe pain in his heart, his mouth could not relish any savoury food, nor his body find ease in anything pleasant.

2 On the third day there was the slighter dressing of the corpse. While the body was on the couch it was called the corpse; when it was put into the coffin, it was called jiu. At the moving of the corpse, and lifting up of the coffin, (the son) wailed and leaped, times without number. Such was the bitterness of his heart, and the pain of his thoughts, so did his grief and sorrow fill his mind and agitate his spirit, that he bared his arms and leaped, seeking by the movement of his limbs to obtain some comfort to his heart and relief to his spirit. The women could not bare their arms, and therefore they (merely) pushed out the breast, and smote upon their hearts, moving their feet with a sliding, hopping motion, and with a constant, heavy sound, like the crumbling away of a wall. The expression of grief, sorrow, and deep-seated pain was extreme; hence it is said, 'With beating of the breast and movement of the feet, did they sorrowfully accompany the body; so they escorted it away, and so did they come back to meet its essential part.'

3 When the mourners went, accompanying the coffin to the grave, they looked forward, with an expression of eagerness, as if they were following some one, and unable to get up to him. When returning to wail, they looked disconcerted, as if they were seeking some one whom they could not find. Hence, when escorting (the coffin), they appeared full of affectionate desire; when returning, they appeared full of perplexity. They had sought the (deceased), and could not find him; they entered the gate, and did not see him; they went up to the hall, and still did not see him; they entered his chamber, and still did not see him; he was gone; he was dead; they should see him again nevermore. Therefore they wailed, wept, beat their breasts, and leaped, giving full vent to their sorrow, before they ceased. Their minds were disappointed, pained, fluttered, and indignant. They could do nothing more with their wills; they could do nothing but continue sad.

4 In presenting the sacrifice of repose in the to his parent ancestral temple, the son offered it in his disembodied state, hoping that his shade would peradventure return (and enjoy it). When he came back to the house from completing the grave, he did not venture to occupy his chamber, but dwelt in the mourning shed, lamenting that his parent was now outside. He slept on the rushes, with a clod for his pillow, lamenting that his parent was in the ground. Therefore he wailed and wept, without regard to time; he endured the toil and grief for three years. His heart of loving thoughts showed the mind of the filial son, and was the real expression of his human feelings.

5 Some one may ask, 'Why does the dressing not commence till three days after death?' and the answer is - When his

parent is dead, the filial son is sad and sorrowful, and his mind is full of trouble. He crawls about and bewails his loss, as if the dead might come back to life; how can he hurriedly take (the corpse) and proceed to dress it? Therefore, when it is said that the dressing does not begin till after three days, the meaning is, that (the son) is waiting that time to see if (his father) will come to life. When after three days there is no such return, the father is not alive, and the heart of the filial son is still more downcast. (During this space, moreover), the means of the family can be calculated, and the clothes that are necessary can be provided and made accordingly; the relations and connexions who live at a distance can also arrive. Therefore the sages decided in the case that three days should be allowed, and the rule was made accordingly.

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6 Some one may ask, 'How is it that one with the cap on does not bare his arms, and show the naked body?' and the answer is - The cap is the most honourable article of dress, and cannot be worn where the body is bared, and the flesh exposed. Therefore the cincture for the head is worn instead of the cap, (when the arms are bared). And so, when a bald man does not wear the cincture, and a hunchback does not bare his arms, and a lame man does not leap, it is not that they do not feel sad, but they have an infirmity which prevents them from fully discharging the usages. Hence it is said that in the rites of mourning it is the sorrow that is the principal thing. When a daughter wails, weeps, and is sad, beats her breast, and wounds her heart; and when a son wails, weeps, is sad, and bows down till his forehead touches the ground, without regard to elegance of demeanour, this may be accepted as the highest expression of sorrow.

7 Some one may ask, 'What is the idea in the cincture?' and the reply is - The cincture is what is worn while uncapped. The Rule says, 'Boys do not wear even the three months' mourning; it is only when the family has devolved on one that he does so.' The cincture, we may suppose, was what was worn in the three months' mourning (by a boy). If he had come to be the representative of the family, he wore the cincture, and carried the staff.

8 Some one may ask, 'What is meant by using the staff?' and the answer is - The staff of bamboo and that of elaeococcus wood have the same meaning. Hence, for a father they used the black staff of bamboo; and for a mother, the square-cut staff, an elaeococcus branch.

9 Some one may say, What is meant by using the staff? and the answer is - When a filial son mourns for a parent, he wails and weeps without regard to the number of times; his endurances are hard for three years; his body becomes ill and his limbs emaciated; and so he uses a staff to support his infirmity. Thus, while his father is alive he does not dare to use a staff, because his honoured father is still living. Walking in the hall, he does not use the staff - refraining from doing so in the place where his honoured father is. Nor does he walk hastily in the hall - to show that he is not hurried. Such is the mind of the filial son, the real expression of human feeling, the proper method of propriety and righteousness. It does not come down from heaven, it does not come forth from the earth; it is simply the expression of the human feelings.

## LI JI CHAPTER 36 Fu Wen

Subjects For Questioning About the Mourning Dress

1 The Directory for Mourning says, 'There are cases in which parties wear deep mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear only light.' Such is the mourning for her husband's mother by the wife of the son of a ruler (by a concubine). There are cases in which parties wear light mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear deep mourning.' Such is the mourning of a husband for the father or mother of his wife. There are cases in which parties wear mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, wear none.' Such is the case of the wife of a ruler's son with the cousins of her husband on the female side. There are cases in which parties wear no mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, do wear mourning.' Such is the case of a ruler's son with regard to the father and mother of

2 The Directory of Mourning says, 'When his mother has been divorced, the son wears mourning for the relatives of the wife whom his father has taken in his mother's place.' When his mother has died (without being divorced), a son wears mourning for her relatives. Wearing mourning for his own mother's relatives, he does not do so for those of the stepmother, whom his father may have taken in her place.

3 After the sacrifice at the end of the first year, during the three years' rites, and after the interment has taken place, during those of one year (occurring at the same time), the mourner puts on the old sash of dolychos cloth, and the headband of the one year's mourning, wearing (at the same time) the sackcloth of the mourning for nine months. The same thing is done (after the interment) during the nine months' mourning. No change is made (after the interment) during the five months' mourning. Where they wore the sash

with the roots of hemp wrought into the cloth, they changed it for the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning.

4 After the sacrifice at the end of a year, if there occurred an occasion for using the hempen sash with the roots cut off, (the mourner) put on the proper band along with the higher cincture. When the cincture was no longer worn, he put off the band. When it was proper to use the band, the rule was to wear it; and when the occasion for it was over, it was put off.

5 In the mourning for five months they did not change the cap worn for the sacrifice at the end of a year. If there were occasion to wear the cincture, then they employed the band proper for the mourning of three months or five months; still keeping on the first dolychos sash. The linen of the three months' mourning did not make it necessary to change the dolychos cloth of the five months, nor the linen of the five months to change the dolychos cloth of the nine months. Where the roots were woven with the cloth, they made a change

6 On occasion of mourning for a minor, if he were of the highest grade or the middle, they changed the dolychos cloth of the three years' mourning, assuming it when they had completed the months of these intervening rites. This was done not because of the value set on the linen, but because no change was made at the conclusion of the wailing. They did not observe this rule on the death of a minor of the third or lowest grade.

7 The ruler of a state mourned for the son of Heaven for the three years. His wife observed the rule of a lady of her husband's house who had gone to her own married home in mourning for the ruler. The heir-son of a ruler did not wear mourning for the son of Heaven.

8 A ruler acted as presiding mourner at the mourning rites for his wife, his eldest son, and that son's wife.

9 The eldest son of a Great officer, by his proper wife, wore the mourning of an ordinary officer for the ruler, and for the ruler's wife and eldest son.

10 When the mother of a ruler had not been the wife (of the former ruler), the body of the ministers did not wear mourning (on her death). Only the officers of the harem, the charioteer and the man-at-arms who sat on the left, followed the example of the ruler, wearing the same mourning as he did.

11 For a high minister or Great officer, during the mourning rites for him, the ruler wore in his place the coarse glazed linen, and also when he went out (on business not connected with the rites). If it were on business connected with them, he wore also the skin-cap and the band round it. Great officers dressed in the same way for one another. At the mourning rites for their wives, they wore the same dress, when they were going to be present at those rites; if they went out (on other business), they did not wear it.

12 In all cases of going to see others, the visitor being in mourning for his parents did not put off his headband. Even when he was going to the ruler's court, he did not put it off; it was only at the ruler's gate that (in certain circumstances) he put off his sackcloth. The Directory of Mourning says, 'A superior man will not take away from others their mourning rites;' and so it was deemed wrong to put off this mourning. The Directory of Mourning says, 'Crimes are many, but the punishments are only five. The occasions for mourning are many, but there are only five varieties of the mourning dress. The occasions must be arranged, according as they are classed in the upper grade or in the lower.'

### LI JI CHAPTER 37 Jian Zhuan

Treatise on Subsidiary Points in Mourning Usages

1 The Directory for Mourning says, 'There are cases in which parties wear deep mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear only light.' Such is the mourning for her husband's mother by the wife of the son of a ruler (by a concubine). There are cases in which parties wear light mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they assume it, wear deep mourning.' Such is the mourning of a husband for the father or mother of his wife. There are cases in which parties wear mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, wear none.' Such is the case of the wife of a ruler's son with the cousins of her husband on the female side. There are cases in which parties wear no mourning, while those, in consequence of their connexion with whom they have a relation with the deceased, do wear mourning.' Such is the case of a ruler's son with regard to the father and mother of

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### LI JI CHAPTER 38 San Nian Wen

Questions About the Mourning for Three Years

I What purposes do the mourning rites for three years serve? The different rules for the mourning rites were established in harmony with (men's) feelings. By means of them the differences in the social relations are set forth, and the distinctions shown of kindred as nearer or more distant, and of ranks as more noble or less. They do not admit of being diminished or added to; and are therefore called 'The unchanging rules.'

2 The greater a wound is, the longer it remains; and the more pain it gives, the more slowly is it healed. The mourning of three years, being appointed with its various forms in harmony with the feelings (produced by the occasion of it), was intended to mark the greatest degree of grief. The sackcloth with jagged edges, the dark colour of the sackcloth and the staff, the shed reared against the wall, the gruel, the sleeping on straw, and the clod of earth for a pillow - these all were intended to set forth the extremity of the grief. The mourning of the three years came really to an end with (the close of) the twenty-fifth month. The sorrow and pain were not yet ended, and the longing loving thoughts were not yet forgotten; but in the termination of the mourning dress in this way, was it not shown that there should be an end to the duties rendered to the dead, and that the time was come for the resumption of their duties to the living?

- 3 All living creatures between heaven and earth, being endowed with blood and breath, have a certain amount of knowledge. Possessing that amount of knowledge, there is not one of them but knows to love its species. Take the larger birds and beasts when one of them has lost its mate, after a month or a season, it is sure to return and go about their old haunts. It turns round and round, utters its cries, now moves, now stops, and looks quite embarrassed and uncertain in its movements, before it can leave the place. Even the smaller birds, such as swallows and sparrows, chatter and cry for a little before they can leave the place. But among all creatures that have blood and breath, there is none which has intelligence equal to man; and hence the feeling of man on the death of his kindred remains unexhausted even till death.
- 4 Will any one follow the example of those men who are under the influence of their depraved lusts? In that case, when a kinsman dies in the morning, he will forget him by the evening. But if we follow the course of such men, we shall find that they are not equal to the birds and beasts. How can they live with their kindred, and not fall into all disorders? Will he rather follow the example of the superior man who attends to all the methods by which the feeling of grief is set forth? In that case, the twenty-five months, after which the mourning of three years comes to an end, will seem to pass as quickly as a carriage drawn by four horses is whirled past a crevice. And if we continue to indulge the feeling, it will prove to be inexhaustible. Therefore the ancient kings determined the proper medium for mourning, and appointed its definite terms. As soon as it was sufficient for the elegant expression of the varied feeling, it was to be laid aside.
- 5 This being the case, how is it that in certain cases the mourning lasts only for a year? The answer is, that in the case of the nearest kindred, there is a break in it at the end of a year. How is that? The answer is The interaction of heaven and earth has run its round; and the four seasons have gone through their changes. All things between heaven and earth begin their processes anew. The rules of mourning are intended to resemble this. Then how is it that there are three years' mourning (for a parent)? The answer is From the wish to make it greater and more impressive, the time is doubled, and so embraces two round years. What about the mourning for nine months' and the shorter periods? The answer is It is to prevent such mourning from reaching (the longer periods).
- 6 Therefore the three years should be considered as the highest expression of grief in mourning; the three months, and five months, as the lowest; while the year and the nine months are between them. Heaven above gives an example; earth beneath, a law; and man between, a pattern. The harmony and unity that should characterise men living in their kinships are hereby completely shown. Thus it is that in the mourning of three years the highest forms that vary and adorn the ways of men are displayed. Yes, this is what is called the richest exhibition (of human feelings). In this the hundred kings (of all the dynasties) agree, and ancient and modern customs are one and the same. But whence it came is not known. Confucius said, "A son, three years after his birth, ceases to be carried in the arms of his parents. The mourning of three years is the universal rule of all under heaven."

### LI JI CHAPTER 39 Shen Yi

Long Dress in One Piece

- I Anciently the long dress had definite measurements, so as to satisfy the requirements of the compass and square, the line, the balance, and the steelyard. It was not made so short as to show any of the skin, nor so long as to touch the ground. The outside pieces of the skirt joined, and were hooked together at the side; (the width of) the seam at the waist was half that at the bottom (of the skirt). The sleeve was joined to the body of the dress at the arm-pit, so as to allow the freest movement of the elbow-joint; the length of the lower part admitted of the cuffs being turned back to the elbow. The sash was put on where there were no bones, so as not to interfere with the action of the thighs below or of the ribs above.
- 2 In the making (of the garment) twelve strips (of the cloth) were used, to correspond to the twelve months. The sleeve was made round, as if fashioned by a disk. The opening at the neck was square, as if made by means of that instrument so named. The cord-like (seam) at the back descended to the ankles, as if it had been a straight line. The edge at the bottom was like the steelyard of a balance, made perfectly even.
- 3 In this way through the rounded sleeves the arms could be lifted up in walking (for the purpose of salutation) in the most elegant form. The cord-like seam of the back and the square-shaped collar about the neck in front, served to admonish (the wearer) how his government should be correct and his righteousness on the square. It is said in the Yi, 'The movement indicated by the second line in Kun, divided, is "from the straight (line) to the square." The even edge at the bottom, like the steelyard and balance, admonished him to keep his will at rest, and his heart even and calm.
- 4 These five rules being observed in the making (of the dress), the sages wore it. In its squareness and roundness they saw its warning against selfishness; in its line-like straightness they saw its admonition to be correct, and in its balance-like

evenness they saw its lesson of impartiality. Therefore the ancient kings attached a high value to it; it could be worn in the discharge of both their civil and military duties; in it they could receive visitors and regulate the cohorts of their armies. It was complete, but not extravagant; it ranked in the second class of good dresses.

5 For ornament, while his parents and grandparents were alive, (a son) wore the dress with its border embroidered. If (only) his parents were alive, the ornamental border was blue. In the case of an orphan son, the border was white. The border round the mouth of the sleeves and all the edges of the dress was an inch and a half wide.

### LI JI CHAPTER 40 Tou Hu Game of Pitch-Pot

1 According to the rules for Pitch-pot, the host carries the arrows in both his hands put together; the superintendent of the archery carries in the same way the stand on which the tallies were placed; and an attendant holds in his hand the pot. The host entreats (one of the guests), saying, 'I have here these crooked arrows, and this pot with its wry mouth; but we beg you to amuse yourself with them.' The guest says, 'I have partaken, Sir, of your excellent drink and admirable viands; allow me to decline this further proposal for my pleasure.' The host rejoins, 'It is not worth the while for you to decline these poor arrows and pot; let me earnestly beg you to try them.' The guest repeats his refusal, saying, 'I have partaken (of your entertainment), and you would still further have me enjoy myself;--I venture firmly to decline.' The host again says, "It is not worth the while for you to decline these poor arrows and pot; let me earnestly beg you to try them,' and then the guest says, 'I have firmly declined what you request, but you will not allow me to refuse; -- I venture respectfully to obey you.' The guest then bows twice, and signifies that he will receive (the arrows). The host wheels round, saving, 'Let me get out of the way:' and then at the top of the steps on the east, he bows to the guest and gives him the arrows. The guest wheels round, and says, 'Let me get out of the way.'

- 2 (The host) having bowed, and received the arrows for himself, advances to the space between the two pillars. He then retires, and returns to his station, motioning also to the guest to go to his mat (for pitching from). The superintendent of the archery comes forward, and measures the distance of the pot (from the mats), which should be a space of the length of two and a half arrows. He then returns to his station, sets forth the stand for the tallies, and with his face to the east, takes eight counters and stands up. He asks the guest to pitch, saying, 'When the arrow goes straight in, it is reckoned an entry. If you throw a second (without waiting for your opponent to pitch), it is not reckoned.' The victor gives the vanquished a cup to drink; and when the cups of decision have been dispatched, the superintendent begs to set up what he calls 'a horse' for the victor. If he set up one horse, then a second, and finally a third, he begs to congratulate the thrower on the number of his horses. He asks the host to pitch in the same way, and with the same words. He orders the cithern-players to strike up 'The Fox's Head,' with the same interval between (each repetition of the tune), and the director of the music answers, 'Yes.'
- 3 When the superintendent announces to them on the left and right that the arrows are all used up, he requests them to pitch again. When an arrow enters, he kneels, and puts down a counter. The partners of the guest are on the right, and those of the host on the left. When they have done pitching, he takes up the counters, and says, 'They have done pitching, both on the left and right; allow me to take the numbers.' He then takes the numbers two by two, and leaves the single counters. After this he takes the single counters, and gives the announcement, saying, "Such and such a side has the better by so many doubles, or naming the number of the singles.' If they are equal, he says, 'Left and right are equal.'
- 4 He then orders the cups to be filled, saying, 'Let the cup go round,' and the cup-bearer (of the successful side) replies, 'Yes.' Those who have to drink all kneel, and raising their cups with both hands, say, 'We 'receive what you give us to drink.' The victors (also) kneel and say, 'We beg respectfully to refresh you.' When this cup has gone round, according to rule, (the superintendent) asks leave to exhibit the 'horses' (of the victorious side). Each 'horse' stands for so many counters. (He who has only) one 'horse' gives it to him who has two, to congratulate him (on his superiority). The usage in congratulating (the most successful) is to say, 'Your three "horses" are all here; allow me to congratulate you on their number.' The guests and host all express their assent. The customary cup goes round, and the superintendent asks leave to remove the 'horses.'
- 5 The number of the counters varies according to the place in which they kneel (when playing the game). (Each round is with 4 arrows.) (If the game be in) the chamber, there are 5 sets of these; if in the hall, 7; if in the courtyard, 9. The counters are 1 cubit 2 inches long. The neck of the pot is 7 inches long; its belly, 5; and its mouth is 2 1/2 inches in diameter. It contains a peck and 5 pints. It is filled with small beans, to prevent the arrows from leaping out. It is distant

from the mats of the players, the length of 2 1/2 arrows. The arrows are made of mulberry wood, or from the zizyphus, without the bark being removed.

- 6 In Lu, the young people taking part in the game were admonished in these words, 'Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not talk about irrelevant matters; for those who stand awry, or speak about irrelevant matters, there is the regular (penal) cap.' A similar admonition in Xie was to this effect 'Do not be rude; do not be haughty; do not stand awry; do not speak about irrelevant matters. Those who do any of these things must pay the nenalty '
- 7 [This appears to be a representation of the progress of a game by means of small circles and squares. The circles indicating blows on a small drum called phi, and the squares blows on the larger drum (gu) according, we may suppose, to certain events in the game. The 'drum' marks are followed by what are called 'halves' or semis.]
- 8 The superintendent of the archery, the overseer of the courtyard, and the capped officers who stood by, all belonged to the party of the guest. The musicians and the boys who acted as attendants, all belonged to the party of the host.

# LI JI CHAPTER 41 Ru Xing

Conduct of the Scholar

- 1 Duke Ai of Lu asked Confucius, saying, 'Is not the dress, Master, which you wear that of the scholar?' Confucius replied, 'When I was little, I lived in Lu, and wore the garment with large sleeves; when I was grown up, I lived in Song, and was then capped with the kang-fu cap. I have heard that the studies of the scholar are extensive, but his dress is that of the state from which he sprang. I do not know any dress of the scholar.'
- 2 The duke said, 'Allow me to ask what is the conduct of the scholar.' Confucius replied, 'If I were to enumerate the points in it summarily, I could not touch upon them all; if I were to go into details on each, it would take a long time. You would have changed all your attendants-in-waiting before I had concluded.' The duke-ordered a mat to be placed for him.
- 3 Confucius took his place by his side. He then said, 'The scholar has a precious gem placed upon its mat, with which he is waiting to receive an invitation (from some ruler); early and late he studies with energy, waiting to be questioned. He carries in his bosom leal-heartedness and good faith, waiting to be raised (to office); he is vigorous in all his doings, waiting to be chosen (to employment): so does he establish his character and prepare himself (for the future).
- 4 'The scholar's garments and cap are all fitting and becoming; he is careful in his undertakings and doings: in declining great compliments he might seem to be rude, and in regard to small compliments, hypocritical; in great matters he has an air of dignity, and in small matters, of modesty, he seems to have a difficulty in advancing, but retires with ease and readiness; and he has a shrinking appearance, as if wanting in power such is he in his external appearance.
- 5 'The scholar, wherever he resides, ordinarily or only for a time, is grave as if he were apprehensive of difficulties; when seated or on foot, he is courteous and respectful; in speaking, his object is, first of all, to be sincere; in acting, he wishes to be exact and correct; on the road, he does not strive about the most difficult or easiest places; in winter and summer, he does not strive about the temperature, the light and shade; he guards against death that he may be in waiting (for whatever he may be called to); he attends well to his person that he maybe ready for action such are his preparations and precautions for the future.
- 6 'The scholar does not consider gold and jade to be precious treasures, but leal-heartedness and good faith; he does not desire lands and territory, but considers the establishment of righteousness as his domain; he does not desire a great accumulation of wealth, but looks on many accomplishments as his riches; it is difficult to win him, but easy to pay him; it is easy to pay him, but difficult to retain him. As he will not show himself when the time is not proper for him to do so, is it not difficult to win him? As he will have no fellowship with what is not righteous, is it not difficult to retain him? As he must first do the work, and then take the pay, is it not easy to pay him?--such are the conditions of his close association with others.
- 7 'Though there may be offered to the scholar valuable articles and wealth, and though it be tried to enervate him with delights and pleasures, he sees those advantages without doing anything contrary to his sense of righteousness; though a multitude may attempt to force him (from his standpoint), and his way be stopped by force of arms, he will look death in the face without changing the principles (which) be maintains; (he would face) birds and beasts of prey with their talons and wings, without regard to their fierceness; he would undertake to raise the heaviest tripod, without regard to his strength; he has no occasion to regret what he has done in the past, nor to make preparations for what may come to him in the future; he does not repeat any error of speech; any rumours against him he does not pursue up to their source; he does not allow his dignity to be interrupted; he does not dread to practise

(beforehand) the counsels (which he gives) - such are the things in which he stands out and apart from other men.

8 With the scholar friendly relations may be cultivated, but no attempt must be made to constrain him; near association with him can be sought, but cannot be forced on him; he may be killed, but he cannot be disgraced; in his dwelling he will not be extravagant; in his eating and drinking he will not be luxurious; he may be gently admonished of his errors and failings, but he should not have them enumerated to him to his face - such is his boldness and determination.

9 'The scholar considers leal-heartedness and good faith to be his coat-of-mail and helmet; propriety and righteousness to be his shield and buckler; he walks along, bearing aloft over his head benevolence; he dwells, holding righteousness in his arms before him; the government may be violently oppressive, but he does not change his course - such is the way in which he maintains himself.

10 'The scholar may have a house in only a mu of ground - a poor dwelling each of whose (surrounding) walls is (only) ten paces long, with an outer door of thorns and bamboos, and openings in the wall, long and pointed; within, the inner door stopped up by brushwood, and little round windows like the mouth of a jar; the inmates may have to exchange garments when they go out; they may have to make one day's food serve for two days; if the ruler respond to him, he does not dare to have any hesitation (in accepting office); if he do not respond, he does not have recourse to flattery - such is he in the matter of taking office. (however small)

11 'The scholar lives and has his associations with men of the present day, but the men of antiquity are the subjects of his study. Following their (principles and example) in the present age, he will become a pattern in future ages. If it should be that his own age does not understand and encourage him, that those above him do not bring him, and those below him do not push him, forward, or even that calumniators and flatterers band together to put him in danger, his person may be placed in peril, but his aim cannot be taken from him. Though danger may threaten him in his undertakings and wherever he is, he will still pursue his aim, and never forget the afflictions of the people, (which he would relieve) - such is the anxiety which he cherishes.

12 The scholar learns extensively, but never allows his researches to come to an end; he does what he does with all his might, but is never weary; he may be living unnoticed, but does not give way to licentiousness; he may be having free course in his acknowledged position, but is not hampered (by it); in his practice of ceremonial usages he shows the value which he sets on a natural ease; in the excellence of his leal-heartedness and good faith, he acts under the law of a benignant playfulness; he shows his fond regard for men of virtue and ability, and yet is forbearing and kind to all; he (is like a potter who) breaks his square (mould), and his tiles are found to fit together - such is the largeness and generosity of his spirit.

13 'The scholar recommends members of his own family to public employment, without shrinking from doing so, because of their kinship, and proposes others beyond it, without regard to their being at enmity with him; he estimates men's merits, and takes into consideration all their services, selecting those of virtue and ability, and putting them forward, without expecting any recompense from them; the ruler thus gets what he wishes, and if benefit results to the state, the scholar does not seek riches or honours for himself such is he in promoting the employment of the worthy and bringing forward the able.

14 'The scholar when he hears what is good, tells it to his friends, and when he sees what is good, shows it to them; in the view of rank and position, he gives the precedence to them over himself; if they encounter calamities and hardships, he is prepared to die with them; if they are long (in getting advancement), he waits for them; if they are far off, he brings them together with himself - such is he in the employment and promotion of his friends.

15 'The scholar keeps his person free from stain, and continually bathes and refreshes his virtue; he sets forth what he has to say (to his superior by way of admonition), but remains himself in the back-ground, trying thus quietly to correct him; if his superior do not acknowledge (his advice), he more proudly and clearly makes his views known, but still does not press them urgently; he does not go among those who are low to make himself out to be high, nor place himself among those who have little (wisdom) to make himself out to have much; in a time of good government, he does not think little (of what he himself can do); in a time of disorder, he does not allow his course to be obstructed; he does not (hastily) agree with those who think like himself, nor condemn those who think differently - so does he stand out alone among others and take his own solitary course.

16 'The scholar sometimes will not take the high office of being a minister of the son of Heaven, nor the lower office of serving the prince of a state; he is watchful over himself in his retirement, and values a generous enlargement of mind, while at the same time he is bold and resolute in his intercourse with others; he learns extensively that he may know whatever

should be done; he makes himself acquainted with elegant accomplishments, and thus smoothes and polishes all his corners and angles; although the offer were made to share a state with him, it would be no more to him than the small weights of a balance; he will not take a ministry, he will not take an office - such are the rules and conduct he prescribes to himself

17 'The scholar has those with whom he agrees in aim, and pursues the same objects, with whom he cultivates the same course, and that by the same methods; when they stand on the same level with him, he rejoices in them; if their standing be below his, he does not tire of them; if for long he has not seen them, and hears rumours to their prejudice, he does not believe them; his actions are rooted in correctness, and his standing in what is right; if they proceed in the same direction with him, he goes forward with them, if not in the same direction, he withdraws from them - so is he in his intercourse with his friends

18 'Gentleness and goodness are the roots of humanity; respect and attention are the ground on which it stands; generosity and large-mindedness are the manifestation of it; humility and courtesy are the ability of it; the rules of ceremony are the demonstration of it; speech is the ornament of it; singing and music are the harmony of it; sharing and distribution are the giving of it. The scholar possesses all these qualities in union and has them, and still he will not venture to claim a perfect humanity on account of them - such is the honour (he feels for its ideal), and the humility (with which) he declines it (for himself).

19 'The scholar is not cast down, or cut from his root, by poverty and mean condition; he is not elated or exhausted by riches and noble condition; he feels no disgrace that rulers and kings (may try to inflict); he is above the bonds that elders and superiors (may try to impose); and superior officers cannot distress him. Hence he is styled a scholar. Those to whom the multitude now-a-days give that name have no title to it, and they constantly employ it to one another as a term of reproach.'

20 When Confucius came (from his wanderings to Lu) to his own house, duke Ai gave him a (public) lodging. When the duke heard these words, he became more sincere in his speech, and more righteous in his conduct. He said, 'To the end of my days! I will not presume to make a jest of the name of scholar.'

### LI JI CHAPTER 42 Da Xue

**Great Learning** 

by Zengzi (505-435 BC), disciple of Confucius

I What the Great Learning teaches, is to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the highest excellence. The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained to. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there may be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed by the attainment of the desired end. Things have their root and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to what is taught in the Great Learning.

2 The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy From the Son of Heaven down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of the person the root of everything besides. It cannot be, when the root is neglected, that what should spring from it will be well ordered. It never has been the case that what was of great importance has been slightly cared for, and, at the same time, that what was of slight importance has been greatly cared for.

3 What is meant by "making the thoughts sincere." is the allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell, and as when we love what is beautiful. This is called self-enjoyment. Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone. There is no evil to which the mean man, dwelling retired, will not proceed, but when he sees a superior man, he instantly tries to disguise himself, concealing his evil, and displaying what is good. The other beholds him, as if he saw his heart and reins; -of what use is his disguise? This is an instance of the saying -"What truly is within will be manifested without." Therefore, the superior man must be watchful over himself when he is alone. The

disciple Zeng said, "What ten eyes behold, what ten hands point to, is to be regarded with reverence!" Riches adorn a house, and virtue adorns the person. The mind is expanded, and the body is at ease. Therefore, the superior man must make his thoughts sincere.

4 In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Look at that winding course of the Qi, with the green bamboos so luxuriant! Here is our elegant and accomplished prince! As we cut and then file: as we chisel and then grind: so has he cultivated himself. How grave is he and dignified! How majestic and distinguished! Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten. That expression-"As we cut and then file," the work of learning. "As we chisel and then grind," indicates that of self-culture. "How grave is he and dignified!" indicates the feeling of cautious reverence. "How commanding and distinguished! indicates an awe-inspiring deportment. "Our elegant and accomplished prince never can be forgotten," indicates how, when virtue is complete and excellence extreme, the people cannot forget them. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Ah! the former kings are not forgotten." Future princes deem worthy what they deemed worthy, and love what they loved. The common people delight in what delighted them, and are benefited by their beneficial arrangements. It is on this account that the former kings, after they have quitted the world, are not forgotten.

5 In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "He was able to make his virtue illustrious." In the Tai Jia, it is said, "He contemplated and studied the illustrious decrees of Heaven." In the Canon of the emperor (Yao), it is said, "He was able to make illustrious his lofty virtue." These passages all show how those sovereigns made themselves illustrious.

6 On the bathing tub of Tang, the following words were engraved: "If you can one day renovate yourself, do so from day to day. Yea, let there be daily renovation." In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "To stir up the new people." In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Although Zhou was an ancient state the ordinance which lighted on it was new." Therefore, the superior man in everything uses his utmost endeavors.

7 In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "The royal domain of a thousand li is where the people rest." In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "The twittering yellow bird rests on a corner of the mound." The Master said, "When it rests, it knows where to rest. Is it possible that a man should not be equal to this bird?" In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Profound was King Wen. With how bright and unceasing a feeling of reverence did he regard his resting places!" As a sovereign, he rested in benevolence. As a minister, he rested in reverence. As a son, he rested in filial piety. As a father, he rested in kindness. In communication with his subjects, he rested in good faith.

8 The Master said, "In hearing litigations, I am like any other body. What is necessary is to cause the people to have no litigations." So, those who are devoid of principle find it impossible to carry out their speeches, and a great awe would be struck into men's minds:-this is called knowing the root.

9 What is meant by, "The cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind may be thus illustrated:-If a man be under the influence of passion he will be incorrect in his conduct. He will be the same, if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard, or under that of sorrow and distress. When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat. This is what is meant by saying that the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind.

10 What is meant by "The regulation of one's family depends on the cultivation of his person is this:-men are partial where they feel affection and love; partial where they despise and dislike; partial where they stand in awe and reverence; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world who love and at the same time know the bad qualities of the object of their love, or who hate and yet know the excellences of the object of their hatred. Hence it is said, in the common adage," A man does not know the wickedness of his son; he does not know the richness of his growing corn." This is what is meant by saying that if the person be not cultivated, a man cannot regulate his family.

11 What is meant by "In order rightly to govern the state, it is necessary first to regulate the family," is this: It is not possible for one to teach others, while he cannot teach his own family. Therefore, the ruler, without going beyond his family, completes the lessons for the state. There is filial piety therewith the sovereign should be served. There is fraternal submission - therewith elders and superiors should be served. There is kindness - therewith the multitude should be treated. In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "Act as if you were watching over an infant." If a mother is really anxious about it, though she may not hit exactly the wants of her infant, she will not be far from doing so. There never has been a girl who learned to bring up a child, that she might afterwards marry. From the loving example of one family a whole state becomes loving, and from its courtesies the whole state becomes courteous while, from the ambition and perverseness of the

One man, the whole state may be led to rebellious disorder; such is the nature of the influence. This verifies the saying, "Affairs may be ruined by a single sentence; a kingdom may be settled by its One man." Yao and Shun led on the kingdom with benevolence and the people followed them. Chieh and Chau led on the kingdom with violence, and people followed them. The orders which these issued were contrary to the practices which they loved, and so the people did not follow them. On this account, the ruler must himself be possessed of the good qualities, and then he may require them in the people. He must not have the bad qualities in himself, and then he may require that they shall not be in the people. Never has there been a man, who, not having reference to his own character and wishes in dealing with others, was able effectually to instruct them. Thus we see how the government of the state depends on the regulation of the family.

In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "That peach tree, so delicate and elegant! How luxuriant is its foliage! This girl is going to her husband's house. She will rightly order her household." Let the household be rightly ordered, and then the people of the state may be taught. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "They can discharge their duties to their elder brothers. They can discharge their duties to their younger brothers." Let the ruler discharge his duties to his elder and younger brothers, and then he may teach the people of the state. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "In his deportment there is nothing wrong; he rectifies all the people of the state. Yes; when the ruler, as a father, a son, and a brother, is a model, then the people imitate him. This is what is meant by saying, "The government of his kingdom depends on his regulation of the family."

12 What is meant by "The making the whole kingdom peaceful and happy depends on the government of his state, this: When the sovereign behaves to his aged, as the aged should be behaved to, the people become filial; when the sovereign behaves to his elders, as the elders should be behaved to, the people learn brotherly submission; when the sovereign treats compassionately the young and helpless, the people do the same. Thus the ruler has a principle with which, as with a measuring square, he may regulate his conduct. What a man dislikes in his superiors, let him not display in the treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in inferiors, let him not display in the service of his superiors; what he hates in those who are before him, let him not therewith precede those who are behind him; what he hates in those who are behind him, let him not bestow on the left; what he hates to receive on the left, let him not bestow on the right:-this is what is called "The principle with which, as with a measuring square, to regulate one's conduct." In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "How much to be rejoiced in are these princes, the parents of the people!" When a prince loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called the parent of the people. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Lofty is that southern hill, with its rugged masses of rocks! Greatly distinguished are you. O grand-teacher Yin, the people all look up to you. "Rulers of states may not neglect to be careful. If they deviate to a mean selfishness, they will be a disgrace in the kingdom.

13 In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "Before the sovereigns of the Yin dynasty had lost the hearts of the people, they could appear before God. Take warning from the house of Yin. The great decree is not easily preserved." This shows that, by gaining the people, the kingdom is gained, and, by losing the people, the kingdom is lost. On this account, the ruler will first take pains about his own virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure. Virtue is the root: wealth is the result. If he make the root his secondary object, and the result his primary, he will only wrangle with his people, and teach them rapine. Hence, the accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people; and the letting it be scattered among them is the way to collect the people. And hence, the ruler's words going forth contrary to right, will come back to him in the same way, and wealth, gotten by improper ways, will take its departure by the same. In the Announcement to Kang, it is said, "The decree indeed may not always rest on us"; that is, goodness obtains the decree, and the want of goodness loses it. In the Book of Chu, it is said, "The kingdom of Chu does not consider that to be valuable. It values, instead, its good men." Duke Wen's uncle, Fan. said. "Our fugitive does not account that to be precious." What he considers precious is the affection due to his parent."

14 In the Declaration of the Duke of Qin, it is said, "Let me have but one minister, plain and sincere, not pretending to other abilities, but with a simple, upright, mind; and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as though he himself possessed them, and, where he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, and really showing himself able to bear them and employ them: such a minister will be able to preserve my sons and grandsons and black-haired people, and benefits likewise to the kingdom may well be looked for from him. But if it be his character, when he finds

men of ability, to be jealous and hate them; and, when he finds accomplished and perspicacious men, to oppose them and not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them: such a minister will not be able to protect my sons and grandsons and people; and may he not also be pronounced dangerous to the state?" It is only the truly virtuous man who can send away such a man and banish him, driving him out among the barbarous tribes around, determined not to dwell along with him in the Middle Kingdom. This is in accordance with the saying, "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others. To see men of worth and not be able to raise them to office; to raise them to office, but not to do so quickly:-this is disrespectful. To see bad men and not be able to remove them: to remove them, but not to do so to a distance:-this is weakness. To love those whom men hate, and to hate those whom men love;-this is to outrage the natural feeling of men. Calamities cannot fail to come down on him who does so. Thus we see that the sovereign has a great course to pursue. He must show entire self-devotion and sincerity to attain it, and by pride and extravagance he will fail of it.

15 There is a great course also for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let there be activity in the production, and economy in the expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient. The virtuous ruler, by means of his wealth, makes himself more distinguished. The vicious ruler accumulates wealth, at the expense of his life. Never has there been a case of the sovereign loving benevolence, and the people not loving righteousness. Never has there been a case where the people have loved righteousness, and the affairs of the sovereign have not been carried to completion. And never has there been a case where the wealth in such a state, collected in the treasuries and arsenals, did not continue in the sovereign's possession.

16 The officer Meng Xian said, "He who keeps horses and a carriage does not look after fowls and pigs. The family which keeps its stores of ice does not rear cattle or sheep. So, the house which possesses a hundred chariots should not keep a minister to look out for imposts that he may lay them on the people. Than to have such a minister, it were better for that house to have one who should rob it of its revenues." This is in accordance with the saving:-"In a state, pecuniary gain is not to be considered to be prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness." When he who presides over a state or a family makes his revenues his chief business, he must be under the influence of some small, mean man. He may consider this man to be good; but when such a person is employed in the administration of a state or family calamities from Heaven, and injuries from men, will befall it together, and, though a good man may take his place, he will not be able to remedy the evil. This illustrates again the saying, "In a state, gain is not to be considered prosperity, but its prosperity will be found in righteousness.'

### LI JI CHAPTER 43 Guan Yi

Meaning of the Ceremony of Capping

1 Generally speaking, that which makes man man is the meaning of his ceremonial usages. The first indications of that meaning appear in the correct arrangement of the bodily carriage, the harmonious adjustment of the countenance, and in the natural ordering of the speech. When the bodily carriage is well arranged, the countenance harmoniously adjusted, and speech naturally ordered, the meaning of the ceremonial usages becomes complete, and serves to render correct the relation between ruler and subject, to give expression to the affection between father and son, and to establish harmony between seniors and juniors. When the relation between ruler and subject is made correct, affection secured between father and son, and harmony shown between seniors and juniors, then the meaning of those usages is established. Hence after the capping has taken place, provision is made for every other article of dress. With the complete provision of the dress, the bodily carriage becomes (fully) correct, the harmonious expression of the countenance is made perfect, and the speech is all conformed to its purposes. Hence it is said that in capping we have the first indications of (the meaning of the) ceremonial usages. It was on this account that the sage kings of antiquity made so much as they did of the capping.

2 Anciently, when about to proceed to the ceremony of capping, they divined for the day by the stalks, and also for the guests (who should be present). In this way did they manifest the value which they attached to capping. Attaching such a value to it, they made the ceremony very important. They made the ceremony so important, showing how they considered it to lie at the foundation of the state's (prosperity). Hence (also) the capping took place at the top of the eastern steps, (appropriate to the use of the Master) - to show that the son would (in due time) take his place. (The father) handed him a (special) cup in the guests' place. Three caps were used in the ceremony, each successive one more honourable, and giving the more importance to his coming of age. When the capping was over, he received the name of his maturity. So was it shown that he was now a full-grown man. He presented

himself before his mother, and his mother bowed to him; he did the same before his brothers and cousins, and they bowed to him - he was a man grown, and so they exchanged courtesies with him. In the dark-coloured cap, and the dark-coloured square-cut robes, he put down his gift of introduction before the ruler, and then proceeded with the proper gifts to present himself to the high ministers and Great officers, and to the old gentlemen of the country - appearing before them as a man grown.

3 Treating him (now) as a grown-up man, they would require from him all the observances of a full-grown man. Doing so, they would require from him the performance of all the duties of a son, a younger brother, a subject, and a junior. But when these four duties or services were required from him, was it not right that the ceremony by which he was placed in such a position should be considered important?

4 Thus when the discharge of filial and fraternal duties, of loyal service, and of deferential submission was established, he could indeed be regarded as a (full-grown) man. When he could be regarded as such, he could be employed to govern other men. It was on this account that the sage kings attached such an importance to the ceremony, and therefore it was said, that in capping we have the introduction to all the ceremonial usages, and that it is the most important of the festive services.

#### LI JI CHAPTER 44 Hun Yi

Meaning of the Marriage Ceremony

- 1 The ceremony of marriage was intended to be a bond of love between two (families of different) surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple, and in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line. Therefore the superior men, (the ancient rulers), set a great value upon it. Hence, in regard to the various (introductory) ceremonies, -- the proposal with its accompanying gift; the inquiries about the (lady's) name; the intimation of the approving divination; the receiving the special offerings; and the request to fix the day - these all were received by the principal party (on the lady's side), as he rested on his mat or leaning-stool in the ancestral temple, (When they arrived), he met the messenger, and greeted him outside the gate, giving place to him as he entered, after which they ascended to the hall. Thus were the instructions received in the ancestral temple, and in this way was the ceremony respected, and watched over, while its importance was exhibited and care taken that all its details should be correct.
- 2 The father gave himself the special cup to his son, and ordered him to go and meet the bride; it being proper that the male should take the first step (in all the arrangements). The son, having received the order, proceeded to meet his bride. Her father, who had been resting on his mat and leaning-stool in the temple, met him outside the gate and received him with a bow, and then the son-in-law entered, carrying a wild goose. After the (customary) bows and yieldings of precedence, they went up to the hall, when the bridegroom bowed twice and put down the wild goose. Then and in this way he received the bride from her parents. After this they went down, and he went out and took the reins of the horses of her carriage, which he drove for three revolutions of the wheels, having handed the strap to assist her in mounting. He then went before, and waited outside his gate, When she arrived, he bowed to her as she entered. They ate together of the same animal, and joined in sipping from the cups made of the same melon; thus showing that they now formed one body, were of equal rank, and pledged to mutual affection.
- 3 The respect, the caution, the importance, the attention to secure correctness in all the details, and then (the pledge of) mutual affection these were the great points in the ceremony, and served to establish the distinction to be observed between man and woman, and the righteousness to be maintained between husband and wife. From the distinction between man and woman came the righteousness between husband and wife. From that righteousness came the affection between father and son; and from that affection, the rectitude between ruler and minister. Whence it is said, 'The ceremony of marriage is the root of the other ceremonial observances.'
- 4 Ceremonies might be said to commence with the capping; to have their root in marriage; to be most important in the rites of mourning and sacrifice; to confer the greatest honour in audiences at the royal court and in the interchange of visits at the feudal courts; and to be most promotive of harmony in the country festivals and celebrations of archery. These were the greatest occasions of ceremony, and the principal points in them.
- 5 Rising early the morning after marriage, the young wife washed her head and bathed her person, and waited to be presented (to her husband's parents), which was done by the directrix, as soon as it was bright day. She appeared before them, bearing a basket with dates, chestnuts, and slices of dried spiced meat. The directrix set before her a cup of sweet liquor, and she offered in sacrifice some of the dried meat and also of the liquor, thus performing the ceremony which declared her their son's wife. The father and mother-in-law then entered their apartment, where she set before them a single dressed pig thus showing the obedient duty of (their

son's) wife. Next day, the parents united in entertaining the young wife, and when the ceremonies of their severally pledging her in a single cup, and her pledging them in return, had been performed, they descended by the steps on the west, and she by those on the east - thus showing that she would take the mother's place in the family.

6 Thus the ceremony establishing the young wife in her position; followed by that showing her obedient service (of her husband's parents); and both succeeded by that showing how she now occupied the position of continuing the family line - all served to impress her with a sense of the deferential duty proper to her. When she was thus deferential, she was obedient to her parents-in-law, and harmonious with all the occupants of the women's apartments; she was the fitting partner of her husband, and could carry on all the work in silk and linen, making cloth and silken fabrics, and maintaining a watchful care over the various stores and depositories (of the household). In this way when the deferential obedience of the wife was complete, the internal harmony was secured; and when the internal harmony was secured, the long continuance of the family could be calculated on. Therefore the ancient kings attached such importance (to the marriage ceremonies).

7 Therefore, anciently, for three months before the marriage of a young lady, if the temple of the high ancestor (of her surname) were still standing (and she had admission to it), she was taught in it, as the public hall (of the members of her surname); if it were no longer standing (for her), she was taught in the public hall of the Head of that branch of the surname to which she belonged - she was taught there the virtue, the speech, the carriage, and the work of a wife. When the teaching was accomplished, she offered a sacrifice (to the ancestor), using fish for the victim, and soups made of duckweed and pondweed. So was she trained to the obedience of a wife.

8 Anciently, the queen of the son of Heaven divided the harem into six palace-halls, (occupied) by the 3 ladies called fu-ren, the 9 bin, the 27 shi-fu, and the 81 yu-qi. These were instructed in the domestic and private rule which should prevail throughout the kingdom, and how the deferential obedience of the wife should be illustrated; and thus internal harmony was everywhere secured, and families were regulated (In the same way) the son of Heaven established six official departments, in which were distributed the 3 gong, the 9 qing, the 27 da fu, and the 81 shi of the highest grade. These were instructed in all that concerned the public and external government of the kingdom, and how the lessons for the man should be illustrated; and thus harmony was secured in all external affairs, and the states were properly governed. It is therefore said, 'From the son of Heaven there were learned the lessons for men; and from the queen, the obedience proper to women.' The son of Heaven directed the course to be pursued by the masculine energies, and the queen regulated the virtues to be cultivated by the feminine receptivities. The son of Heaven guided in all that affected the external administration (of affairs); and the queen, in all that concerned the internal regulation (of the family). The teachings (of the one) and the obedience (inculcated by the other) perfected the manners and ways (of the people); abroad and at home harmony and natural order prevailed; the states and the families were ruled according to their requirements - this was what is called 'the condition of complete virtue.'

9 Therefore when the lessons for men are not cultivated, the masculine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly;-as seen in the heavens, we have the sun eclipsed. obedience proper to women is not cultivated, the feminine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly; as seen in the heavens, we have the moon eclipsed. Hence on an eclipse of the sun, the son of Heaven put on plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six official departments, purifying everything that belonged to the masculine sphere throughout the kingdom; and on an eclipse of the moon, the queen dressed herself in plain white robes, and proceeded to repair what was wrong in the duties of the six palace-halls, purifying everything that belonged to the feminine sphere throughout the kingdom. The son of Heaven is to the queen what the sun is to the moon, or the masculine energy of nature to the feminine. They are necessary to each other, and by their interdependence they fulfil their functions.

# LI JI CHAPTER 45 Xiang Yin Jiu Yi

Meaning of the Drinking Festivity in the Districts

1 The meaning of the drinking in the country districts may be thus described - The president on the occasion bows to the (coming) guest as he receives him outside the college gate. They enter and thrice salute each other till they come to the steps. There each thrice yields the precedence to the other, and then they ascend. In this way they carry to the utmost their mutual demonstrations of honour and humility. (The host) washes his hands, rinses the cup, and raises it - to give the highest idea of purity. They bow on the guest's arrival; they bow as (the cup) is washed; they bow when the cup is received, and when it is presented (in return); they bow when the

drinking it is over - in this way carrying to the utmost their mutual respect.

- 2 Such giving of honour, such humility, such purity, and such respect belonged to the intercourse of superior men with others. When they gave honour and showed humility, no contentions arose. When they maintained purity and respect, no indifference or rudeness arose. When there was no rudeness or contention, quarrels and disputations were kept at a distance. When men did not quarrel nor dispute, there came no evils of violence or disorder. It was thus that superior men escaped suffering calamity from other men; and therefore the sages instituted the observances in this ceremony to secure such a result.
- 3 The chief of the district with the accomplished and virtuous men belonging to it had the vessel of liquor placed between the room (on the east), and the door (leading to the apartments on the west), host and guests sharing it between them. The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquor (of pure water) showing the value, they attached to its simplicity. The viands came forth from the room on the east being supplied by the host. All washing, took place (in the courtyard) opposite the eastern wing showing how the host purified himself and made himself ready to serve the guests.
- 4 The principal guest and the host represented heaven and earth; the attendants of the guest and host respectively represented the forces inherent in nature in their contracting and expanding operations; the three (heads of the) guests (in their threefold division) represented the three (great) luminaries; the precedence thrice yielded (to the guest) represented the three days when the moon is invisible till it begins to reappear; the seating of the parties present (all round or) on the four sides represented the four seasons.
- 5 The snell and icy wind that blows between heaven and earth begins in the south-west and is strongest in the northwest. This is the wind that represents the most commanding severity of heaven and earth; -- the wind of their righteous justice. The warm and genial wind (that blows between) heaven and earth begins in the north-east and is strongest in the south-east. This is the wind that represents the abundant virtue of heaven and earth - the wind of their benevolence. The host, wishing to do honour to his guest, assigns him his seat on the north-west, and that of his attendant on the southwest, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him. The guest (represents) the treatment of others according to justice, and therefore his seat is on the north-west; the host (represents) the treatment of others according to benevolence and a genial kindness, and therefore his seat is on the southeast, and his attendant is seated on the north-east, that he may there (most conveniently) assist him.
- 6 That intercourse according to benevolence and righteousness being established, so as to show the respective duties of host and guest, and the number of stands and dishes being properly fixed;—all this must be the result of sage intelligence. That intelligence established the arrangements, and each one being carried through with respect, it became a ceremonial usage. That usage proceeding to mark and embody the distinction between old and young, it became a virtue. Virtue is that which is the characteristic of the person. Therefore we have the saying, 'In the learning of antiquity, the methods by which they pursued the course adopted were intended to put men in possession of their proper virtue.' On this account the sages employed their powers (on its lessons).
- When the guest offers in sacrifice some of the things that have been set before him, and some of the liquor, he showed how he respected (the host) for his courtesy; when he proceeded to take some of the lungs in his teeth, he thereby tasted (the host's) courtesy; when he then sipped some of the liquor, that was his last step in acknowledgment thereof. This last act was done at the end of his mat, showing that the mat was spread straight before him, not only for the purpose of eating and drinking, but also for the performance of the (proper) rites. In this was shown how it was the ceremony that was valued, while the wealth was made little account of. Finally, when the host filled their cups from the horn, they drained them at the top of the western steps; -- showing how the mat was set not (merely) for the purpose of eating and drinking, and how the idea was that of giving to the ceremony the first place, and to wealth the last. But when the ceremony has the first place, and wealth the last, the people become respectful and yielding, and are not contentious with one
- 8 At the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, those who were sixty years old sat, and those who were (only fifty) stood, and were in waiting to receive any orders and perform any services thus illustrating the honour which should be paid to elders. Before those who were sixty, three dishes were placed; before those of seventy, four; before those of eighty, five; before those of ninety, six thus illustrating how the aged should be cherished and nourished. When the people knew to honour their elders and nourish their aged, then at home they could practise filial piety and fraternal duty. Filial and fraternal at home and abroad, honouring elders and nourishing the aged, then their education was complete, and this led to the peace and tranquillity of the state. What

the superior man calls filial piety, does not require that (every) family should be visited and as members daily taught; if (the people) be assembled at the archery meetings in the districts, and taught the usages at the district-drinkings, their conduct is brought to be filial and fraternal.

- 9 Confucius said, 'When I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal way may obtain free course.
- 10 'The host in person invites the principal guest and his attendant, and all the other guests follow them of themselves. When they arrive outside the gate, he bows (and welcomes) the chief guest and his attendant, and all the others enter of themselves. In this way the distinction between the noble and the mean is exhibited
- 11 With the interchange of three bows (the host and guest) arrive at the steps; and after precedence has been thrice yielded to him, the guest ascends. In bowing to him (on the hall), (the host) presents to him the cup, and receives the cup from him in return. The usages between them, now declining, now yielding, the one to the other, are numerous; but the attention paid to the assistant is less. As to the crowd of guests, they ascend, and receive the cup. Kneeling down they offer some of it in sacrifice; they rise and drink it; and without pledging the host in the return-cup, they descend. In this way the proper distinction is made between the different parties by the multitude or paucity of the observances paid to them.
- 12 'The musicians enter, ascend the hall, and sing the three pieces which complete their performance, after which the host offers to them the cup. The organists enter, and (below the hall) play three tunes, which complete their part of the performance, after which the host offers to them (also) the cup. Then they sing and play alternately other three pieces and tunes; and also thrice again they sing and play in concert. When this is finished, the musicians announce that the music is over, and go out. At the same time a person (as instructed by the host) takes up the horn, and one is appointed to superintend the drinking, and see that it proceeds correctly. From this we know how they could be harmonious and joyful, without being disorderly.
- 13 'The principal guest pledges the host, the host pledges the attendants, the attendants pledge all the guests. Young and old pledge one another according to their age, and the cup circulates on to the keepers of the vases and the cupwashers. From this we know how they could practise brotherly deference to their elders without omitting any one.
- 14 'Descending (after this), they take off their shoes; ascending again, and taking their seats, they take their cups without any limit as to number. But the regulations of the drinking do not allow them to neglect the duties either of the morning or evening. When the guests go out, the host bows to each as he escorts him away. The regulations and forms are observed to the end; and from this we know how they could enjoy the feast without turbulence or confusion.
- 15 'The distinction between the noble and mean thus exhibited; the discrimination in the multitude or paucity of the observances to different parties; the harmony and joy without disorder; the brotherly deference to elders without omitting any; the happy feasting without turbulence or confusion;—the observance of these five things is sufficient to secure the rectification of the person, and the tranquillity of the state. When that one state is tranquil, all under heaven will be the same. Therefore I say that when I look on at the festivity in the country districts, I know how easily the Royal Way may obtain free course.'
- 16 According to the meaning attached to the festivity of drinking in the country districts, the principal guest was made to represent heaven; the host, to represent earth; their attendants respectively to represent the sun and moon; and the three head guests (according to the threefold division of them) to represent the three (great) luminaries. This was the form which the festivity received on its institution in antiquity: the presiding idea was found in heaven and earth; the regulation of that was found in the sun and moon; and the three luminaries were introduced as a third feature. (The whole represented) the fundamental principles in the conduct of government and instruction.
- 17 The dogs were boiled on the eastern side (of the courtyard) in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that the vivifying and expanding power in nature issues from the east. The washings took place at the eastern steps, and the water was kept on the east of the washing-place;--in reverential acknowledgment of the fact that heaven and earth have placed the sea on the left. The vessel contained the dark-coloured liquid teaching the people not to forget the original practice (at ceremonies).
- 18 The rule was that the (principal) guest should face the south. The quarter of the east suggests the idea of the spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move (there is then at work that mysterious) intelligence which gives birth to all things. The quarter of the south suggests the idea of the summer, the name of which (also) denotes what is great what nourishes things, encourages their growth, and makes them great is benevolence. The quarter of the west suggests the idea of the autumn, the name

of which also denotes gathering or collecting - the fruits of the earth are gathered at this season, suggesting the idea of justice in discriminating and guarding. The quarter of the north suggests the idea of winter, the name of which denotes also what is kept within - and the being within leads us to think of being stored up. On this account, when the son of Heaven stands up, he keeps (the quarter of the life-giving) intelligence on his left hand, faces (the quarter of) benevolence, has that of justice on his right hand, and that of depositing behind him.

19 It was the rule that his attendants should face the east; thus (making) the principal guest to be the chief (party) at the festivity. It was the rule that the host should be in the eastern quarter. The eastern quarter suggests the idea of spring, the name of which (also) denotes the appearance of insects beginning to move, and (it is spring) which produces all things. The host makes the festivity; that is, he produces all things.

20 The moon, after three days, completes the period of its dark disk. Three months complete a season. Therefore in this ceremony precedence is thrice yielded to the guest, and in establishing a state three high ministers must be appointed. That the guests are in three divisions, each with its head or leader, indicated the fundamental principles in the administration of government and instruction, and was the third great feature of the ceremony.

### LI JI CHAPTER 46 She Yi

Meaning of the Ceremony of Archery

I Anciently it was the rule for the feudal lords, when they would practise archery, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Banquet, and for the Great officers and ordinary officers, when they would shoot, first to celebrate the ceremony of the Drinking in the country districts. The ceremony of the Banquet served to illustrate the relation between ruler and subject; that of the District-drinking, to illustrate the distinction between seniors and juniors.

2 The archers, in advancing, retiring, and all their movements, were required to observe the rules. With minds correct, and straight carriage of the body, they were to hold their bows and arrows skilfully and firmly; and when they did so, they might be expected to hit the mark. In this way (from their archery) their characters could be seen.

3 To regulate (the discharging of the arrows), there was, in the case of the son of Heaven, the playing of the Zou-yu; in the case of the feudal lords, that of the Li-shou; in the case of the dignitaries, the Great officers, that of the Cai-pin; and in the case of officers, that of the Cai-fan. The Zou-vu is expressive of joy that every office is (rightly) filled; the Li-shou is expressive of the joy at audiences of the court; the Cai-pin is expressive of the joy in observing the laws (which have been learned); and the Cai-fan is expressive of the joy in being free from all failures in duty. Therefore the son of Heaven regulated his shooting by keeping in his mind the right feeling of all officers; a feudal prince, by keeping in his mind the times of his appearing before the son of Heaven; a dignitary, being a Great officer, by keeping in his mind the observing of the laws (which he had learned); and an officer, by keeping in his mind that he must not fail in the duties of his office. In this way, when they clearly understood the meaning of those regulating measures, and were thus able to avoid all failure in their services, they were successful in their undertakings, and their character and conduct were established. When their characters were established, no such evils as oppression and disorder occurred; and when their undertakings were successful, the states were tranquil and happy. Hence it is said that 'the archery served to show the completeness of (the archer's) virtue.

4 Therefore, anciently, the son of Heaven chose the feudal lords, the dignitaries who were Great officers, and the officers, from their skill in archery. Archery is specially the business of males, and there were added to it the embellishments of ceremonies and music. Hence among the things which may afford the most complete illustration of ceremonies and music, and the frequent performance of which may serve to establish virtue and good conduct, there is nothing equal to archery: and therefore the ancient kings paid much attention to it.

5 Therefore, anciently, according to the royal institutes, the feudal princes annually presented the officers who had charge of their tribute to the son of Heaven, who made trial of them in the archery-hall. Those of them whose bodily carriage was in conformity with the rules, and whose shooting was in agreement with the music, and who hit the mark most frequently, were allowed to take part at the sacrifices. When his officers had frequently that privilege, their ruler was congratulated; if they frequently failed to obtain it, he was reprimanded. If a prince were frequently so congratulated, he received an increase to his territory; if he were frequently so reprimanded part of his territory was taken from him. Hence came the saying, 'The archers shoot in the interest of their princes.' Thus, in the states, the rulers and their officers devoted themselves to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of the ceremonies and music. But when, rulers and

officers practise ceremonies and music, never has it been known that such practice led to their banishment or ruin.

6 Hence it is said in the ode now lost, 'The long-descended lord Presents your cups of grace. His chiefs and noble men Appear, all in their place; Small officers and Great, Not one will keep away. See them before their prince, All in their full array. They feast, and then they shoot, Happy and praised to boot.' The lines show how when rulers and their officers earnestly devoted themselves together to archery, and the practice in connexion with it of ceremonies and music, they were happy and got renown. It was on this account that the son of Heaven instituted the custom, and the feudal lords diligently attended to it. This was the way in which the son of Heaven cherished the princes, and had no need of weapons of war (in dealing with them); it furnished (also) to the princes an instrument with which they trained themselves to rectitude.

7 Once, when Confucius was conducting an archery meeting in a vegetable garden at Kio-hsiang, the lookers-on surrounded it like a wall. When the proceedings reached the point when a Master of the Horse should be appointed, he directed Zi-Lu to take his bow and arrows, and go out to introduce those who wished to shoot, and to say, 'The general of a defeated army, the Great officer of a ruler-less state, and any one who (has schemed to be) the successor and heir of another, will not be allowed to enter, but the rest may all enter.' On this, one half went away, and the other half entered. After this, (wishing to send the cup round among all the company), he further directed Gong-wang Qiu and Xu Dian to raise the horns of liquor, and make proclamation. Then Gong-wang Qiu raised his horn, and said, 'Are the young and strong (here) observant of their filial and fraternal duties? Are the old and men of eighty (here) such as love propriety, not following licentious customs, and resolved to maintain their characters to death? If so, they may occupy the position of guests.' On this, one half (of those who had entered) went away, and the other half remained. Xu Dian next raised his horn, and proclaimed, 'Are you fond of learning without being tired? are you fond of the rules of propriety, and unswerving in your adherence to them? Do those of you who are eighty, ninety, or one hundred, expound the way (of virtue) Without confusion or error? If so, you can occupy the position of visitors.' Thereupon hardly any remained.

8 To shoot means to draw out to the end, and some say to lodge in the exact point. That drawing out to the end means every one unfolding his own idea; hence, with the mind even-balanced and the body correctly poised, (the archer) holds his bow and arrow skilfully and firmly. When he so holds them, he will hit the mark. Hence it is said, 'The father (shoots) at the father-mark; the subject, at the son-mark; the ruler, at the ruler-mark; the subject, at the subject-mark.' Thus the archer shoots at the mark of his (ideal) self; and so the Great archery of the son of Heaven is called shooting at (the mark of) the feudal prince. 'Shooting at the mark of the feudal prince' was shooting to prove himself a prince. He who hit the mark was permitted to be, that is, retain his rank as) a prince; he who did not hit the mark was not permitted to retain his rank as a prince.

9 When the son of Heaven was about to sacrifice, the rule was that he should celebrate the archery at the pool, which name suggested the idea of selecting the officers (by their shooting). After the archery at the pool came that in the archery hall. Those who hit the mark were permitted to take part in the sacrifice; and those who failed were not permitted to do so. (The ruler of those) who did not receive the permission was reprimanded, and had part of his territory taken from him. The ruler of those who were permitted was congratulated, and received an addition to his territory. The advancement appeared in the rank; the disapprobation, in the (loss of) territory.

10 Hence, when a son is born, a bow of mulberry wood, and six arrows of the wild raspberry plant (are placed on the left of the door) for the purpose of shooting at heaven, earth, and the four cardinal points. Heaven, earth, and the four points denote the spheres wherein the business of a man lies. The young man must first give his mind to what is to be his business, and then he may venture to receive emolument, that is, the provision for his food.

11 Archery suggests to us the way of benevolence. (The archer) seeks to be correct in himself, and then discharges his arrow. If it miss the mark, he is not angry with the one who has surpassed himself, but turns round and seeks (for the cause of failure) in himself. Confucius said, 'The student of virtue has no contentions. If it be said that he cannot avoid them, shall this be in archery? (But) he bows complaisantly to his competitor, ascends (the hall), descends (again), and exacts the forfeit of drinking. In his contention, he is still the superior man.'

12 Confucius said, 'How difficult it is to shoot! How difficult it is to listen (to the music)! To shoot exactly in harmony with the note (given) by the music, and to shoot without missing the bull's-eye on the target - it is only the archer of superior virtue who can do this! How shall a man of inferior character be able to hit the mark?

13 It is said in the Book of Poetry (II, viii, ode 6, 1), ""Now shoot," he says, "and show your skill." The other answers, "Shoot I will, And hit the mark;--and when you miss, Pray you the penal cup to kiss." 'To pray' is to ask. The archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup. The liquor in the cup is designed (properly) to nourish the aged, or the sick. When the archer seeks to hit that he may decline the cup, that is declining what should serve to nourish (those that need it).

### LI JI CHAPTER 47 Yan Yi

Meaning of the Banquet

1 Anciently, among the officers of the kings of Zhou, there was one called the shu-dze. He was charged with the care of the sons of the feudal lords, the high dignitaries who were the Great officers, and (other) officers,--the eldest sons who occupied the next place to their fathers. He managed (the issuing) to them of (all) cautions and orders; superintended their instruction in all they had to learn and (the art of self-)government; arranged them in their different classes; and saw that they occupied their correct positions. If there were any grand solemnity (being transacted) in the kingdom, he conducted them-these sons of the state-and placed them under the eldest son, the heir-apparent, who made what use of them he thought fit. If any military operations were being undertaken, he provided for them their carriages and coats of mail, assembled for them the companies of a hundred men and of five men (of which they should have charge), and appointed their inferior officers, thus training them in the art of war they were not under the jurisdiction of the minister of War. In all (other) governmental business of the state, these sons of it were left free, their fathers' eldest sons, without public occupation, and were made to attend to the cultivation of virtuous ways. In spring, (the shu-dze) assembled them in the college; and in autumn, in the archery (hall), that he might examine into their proficiency, and advanced or degraded them accordingly.

2 The meaning of the ceremony of the banquet at the feudal courts (may be thus described):-The ruler stood on the southeast of (his own) steps on the east, having his face towards the south, fronting the ministers or dignitaries who were nearest to him. They and all the (other) Great officers came forward a little, taking each his proper station. The ruler's mat is placed at the top of the eastern steps - there is the station of the host. The ruler alone goes up and stands on his mat; with his face to the west he stands there by himself - showing that no one presumes to place himself on a par with him.

3 Guests and host having been arranged, according to the rules for the ceremony of drinking in the country districts, (the ruler) makes his chief cook act for him in presenting (the cup) - a minister may not presume to take on himself any usage proper to the ruler. None of the (three) kung and no high minister has the place of a guest; but the Great officers are among the guests,-because of the doubts that might arise, and to show the jealousy (which such great men in that position might create). When the guests have entered to the middle of the courtyard, the ruler descends a step and bows to them - thus courteously receiving them.

4 The ruler sends the cup round among the guests in order; and when he has given a special cup to any, they all descend, and bow twice, laying at the same time their heads to the ground; after which they ascend, and complete their bowing thus showing the observance due from subjects. The ruler responds to them, for every act of courtesy must be responded to - illustrating the observances due from the ruler and superiors. When ministers and inferiors do their utmost to perform service for the state, the ruler must recompense them with rank and emoluments. Hence all officers and inferiors endeavour with their utmost strength and ability to establish their merit, and thus the state is kept in tranquillity, and the ruler's mind is at rest. (The principle) that every act of courtesy must be responded to, showed that rulers do not receive anything from their inferiors without sufficient ground for doing so. The ruler must illustrate the path of rectitude in his conduct of the people; and when the people follow that path and do good service (for the state), then he may take from them a tenth part (of their revenues). In this way he has enough, and his subjects do not suffer want. Thus harmony and affection prevail between high and low, and they have no mutual dissatisfactions. Such harmony and rest are the result of the ceremonial usages. This is the great idea in the relation between ruler and subject, between high and low - hence it is said that the object of the banquet was to illustrate the idea of justice between ruler and subject.

5 The mats were arranged so that the dignitaries of smaller rank occupied the place next (in honour) to those of higher; the Great officers, the place next to the lower dignitaries. The officers and sons of concubines (also) took their places below in their regular order. The cup being presented to the ruler, he begins the general pledging, and offers the cup to the high dignitaries. They continue the ceremony, and offer the cup to the Great officers, who offer it in turn to the (other) officers, and these finally offer it to the sons of concubines. The stands and dishes, with the flesh of the animals, and the savoury viands, were all proportioned to the differences of rank in the

guests:-and thus the distinction was shown between the noble

### LI JI CHAPTER 48 Pin Yi

Meaning of Interchange of Missions twixt Different Courts

- 1 According to the ceremonies in missions, a duke of the highest grade sent seven attendants with (his representative); a marquis or earl, five; and a count or baron, three. The difference in number served to show the difference in rank of their principals.
- 2 The messages between the visitor and the host were passed through all the attendants, from one to another. A superior man, where he wishes to do honour, will not venture to communicate directly and in person. This was a high tribute of respect.
- 3 The message was transmitted only after the messenger had thrice declined to receive (the courtesies offered to him at the gate); he entered the gate of the ancestral temple after thrice in the same way trying to avoid doing so; thrice he exchanged bows with his conductor before they arrived at the steps; and thrice he yielded the precedence offered to him before he ascended the hall so did he carry to the utmost his giving of honour and yielding courtesy.
- 4 The ruler sent an officer to meet the messenger at the border of the state, and a Great officer to offer him the customary presents and congratulations (after the toils of the journey) in the suburb (near the capital); he himself met him and bowed to him inside the great gate, and then received him in the ancestral temple; with his face to the north he bowed to him when the presents (which he brought) were presented, and bowed again (when his message was delivered), in acknowledgment of its condescension in this way did he (on his part) testify his respect.
- 5 Respectfulness and yielding courtesy mark the intercourse of superior men with one another. Hence, when the feudal lords received one another with such respectfulness and yielding courtesy, they would not attack or encroach on one another.
- 6 A high minister is employed as principal usher for the messenger, a Great officer as the next, and (ordinary) officers acted as their attendants. (When he had delivered his message), the ruler himself showed him courtesy, (and presented to him the cup of new liquor). He had his private interviews (with the dignitaries and Great officers of the court), and also with the ruler. (After this), supplies of animals, slaughtered and living, were sent (to his hotel). (When he was about to take his departure), the jade-symbols (by which he was accredited) were returned to him, and the return gifts (of silk and other things) presented at the same time. He had been entertained and feasted. All these observances served to illustrate the idea underlying the relations between ruler and minister in receiving visitors and guests.
- 7 Therefore it was a statute made by the son of Heaven for the feudal lords, that every year they should interchange a small mission, and every three years a great one thus stimulating one another to the exercise of courtesy. If the messenger committed any error in the exchange of his mission, the ruler, his host, did not personally entertain and feast him-thereby making him ashamed, and stimulating him. When the princes thus stimulated one another to the observance of the ceremonial usages, they did not make any attacks on one another, and in their states there was no oppression or encroachment. In this way the son of Heaven cherished and nourished them; there was no occasion for any appeal to arms, and they were furnished with an instrument to maintain themselves in rectitude.
- 8 The commissioners carried with them their jade-symbols, the sceptre and half-sceptre showing the importance of the ceremony. On the completion of their mission, these were returned to them showing the small importance to be attached to their value, and the great importance of the ceremony. When the princes thus stimulated one another, to set light by the value of the articles, and recognise the importance of the ceremony, the people learned to be yielding and courteous.
- 9 The prince of the state to which the mission was sent treated his guests in this way Till their departure from their coming, they were supplied from the three stores (provided for such purposes). Living animals were sent to them at their lodging. A provision of five sets of the three animals for slaughter was made inside. Thirty loads of rice, the same number of grain with the straw, and twice as many of fodder and firewood were provided outside. There were five pairs of birds that went in flocks every day. All the attendants had cattle supplied to them for their food. There was one meal (a day in the court), and two (spare) entertainments (in the temple). The banquets and occasional bounties were without any definite number. With such generosity was the importance of the ceremony indicated.

10 They could not always be so profuse as this in antiquity in the use of their wealth; but their employment of it thus liberally (in connexion with these missions) showed how they were prepared to devote it to the maintenance of the ceremonies. When they expended it as they did on the

ceremonies, then in the states ruler and minister did not encroach on one another's rights and possessions, and different states did not attack one another. It was on this account that the kings made their statute about these missions, and the feudal lords did their utmost to fulfil it.

11 The archery in connexion with these missions was a very great institution. With the early dawn they commenced it, and it was nearly midday before the whole of the ceremonies were concluded - it required men of great vigour and strength to go through with it. And further, when such men were about to engage in it, though the liquor might be clear and they were thirsty, they did not venture to drink of it; though the stalks of flesh were dry (and ready to their hand), and they were hungry, they did not venture to eat of them; at the close of the day, when they were tired, they continued to maintain a grave and correct deportment. So they carried out all the details of the ceremonies; so they maintained correctly the relation between ruler and subject, affection between father and son, and harmony between seniors and juniors. All this it is difficult for the generality of men to do, but it was done by those superior men; and on this account they were called men possessed of great ability in action. The ascribing to them such ability in action implied their possession of the sense of righteousness; and their possession of that sense implied that they were valiant and daring. The most valuable quality in a man who is bold and daring is that he can thereby establish his sense of righteousness; the most valuable quality in him who establishes that sense is that he can thereby show his great ability in action: the most valuable quality in him who has that ability is that he can carry all ceremonies into practice. In this way, the most valuable quality in valiant daring is that its possessor dares to carry into practice the rules of ceremony and righteousness. It follows from this that such men, bold and daring, full of vigour and strength, when the kingdom was at peace, employed their gifts in the exercise of propriety and righteousness; and, when there was trouble in the kingdom, employed them in the battle-field and in gaining victory. When they employed them to conquer in battle, no enemies could resist them; when they employed them in the exercise of propriety and righteousness, then obedience and good order prevailed. No enemies abroad, and obedience and good order at home - this was called the perfect condition for a state. But when men, so endowed, did not use their valour and strength in the service of propriety and righteousness, and to secure victory, but in strifes and contentions, then they were styled men of turbulence or disorder. Punishments were put in requisition throughout the kingdom and the (first) use of them was to deal with those same men, and take them off. In this way (again), the people became obedient and there was good order, and the state was tranquil and happy.

12 Zi-gong asked Confucius, saying, 'Allow me to ask the reason why the superior man sets a high value on jade, and but little on soapstone? Is it because jade is rare, and the soapstone plentiful?' Confucius replied, 'It is not because the soapstone is plentiful that he thinks but little of it, and because jade is rare that he sets a high value on it. Anciently superior men found the likeness of all excellent qualities in jade. Soft, smooth, and glossy, it appeared to them like benevolence; fine, compact, and strong - like intelligence; angular, but not sharp and cutting - like righteousness; hanging down (in beads) as if it would fall to the ground - like (the humility of) propriety; when struck, yielding a note, clear and prolonged, yet terminating abruptly - like music; its flaws not concealing its beauty, nor its beauty concealing its flaws - like loyalty; with an internal radiance issuing from it on every side - like good faith; bright as a brilliant rainbow like heaven; exquisite and mysterious, appearing in the hills and streams - like the earth; standing out conspicuous in the symbols of rank - like virtue; esteemed by all under the sky. like the path of truth and duty. As is said in the ode (I, xi, ode 3, 1), "Such my lord's car. He rises in my mind, Lovely and bland, like jade of richest kind."

# LI JI CHAPTER 49 Sang Fu Si Zhi

Four Principles Underlying the Dress of Mourning

- 1 All ceremonial usages looked at in their great characteristics are the embodiment of (the ideas suggested by) heaven and earth; take their laws from the (changes of the) four seasons; imitate the (operation of the) contracting and developing movements in nature; and are conformed to the feelings of men. It is on this account that they are called the Rules of Propriety; and when any one finds fault with them, he only shows his ignorance of their origin.
- 2 Those usages are different in their applications to felicitous and unfortunate occurrences; in which they should not come into collision with one another this is derived from (their pattern as given by) the contracting and developing movements in nature.
- 3 The mourning dress has its four definite fashions and styles, the changes in which are always according to what is right this is derived from the (changes of the) four seasons. Now, affection predominates; now, nice distinctions; now, defined regulations; and now, the consideration of

circumstances - all these are derived from the human feelings. In affection we have benevolence; in nice distinctions, righteousness; in defined regulations, propriety; and in the consideration of circumstances, knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge - these make up the characteristic attributes of humanity.

- 4 Where the affection has been great, the mourning worn is deep. On this account the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn for the father for three years the regulation is determined by affection.
- 5 In the regulation (of the mourning) within the family circle, the, affection throws the duty of public righteousness into the shade. In the regulation (of that which is) beyond that circle, the duty of public righteousness cuts the mourning of affection short. The service due to a father is employed in serving a ruler, and the reverence is the same for both this is the greatest instance of (the conviction of the duty of) righteousness, in all the esteem shown to nobility and the honour done to the honourable. Hence the sackcloth with jagged edges is worn (also) for the ruler for three years the regulation is determined by righteousness.
- 6 The eating after three days; the washing the head after three months; the sacrifice and change of dress at the end of the first year; the not carrying the emaciation to such an extent as to affect life these regulations were to avoid doing harm to the living (by the mourning) for the dead. Not protracting the mourning rites beyond three years; not mending even the coarsest sackcloth; making no addition to the mound (raised at first) over the grave; fixing the day for the sacrifice at the end of the second year; playing (at first, on the conclusion of the rites) on a plain, unvarnished lute all these things were to make the people aware of the termination (of the several rites), and constituted the defined regulations.
- 7 The service due to a father is employed in serving a mother, and the love is the same for both. But in the sky there are not two suns, nor in a land two kings, nor in a state two rulers, nor in a family two equally honourable one (principle) regulates (all) these conditions. Hence, while the father is alive, the sackcloth with even edges is worn (for a mother), (and only) for a year showing that there are not (in the family) two equally honourable.
- 8 What is meant by the use of the staff? It is (a symbol of) rank. On the third day it is given to the son; on the fifth day, to Great officers; and on the seventh day, to ordinary officers at the mourning rites for a ruler. Some say that it is given to them as the presiding mourners; and others, that it is to support them in their distress. A daughter (not yet fully grown) and a son (while but a lad), do not carry a staff -(being supposed) not to be capable of (extreme) distress. When all the array of officers is complete, and all things are provided, and (the mourner) cannot speak (his directions), and things must (still) proceed, he is assisted to rise. If he be able to speak, and things will proceed (as he directs), he rises by the help of the staff. Where (the mourner) has himself to take part in what is to be done, he will have his face grimed (as if black with sorrow). Women who are bald do not use the coiffure; hunchbacks do not unbare their arms; the lame do not leap; and the old and ill do not give up the use of liquor and flesh. All these are cases regulated by the consideration of circumstances.
- 9 After the occurrence of the death, the (wailing for) three days, which left no leisure for anything else; the not taking off (the headband or girdle) for three months; the grief and lamentation for a whole year; and the sorrow on to the three years: (in all these things) there was a gradual diminution of the (manifestation of) affection. The sages, in accordance with that diminution of the natural feeling, made their various definite regulations. It was on this account that the mourning rites were limited to three years. The worthiest were not permitted to go beyond this period, nor those who were inferior to them to fall short of it. This was the proper and invariable time for those rites, what the (sage) kings always carried into practice.
- 10 When it is said in "The Shu" (Part IV, Book VIII, i, 1), that Gao Zung, while occupying the mourning shed, for three years did not speak, this expresses approval of that sovereign. But the kings all observed this rule; why is the approval only expressed in connexion with him? It may be replied, 'This Gao Zong was Wu Ding.' Wu Ding was a worthy sovereign of Yin. He had come to the throne in the due order of succession, and was thus loving and good in his observance of the mourning rites. At this time Yin, which had been decaying, revived again; ceremonial usages, which had been neglected, came again into use. On this account the approval of him was expressed, and therefore it was recorded in the Shu, and he was styled Gao (The Exalted), and designated Gao Zong (The Exalted and Honoured Sovereign). (The rule was that), during the three years' mourning, a ruler should not speak; and that the Shu says, 'Gao Zong, while he occupied the mourning shed, for the three years did not speak,' was an illustration of this. When it is said (in the Xiao Jing, chapter 18th), 'They speak, but without elegance of phrase,' the reference is to ministers and inferior officers.

11 According to the usages, when wearing the sackcloth with jagged edges for a father, a son indicated that he heard what was said to him, but did not reply in words; when wearing that with even edges (for a mother), he replied, but did not speak (of anything else); when wearing the mourning of nine months, he might speak (of other things), but did not enter into any discussion; when wearing that of five months, or of three, he might discuss, but did not show pleasure in doing so. At the mourning rites for a parent, (the son) wore the cap of sackcloth, with strings of cords, and sandals of straw; after the third day, he (began to) take gruel; after the third month, he washed his head; at the end of the year, in the thirteenth month, he put on the mourning silk and cap proper after the first year; and when the three years were completed, he offered the aussicious sacrifice.

12 When one has completed these three regulated periods, the most animated with the sentiment of benevolence (or humanity) can perceive the affection underlying the usages; he who has (most) knowledge can perceive the nice distinctions pervading them; and he who has (most) strength can perceive the (force of) will (required for their discharge). The propriety that regulates them, and the righteousness that maintains their correctness, may be examined by filial sons, deferential younger brothers, and pure-minded virgins.

### THE XIAO JING

or: The Hsiao Ching / The Classic of Filial Piety
From: The Sacred Books of the East:
The Texts of Confucianism, Vol. 3, Part 1:
The Shu King, The Religious Portions
of the Shih King, The Hsiao King
2nd edition, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899, p. 465-488.
Romanisation: Pinyin
Translation: James Legge, 1899
Estimated Range of Dating: 4th century B.C.

(The Classic of Filial Piety, also known by its Chinese name as the Xiaojing, is a Confucian classic treatise giving advice on filial piety: that is, how to behave towards a senior such as a father, an elder brother, or a ruler. The text was most likely composed during the late Warring States period in about the 4th century BC. It claims to be a conversation between Confucius (Kongfuzi, Kongzi) and his student Zengzi. The text was widely used during the Han and later dynasties to teach young children basic moral messages as they learnt to read. It is not known who actually wrote the document. The 12th-century author named He Yin claimed that The Classic of Filial Piety was not made by Zengzi himself.

As the title suggests, the text elaborates on filial piety, which is a core Confucian value. The text argues that if a person loves and serves their parents then they will do the same for their rulers, leading to a harmonious society. The Classic of Filial Piety occupied an important position in classical education as one of the most popular foundational texts through to late imperial China. The text was used in elementary and moral education together with the Analects, Elementary Learning, and the Biographies of Exemplary Women. Study of the text was also mentioned in epitaphs as an indication of a person's good character. It was a practice to read aloud the text when mourning one's parents. The text was also important politically, partly because filial piety was both a means of demonstrating moral virtue and entering officialdom for those with family connections to the imperial court. The text was important in Neo-Confucianism which is a moral, ethical, and metaphysical Chinese philosophy influenced by Confucianism, and originated with Han Yu and Li Ao (772-841 AD) in the Tang Dynasty, and became prominent during the Song and Ming dynasties under the formulations of Zhu Xi.)

# FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 1

The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise

Once, when Zhong Ni (another name for "Kong Zi", Confucius, the Master) was unoccupied, and his disciple Zeng (a disciple of Conficius) was sitting by in attendance on him, the Master said, "The ancient kings had a perfect virtue and all-embracing rule of conduct, through which they were in accord with all under heaven. By the practice of it the people were brought to live in peace and harmony, and there was no ill-will between superiors and inferiors. Do you know what it was?"

Zeng rose from his mat and said, "How should I, Shen, who am so devoid of intelligence, be able to know this?"

The Master said, "It was filial piety. Now filial piety is the root of "all virtue" (meaning: the five virtuous principles, the constituents of humanity: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and fidelity), and the stem out of which grows all moral teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them. This is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the

practice of the filial course, so as to make our name famous in future ages and thereby glorify our parents, this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of character.

"It is said in the Major Odes of the Kingdom: Ever think of your ancestor, Cultivating your virtue."

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 2

Filial Piety in the Son of Heaven

The Master said, "He who loves his parents will not dare to incur the risk of being hated by any man, and he who reveres his parents will not dare (to incur the risk of) being contemned by any man. When the love and reverence of the Son of Heaven are thus carried to the utmost in the service of his parents, the lessons of his virtue affect all the people, and he becomes a pattern to all within the four seas. This is the filial piety of the Son of Heaven.

"It is said in the "Marquis of Fu" on Punishments: The One man will have felicity, and the millions of the people will depend on what ensures his happiness."

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 3

Filial Piety in the Princes of States

"Above others, and yet free from pride, they dwell on high, without peril. Adhering to economy and carefully observant of the rules and laws, they are full, without overflowing. To dwell on high without peril is the way long to preserve nobility; to be full without overflowing is the way long to preserve riches. When their riches and nobility do not leave their persons, then they are able to preserve the altars of their land and grain, and to secure the harmony of their people and men in office\*. This is the filial piety of the princes of states.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: Be apprehensive, be cautious, As if on the brink of a deep abyss, As if treading on thin ice."

(\* Notes: The king had a great altar to the spirit (or spirits) presiding over the land. The color of the earth in the center of it was yellow; that on each of its four sides differed according to the colors assigned to the four quarters of the sky. A portion of this earth was cut away and formed the nucleus of a corresponding altar in each feudal state, according to their position relative to the capital. The prince of the state had the prerogative of sacrificing there. A similar rule prevailed for the altars to the spirits presiding over the grain. So long as a family ruled in a state, so long its chief offered those sacrifices; and the extinction of the sacrifices was an emphatic way of describing the ruin and extinction of the ruling house.)

# FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER4

Filial Piety in High Ministers and Great Officers

"They do not presume to wear robes other than those appointed by the laws of the ancient kings, nor to speak words other than those sanctioned by their speech, nor to exhibit conduct other than that exemplified by their virtuous ways. Thus none of their words being contrary to those sanctions, and none of their actions contrary to the right way, from their mouths there comes no exceptionable speech, and in their conduct there are found no exceptionable actions. Their words may fill all under heaven, and no error of speech will be found in them. Their actions may fill all under heaven, and no dissatisfaction or dislike will be awakened by them. When these three things—(their robes, their words, and their conduct)—are all complete as they should be, they can then preserve their ancestral temples\*. This is the filial piety of high ministers and great officers.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: He is never idle, day or night, In the service of the One man."

(\* Notes: Their ancestral temples were to the ministers and grand officers what the altars of their land and grain were to the feudal lords. Every great officer had three temples or shrines, in which he sacrificed to the first chief of his family or clan, to his grandfather, and to his father. While these remained, the family remained, and its honors were prepetuated.)

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 5

Filial Piety in Inferior Officers

"As they serve their fathers, so they serve their mothers, and they love them equally. As they serve their fathers, so they serve their rulers, and they reverence them equally. Hence love is what is chiefly rendered to the mother, and reverence is what is chiefly rendered to the ruler, while both of these things are given to the father. Therefore when they serve their ruler with filial piety, they are loyal; when they serve their superiors with reverence, they are obedient. Not failing in this loyalty and obedience in serving those above them, they are then able to preserve their emoluments and positions, and to maintain their sacrifices (These officers had their 'positions' or places, and their pay. They had also their sacrifices, but such as were private or personal to themselves.). This is the filial piety of inferior officers\*.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: Rising early and going to sleep late, Do not disgrace those who gave you birth."

(\* Notes: not 'scholar,' a more modern meaning of shi. The shi of feudal China were the younger sons of the higher classes, and men that by their ability were rising out of the lower, and who were all in inferior situations and looking forward to offices of trust in the service of the royal court or of their several states. When the feudal system had passed away, the class of 'scholars' gradually took their place.)

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 6

Filial Piety in the Common People

"They follow the course of heaven (in the revolving seasons); they distinguish the advantages afforded by (different) soils; they are careful of their conduct and economical in their expenditure—in order to nourish their parents. This is the filial piety of the common people.

"Therefore from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, there never has been one whose filial piety was without its beginning and end on whom calamity did not come." (Notes: This chapter is the end of what Zhu Xi regarded as the only portion of the Xiao that came directly from Confucius. The chapters that follow lack the sequence of the foregoing.)

#### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 7

Filial Piety in Relation to the Three Powers (Heaven, Earth, Man)

The disciple Zeng said, "Immense indeed is the greatness of filial piety!" The Master replied, "Yes, filial piety is the constant (method) of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of Man. Heaven and earth invariably pursue the course (that may be thus described), and the people take it as their pattern. (The ancient kings) imitated the brilliant luminaries of heaven and acted in accordance with the (varying) advantages afforded by earth, so that they were in accord with all under heaven, and in consequence their teachings, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, secured perfect order.

"The ancient kings, seeing how their teachings could transform the people, set before them therefore an example of the most extended love, and none of the people neglected their parents. They set forth to them (the nature of) virtue and righteousness, and the people roused themselves to the practice of them. They went before them with reverence and yielding courtesy, and the people had no contentions. They led them on by the rules of propriety and by music, and the people were harmonious and benignant. They showed them what they loved and what they disliked, and the people understood their prohibitions.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand-Master Yin, And the people all look up to you."

## FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 8

Filial Piety in Government

The Master said, "Anciently, when the intelligent kings by means of filial piety ruled all under heaven, they did not dare to receive with disrespect the ministers of small states. How much less would they do so to the dukes, marquises, counts, and barons! Thus it was that they got (the princes of) the myriad states with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the (sacrificial) services to their royal predecessors.

"The rulers of states did not dare to slight wifeless men and widows. How much less would they slight their officers and the people! Thus it was that they got all their people with joyful hearts (to assist them) in serving the rulers, their predecessors.

"The heads of clans did not dare to slight their servants and concubines. How much less would they slight their wives and sons! Thus it was that they got their men with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the service of their parents.

"In such a state of things, while alive, parents reposed in (the glory of) their sons, and, when sacrificed to, their disembodied spirits enjoyed their offerings. Therefore for all under heaven peace and harmony prevailed; disasters and calamities did not occur; misfortunes and rebellions did not arise.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: To an upright, virtuous conduct All in the four quarters of the state render obedient homage."

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 9

The Government of the Sages (i.e., the sovereigns of antiquity)

The disciple Zeng said, "I venture to ask whether in the virtue of the sages there was not something greater than filial piety." The Master replied, "Of all creatures with their different natures produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the noblest. Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven\*. The duke of Zhou was the man who first did this. "Formerly the duke of Zhou at the border altar sacrificed to Hou Ji as the correlate of Heaven, and in the Brilliant Hall he honored king Wen and sacrificed to him as

the correlate of God. The consequence was that from all the states within the four seas, every (prince) came in the discharge of his duty to assist in those sacrifices. In the virtue of the sages what besides was there greater than filial piety?

"Now the feeling of affection grows up at the parents' knees, and as (the duty of) nourishing those parents is exercised, the affection daily merges in awe. The sages proceeded from the (feeling of) awe to teach (the duties of) reverence, and from that of affection to teach those of love. The teachings of the sages, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, was effective. What they proceeded from was the root of filial piety implanted by Heaven.

"The relation and duties between father and son, (thus belonging to) the Heaven-conferred nature, contain in them the principle of righteousness between ruler and subject. The son derives his life from his parents, and no greater gift could possibly be transmitted. His ruler and parent (in one), his father deals with him accordingly, and no generosity could be greater than this. Hence, he who does not love his parents, but loves other men, is called a rebel against virtue, and he who does not revere his parents, but reveres other men, is called a rebel against propriety. When the ruler himself thus acts contrary to (the principles) which should place him in accord with all men, he presents nothing for the people to imitate. He has nothing to do with what is good, but entirely and only with what is injurious to virtue. Though he may get his will, and be above others, the superior man does not give him his approval.

"It is not so with the superior man. He speaks, having thought whether the words should be spoken; he acts, having thought whether his actions are sure to give pleasure. His virtue and righteousness are such as will be honored; what he initiates and does is fit to be imitated; his deportment is worthy of contemplation; his movements in advancing or retiring are all according to the proper rule. In this way does he present himself to the people, who both revere and love him, imitate and become like him. Thus he is able to make his teaching of virtue successful, and his government and orders to be carried into effect.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: The virtuous man, the princely one, Has nothing wrong in his deportment."

(\* pei tian = correlate of heaven. This phrase is used with reference to the virtue of a sovereign, making him as it were the mate of God, ruling on earth as God rules above, and with reference to the honors paid to a departed sovereign, when he is associated with God in the great sacrificial services. In the next paragraph. 'correlate of God' renders pei shang di.)

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 10

An Orderly Description of the Acts of Filial Piety

The Master said, "The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows: In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence. In his nourishing of them, his endeavor is to give them the utmost pleasure. When they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety. In mourning for them (dead), he exhibits every demonstration of grief. In sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things, (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents.

"He who (thus) serves his parents, in a high situation will be free from pride, in a low situation will be free from insubordination, and among his equals will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation pride leads to ruin; in a low situation insubordination leads to punishment; among equals quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons. If those three things be not put away, though a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork to nourish his parents, he is not filial."

## FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 11

Filial Piety in Relation to the Five Punishments

The Master said, "There are three thousand offenses against which the five punishments are directed, 1 and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial.

"When constraint is put upon a ruler, that is the disowning of his superiority. When the authority of the sages is disallowed, that is the disowning of (all) law. When filial piety is put aside, that is the disowning of the principle of affection. These (three things) pave the way to anarchy."

# FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 12

Amplification of "The All-embracing Rule of Conduct" in Chapter I

The Master said, "For teaching the people to be affectionate and loving, there is nothing better than filial piety. For teaching them (the observance of) propriety and submissiveness, there is nothing better than fraternal duty. For changing their manners and altering their customs, there is nothing better than music. For securing the repose of superiors and the good order of the people, there is nothing better than the rules of propriety.

"The rules of propriety are simply (the development of) the principle of reverence. Therefore the reverence paid to a father makes (all) sons pleased. The reverence paid to an elder brother makes (all) younger brothers pleased. The reverence paid to a ruler makes (all) subjects pleased. The reverence paid to the One man makes thousands and myriads of men pleased. The reverence is paid to a few, and the pleasure extends to many. This is what is meant by an 'All-embracing Rule of Conduct.'"

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 13

Amplification of 'the Perfect Virtue' in Chapter I

The Master said, "The teaching of filial piety by the superior man! does not require that he should go to family after family and daily see the members of each. His teaching of filial piety is a tribute of reverence to all the fathers under heaven. His teaching of fraternal submission is a tribute of reverence to all the elder brothers under heaven. His teaching of the duty of a subject is a tribute of reverence to all the rulers under heaven.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: The happy and courteous sovereign Is the parent of the people.

"If it were not a perfect virtue, how could it be recognized as in accordance with their nature by the people so extensively as this?"

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER14

XIV Amplification of "Making our Name Famous" in Chapter I

The Master said, "The filial piety with which the superior man serves his parents may be transferred as loyalty to the ruler. The fraternal duty with which he serves his elder brother may be transferred as submissive deference to elders. His regulation of his family may be transferred as good government in any official position. Therefore, when his conduct is thus successful in his inner (private) circle, his name will be established (and transmitted) to future generations."

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 15

XV Filial Piety in Relation to Reproof and Remonstrance The disciple Zeng said, "I have heard your instructions on the affection of love, on respect and reverence, on giving repose to (the minds of) our parents, and on making our names famous. I would venture to ask if (simple) obedience to the orders of one's father can be pronounced filial piety."

The Master replied, "What words are these! What words are these! Anciently, if the Son of Heaven had seven ministers who would remonstrate with him, although he had not right methods of government, he would not lose his possession of the kingdom. If the prince of a state had five such ministers though his measures might be equally wrong, he would not lose his state. If a great officer had three, he would not, in a similar case, lose (the headship of) his clan. If an inferior officer had a friend who would remonstrate with him, a good name would not cease to be connected with his character. And the father who had a son that would remonstrate with him would not sink into the gulf of unrighteous deeds. Therefore when a case of unrighteous conduct is concerned, a son must by no means keep from remonstrating with his father, nor a minister from remonstrating with his ruler. Hence, since remonstrance is required in the case of unrighteous conduct, how can (simple) obedience to the orders of a father be accounted filial piety?"1

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 16

XVI The Influence of Filial Piety and the Response to It

The Master said, "Anciently, the intelligent kings served their fathers with filial piety, and therefore they served Heaven with intelligence. They served their mothers with filial piety, and therefore they served Earth with discrimination. They pursued the right course with reference to their own seniors and juniors, and therefore they secured the regulation of the relations between superiors and inferiors throughout the kingdom. When Heaven and Earth were served with intelligence and discrimination, the spiritual intelligences" here are Heaven and Earth conceived of as spiritual beings.).

"Therefore even the Son of Heaven must have some whom he honors; that is, he has his uncles of his surname. He must have some to whom he concedes the precedence; that is, he has his cousins, who bear the same surname and are older than himself. In the ancestral temple he manifests the utmost reverence, showing that he does not forget his parents. He cultivates his person and is careful of his conduct, fearing lest he should disgrace his predecessors. When in the ancestral temple he exhibits the utmost reverence, the spirits of the departed manifest themselves. Perfect filial piety and fraternal duty reach to (and move) the spiritual intelligences and diffuse their light on all within the four seas. They penetrate everwhere

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: From the west to the east, From the south to the north, There was not a thought but did him homage."

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 17

The Service of the Ruler

The Master said, "The superior man1 serves his ruler in such a way that, when at court in his presence, his thought is how to discharge his loyal duty to the utmost, and when he retires from it, his thought is how to amend his errors. He carries out with deference the measures springing from his excellent qualities and rectifies him (only) to save him from what are evil. Hence, as the superior and inferior, they are able to have an affection for each other.

"It is said in the Book of Poetry: In my heart I love him, And why should I not say so? In the core of my heart I keep him, And never will forget him."

### FILIAL PIETY CHAPTER 18

Filial Piety in Mourning for Parents

The Master said, "When a filial son is mourning for a parent, he wails, but not with a prolonged sobbing. In the movements of ceremony he pays no attention to his appearance. His words are without elegance of phrase. He cannot bear to wear fine clothes. When he hears music, he feels no delight. When he eats a delicacy, he is not conscious of its flavor. Such is the nature of grief and sorrow.

"After three days he may partake of food, for thus the people are taught that the living should not be injured on account of the dead, and that emaciation must not be carried to the extinction of life. Such is the rule of the sages. The period of mourning does not go beyond three years, to show the people that it must have an end.

"An inner and outer coffin are made; the grave-clothes also are put on, and the shroud; and (the body) is lifted (into the coffin). The sacrificial vessels, round and square, are (regularly) set forth, and (the sight of them) fills (the mourners) with (fresh) distress. The women beat their breasts, and the men stamp with their feet, wailing and weeping, while they sorrowfully escort the coffin to the grave. They consult the tortoise-shell to determine the grave and the ground about it, and there they lay the body in peace. They prepare the ancestral temple (to receive the tablet of the departed), and there they present offerings to the disembodied spirit. In spring and autumn they offer sacrifices, thinking of the deceased as the seasons come round.

"The services of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow to them when dead: these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men. The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the filial son's service of his parents is completed."

### THE MENGZI

The Works of Master Meng, or: Meng-tzu / Mencius From: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 28 Romanisation: Pinyin Translation: James Legge, 1861 Estimated Range of Dating: 350-300 BC.

(The Mencius (Chinese: Mengzi) is a collection of anecdotes and conversations of the Confucian thinker and philosopher Mencius on topics in moral and political philosophy, often between Mencius and the rulers of the various Warring States. Mencius was a disciple of one of the students of Zisi, a grandson of Confucius, and the Mencius records his travels and audiences with the various rulers of the Warring States period, his students, and his other contemporaries. A number of linguistic and textual clues suggest that the text was not written by Mencius himself but by his disciples, probably during the late 4th century BC.

The Mencius comprises 14 chapters, or more precisely 7 double chapters (Liang Hui Wang 1, 2; Gong Sun Chou 1, 2; Teng Wen Gong 1, 2; Li Lou 1, 2; Wan Zhang 1, 2; Gaozi 1, 2; Jin Xin 1, 2.), with alternating short sayings and extensive dialogues on specific philosophical arguments. Its fundamental positions, such as Mencius' famous argument in chapter 6A that human nature is inherently good, are usually presented as conversations between Mencius and contemporaneous thinkers, while arguments on specific issues usually appear in records of his advice and counsel to various rulers. His argument that inborn potential tends towards virtue contrasts with the position of contemporary figure Yang Zhu who argued that that human nature is motivated by self interest.

The Mencius was one of the most important texts of early Confucianism, and represents a notable advance over the Analects of Confucius (Lunyu) in terms of sophistication of argument. Notwithstanding its early importance to Confucianism, the Mencius was not canonised as one of the Chinese Classics until over 1,000 years later in Song dynasty Neo-Confucianism.

Mencius (Mengzi or Meng-tzu; 372–289 BC or 385–303 or 302 BC) was a Chinese philosopher who has often been described as the "second Sage", that is after only Confucius birnes!

Mencius, also known by his birth name Meng Ke, was born in the State of Zou, now forming the territory of the county-

level city of Zoucheng (originally Zouxian), Shandong Province, only thirty kilometres (eighteen miles) south of Qufu, Confucius's birthplace.

He was an itinerant Chinese philosopher and sage, and one of the principal interpreters of Confucianism. Supposedly, he was a pupil of Confucius's grandson, Zisi. Like Confucius, according to legend, he travelled throughout China for forty years to offer advice to rulers for reform.[4] During the Warring States period (403–221 BC), Mencius served as an official and scholar at the Jixia Academy in the State of Qi (1046 BC to 221 BC) from 319 to 312 BC. He expressed his filial devotion when he took three years leave of absence from his official duties for Qi to mourn his mother's death. Disappointed at his failure to effect changes in his contemporary world, he retired from public life.

Mencius emphasised the significance of the common citizens in the state. While Confucianism generally regards rulers highly, he argued that it is acceptable for the subjects to overthrow or even kill a ruler who ignores the people's needs and rules harshly. This is because a ruler who does not rule justly is no longer a true ruler. Speaking of the overthrow of the wicked King Zhou of Shang, Mencius said, "I have merely heard of killing a villain Zhou, but I have not heard of murdering [him as] the ruler."

This saying should not be taken as an instigation to violence against authorities but as an application of Confucian philosophy to society. Confucianism requires a clarification of what may be reasonably expected in any given relationship. All relationships should be beneficial, but each has its own principle or inner logic. A Ruler must justify his position by acting benevolently before he can expect reciprocation from the people. In this view, a King is like a steward. Mencius's argument that unjust rulers may be overthrown is reminiscent of Socrates's argument in Book I of Plato's Republic. Plato (Platon) lived at the same time (428/427 or 424/423 – 348/347 BC).)

# MENGZI CHAPTER 1 Liang Hui Wang 1

1 Mencius went to see king Hui of Liang. The king said, 'Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand li, may I presume that you are provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?

Mencius replied, 'Why must your Majesty use that word "profit?" What I am provided with, are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics. 'If your Majesty say, "What is to be done to profit my kingdom?" the great officers will say, "What is to be done to profit our families?" and the inferior officers and the common people will say, "What is to be done to profit our persons? Superiors and inferiors will try to snatch this profit the one from the other, and the kingdom will be endangered. In the kingdom of ten thousand chariots, the murderer of his sovereign shall be the chief of a family of a thousand chariots. In the kingdom of a thousand chariots, the murderer of his prince shall be the chief of a family of a hundred chariots. To have a thousand in ten thousand, and a hundred in a thousand cannot be said not to be a large allotment, but if righteousness be put last, and profit be put first, they will not be satisfied without snatching all. There never has been a benevolent man who neglected his parents. There never has been a righteous man who made his sovereign an after consideration. Let your Majesty also say, "Benevolence and righteousness, and let these be your only themes." Why must you use that word - "profit?".'

2 Mencius, another day, saw King Hui of Liang. The king went and stood with him by a pond, and, looking round at the large geese and deer, said, 'Do wise and good princes also find pleasure in these things?

Mencius replied, 'Being wise and good, they have pleasure in these things. If they are not wise and good, though they have these things, they do not find pleasure. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "He measured out and commenced his marvellous tower; He measured it out and planned it. The people addressed themselves to it, And in less than a day completed it. When he measured and began it, he said to them - Be not so earnest: But the multitudes came as if they had been his children. The king was in his marvellous park; The does reposed about, The does so sleek and fat: And the white birds came glistening. The king was by his marvellous pond; How full was it of fishes leaping about!" King Wen used the strength of the people to make his tower and his pond, and yet the people rejoiced to do the work, calling the tower "the marvellous tower," calling the pond "the marvellous pond," and rejoicing that he had his large deer, his fishes, and turtles. The ancients caused the people to have pleasure as well as themselves, and therefore they could enjoy it. In the Declaration of Tang it is said, "O sun, when wilt thou expire? We will die together with thee." The people wished for Jie's death, though they should die with him. Although he had towers, ponds, birds, and animals, how could he have pleasure

3 King Hui of Liang said, 'Small as my virtue is, in the government of my kingdom, I do indeed exert my mind to the utmost. If the year be bad on the inside of the river, I remove as many of the people as I can to the east of the river, and convey grain to the country in the inside. When the year is bad on the east of the river, I act on the same plan. On examining the government of the neighbouring kingdoms, I do not find that there is any prince who exerts his mind as I do. And yet the people of the neighbouring kingdoms do not decrease, nor do my people increase. How is this?

Mencius replied, 'Your majesty is fond of war - let me take an illustration from war. The soldiers move forward to the sound of the drums; and after their weapons have been crossed, on one side they throw away their coats of mail, trail their arms behind them, and run. Some run a hundred paces and stop; some run fifty paces and stop. What would you think if those who run fifty paces were to laugh at those who run a hundred paces?

The king said, 'They should not do so. Though they did not run a hundred paces, yet they also ran away.

'Since your Majesty knows this,' replied Mencius, 'you need not hope that your people will become more numerous than those of the neighbouring kingdoms. If the seasons of husbandry be not interfered with, the grain will be more than can be eaten. If close nets are not allowed to enter the pools and ponds, the fishes and turtles will be more than can be consumed. If the axes and bills enter the hills and forests only at the proper time, the wood will be more than can be used. When the grain and fish and turtles are more than can be eaten, and there is more wood than can be used, this enables the people to nourish their living and mourn for their dead, without any feeling against any. This condition, in which the people nourish their living and bury their dead without any feeling against any, is the first step of royal government. Let mulberry trees be planted about the homesteads with their five mu, and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred mu, and the family of several mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to education in schools, inculcating in it especially the filial and fraternal duties, and grey-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a State, where such results were seen persons of seventy wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold did not attain to the royal dignity.'

'Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not make any restrictive arrangements. There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not issue the stores of your granaries for them. When people die, you say, "It is not owing to me; it is owing to the year." In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying - "It was not I; it was the weapon?" Let your Majesty cease to lay the blame on the year, and instantly from all the nation the people will come to you.

4 King Hui of Liang said, 'I wish quietly to receive your instructions.

Mencius replied, 'Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword?'

The king said, 'There is no difference!'

'Is there any difference between doing it with a sword and with the style of government?'

There is no difference,' was the reply.

Mencius then said, 'In your kitchen there is fat meat; in your stables there are fat horses. But your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men. Beasts devour one another, and men hate them for doing so. When a prince, being the parent of his people, administers his government so as to be chargeable with leading on beasts to devour men, where is his parental relation to the people? Zhong Ni said, 'Was he not without posterity who first made wooden images to bury with the dead? So he said, because that man made the semblances of men, and used them for that purpose - what shall be thought of him who causes his people to die of hunger?

5 King Hui of Liang said, 'There was not in the nation a stronger State than Jin, as you, venerable Sir, know. But since it descended to me, on the east we have been defeated by Qi, and then my eldest son perished; on the west we have lost seven hundred li of territory to Qin; and on the south we have sustained disgrace at the hands of Chu. I have brought shame on my departed predecessors, and wish on their account to wipe it away, once for all. What course is to be pursued to accomplish this?

Mencius replied, 'With a territory which is only a hundred li square, it is possible to attain to the royal dignity. If Your Majesty will indeed dispense a benevolent government to the people, being sparing in the use of punishments and fines, and making the taxes and levies light, so causing that the fields shall be ploughed deep, and the weeding of them be carefully attended to, and that the strong-bodied, during their days of leisure, shall cultivate their filial piety, fraternal respectfulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, serving thereby, at

home, their fathers and elder brothers, and, abroad, their elders and superiors, you will then have a people who can be employed, with sticks which they have prepared, to oppose the strong mail and sharp weapons of the troops of Qin and Chu. The rulers of those States rob their people of their time, so that they cannot plough and weed their fields, in order to support their parents. Their parents suffer from cold and hunger. Brothers, wives, and children are separated and scattered abroad. Those rulers, as it were, drive their people into pit-falls, or drown them. Your Majesty will go to punish them. In such a case, who will oppose your Majesty? In accordance with this is the saying, "The benevolent has no enemy." I beg your Majesty not to doubt what I say.'

6 Mencius went to see the king Xiang of Liang. On coming out from the interview, he said to some persons, 'When I looked at him from a distance, he did not appear like a sovereign; when I drew near to him, I saw nothing venerable about him. Abruptly he asked me, "How can the kingdom be settled?" I replied, "It will be settled by being united under one sway."

"Who can so unite it?" I replied, "He who has no pleasure in killing men can so unite it.

"Who can give it to him?" I replied, " All the people of the nation will unanimously give it to him. Does your Majesty understand the way of the growing grain? During the seventh and eighth months, when drought prevails, the plants become dry. Then the clouds collect densely in the heavens, they send down torrents of rain, and the grain erects itself, as if by a shoot. When it does so, who can keep it back? Now among the shepherds of men throughout the nation, there is not one who does not find pleasure in killing men. If there were one who did not find pleasure in killing men, all the people in the nation would look towards him with outstretched necks. Such being indeed the case, the people would flock to him, as water flows downwards with a rush, which no one can repress.

7 The king Xuan of Qi asked, saying, 'May I be informed by you of the transactions of Huan of Qi, and Wen of Jin?

Mencius replied, 'There were none of the disciples of Zhong Ni who spoke about the affairs of Huan and Wen, and therefore they have not been transmitted to these after-ages your servant has not heard them. If you will have me speak, let it be about royal government.'

The king said, 'What virtue must there be in order to attain

to royal sway?'

Mencius answered, 'The love and protection of the people; with this there is no power which can prevent a ruler from attaining to it.'

The king asked again, 'Is such an one as I competent to love and protect the people?'
Mencius said, 'Yes.'

'How do you know that I am competent for that?'

'I heard the following incident from Hu He: "The king," said he, "was sitting aloft in the hall, when a man appeared, leading an ox past the lower part of it. The king saw him, and asked, Where is the ox going? The man replied. We are going to consecrate a bell with its blood. The king said, Let it go. I cannot bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death. The man answered, Shall we then omit the consecration of the bell? The king said, How can that be omitted? Change it for a sheep." I do not know whether this incident really occurred.'

The king replied, 'It did,' and then Mencius said, 'The heart seen in this is sufficient to carry you to the royal sway. The people all supposed that your Majesty grudged the animal, but your servant knows surely, that it was your Majesty's not being able to bear the sight, which made you do as you did.'

The king said, 'You are right. And yet there really was an appearance of what the people condemned. But though Qi be a small and narrow State, how should I grudge one ox? Indeed it was because I could not bear its frightened appearance, as if it were an innocent person going to the place of death, that therefore I changed it for a sheep.'

Mencius pursued, 'Let not your Majesty deem it strange that the people should think you were grudging the animal. When you changed a large one for a small, how should they know the true reason? If you felt pained by its being led without guilt to the place of death, what was there to choose between an ox and a sheep?

The king laughed and said, 'What really was my mind in the matter? I did not grudge the expense of it, and changed it for a sheep! There was reason in the people's saying that I grudged it.

'There is no harm in their saying so,' said Mencius. 'Your conduct was an artifice of benevolence. You saw the ox, and had not seen the sheep. So is the superior man affected towards animals, that, having seen them alive, he cannot bear to see them die; having heard their dying cries, he cannot bear to eat their flesh. Therefore he keeps away from his slaughterhouse and cook-room '

The king was pleased, and said, 'It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The minds of others, I am able by reflection to measure;" - this is verified, my Master, in your discovery of my motive. I indeed did the thing, but when I turned my thoughts inward, and examined into it. I could not discover

my own mind. When you, Master, spoke those words, the movements of compassion began to work in my mind. How is it that this heart has in it what is equal to the royal sway?'

Mencius replied, 'Suppose a man were to make this statement to your Majesty: "My strength is sufficient to lift three thousand catties, but it is not sufficient to lift one feather; my eyesight is sharp enough to examine the point of an autumn hair, but I do not see a waggon-load of faggots;" would your Majesty allow what he said?"

'No,' was the answer, on which Mencius proceeded, 'Now here is kindness sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to the people. How is this? Is an exception to be made here? The truth is, the feather is not lifted, because strength is not used; the waggon-load of firewood is not seen, because the eyesight is not used; and the people are not loved and protected, because kindness is not employed. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway, is because you do not do it, not because you are not able to do it.'

The king asked, 'How may the difference between the not doing a thing, and the not being able to do it, be represented?

Mencius replied, In such a thing as taking the Tai mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it, if you say to people "I am not able to do it," that is a real case of not being able. In such a matter as breaking off a branch from a tree at the order of a superior, if you say to people "I am not able to do it," that is a case of not doing it, it is not a case of not being able to do it. Therefore your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway, is not such a case as that of taking the Tai mountain under your arm, and leaping over the north sea with it. Your Majesty's not exercising the royal sway is a case like that of breaking off a branch from a tree. Treat with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated - do this, and the kingdom may be made to go round in your palm. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "His example affected his wife. It reached to his brothers, and his family of the State was governed by it." The language shows how king Wen simply took his kindly heart, and exercised it towards those parties. Therefore the carrying out his kindness of heart by a prince will suffice for the love and protection of all within the four seas, and if he do not carry it out, he will not be able to protect his wife and children. The way in which the ancients came greatly to surpass other men, was no other but this - simply that they knew well how to carry out, so as to affect others, what they themselves did. Now your kindness is sufficient to reach to animals, and no benefits are extended from it to reach the people. How is this? Is an exception to be made here? By weighing, we know what things are light, and what heavy. By measuring, we know what things are long, and what short. The relations of all things may be thus determined, and it is of the greatest importance to estimate the motions of the mind. I beg your Majesty to measure it. You collect your equipments of war, endanger your soldiers and officers, and excite the resentment of the other princes do these things cause you pleasure in your mind?'

The king replied, 'No. How should I derive pleasure from these things? My object in them is to seek for what I greatly desire '

Mencius said, 'May I hear from you what it is that you greatly desire?' The king laughed and did not speak.

Mencius resumed, 'Are you led to desire it, because you have not enough of rich and sweet food for your mouth? Or because you have not enough of light and warm clothing for your body? Or because you have not enough of beautifully coloured objects to delight your eyes? Or because you have not voices and tones enough to please your ears? Or because you have not enough of attendants and favourites to stand before you and receive your orders? Your Majesty's various officers are sufficient to supply you with those things. How can your Majesty be led to entertain such a desire on account of them?'

'No,' said the king; 'my desire is not on account of them.'

Mencius added, 'Then, what your Majesty greatly desires may be known. You wish to enlarge your territories, to have Qin and Chu wait at your court, to rule the Middle Kingdom, and to attract to you the barbarous tribes that surround it. But doing what you do to seek for what you desire is like climbing a tree to seek for fish.'

The king said, 'Is it so bad as that?'

It is even worse,' was the reply. If you climb a tree to seek for fish, although you do not get the fish, you will not suffer any subsequent calamity. But doing what you do to seek for what you desire, doing it moreover with all your heart, you will assuredly afterwards meet with calamities.'

The king asked, 'May I hear from you the proof of that?'
Mencius said, 'If the people of Zou should fight with the

Mencius said, 'If the people of Zou should fight with the people of Chu, which of them does your Majesty think would conquer?'

'The people of Chu would conquer.'

'Yes - and so it is certain that a small country cannot contend with a great, that few cannot contend with many, that the weak cannot contend with the strong. The territory within the four seas embraces nine divisions, each of a thousand li square. All Qi together is but one of them. If with one part you try to subdue the other eight, what is the difference between that and Zou's contending with Chu? For, with such a desire, you must turn back to the proper course for its attainment. Now if your Majesty will institute a government whose action shall be benevolent, this will cause all the officers in the kingdom to wish to stand in your Maiesty's court, and all the farmers to wish to plough in your Majesty's fields, and all the merchants, both travelling and stationary, to wish to store their goods in your Majesty's market-places, and all travelling strangers to wish to make their tours on your Majesty's roads, and all throughout the kingdom who feel aggrieved by their rulers to wish to come and complain to your Majesty. And when they are so bent, who will be able to keep them back?'

The king said, 'I am stupid, and not able to advance to this. I wish you, my Master, to assist my intentions. Teach me clearly, although I am deficient in intelligence and vigour, I will essay and try to carry your instructions into effect.'

Mencius replied, 'They are only men of education, who, without a certain livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart. As to the people, if they have not a certain livelihood, it follows that they will not have a fixed heart. And if they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do, in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license. When they thus have been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them - this is to entrap the people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man? Therefore an intelligent ruler will regulate the livelihood of the people, so as to make sure that, for those above them, they shall have sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, for those below them, sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children; that in good years they shall always be abundantly satisfied, and that in bad years they shall escape the danger of perishing. After this he may urge them, and they will proceed to what is good, for in this case the people will follow after it with ease. Now, the livelihood of the people is so regulated, that, above, they have not sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, below, they have not sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children. Notwithstanding good years, their lives are continually embittered, and, in bad years, they do not escape perishing. In such circumstances they only try to save themselves from death, and are afraid they will not succeed. What leisure have they to cultivate propriety and righteousness? If your Majesty wishes to effect this regulation of the livelihood of the people, why not turn to that which is the essential step to it? Let mulberry-trees be planted about the homesteads with their five mu, and persons of fifty years may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years may eat flesh. Let there not be taken away the time that is proper for the cultivation of the farm with its hundred mu, and the family of eight mouths that is supported by it shall not suffer from hunger. Let careful attention be paid to education in schools, the inculcation in it especially of the filial and fraternal duties, and grey-haired men will not be seen upon the roads, carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads. It never has been that the ruler of a State where such results were seen, the old wearing silk and eating flesh, and the black-haired people suffering neither from hunger nor cold, did not attain to the royal dignity.

MENGZI CHAPTER 2 Liang Hui Wang 2

8 Zhuang Bao, seeing Mencius, said to him, 'I had an interview with the king. His Majesty told me that he loved music, and I was not prepared with anything to reply to him. What do you pronounce about that love of music?'

Mencius replied, 'If the king's love of music were very great, the kingdom of Qi would be near to a state of good government!'

Another day, Mencius, having an interview with the king, said, 'Your Majesty, I have heard, told the officer Zhuang, that you love music - was it so?' The king changed colour, and said, 'I am unable to love the music of the ancient sovereigns; I only love the music that suits the manners of the present age.'

Mencius said, 'If your Majesty's love of music were very great, Qi would be near to a state of good government! The music of the present day is just like the music of antiquity, as regards effecting that.' The king said, 'May I hear from you the proof of that?'

Mencius asked, 'Which is the more pleasant - to enjoy music by yourself alone, or to enjoy it with others?' 'To enjoy it with others,' was the reply.

'And which is the more pleasant - to enjoy music with a few, or to enjoy it with many?' 'To enjoy it with many.'
Mencius proceeded, 'Your servant begs to explain what I

Mencius proceeded, 'Your servant begs to explain what I have said about music to your Majesty. Now, your Majesty is having music here. The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, "That's how our king likes his music! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? Fathers and sons cannot see

one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad." Now, your Majesty is hunting here. The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, with aching heads, knit their brows, and say to one another, "That's how our king likes his hunting! But why does he reduce us to this extremity of distress? Fathers and sons cannot see one another. Elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and children, are separated and scattered abroad." Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you do not allow the people to have pleasure as well as yourself.

'Now, your Majesty is having music here. The people hear the noise of your bells and drums, and the notes of your fifes and pipes, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, "That sounds as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this music?" Now, your Majesty is hunting here. The people hear the noise of your carriages and horses, and see the beauty of your plumes and streamers, and they all, delighted, and with joyful looks, say to one another, "That looks as if our king were free from all sickness! If he were not, how could he enjoy this hunting?" Their feeling thus is from no other reason but that you cause them to have their pleasure as you have yours. If your Majesty now will make pleasure a thing common to the people and yourself, the royal sway awaits you."

yourself, the royal sway awaits you.'

9 The king Xuan of Qi asked, 'Was it so, that the park of king Wen contained seventy square li?'

Mencius replied. 'It is so in the records.'

'Was it so large as that?' exclaimed the king.

'The people,' said Mencius, 'still looked on it as small.'

The king added, 'My park contains only forty square li, and the people still look on it as large. How is this?'

The park of king Wen,' was the reply, 'contained seventy square li, but the grass-cutters and fuel-gatherers had the privilege of entrance into it; so also had the catchers of pheasants and hares. He shared it with the people, and was it not with reason that they looked on it as small? When I first arrived at the borders of your kingdom, I inquired about the great prohibitory regulations, before I would venture to enter it; and I heard, that inside the barrier-gates there was a park of forty square li, and that he who killed a deer in it, was held guilty of the same crime as if he had killed a man. Thus those forty square li are a pitfall in the middle of the kingdom. Is it not with reason that the people look upon them as large?'

10 The king Xuan of Qi asked, saying, 'Is there any way to regulate one's maintenance of intercourse with neighbouring kingdoms?'

Mencius replied, 'There is. But it requires a perfectly virtuous prince to be able, with a great country, to serve a small one - as, for instance, Tang served Ge, and king Wen served the Kun barbarians. And it requires a wise prince to be able, with a small country, to serve a large one - as the king Tai served the Xun Yu, and Gou Jian served Wu. He who with a areat State serves a small one, delights in Heaven. He who with a small State serves a large one, stands in awe of Heaven. He who delights in Heaven, will affect with his love and protection the whole kingdom. He who stands in awe of Heaven, will affect with his love and protection his own kingdom. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I fear the Majesty of Heaven, and will thus preserve its favouring decree."

The king said, 'A great saying! But I have an infirmity - I love valour.'

I beg your Majesty,' was the reply, 'not to love small valour. If a man brandishes his sword, looks fiercely, and says, "How dare he withstand me?" - this is the valour of a common man, who can be the opponent only of a single individual. I beg your Majesty to greaten it. It is said in the Book of Poetry, The king blazed with anger, And he marshalled his hosts, To stop the march to Chu, To consolidate the prosperity of Zhou, To meet the expectations of the nation." This was the valour of king Wen. King Wen, in one burst of his anger, gave repose to all the people of the kingdom. In the Book of History it is said, "Heaven having produced the inferior people, made for them rulers and teachers, with the purpose that they should be assisting to God, and therefore distinguished them throughout the four quarters of the land. Whoever are offenders, and whoever are innocent, here am I to deal with them. How dare any under heaven give indulgence to their refractory wills?" There was one man pursuing a violent and disorderly course in the kingdom, and king Wu was ashamed of it. This was the valour of king Wu. He also, by one display of his anger, gave repose to all the people of the kingdom. Let now your Majesty also, in one burst of anger, give repose to all the people of the kingdom. The people are only afraid that your Majesty does not love valour.'

11 The king Xuan of Qi had an interview with Mencius in the Snow palace, and said to him, 'Do men of talents and worth likewise find pleasure in these things?'

worth likewise find pleasure in these things?'
Mencius replied, 'They do; and if people generally are not able to enjoy themselves, they condemn their superiors. For them, when they cannot enjoy themselves, to condemn their superiors is wrong, but when the superiors of the people do not make enjoyment a thing common to the people and

themselves, they also do wrong. When a ruler rejoices in the joy of his people, they also rejoice in his joy; when he grieves at the sorrow of his people, they also grieve at his sorrow. A sympathy of joy will pervade the kingdom; a sympathy of sorrow will do the same - in such a state of things, it cannot be but that the ruler attain to the royal dignity.

'Formerly, the duke Jing of Qi asked the minister Yan, saying, "I wish to pay a visit of inspection to Zhuan Fu, and Chao Wu, and then to bend my course southward along the shore, till I come to Lang Xie. What shall I do that my tour may be fit to be compared with the visits of inspection made by the ancient sovereigns?" The minister Yan replied, "An excellent inquiry! When the Son of Heaven visited the princes, it was called a tour of inspection, that is, be surveyed the States under their care. When the princes attended at the court of the Son of Heaven, it was called a report of office, that is, they reported their administration of their offices. Thus, neither of the proceedings was without a purpose. And moreover, in the spring they examined the ploughing, and supplied any deficiency of seed; in the autumn they examined the reaping, and supplied any deficiency of yield. There is the saving of the Xia dynasty - If our king do not take his ramble, what will become of our happiness? If our king do not make his excursion, what will become of our help? That ramble, and that excursion, were a pattern to the princes. Now, the state of things is different. A host marches in attendance on the ruler, and stores of provisions are consumed. The hungry are deprived of their food, and there is no rest for those who are called to toil. Maledictions are uttered by one to another with eyes askance, and the people proceed to the commission of wickedness. Thus the royal ordinances are violated, and the people are oppressed, and the supplies of food and drink flow away like water. The rulers yield themselves to the current, or they urge their way against it; they are wild; they are utterly lost - these things proceed to the grief of the inferior princes. Descending along with the current, and forgetting to return. is what I call yielding to it. Pressing up against it, and forgetting to return, is what I call urging their way against it. Pursuing the chase without satiety is what I call being wild. Delighting in wine without satiety is what I call being lost. The ancient sovereigns had no pleasures to which they gave themselves as on the flowing stream; no doings which might be so characterized as wild and lost. It is for you, my prince, to pursue your course." The duke Ching was pleased. He issued a proclamation throughout his State, and went out and occupied a shed in the borders. From that time he began to open his granaries to supply the wants of the people, and calling the Grand music-master, he said to him "Make for me music to suit a prince and his minister pleased with each other." And it was then that the Zheng Zhao and Jiao Zhao were made, in the words to which it was said, "Is it a fault to restrain one's prince?" He who restrains his prince loves his

12 The king Xuan of Qi said, 'People all tell me to pull down and remove the Hall of Distinction. Shall I pull it down, or stop the movement for that object?

Mencius replied, 'The Hall of Distinction is a Hall appropriate to the sovereigns. If your Majesty wishes to practise the true royal government, then do not pull it down.

The king said, 'May I hear from you what the true royal government is?'

'Formerly,' was the reply, 'king Wen's government of Qi was as follows: The husbandmen cultivated for the government one-ninth of the land; the descendants of officers were salaried; at the passes and in the markets, strangers were inspected, but goods were not taxed: there were no prohibitions respecting the ponds and weirs; the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt. There were the old and wifeless, or widowers; the old and husbandless, or widows; the old and childless, or solitaries; the young and fatherless, or orphans - these four classes are the most destitute of the people, and have none to whom they can tell their wants, and king Wen, in the institution of his government with its benevolent action, made them the first objects of his regard, as it is said in the Book of Poetry, "The rich may get through life well; But alas! for the miserable and solitary

The king said, 'O excellent words!'

Mencius said, 'Since your Majesty deems them excellent, why do you not practise them?'

'I have an infirmity,' said the king; 'I am fond of wealth.'

The reply was, 'Formerly, Gong Liu was fond of wealth. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "He reared his ricks, and filled his granaries, He tied up dried provisions and grain, In bottomless bags, and sacks, That he might gather his people together, and glorify his State. With bows and arrows alldisplayed, With shields, and spears, and battle-axes, large and small, He commenced his march." In this way those who remained in their old seat had their ricks and granaries, and those who marched had their bags of provisions. It was not till after this that he thought he could begin his march. If your Majesty loves wealth, give the people power to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the royal sway?'

The king said, 'I have an infirmity; I am fond of beauty.'

The reply was, 'Formerly, king Tai was fond of beauty, and loved his wife. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Gu Gong Tan Fu, Came in the morning, galloping his horse, By the banks of the western waters, As far as the foot of Qi hill, Along with the lady of Jiang; They came and together chose the site for their settlement." At that time, in the seclusion of the house, there were no dissatisfied women, and abroad, there were no unmarried men. If your Majesty loves beauty, let the people be able to gratify the same feeling, and what difficulty will there be in your attaining the royal sway?"

13 Mencius said to the king Xuan of Qi, 'Suppose that one of your Majesty's ministers were to entrust his wife and children to the care of his friend, while he himself went into Chu to travel, and that, on his return, he should find that the friend had let his wife and children suffer from cold and hunger - how ought he to deal with him?"

The king said, 'He should cast him off.'

Mencius proceeded, 'Suppose that the chief criminal judge could not regulate the officers under him, how would you deal with him?

The king said, 'Dismiss him.'

Mencius again said, 'If within the four borders of your kingdom there is not good government, what is to be done?

The king looked to the right and left, and spoke of other

14 Mencius, having an interview with the king Xuan of Qi, said to him, 'When men speak of "an ancient kingdom," it is not meant thereby that it has lofty trees in it, but that it has ministers sprung from families which have been noted in it for generations. Your Majesty has no intimate ministers even. Those whom you advanced yesterday are gone to-day, and you do not know it

The king said, 'How shall I know that they have not ability, and so avoid employing them at all?'

The reply was, 'The ruler of a State advances to office men of talents and virtue only as a matter of necessity. Since he will thereby cause the low to overstep the honourable, and distant to overstep his near relatives, ought he to do so but with caution? When all those about you say, "This is a man of talents and worth," you may not therefore believe it. When your great officers all say, "This is a man of talents and virtue," neither may you for that believe it. When all the people say, "This is a man of talents and virtue," then examine into the case, and when you find that the man is such, employ him. When all those about you say, "This man won't do, don't listen to them. When all your great officers say, "This man won't do," don't listen to them. When the people all say, 'This man won't do." then examine into the case, and when you find that the man won't do, send him away. When all those about you say, "This man deserves death," don't listen to them. When all your great officers say, "This man deserves death," don't listen to them. When the people all say, "This man deserves death," then inquire into the case, and when you see that the man deserves death, put him to death. In accordance with this we have the saying, "The people killed him." You must act in this way in order to be the parent of the

15 The king Xuan of Qi asked, saying, 'Was it so, that Tang banished Jie, and that king Wu smote Zhou?

Mencius replied, 'It is so in the records.'
The king said, 'May a minister then put his sovereign to

Mencius said, 'He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature, is called a robber; he who outrages righteousness, is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Zhou, but I have not heard of the putting a sovereign to death, in his case.

16 Mencius, having an interview with the king Xuan of Qi, said to him, 'If you are going to build a large mansion, you will surely cause the Master of the workmen to look out for large trees, and when he has found such large trees, you will be glad, thinking that they will answer for the intended object. Should the workmen hew them so as to make them too small. then your Majesty will be angry, thinking that they will not answer for the purpose. Now, a man spends his youth in learning the principles of right government, and, being grown up to vigour, he wishes to put them in practice; if your Majesty says to him, "For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me," what shall we say? Here now you have a gem unwrought, in the stone. Although it may be worth 240,000 taels, you will surely employ a lapidary to cut and polish it. But when you come to the government of the State, then you say, "For the present put aside what you have learned, and follow me." How is it that you herein act so differently from your conduct in calling in the lapidary to cut the gem?

17 The people of Oi attacked Yan, and conquered it. The king Xuan asked, saying, 'Some tell me not to take possession of it for myself, and some tell me to take possession of it. For a kingdom of ten thousand chariots, attacking another of ten thousand chariots, to complete the conquest of it in fifty days, is an achievement beyond mere human strength. If I do not

take possession of it, calamities from Heaven will surely come upon me. What do you say to my taking possession of it?'
Mencius replied, 'If the people of Yan will be pleased with

your taking possession of it, then do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely king Wu. If the people of Yan will not be pleased with your taking possession of it, then do not do so. Among the ancients there was one who acted on this principle, namely king Wen. When, with all the strength of your country of ten thousand chariots. you attacked another country of ten thousand chariots, and the people brought baskets of rice and vessels of congee, to meet your Majesty's host, was there any other reason for this but that they hoped to escape out of fire and water? If you make the water more deep and the fire more fierce, they will in like manner make another revolution.

18 The people of Qi, having smitten Yan, took possession of it, and upon this, the princes of the various States deliberated together, and resolved to deliver Yan from their power. The king Xuan said to Mencius, 'The princes have formed many plans to attack me - how shall I prepare myself for them?'

Mencius replied. 'I have heard of one who with seventy li exercised all the functions of government throughout the kingdom. That was Tang. I have never heard of a prince with a thousand li standing in fear of others. It is said in the Book of History, As soon as Tang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ge. The whole kingdom had confidence in him. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. So did those on the north. when he was engaged in the south. Their cry was "Why does he put us last?" Thus, the people looked to him, as we look in a time of great drought to the clouds and rainbows. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. The husbandmen made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers, he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said again in the Book of History, "We have waited for our prince long; the prince's coming will be our reviving!"

'Now the ruler of Yan was tyrannizing over his people, and your Majesty went and punished him. The people supposed that you were going to deliver them out of the water and the fire, and brought baskets of rice and vessels of congee, to meet your Majesty's host. But you have slain their fathers and elder brothers, and put their sons and younger brothers in confinement. You have pulled down the ancestral temple of the State, and are removing to Qi its precious vessels. How can such a course be deemed proper? The rest of the kingdom is indeed jealously afraid of the strength of Qi; and now, when with a doubled territory you do not put in practice a benevolent government - it is this which sets the arms of the kingdom in in motion. If your Majesty will make haste to issue an ordinance, restoring your captives, old and young, stopping the removal of the precious vessels, and saying that, after consulting with the people of Yen, you will appoint them a ruler, and withdraw from the country - in this way you may still be able to stop the threatened attack.

19 There had been a brush between Zou and Lu, when the duke Mu asked Mencius, saying, 'Of my officers there were killed thirty-three men, and none of the people would die in their defence. Though I sentenced them to death for their conduct, it is impossible to put such a multitude to death. If I do not put them to death, then there is the crime unpunished of their looking angrily on at the death of their officers, and not saving them. How is the exigency of the case to be met?"

Mencius replied, 'In calamitous years and years of famine, the old and weak of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have amounted to several thousands. All the while, your granaries, 0 prince, have been stored with grain, and your treasuries and arsenals have been full, and not one of your officers has told you of the distress. Thus negligent have the superiors in your State been, and cruel to their inferiors. The philosopher Zeng said, "Beware, beware. What proceeds from you, will return to you again." Now at length the people have paid back the conduct of their officers to them. Do not you, 0 prince, blame them. If you will put in practice a benevolent government, this people will love you and all above them, and will die for their officers.'

20 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius, saying, 'Teng is a small kingdom, and lies between Qi and Chu. Shall I serve Qi? Or shall I serve Chu?

Mencius replied, 'This plan which you propose is beyond me. If you will have me counsel you, there is one thing I can suggest. Dig deeper your moats; build higher your walls; guard them as well as your people. In case of attack, be prepared to die in your defence, and have the people so that they will not leave you - this is a proper course.

21 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius, saying, 'The people of Qi are going to fortify Xue. The movement occasions me great alarm. What is the proper course for me to

Mencius replied, 'Formerly, when king Tai dwelt in Bin, the barbarians of the north were continually making incursions

upon it. He therefore left it, went to the foot of mount Qi, and there took up his residence. He did not take that situation, as having selected it. It was a matter of necessity with him. If you do good, among your descendants, in after generations, there shall be one who will attain to the royal dignity. A prince lays the foundation of the inheritance, and hands down the beginning which he has made, doing what may be continued by his successors. As to the accomplishment of the great result, that is with Heaven. What is that Qi to you, 0 prince? Be strong to do good. That is all your business.'

22 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius, saying, 'Teng is a small State. Though I do my utmost to serve those large kingdoms on either side of it, we cannot escape suffering from them. What course shall I take that we may do so?'

Mencius replied, 'Formerly, when king Tai dwelt in Bin, the barbarians of the north were constantly making incursions upon it. He served them with skins and silks, and still he suffered from them. He served them with dogs and horses, and still he suffered from them. He served them with pearls and gems, and still he suffered from them. Seeing this, he assembled the old men, and announced to them, saying, "What the barbarians want is my territory. I have heard this that a ruler does not injure his people with that wherewith he nourishes them. My children, why should you be troubled about having no prince? I will leave this." Accordingly, he left Bin, crossed the mountain Liang, built a town at the foot of mount Qi, and dwelt there. The people of Pin said, "He is a benevolent man. We must not lose him." Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market. On the other hand, some say, "The kingdom is a thing to be kept from generation to generation. One individual cannot undertake to dispose of it in his own person. Let him be prepared to die for it. Let him not quit it." I ask you, prince, to make your election between these two courses.'

23 The duke Ping of Lu was about to leave his palace, when his favourite, one Zang Cang, made a request to him, saying, 'On other days, when you have gone out, you have given instructions to the officers as to where you were going. But now, the horses have been put to the carriage, and the officers do not yet know where you are going. I venture to ask.' The duke said, 'I am going to see the scholar Meng.' 'How is this?' said the other. 'That you demean yourself, prince, in paying the honour of the first visit to a common man, is, I suppose, because you think that he is a man of talents and virtue. By such men the rules of ceremonial proprieties and right are observed. But on the occasion of this Meng's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. Do not go to see him my prince 'The duke said.' I will not.'

The officer Yue Zheng entered the court, and had an audience. He said, 'Prince, why have you not gone to see Meng Ke?' the duke said, 'One told me that, on the occasion of the scholar Meng's second mourning, his observances exceeded those of the former. It is on that account that I have not gone to see him.' 'How is this!' answered Yue Zheng. 'By what you call 'exceeding,' you mean, I suppose, that, on the first occasion, he used the rites appropriate to a scholar, and, on the second, those appropriate to a great officer; that he first used three tripods, and afterwards five tripods.' The duke said 'No; I refer to the greater excellence of the coffin, the shell, the grave-clothes, and the shroud.' Yo-chAng said, 'That cannot be called "exceeding." That was the difference between being poor and being rich.'

After this, Yue Zheng saw Mencius, and said to him, 'I told the prince about you, and he was consequently coming to see you, when one of his favourites, named Zang Cang, stopped him, and therefore he did not come according to his purpose.' Mencius said, 'A man's advancement is effected, it may be, by others, and the stopping him is, it may be, from the efforts of others. But to advance a man or to stop his advance is really beyond the power of other men. My not finding in the prince of Lu a ruler who would confide in me, and put my counsels into practice, is from Heaven. How could that scion of the Zang family cause me not to find the ruler that would suit me?'

### MENGZI CHAPTER 3 Gong Sun Chou 1

I Gong Sun Chou asked Mencius, saying, 'Master, if you were to obtain the ordering of the government in Qi, could you promise yourself to accomplish anew such results as those realized by Guan Zhong and Yan?'

Mencius said, 'You are indeed a true man of Qi. You know about Guan Zhong and Yan, and nothing more. Some one saked Zeng Xi, saying, "Sir, to which do you give the superiority, to yourself or to Zi Lu?" Zeng Zi looked uneasy, and said, "He was an object of veneration to my grandfather." "Then," pursued the other, "Do you give the superiority to yourself or to Guan Zhong?" Zeng Zi, flushed with anger and displeased, said, "How dare you compare me with Guan Zhong? Considering how entirely Guan Zhong possessed the confidence of his prince, how long he enjoyed the direction of the government of the State, and how low, after all, was what he accomplished - how is it that you liken me to him?" Thus,' concluded Mencius, 'Zeng Xi would not play Guan Zhong, and is it what you desire for me that I should do so?"

Gong Sun Chou said, 'Guan Zhong raised his prince to be the leader of all the other princes, and Yan made his prince illustrious, and do you still think it would not be enough for you to do what they did?'

Mencius answered, 'To raise Qi to the royal dignity would be as easy as it is to turn round the hand.'

'So!' returned the other. 'The perplexity of your disciple is hereby very much increased. There was king Wen, moreover, with all the virtue which belonged to him; and who did not die till he had reached a hundred years - and still his influence had not penetrated throughout the kingdom. It required king Wu and the duke of Zhou to continue his course, before that influence greatly prevailed. Now you say that the royal dignity might be so easily obtained - is king Wen then not a sufficient object for imitation?'

Mencius said, 'How can king Wen be matched? From Tang to Wu Ding there had appeared six or seven worthy and sage sovereigns. The kingdom had been attached to Yin for a long time, and this length of time made a change difficult. Wu Ding had all the princes coming to his court, and possessed the kingdom as if it had been a thing which he moved round in his palm. Then, Zhou was removed from Wu Ding by no great interval of time. There were still remaining some of the ancient families and of the old manners, of the influence also which had emanated from the earlier sovereigns, and of their good government. Moreover, there were the viscount of Wei and his second son, their Royal Highnesses Bi Gan and the viscount of Qi, and Jiao Ge, all men of ability and virtue, who gave their joint assistance to Zhou in his government. In consequence of these things, it took a long time for him to lose the throne. There was not a foot of ground which he did not possess. There was not one of all the people who was not his subject. So it was on his side, and king Wen at his beginning had only a territory of one hundred square li. On all these accounts, it was difficult for him immediately to attain to the royal dignity. The people of Qi have a saying -'A man may have wisdom and discernment, but that is not like embracing the favourable opportunity. A man may have instruments of husbandry, but that is not like waiting for the farming seasons.'

The present time is one in which the royal dignity may be easily attained. In the flourishing periods of the Xia, Yin, and Zhou dynasties, the royal domain did not exceed a thousand li, and Qi embraces so much territory. Cocks crow and dogs bark to one another, all the way to the four borders of the State so Qi possesses the people. No change is needed for the enlarging of its territory; no change is needed for the collecting of a population. If its ruler will put in practice a benevolent government, no power will be able to prevent his becoming sovereign. Moreover, never was there a time farther removed than the present from the rise of a true sovereign: never was there a time when the sufferings of the people from tyrannical government were more intense than the present. The hungry readily partake of any food, and the thirsty of any drink. Confucius said, "The flowing progress of virtue is more rapid than the transmission of royal orders by stages and couriers." At the present time, in a country of ten thousand chariots, let benevolent government be put in practice, and the people will be delighted with it, as if they were relieved from hanging by the heels. With half the merit of the ancients, double their achievements is sure to be realized. It is only at this time that such could be the case.

2 Gong Sun Chou asked Mencius, saying, 'Master, if you were to be appointed a high noble and the prime minister of Qi, so as to be able to carry your principles into practice, though you should thereupon raise the ruler to the headship of all the other princes, or even to the royal dignity, it would not be to be wondered at. In such a position would your mind be perturbed or not?'

Mencius replied, 'No. At forty, I attained to an unperturbed mind.'

Chou said, 'Since it is so with you, my Master, you are far beyond Meng Ben.'

The mere attainment,' said Mencius, 'is not difficult. The scholar Gao had attained to an unperturbed mind at an earlier period of life than I did.'

Chou asked, 'Is there any way to an unperturbed mind?'

The answer was, 'Yes. Bei Gong You had this way of nourishing his valour: He did not flinch from any strokes at his body. He did not turn his eyes aside from any thrusts at them. He considered that the slightest push from any one was the same as if he were beaten before the crowds in the marketplace, and that what he would not receive from a common man in his loose large garments of hair, neither should he receive from a prince of ten thousand chariots. He viewed stabbing a prince of ten thousand chariots just as stabbing a fellow dressed in cloth of hair. He feared not any of all the princes. A bad word addressed to him be always returned. Meng Shi She had this way of nourishing his valour: He said, "I look upon not conquering and conquering in the same way. To measure the enemy and then advance; to calculate the chances of victory and then engage - this is to stand in awe of the opposing force. How can I make certain of conquering? I can only rise superior to all fear." Meng Shi She resembled the philosopher Zeng. Bei Gong You resembled Zi Xia. I do not know to the valour of which of the two the superiority should be ascribed, but yet Meng Shi She attended to what was of the greater importance. Formerly, the philosopher Zeng said to Zi Xiang, "Do you love valour? I heard an account of great valour from the Master. It speaks thus: 'If, on self-examination, I find that I am not upright, shall I not be in fear even of a poor man in his loose garments of hair-cloth? If, on self-examination, I find that I am upright, I will go forward against thousands and tens of thousands.' Yet, what Meng Shi She maintained, being merely his physical energy, was after all inferior to what the philosopher Zeng maintained, which was indeed of the most importance.'

Gong Sun Chou said, 'May I venture to ask an explanation from you, Master, of how you maintain an unperturbed mind, and how the philosopher Gao does the same?'

Mencius answered, 'Gao says, "What is not attained in words is not to be sought for in the mind; what produces dissatisfaction in the mind, is not to be helped by passion-effort." This last, when there is unrest in the mind, not to seek for relief from passion-effort, may be conceded. But not to seek in the mind for what is not attained in words cannot be conceded. The will is the leader of the passion-nature. The passion-nature pervades and animates the body. The will is first and chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate to it. Therefore I say, Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature.'

Passion incute.

It is chief, and the passion-nature is subordinate," how do you also say, "Maintain firm the will, and do no violence to the passion-nature?"

Mencius replied, 'When it is the will alone which is active, it moves the passion-nature. When it is the passion-nature alone which is active, it moves the will. For instance now, in the case of a man falling or running, that is from the passion-nature, and yet it moves the mind.'

'I venture to ask,' said Chou again, 'wherein you, Master, surpass Gao.'

Mencius told him, 'I understand words. I am skilful in nourishing my vast, flowing passion-nature.'

Chou pursued, 'I venture to ask what you mean by your vast, flowing passion-nature!'

The reply was, 'It is difficult to describe it. This is the passion-nature: It is exceedingly great, and exceedingly strong. Being nourished by rectitude, and sustaining no injury, it fills up all between heaven and earth. This is the passion-nature: It is the mate and assistant of righteousness and reason. Without it, man is in a state of starvation. It is produced by the accumulation of righteous deeds; it is not to be obtained by incidental acts of righteousness. If the mind does not feel complacency in the conduct, the nature becomes starved. I therefore said, "Gao has never understood righteousness, because he makes it something external." There must be the constant practice of this righteousness, but without the object of thereby nourishing the passion-nature. Let not the mind forget its work, but let there be no assisting the growth of that nature. Let us not be like the man of Song. There was a man of Song, who was grieved that his growing corn was not longer, and so he pulled it up. Having done this, he returned home, looking very stupid, and said to his people, "I am tired to-day. I have been helping the corn to grow long." His son ran to look at it, and found the corn all withered. There are few in the world, who do not deal with their passion-nature, as if they were assisting the corn to grow long. Some indeed consider it of no benefit to them, and let it alone - they do not weed their corn. They who assist it to grow long, pull out their corn. What they do is not only of no benefit to the nature, but it also injures it.'

Gong Sun Chou further asked, 'What do you mean by saying that you understand whatever words you hear?'

Mencius replied, 'When words are one-sided, I know how the mind of the speaker is clouded over. When words are extravagant, I know how the mind is fallen and sunk. When words are all-depraved, I know how the mind has departed from principle. When words are evasive, I know how the mind sat its wit's end. These evils growing in the mind, do injury to government, and, displayed in the government, are hurtful to the conduct of affairs. When a Sage shall again arise, he will certainly follow my words.'

On this Chou observed, 'Zai Wo and Zi Gong were skilful in speaking. Ran Niu, the disciple Min, and Yan Yuan, while their words were good, were distinguished for their virtuous conduct. Confucius united the qualities of the disciples in himself, but still he said, "In the matter of speeches, I am not competent." Then, Master, have you attained to be a Sage?"

Mencius said, 'Oh! what words are these? Formerly Zi Gong asked Confucius, saying, "Master, are you a Sage?" Confucius answered him, "A Sage is what I cannot rise to. I learn without satiety, and teach without being tired." Zi Gong said, "You learn without satiety - that shows your wisdom. You teach without being tired - that shows your benevolence. Benevolent and wise - Master, you ARE a Sage." Now, since Confucius would not allow himself to be regarded as a Sage, what words were those?"

Chou said, 'Formerly, I once heard this: Zi Xia, Zi You, and Zi Zhang had each one member of the Sage. Ran Niu, the disciple Min, and Yan Yuan had all the members, but in small proportions. I venture to ask, With which of these are you pleased to rank yourself?'

Mencius replied, 'Let us drop speaking about these, if you please.'

Chou then asked, 'What do you say of Bo Yi and Yi Yin?'

Their ways were different from mine,' said Mencius. 'Not to serve a prince whom he did not esteem, nor command a people whom he did not approve; in a time of good government to take office, and on the occurrence of confusion to retire - this was the way of Bo Yi. To say "Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my ruler. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people.' In a time of good government to take office, and when disorder prevailed, also to take office - that was the way of Yi Yin. When it was proper to go into office, then to go into it; when it was proper to keep retired from office, then to keep retired from it; when it was proper to continue in it long, then to continue in it long - when it was proper to withdraw from it quickly, then to withdraw quickly - that was the way of Confucius. These were all sages of antiquity, and I have not attained to do what they did. But what I wish to do is to learn to be like Confucius.'

Chou said, 'Comparing Bo Yi and Yi Yin with Confucius, are they to be placed in the same rank?'

Mencius replied, 'No. Since there were living men until now, there never was another Confucius.'

Chou said, 'Then, did they have any points of agreement with him?'

The reply was, 'Yes. If they had been sovereigns over a hundred li of territory, they would, all of them, have brought all the princes to attend in their court, and have obtained the throne. And none of them, in order to obtain the throne, would have committed one act of unrighteousness, or put to death one innocent person. In those things they agreed with him'

Chou said, 'I venture to ask wherein he differed from them.' Mencius replied, 'Zai Wo, Zi Gong, and You Ruo had wisdom sufficient to know the sage. Even had they been ranking themselves low, they would not have demeaned themselves to flatter their favourite. Now, Zai Wo said, 'According to my view of our Master, he was far superior to Yao and Shun." Zi Gong said, "By viewing the ceremonial ordinances of a prince, we know the character of his government. By hearing his music, we know the character of his virtue. After the lapse of a hundred ages I can arrange, according to their merits, the kings of a hundred ages - not one of them can escape me. From the birth of mankind till now, there has never been another like our Master." You Ruo said, "Is it only among men that it is so? There is the Qi-lin among quadrupeds, the Feng-huang among birds, the Tai mountain among mounds and ant-hills, and rivers and seas among rain-pools. Though different in degree, they are the same in kind. So the sages among mankind are also the same in kind. But they stand out from their fellows, and rise above the level, and from the birth of mankind till now, there never has been one so complete as Confucius."

3 Mencius said, 'He who, using force, makes a pretence to benevolence is the leader of the princes. A leader of the princes requires a large kingdom. He who, using virtue, practises benevolence is the sovereign of the kingdom. To become the sovereign of the kingdom, a prince need not wait for a large kingdom. Tang did it with only seventy li, and king Wen with only a hundred. When one by force subdues men, they do not submit to him in heart. They submit, because their strength is not adequate to resist. When one subdues men by virtue, in their hearts' core they are pleased, and sincerely submit, as was the case with the seventy disciples in their submission to Confucius. What is said in the Book of Poetry, "From the west, from the east, From the south, from the north, There was not one who thought of refusing submission," is an illustration of this.'

4 Mencius said, 'Benevolence brings glory to a prince, and the opposite of it brings disgrace. For the princes of the present day to hate disgrace and yet to live complacently doing what is not benevolent, is like hating moisture and yet living in a low situation. If a prince hates disgrace, the best course for him to pursue, is to esteem virtue and honour virtuous scholars, giving the worthiest among them places of dignity, and the able offices of trust. When throughout his kingdom there is leisure and rest from external troubles, let him, taking advantage of such a season, clearly digest the principles of his government with its legal sanctions, and then even great kingdoms will be constrained to stand in awe of him. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Before the heavens were dark with rain, I gathered the bark from the roots of the mulberry trees. And wove it closely to form the window and door of my nest; Now, I thought, ve people below, Perhaps ve will not dare to insult me." Confucius said, "Did not he who made this ode understand the way of governing?" If a prince is able rightly to govern his kingdom, who will dare to insult him? But now the princes take advantage of the time when

throughout their kingdoms there is leisure and rest from external troubles, to abandon themselves to pleasure and indolent indifference - they in fact seek for calamities for themselves. Calamity and happiness in all cases are men's own seeking. This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry - Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God, So you will certainly get for yourself much happiness;" and by the passage of the Tai Jia, "When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape from them; when we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live.""

5 Mencius said, 'If a ruler give honour to men of talents and virtue and employ the able, so that offices shall all be filled by individuals of distinction and mark - then all the scholars of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to stand in his court. If, in the market-place of his capital, he levy a ground-rent on the shops but do not tax the goods, or enforce the proper regulations without levying a ground-rent - then all the traders of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to store their goods in his market-place. If, at his frontier-passes, there be an inspection of persons, but no taxes charged on goods or other articles, then all the travellers of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to make their tours on his roads. If he require that the husbandmen give their mutual aid to cultivate the public feld, and exact no other taxes from them then all the husbandmen of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to plough in his fields. If from the occupiers of the shops in his market-place he do not exact the fine of the individual idler, or of the hamlet's quota of cloth, then all the people of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to come and be his people. If a ruler can truly practise these five things, then the people in the neighbouring kingdoms will look up to him as a parent. From the first birth of mankind till now, never has any one led children to attack their parent, and succeeded in his design. Thus, such a ruler will not have an enemy in all the kingdom, and he who has no enemy in the kingdom is the minister of Heaven. Never has there been a ruler in such a case who did not attain to the royal dignity.'

6 Mencius said, 'All men have a mind which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others. 'The ancient kings had this commiserating mind, and they, as a matter of course, had likewise a commiserating government. When with a commiserating mind was practised a commiserating government, to rule the kingdom was as easy a matter as to make anything go round in the palm. When I say that all men have a mind which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others, my meaning may be illustrated thus: even now-a-days, if men suddenly see a child about to fall into a well, they will without exception experience a feeling of alarm and distress. They will feel so, not as a ground on which they may gain the favour of the child's parents, nor as a ground on which they may seek the praise of their neighbours and friends, nor from a dislike to the reputation of having been unmoved by such a thing. From this case we may perceive that the feeling of commiseration is essential to man, that the feeling of shame and dislike is essential to man, that the feeling of modesty and complaisance is essential to man, and that the feeling of approving and disapproving is essential to man. The feeling of commiseration is the principle of benevolence. The feeling of shame and dislike is the principle of righteousness. The feeling of modesty and complaisance is the principle of propriety. The feeling of approving and disapproving is the principle of knowledge. Men have these four principles just as they have their four limbs. When men, having these four principles, yet say of themselves that they cannot develop them, they play the thief with themselves, and he who says of his prince that he cannot develop them plays the thief with his prince. Since all men have these four principles in themselves, let them know to give them all their development and completion, and the issue will be like that of fire which has begun to burn, or that of a spring which has begun to find vent. Let them have their complete development, and they will suffice to love and protect all within the four seas. Let them be denied that development, and they will not suffice for a man to serve his parents with.

7 Mencius said, 'Is the arrow-maker less benevolent than the maker of armour of defence? And yet, the arrow-maker's only fear is lest men should not be hurt, and the armour-maker's only fear is lest men should be hurt. So it is with the priest and the coffin-maker. The choice of a profession, therefore, is a thing in which great caution is required. Confucius said, "It is virtuous manners which constitute the excellence of a neighbourhood. If a man, in selecting a residence, do not fix on one where such prevail, how can he be wise?" Now, benevolence is the most honourable dignity conferred by Heaven, and the quiet home in which man should awell. Since no one can hinder us from being so, if yet we are not benevolent - this is being not wise. From the want of benevolence and the want of wisdom will ensue the entire absence of propriety and righteousness;-- he who is in such a case must be the servant of other men. To be the servant of men and yet ashamed of such servitude, is like a bowmaker's being ashamed to make bows, or an arrow-maker's being ashamed to make arrows. If he be ashamed of his case, his best

course is to practise benevolence. The man who would be benevolent is like the archer. The archer adjusts himself and then shoots. If he misses, he does not murmur against those who surpass himself. He simply turns round and seeks the cause of his failure in himself.'

8 Mencius said, 'When any one told Zi Lu that he had a fault, he rejoiced. When Yu heard good words, he bowed to the speaker. The great Shun had a still greater delight in what was good. He regarded virtue as the common property of himself and others, giving up his own way to follow that of others, and delighting to learn from others to practise what was good. From the time when he ploughed and sowed, exercised the potter's art, and was a fisherman, to the time when he became emperor, he was continually learning from others. To take example from others to practise virtue, is to help them in the same practice. Therefore, there is no attribute of the superior man greater than his helping men to practise virtue.'

9 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor associate with a friend whom he did not esteem. He would not stand in a bad prince's court, nor speak with a bad man. To stand in a bad prince's court, or to speak with a bad man, would have been to him the same as to sit with his court robes and court cap amid mire and ashes. Pursuing the examination of his dislike to what was evil, we find that he thought it necessary, if he happened to be standing with a villager whose cap was not rightly adjusted, to leave him with a high air, as if he were going to be defiled. Therefore, although some of the princes made application to him with very proper messages, he would not receive their gifts. He would not receive their gifts, counting it inconsistent with his purity to go to them. Hui of Liu Xia was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When neglected and left without office, he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty, he did not grieve. Accordingly, he had a saying,"You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and aims bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?" Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself. When he wished to leave, if pressed to remain in office, he would remain. He would remain in office, when pressed to do so, not counting it required by his purity to go away.'

Mencius said, 'Bo Yi was narrow-minded, and Hui of Liu Xia was wanting in self-respect. The superior man will not manifest either narrow-mindedness, or the want of self-respect.'

# MENGZI CHAPTER 4 Gong Sun Chou 2

10 Mencius said, 'Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men. There is a city, with an inner wall of three li in circumference, and an outer wall of seven. The enemy surround and attack it, but they are not able to take it. Now, to surround and attack it, there must have been vouchsafed to them by Heaven the opportunity of time, and in such case their not taking it is because opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth. There is a city, whose walls are distinguished for their height, and whose moats are distinguished for their depth, where the arms of its defenders, offensive and defensive, are distinguished for their strength and sharpness, and the stores of rice and other grain are very large. Yet it is obliged to be given up and abandoned. This is because advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Men. In accordance with these principles it is said, "A people is bounded in, not by the limits of dykes and borders; a State is secured, not by the strengths of mountains and rivers; the kingdom is overawed, not by the sharpness and strength of arms." He who finds the proper course has many to assist him. He who loses the proper course has few to assist him. When this - the being assisted by few - reaches its extreme point, his own relations revolt from the prince. When the being assisted by many reaches its highest point, the whole kingdom becomes obedient to the prince. When one to whom the whole kingdom is prepared to be obedient, attacks those from whom their own relations revolt, what must be the result? Therefore, the true ruler will prefer not to fight; but if he do fight, he must overcome.'

11 As Mencius was about to go to court to see the king, the king sent a person to him with this message: 'I was wishing to come and see you. But I have got a cold, and may not expose myself to the wind. In the morning I will hold my court. I do not know whether you will give me the opportunity of seeing you then.' Mencius replied, 'Unfortunately, I am unwell, and not able to go to the court.'

Next day, he went out to pay a visit of condolence to some one of the Dong Guo family, when Gong Sun Chou said to him, 'Yesterday, you declined going to the court on the ground of being unwell, and to-day you are going to pay a

visit of condolence. May this not be regarded as improper?' 'Yesterday,' said Mencius, 'I was unwell; to-day, I am better - why should I not pay this visit?'

In the mean time, the king sent a messenger to inquire about his sickness, and also a physician. Meng Zhong replied to them, 'Yesterday, when the king's order came, he was feeling a little unwell, and could not go to the court. To-day he was a little better, and hastened to go to court. I do not know whether he can have reached it by this time or not.' Having said this, he sent several men to look for Mencius on the way, and say to him, 'I beg that, before you return home, you will go to the court.'

On this, Mencius felt himself compelled to go to Jing Chou's, and there stop the night. Mr. Jing said to him, 'In the family, there is the relation of father and son; abroad, there is the relation of prince and minister. These are the two great relations among men. Between father and son the ruling principle is kindness. Between prince and minister the ruling principle is respect. I have seen the respect of the king to you, Sir, but I have not seen in what way you show respect to him.'

Mencius replied, 'Oh! what words are these? Among the people of Qi there is no one who speaks to the king about benevolence and righteousness. Are they thus silent because they do not think that benevolence and righteousness are admirable? No, but in their hearts they say, "This man is not fit to be spoken with about benevolence and righteousness." Thus they manifest a disrespect than which there can be none greater. I do not dare to set forth before the king any but the ways of Yao and Shun. There is therefore no man of Qi who respects the king so much as I do.'

Mr. Jing said, 'Not so. That was not what I meant. In the Book of Rites it is said, "When a father calls, the answer must be without a moment's hesitation. When the prince's order calls, the carriage must not be waited for." You were certainly going to the court, but when you heard the king's order, then you did not carry your purpose out. This does seem as if it were not in accordance with that rule of propriety.'

Mencius answered him, 'How can you give that meaning to my conduct? The philosopher Zeng said, "The wealth of Jin and Chu cannot be equalled. Let their rulers have their wealth - I have my benevolence. Let them have their nobility - I have my righteousness. Wherein should I be dissatisfied as inferior to them?" Now shall we say that these sentiments are not right? Seeing that the philosopher Zeng spoke them, there is in them, I apprehend, a real principle. In the kingdom there are three things universally acknowledged to be honourable. Nobility is one of them; age is one of them; virtue is one of them. In courts, nobility holds the first place of the three; in villages, age holds the first place; and for helping one's generation and presiding over the people, the other two are not equal to virtue. How can the possession of only one of these be presumed on to despise one who possesses the other two? Therefore a prince who is to accomplish great deeds will certainly have ministers whom he does not call to go to him. When he wishes to consult with them, he goes to them. The prince who does not honour the virtuous, and delight in their ways of doing, to this extent, is not worth having to do with. Accordingly, there was the behaviour of Tang to Yi Yin: he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became sovereign. There was the behaviour of the duke Huan to Guan Zhong: he first learned of him, and then employed him as his minister; and so without difficulty he became chief of all the princes. Now throughout the kingdom, the territories of the princes are of equal extent, and in their achievements they are on a level. Not one of them is able to exceed the others. This is from no other reason, but that they love to make ministers of those whom they teach, and do not love to make ministers of those by whom they might be taught. So did Tang behave to Yi Yin, and the duke Huan to Guan Zhong, that they would not venture to call them to go to them. If Guan Zhong might not be called to him by his prince, how much less may he be called, who would not play the part of Guan Zhong!'

12 Chen Zhen asked Mencius, saying, 'Formerly, when you were in Qi, the king sent you a present Of 2,400 taels of fine silver, and you refused to accept it. When you were in Song, 1,680 taels were sent to you, which you accepted; and when you were in Xue, 1,200 taels were sent, which you likewise accepted. If your declining to accept the gift in the first case was right, your accepting it in the latter cases was wrong. If your accepting it in the latter cases was right, your declining to do so in the first case was wrong. You must accept, Master, one of these alternatives.

Mencius said, 'I did right in all the cases. When I was in Song, I was about to take a long journey. Travellers must be provided with what is necessary for their expenses. The prince's message was, 'A present against travelling-expenses." Why should I have declined the gift? When I was in Xue, I was apprehensive for my safety, and taking measures for my protection. The message was, "I have heard that you are taking measures to protect yourself, and send this to help you in procuring arms." Why should I have declined the gift? But when I was in Qi, I had no occasion for money. To send a man

a gift when he has no occasion for it, is to bribe him. How is it possible that a superior man should be taken with a bribe?'

13 Mencius having gone to Ping Lu, addressed the governor of it, saying, 'If one of your spearmen should lose his place in the ranks three times in one day, would you, Sir, put him to death or not?'

'I would not wait for three times to do so,' was the reply.

Mencius said, 'Well then, you, Sir, have likewise lost your place in the ranks many times. In bad calamitous years, and years of famine, the old and feeble of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied, who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have amounted to several thousand.'

The governor replied, 'That is a state of things in which it does not belong to me Ju Xin to act.'

'Here,' said Mencius, 'is a man who receives charge of the cattle and sheep of another, and undertakes to feed them for him - of course he must search for pasture-ground and grass for them. If, after searching for those, he cannot find them, will he return his charge to the owner? or will he stand by and see them die?'

'Herein,' said the officer, 'I am guilty.'

Another day, Mencius had an audience of the king, and said to him, 'Of the governors of your Majesty's cities I am acquainted with five, but the only one of them who knows his faults is Kong Ju Xin.' He then repeated the conversation to the king, who said, 'In this matter, I am the guilty one.'

14 Mencius said to Qi Wa, 'There seemed to be reason in your declining the governorship of Ling Qiu, and requesting to be appointed chief criminal judge, because the latter office would afford you the opportunity of speaking your views. Now several months have elapsed, and have you yet found nothing of which you might speak?'

On this, Qi Wa remonstrated on some matter with the king, and, his counsel not being taken, resigned his office and went away. The people of Qi said, 'In the course which he marked out for Qi Wa he did well, but we do not know as to the course which he pursues for himself.'

His disciple Gong Du told him these remarks. Mencius said, 'I have heard that he who is in charge of an office, when he is prevented from fulfilling its duties, ought to take his departure, and that he on whom is the responsibility of giving his opinion, when he finds his words unattended to, ought to do the same. But I am in charge of no office; on me devolves no duty of speaking out my opinion - may not I therefore act freely and without any constraint, either in going forward or in retiring?"

15 Mencius, occupying the position of a high dignitary in Qi, went on a mission of condolence to Teng. The king also sent Wang Huan, the governor of Gai, as assistant-commissioner. Wang Huan, morning and evening, waited upon Mencius, who, during all the way to Teng and back, never spoke to him about the business of their mission.

Gong Sun Chou said to Mencius, 'The position of a high dignitary of Qi is not a small one; the road from Qi to Teng is not short. How was it that during all the way there and back, you never spoke to Huan about the matters of your mission?'

Mencius replied, There were the proper officers who attended to them. What occasion had I to speak to him about

 $16\ Mencius$  went from Qi to Lu to bury his mother. On his return to Qi, he stopped at Ying, where

Chong Yu begged to put a question to him, and said, 'Formerly, in ignorance of my incompetency, you employed me to superintend the making of the coffin. As you were then pressed by the urgency of the business, I did not venture to put any question to you. Now, however, I wish to take the liberty to submit the matter. The wood of the coffin, it appeared to me, was too good.'

Mencius replied, 'Anciently, there was no rule for the size of either the inner or the outer coffin. In middle antiquity, the inner coffin was made seven inches thick, and the outer one the same. This was done by all, from the sovereign to the common people, and not simply for the beauty of the appearance, but because they thus satisfied the natural feelings of their hearts. If prevented by statutory regulations from making their coffins in this way, men cannot have the feeling of pleasure. If they have not the money to make them in this way, they cannot have the feeling of pleasure. When they were not prevented, and had the money, the ancients all used this style. Why should I alone not do so? And moreover. is there no satisfaction to the natural feelings of a man, in preventing the earth from getting near to the bodies of his dead? I have heard that the superior man will not for all the world be niggardly to his parents.

17 Shen Tong, on his own impulse, asked Mencius, saying, 'May Yan be smitten?'

Mencius replied, 'It may. Zi Kuai had no right to give Yan to another man, and Zi Zhi had no right to receive Yan from Zi Kuai. Suppose there were an officer here, with whom you, Sir, were pleased, and that, without informing the king, you were privately to give to him your salary and rank; and suppose that this officer, also without the king's orders, were privately to receive them from you - would such a transaction

be allowable? And where is the difference between the case of Yan and this?'

The people of Qi smote Yan. Some one asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it really the case that you advised Qi to smite Yan?'

He replied, 'No. Shen Tong asked me whether Yan might be smitten, and I answered him, "It may." They accordingly went and smote it. If he had asked me, "Who may smite it?" I would have answered him, "He who is the minister of Heaven may smite it." Suppose the case of a murderer, and that one asks me, "May this man be put to death?" I will answer him, "He may." If he ask me, "Who may put him to death?" I will answer him, "The chief criminal judge may put him to death." But now with one Yan to smite another Yan - how should I have advised this?

18 The people of Yan having rebelled, the king of Qi said, 'I feel very much ashamed when I think of Mencius.'

Chen Jia said to him, 'Let not your Majesty be grieved. Whether does your Majesty consider yourself or Zhou Gong the more benevolent and wise?'

The king replied, 'Oh! what words are those?'

The duke of Zhou,' said Jia, 'appointed Guan Shu to oversee the heir of Yin, but Guan Shu with the power of the Yin State rebelled. If knowing that this would happen he appointed Guan Shu, he was deficient in benevolence. If he appointed him, not knowing that it would happen, he was deficient in knowledge. If the duke of Zhou was not completely benevolent and wise, how much less can your Majesty be expected to be so! I beg to go and see Mencius, and relieve your Majesty from that feeling.'

Chen Jia accordingly saw Mencius, and asked him, saying, 'What kind of man was the duke of Zhou?'

'An ancient sage,' was the reply.

'Is it the fact, that he appointed Guan Shu to oversee the heir of Yin, and that Guan Shu with the State of Yin rebelled?'

'It is '

'Did the duke of Zhou know that he would rebel, and purposely appoint him to that office?'

Mencius said, 'He did not know.'

'Then, though a sage, he still fell into error?'

The duke of Zhou, answered Mencius, 'was the younger brother. Guan Shu was his elder brother. Was not the error of Zhou Gong in accordance with what is right? Moreover, when the superior men of old had errors, they reformed them. The superior men of the present time, when they have errors, persist in them. The errors of the superior men of old were like eclipses of the sun and moon. All the people witnessed them, and when they had reformed them, all the people looked up to them with their former admiration. But do the superior men of the present day only persist in their errors? They go on to apologize for them likewise.'

19 Mencius gave up his office, and made arrangements for returning to his native State. The king came to visit him, and said, 'Formerly, I wished to see you, but in vain. Then, I got the opportunity of being by your side, and all my court joyed exceedingly along with me. Now again you abandon me, and are returning home. I do not know if hereafter I may expect to have another opportunity of seeing you.' Mencius replied, 'I dare not request permission to visit you at any particular time, but, indeed, it is what I desire.'

Another day, the king said to the officer Shi, 'I wish to give Mencius a house, somewhere in the middle of the kingdom, and to support his disciples with an allowance of 10,000 zhong, that all the officers and the people may have such an example to reverence and imitate. Had you not better tell him this for me?"

Shi took advantage to convey this message by means of the disciple Chen, who reported his words to Mencius. Mencius said. 'Yes: but how should the officer Shi know that the thing could not be? Suppose that I wanted to be rich, having formerly declined 100,000 zhong, would my now accepting 10,000 be the conduct of one desiring riches? Ji Sun said, "A strange man was Zi Shu Yi. He pushed himself into the service of government. His prince declining to employ him, he had to retire indeed, but he again schemed that his son or younger brother should be made a high officer. Who indeed is there of men but wishes for riches and honour? But he only, among the seekers of these, tried to monopolize the conspicuous mound. "Of old time, the market-dealers exchanged the articles which they had for others which they had not, and simply had certain officers to keep order among them. It happened that there was a mean fellow, who made it a point to look out for a conspicuous mound, and get up upon it. Thence he looked right and left, to catch in his net the whole gain of the market. The people all thought his conduct mean, and therefore they proceeded to lay a tax upon his wares. The taxing of traders took its rise from this mean fellow.

 $20\ \text{Mencius},$  having taken his leave of Qi, was passing the night in Zhou.

A person who wished to detain him on behalf of the king, came and sat down, and began to speak to him. Mencius gave him no answer, but leant upon his stool and slept. The visitor was displeased, and said, 'I passed the night in careful vigil, before I would venture to speak to you, and you, Master, sleep

and do not listen to me. Allow me to request that I may not again presume to see you.'

Mencius replied, 'Sit down, and I will explain the case clearly to you. Formerly, if the duke Mou had not kept a person by the side of Zi Si, he could not have induced Zi Si to remain with him. If Xie Liu and Shen Xiang had not had a remembrancer by the side of the duke Mou, he would not have been able to make them feel at home and remain with him. You anxiously form plans with reference to me, but you do not treat me as Zi Si was treated. Is it you, Sir, who cut me? Or is it I who cut you?

21 When Mencius had left Qi, Yin Shi spoke about him to others, saying, 'If he did not know that the king could not be made a Tang or a Wu, that showed his want of intelligence. If he knew that he could not be made such, and came notwithstanding, that shows he was seeking his own benefit. He came a thousand li to wait on the king; because he did not find in him a ruler to suit him, he took his leave, but how dilatory and lingering was his departure, stopping three nights before he quitted Zhou! I am dissatisfied on account of this '

The disciple Gao informed Mencius of these remarks. Mencius said, 'How should Yin Shi know me! When I came a thousand li to wait on the king, it was what I desired to do. When I went away because I did not find in him a ruler to suit me, was that what I desired to do? I felt myself constrained to do it. When I stopped three nights before I quitted Zhou, in my own mind I still considered my departure speedy. I was hoping that the king might change. If the king had changed, he would certainly have recalled me. When I quitted Zhou, and the king had not sent after me, then, and not till then, was my mind resolutely bent on returning to Cao. But, notwithstanding that, how can it be said that I give up the king? The king, after all, is one who may be made to do what is good. If he were to use me, would it be for the happiness of the people of Qi only? It would be for the happiness of the people of the whole kingdom. I am hoping that the king will change. I am daily hoping for this. Am I like one of your little-minded people? They will remonstrate with their prince, and on their remonstrance not being accepted, they get angry; and, with their passion displayed in their countenance, they take their leave, and travel with all their strength for a whole day, before they will stop for the night.'

When Yin Shi heard this explanation, he said, 'I am indeed a small man.'

22 When Mencius left Qi, Chong Yu questioned him upon the way, saying, 'Master, you look like one who carries an air of dissatisfaction in his countenance. But formerly I heard you say, "The superior man does not murmur against Heaven, nor grudge against men."

Mencius said, 'That was one time, and this is another. It is a rule that a true royal sovereign should arise in the course of five hundred years, and that during that time there should be men illustrious in their generation. From the commencement of the Zhou dynasty till now, more than seven hundred years have elapsed. Judging numerically, the date is past. Examining the character of the present time, we might expect the rise of such individuals in it. But Heaven does not yet wish that the kingdom should enjoy tranquillity and good order. If it wished this, who is there besides me to bring it about? How should I be otherwise than dissatisfied?'

23 When Mencius left Qi, he dwelt in Xiu.

There Gong Sun Chou asked him, saying, 'Was it the way of the ancients to hold office without receiving salary?'

Mencius replied, 'No; when I first saw the king in Chong, it was my intention, on retiring from the interview, to go away. Because I did not wish to change this intention, I declined to receive any salary. Immediately after, there came orders for the collection of troops, when it would have been improper for me to beg permission to leave. But to remain so long in Qi was not my purpose.

### MENGZI CHAPTER 5 Teng Wen Gong 1

1 When the prince, afterwards duke Wen of Teng, had to go to Chu, he went by way of Song, and visited Mencius. Mencius discoursed to him how the nature of man is good, and when speaking, always made laudatory reference to Yao and Shun.

When the prince was returning from Chu, he again visited Mencius. Mencius said to him, 'Prince, do you doubt my words? The path is one, and only one. Cheng Gan said to duke Jing of Qi, "They were men. I am a man. Why should I stand in awe of them?" Yan Yuan said, "What kind of man was Shun? What kind of man am I? He who exerts himself will also become such as he was." Gong Ming Yi said, "King Wen is my teacher. How should the duke of Zhou deceive me by those words?" Now, Teng, taking its length with its breadth, will amount, I suppose, to fifty li. It is small, but still sufficient to make a good State. It is said in the Book of History, "If medicine do not raise a commotion in the patient, his disease will not be cured by it."

2 When the duke Ding of Teng died, the prince said to Ran You, 'Formerly, Mencius spoke with me in Song, and in my mind I have never forgotten his words. Now, alas! this great duty to my father devolves upon me; I wish to send you to ask the advice of Mencius, and then to proceed to its various services'

Ran You accordingly proceeded to Zou, and consulted Mencius. Mencius said, 'Is this not good? In discharging the funeral duties to parents, men indeed feel constrained to do their utmost. The philosopher Zeng said, 'When parents are alive, they should be served according to propriety; when they are dead, they should be buried according to propriety; and they should be sacrificed to according to propriety - this may be called filial piety." The ceremonies to be observed by the princes I have not learned, but I have heard these points: that the three years' mourning, the garment of coarse cloth with its lower edge even, and the eating of congee, were equally prescribed by the three dynasties, and binding on all, from the sovereign to the mass of the people.'

Ran You reported the execution of his commission, and the prince determined that the three years' mourning should be observed. His aged relatives, and the body of the officers, did not wish that it should be so, and said, 'The former princes of Lu, that kingdom which we honour, have, none of them, observed this practice, neither have any of our own former princes observed it. For you to act contrary to their example is not proper. Moreover, the History says, "In the observances of mourning and sacrifice, ancestors are to be followed," meaning that they received those things from a proper source to hand them down.' The prince said again to Ran You, 'Hitherto, I have not given myself to the pursuit of learning, but have found my pleasure in horsemanship and swordexercise, and now I don't come up to the wishes of my aged relatives and the officers. I am afraid I may not be able to discharge my duty in the great business that I have entered on; do you again consult Mencius for me.'

On this, Ran You went again to Zou, and consulted Mencius. Mencius said, 'It is so, but he may not seek a remedy in others, but only in himself. Confucius said, 'When a prince dies, his successor entrusts the administration to the prime minister. He sips the congee. His face is of a deep black. He approaches the place of mourning, and weeps. Of all the officers and inferior ministers there is not one who will presume not to join in the lamentation, he setting them this example. What the superior loves, his inferiors will be found to love exceedingly. The relation between superiors and inferiors is like that between the wind and grass. The grass must bend when the wind blows upon it." The business depends on the prince.'

Ran You returned with this answer to his commission, and the prince said, 'It is so. The matter does indeed depend on me.' So for five months he dwelt in the shed, without issuing an order or a caution. All the officers and his relatives said, 'He may be said to understand the ceremonies.' When the time of interment arrived, they came from all quarters of the State to witness it. Those who had come from other States to condole with him, were greatly pleased with the deep dejection of his countenance and the mournfulness of his wailing and weeping.

3 The duke Wen of Teng asked Mencius about the proper way of governing a kingdom. Mencius said, 'The business of the people may not be remissly attended to. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In the day-light go and gather the grass, And at night twist your ropes; Then get up quickly on the roofs; Soon must we begin sowing again the grain." The way of the people is this: If they have a certain livelihood, they will have a fixed heart; if they have not a certain livelihood, they have not a fixed heart. If they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do in the way of selfabandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license. When they have thus been involved in crime, to follow them up and punish them - this is to entrap the people. How can such a thing as entrapping the people be done under the rule of a benevolent man? Therefore, a ruler who is endowed with talents and virtue will be gravely complaisant and economical, showing a respectful politeness to his ministers, and taking from the people only in accordance with regulated limits. Yang Hu said, "He who seeks to be rich will not be benevolent. He who wishes to be benevolent will not be rich.'

The sovereign of the Xia dynasty enacted the fifty mu allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin enacted the seventy mu allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Zhou enacted the hundred mu allotment, and the share system. In reality, what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division. The aid system means mutual dependence. Long said, "For regulating the lands, there is no better system than that of mutual aid, and none which is not better than that of taxing. By the tax system, the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good years, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without its being oppressive, and the actual exaction would be small. But in bad years, the produce being not sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount. When the parent of the people causes the people to wear looks of distress, and, after the whole year's toil, yet not to be able to nourish their parents, so that they proceed to borrowing to increase their means, till the old people and

children are found lying in the ditches and water-channels - where, in such a case, is his parental relation to the people?" As to the system of hereditary salaries, that is already observed in Teng. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "May the rain come down on our public field, And then upon our private fields!" It is only in the system of mutual aid that there is a public field, and from this passage we perceive that even in the Zhou dynasty this system has been recognised.

'Establish Xiang, Xu, Xue, and Xiao, all those educational institutions, for the instruction of the people. The name Xiang indicates nourishing as its object; Xiao, indicates teaching; and Xu indicates archery. By the Xia dynasty the name Xiao was used; by the Yin, that of Xu; and by the Zhou, that of Xiang. As to the Xue, they belonged to the three dynasties, and by that name. The object of them all is to illustrate the human relations. When those are thus illustrated by superiors, kindly feeling will prevail among the inferior people below. Should a real sovereign arise, he will certainly come and take an example from you; and thus you will be the teacher of the true sovereign. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Although Zhou was an old country, It received a new destiny." That is said with reference to king Wen. Do you practise those things with vigour, and you also will by them make new your kingdom.'

The duke afterwards sent Bi Zhan to consult Mencius about the nine-squares system of dividing the land. Mencius said to him, 'Since your prince, wishing to put in practice a benevolent government, has made choice of you and put you into this employment, you must exert yourself to the utmost. Now, the first thing towards a benevolent government must be to lay down the boundaries. If the boundaries be not defined correctly, the division of the land into squares will not be equal, and the produce available for salaries will not be evenly distributed. On this account, oppressive rulers and impure ministers are sure to neglect this defining of the boundaries. When the boundaries have been defined correctly, the division of the fields and the regulation of allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease. Although the territory of Teng is narrow and small, yet there must be in it men of a superior grade, and there must be in it country-men. If there were not men of a superior grade, there would be none to rule the country-men. If there were not country-men, there would be none to support the men of superior grade. I would ask you, in the remoter districts, observing the nine-squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce. From the highest officers down to the lowest, each one must have his holy field, consisting of fifty mu. Let the supernumerary males have their twenty-five mu. On occasions of death, or removal from one dwelling to another, there will be no quitting the district. In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony. A square li covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred mu. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mu, cultivate in common the public field. And not till the public work is finished, may they presume to attend to their private affairs. This is the way by which the country-men are distinguished from those of a superior grade. Those are the great outlines of the system. Happily to modify and adapt it depends on the prince and you.'

4 There came from Chu to Teng one Xu Xing, who gave out that he acted according to the words of Shen Nong. Coming right to his gate, he addressed the duke Wen, saying, 'A man of a distant region, I have heard that you, Prince, are practising a benevolent government, and I wish to receive a site for a house, and to become one of your people.' The duke Wen gave him a dwelling-place. His disciples, amounting to several tens, all wore clothes of haircloth, and made sandals of hemp and wove mats for a living.

At the same time, Chen Xiang, a disciple of Chen Liang, and his younger brother, Xin, with their plough-handles and shares on their backs, came from Song to Teng, saying, 'We have heard that you, Prince, are putting into practice the government of the ancient sages, showing that you are likewise a sage. We wish to become the subjects of a sage.' When Chen Xiang saw Xu Xing, he was greatly pleased with him, and, abandoning entirely whatever he had learned, became his disciple.

Having an interview with Mencius, he related to him with approbation the words of Xu Xing to the following effect: 'The prince of Teng is indeed a worthy prince. He has not yet heard, however, the real doctrines of antiquity. Now, wise and able princes should cultivate the ground equally and along with their people, and eat the fruit of their labour. They should prepare their own meals, morning and evening, while at the same time they carry on their government. But now, the prince of Tang has his granaries, treasuries, and arsenals, which is an oppressing of the people to nourish himself. How can he be deemed a real worthy prince?'

Mencius said,'I suppose that Xu Xing sows grain and eats the produce. Is it not so?' 'It is so,' was the answer.

'I suppose also he weaves cloth, and wears his own manufacture. Is it not so?' 'No. Xu wears clothes of haircloth.'

'Does he wear a cap?' 'He wears a cap.'

'What kind of cap?' 'A plain cap.'
'Is it woven by himself?' 'No. He gets it in exchange for grain.

'Why does Xu not weave it himself?' 'That would injure his husbandry.'

'Does Xu cook his food in boilers and earthenware pans, and does he plough with an iron share?' 'Yes.'

'Does he make those articles himself?' 'No. He gets them in exchange for grain.'

Mencius then said, 'The getting those various articles in exchange for grain, is not oppressive to the potter and the founder, and the potter and the founder in their turn, in exchanging their various articles for grain, are not oppressive to the husbandman. How should such a thing be supposed? And moreover, why does not Xu act the potter and founder, supplying himself with the articles which he uses solely from his own establishment? Why does he go confusedly dealing and exchanging with the handicraftsmen? Why does he not spare himself so much trouble?' Chen Xiang replied, 'The business of the handicraftsman can by no means be carried on along with the business of husbandry.

Mencius resumed, 'Then, is it the government of the kingdom which alone can be carried on along with the practice of husbandry? Great men have their proper business, and little men have their proper business. Moreover, in the case of any single individual, whatever articles he can require are ready to his hand, being produced by the various handicraftsmen - if he must first make them for his own use. this way of doing would keep all the people running about upon the roads. Hence, there is the saying, "Some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength. Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them." This is a principle universally recognised.

'In the time of Yao, when the world had not yet been perfectly reduced to order, the vast waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inundation. Vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed. The various kinds of grain could not be grown. The birds and beasts pressed upon men. The paths marked by the feet of beasts and prints of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle Kingdom. To Yao alone this caused anxious sorrow. He raised Shun to office, and measures to regulate the disorder were set forth. Shun committed to Yi the direction of the fire to be employed, and Yi set fire to, and consumed, the forests and vegetation on the mountains and in the marshes, so that the birds and beasts fled away to hide themselves. Yu separated the nine streams. cleared the courses of the Ji and Ta, and led them all to the sea He opened a vent also for the Ru and Han, and regulated the course of the Huai and Si, so that they all flowed into the Jiang. When this was done, it became possible for the people of the Middle Kingdom to cultivate the ground and get food for themselves. During that time, Yu was eight years away from his home, and though he thrice passed the door of it, he did not enter. Although he had wished to cultivate the ground. could he have done so? The Minister of Agriculture taught the people to sow and reap, cultivating the five kinds of grain. When the five kinds of grain were brought to maturity, the people all obtained a subsistence. But men possess a moral nature; and if they are well fed, warmly clad, and comfortably lodged, without being taught at the same time, they become almost like the beasts. This was a subject of anxious solicitude to the sage Shun, and he appointed Xie to be the Minister of Instruction, to teach the relations of humanity: how, between father and son, there should be affection; between sovereign and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, fidelity. The high meritorious sovereign said to him, "Encourage them; lead them on; rectify them; straighten them; help them; give them wings - thus causing them to become possessors of themselves. Then follow this up by stimulating them, and conferring benefits on them." When the sages were exercising their solicitude for the people in this way, had they leisure to cultivate the ground?

'What Yao felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Shun. What Shun felt giving him anxiety was the not getting Yu and Gao Yao. But he whose anxiety is about his hundred mu not being properly cultivated, is a mere husbandman. The imparting by a man to others of his wealth, is called "kindness." The teaching others what is good, is called "the exercise of fidelity." The finding a man who shall benefit the kingdom, is called "benevolence." Hence to give the throne to another man would be easy; to find a man who shall benefit the kingdom is difficult. Confucius said, "Great indeed was Yao as a sovereign. It is only Heaven that is great, and only Yao corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people

could find no name for it. Princely indeed was Shun! How majestic was he, having possession of the kingdom, and yet seeming as if it were nothing to him!" In their governing the kingdom, were there no subjects on which Yao and Shun employed their minds? There were subjects, only they did not employ their minds on the cultivation of the ground.

'I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians. Chen Liang was a native of Chu. Pleased with the doctrines of Zhou Gong and Zhong Ni, he came northwards to the Middle Kingdom and studied them. Among the scholars of the northern regions, there was perhaps no one who excelled him. He was what you call a scholar of high and distinguished qualities. You and your brother followed him some tens of years, and when your master died, you forthwith turned away from him. Formerly, when Confucius died, after three vears had elapsed, his disciples collected their baggage, and prepared to return to their several homes. But on entering to take their leave of Zi Gong, as they looked towards one another, they wailed, till they all lost their voices. After this they returned to their homes, but Zi Gong went back, and built a house for himself on the altar-ground, where he lived alone other three years, before he returned home. On another occasion, Zi Xia, Zi Zhang, and Zi You, thinking that You Ruo resembled the sage, wished to render to him the same observances which they had rendered to Confucius. They tried to force the disciple Zeng to join with them, but he said, "This may not be done. What has been washed in the waters of the Jiang and Han, and bleached in the autumn sun - how glistening is it! Nothing can be added to it." Now here is this shrike-tongued barbarian of the south, whose doctrines are not those of the ancient kings. You turn away from your master and become his disciple. Your conduct is different indeed from that of the philosopher Zeng. I have heard of birds leaving dark valleys to remove to lofty trees, but I have not heard of their descending from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys. In the Praise-songs of Lu it is said, "He smote the barbarians of the west and the north, He punished Jing and Shu." Thus Zhou Gong would be sure to smite them, and you become their disciple again; it appears that your change is not good.'

Chen Xiang said, 'If Xu's doctrines were followed, then there would not be two prices in the market, nor any deceit in the kingdom. If a boy of five cubits were sent to the market, no one would impose on him; linen and silk of the same length would be of the same price. So it would be with bundles of hemp and silk, being of the same weight; with the different kinds of grain, being the same in quantity; and with shoes which were of the same size.' Mencius replied, 'It is the nature of things to be of unequal quality. Some are twice, some five times, some ten times, some a hundred times, some a thousand times, some ten thousand times as valuable as others. If you reduce them all to the same standard, that must throw the kingdom into confusion. If large shoes and small shoes were of the same price, who would make them? For people to follow the doctrines of Xu, would be for them to lead one another on to practise deceit. How can they avail for the government of a

5 The Mohist, Yi Zhi, sought, through Xu Bi, to see Mencius, Mencius said, 'I indeed wish to see him, but at present I am still unwell. When I am better, I will myself go and see him. He need not come here again.'

Next day, Yi Zhi again sought to see Mencius. Mencius said, 'To-day I am able to see him. But if I do not correct his errors, the true principles will not be fully evident. Let me first correct him. I have heard that this Yi is a Mohist. Now Mo considers that in the regulation of funeral matters a spare simplicity should be the rule. Yi thinks with Mo's doctrines to change the customs of the kingdom - how does he regard them as if they were wrong, and not honour them? Notwithstanding his views, Yi buried his parents in a sumptuous manner, and so he served them in the way which his doctrines discountenance.

The disciple Xu informed Yi of these remarks. Yi said, 'Even according to the principles of the learned, we find that the ancients acted towards the people "as if they were watching over an infant." What does this expression mean? To me it sounds that we are to love all without difference of degree; but the manifestation of love must begin with our parents.

Xu reported this reply to Mencius, who said, 'Now, does Yi really think that a man's affection for the child of his brother is merely like his affection for the infant of a neighbour? What is to be approved in that expression is simply this: that if an infant crawling about is likely to fall into a well, it is no crime in the infant. Moreover, Heaven gives birth to creatures in such a way that they have one root, and Yi makes them to have two roots. This is the cause of his error. And in the most ancient times there were some who did not inter their parents When their parents died, they took them up and threw them into some water-channel. Afterwards, when passing by them, they saw foxes and wild-cats devouring them, and flies and gnats biting at them. The perspiration started out upon their foreheads, and they looked away, unable to bear the sight. It

was not on account of other people that this perspiration flowed. The emotions of their hearts affected their faces and eyes, and instantly they went home, and came back with baskets and spades and covered the bodies. If the covering them thus was indeed right, you may see that the filial son and virtuous man, in interring in a handsome manner their parents, act according to a proper rule.'

The disciple Xu informed Yi of what Mencius had said. Yi was thoughtful for a short time, and then said, 'He has

# MENGZI CHAPTER 6 Teng Wen Gong 2

6 Chen Dai said to Mencius, 'In not going to wait upon any of the princes, you seem to me to be standing on a small point. If now you were once to wait upon them, the result might be so great that you would make one of them sovereign, or, if smaller, that you would make one of them chief of all the other princes. Moreover, the History says, "By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight." It appears to me like a thing which might be done.'

Mencius said, 'Formerly, the duke Jing of Qi, once when he

was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident, Confucius said, "The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or a stream; the brave officer never forgets that he may lose his head.' What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke, when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him. If one go to see the princes without waiting to be invited, what can be thought of him? Moreover, that sentence, "By bending only one cubit, you make eight cubits straight," is spoken with reference to the gain that may be got. If gain be the object, then, if it can be got by bending eight cubits to make one cubit straight, may we likewise do that? Formerly, the officer Zhao Jian made Wang Liang act as charioteer for his favourite Xi, when, in the course of a whole day, they did not get a single bird. The favourite Xi reported this result, saying, "He is the poorest charioteer in the world." Some one told this to Wang Liang, who said, "I beg leave to try again." By dint of pressing, this was accorded to him, when in one morning they got ten birds. The favourite, reporting this result, said, "He is the best charioteer in the world." Jian said, "I will make him always drive your chariot for you." When he told Wang Liang so, however, Liang refused, saying, "I drove for him, strictly observing the proper rules for driving, and in the whole day he did not get one bird. I drove for him so as deceitfully to intercept the birds, and in one morning he got ten. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'There is no failure in the management of their horses; The arrows are discharged surely, like the blows of an axe.' I am not accustomed to drive for a mean man. I beg leave to decline the office." Thus this charioteer even was ashamed to bend improperly to the will of such an archer. Though, by bending to it, they would have caught birds and animals sufficient to form a hill be would not do so. If I were to bend my principles and follow those princes, of what kind would my conduct be? And you are wrong. Never has a man who has bent himself been able to make others straight.'

7 Jing Chun said to Mencius, 'Are not Gong Sun Yan and Zhang Yi really great men? Let them once be angry, and all the princes are afraid. Let them live quietly, and the flames of trouble are extinguished throughout the kingdom.

Mencius said, 'How can such men be great men? Have you not read the Ritual Usages? "At the capping of a young man, his father admonishes him. At the marrying away of a young woman, her mother admonishes her, accompanying her to the door on her leaving, and cautioning her with these words, 'You are going to your home. You must be respectful; you must be careful. Do not disobey your husband.'" Thus, to look upon compliance as their correct course is the rule for women. To dwell in the wide house of the world, to stand in the correct seat of the world, and to walk in the great path of the world: when he obtains his desire for office, to practise his principles for the good of the people; and when that desire is disappointed, to practise them alone; to be above the power of riches and honours to make dissipated, of poverty and mean condition to make swerve from principle, and of power and force to make bend - these characteristics constitute the great

8 Zhou Xiao asked Mencius, saying, 'Did superior men of old time take office?

Mencius replied, 'They did. The Record says, "If Confucius was three months without being employed by some ruler, he looked anxious and unhappy. When he passed from the boundary of a State, he was sure to carry with him his proper gift of introduction." Gong Ming Yi said, "Among the ancients, if an officer was three months unemployed by a ruler, he was condoled with "

Xiao said, 'Did not this condoling, on being three months unemployed by a ruler, show a too great urgency?

Mencius answered, 'The loss of his place to an officer is like the loss of his State to a prince. It is said in the Book of Rites, "A prince ploughs himself, and is assisted by the people, to

supply the millet for sacrifice. His wife keeps silkworms, and unwinds their coccoons, to make the garments for sacrifice." If the victims be not perfect, the millet not pure, and the dress not complete, he does not presume to sacrifice. "And the scholar who, out of office, has no holy field, in the same way, does not sacrifice. The victims for slaughter, the vessels, and the garments, not being all complete, he does not presume to sacrifice, and then neither may he dare to feel happy." Is there not here sufficient ground also for condolence?"

Xiao again asked, 'What was the meaning of Confucius's always carrying his proper gift of introduction with him, when he passed over the boundaries of the State where he had been?"

'An officer's being in office,' was the reply, 'is like the ploughing of a husbandman. Does a husbandman part with his plough, because he goes from one State to another?'

Xiao pursued, 'The kingdom of Jin is one, as well as others, of official employments, but I have not heard of anyone being thus earnest about being in office. If there should be this urge why does a superior man make any difficulty about taking it?"

Mencius answered, 'When a son is born, what is desired for him is that he may have a wife; when a daughter is born, what is desired for her is that she may have a husband. This feeling of the parents is possessed by all men. If the young people, without waiting for the orders of their parents, and the arrangements of the go-betweens, shall bore holes to steal a sight of each other, or get over the wall to be with each other, then their parents and all other people will despise them. The ancients did indeed always desire to be in office, but they also hated being so by any improper way. To seek office by an improper way is of a class with young people's boring holes.'

9 Peng Geng asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it not an extravagant procedure to go from one prince to another and live upon them, followed by several tens of carriages, and attended by several hundred men?'

Mencius replied, 'If there be not a proper ground for taking it, a single bamboo-cup of rice may not be received from a man. If there be such a proper ground, then Shun's receiving the kingdom from Yao is not to be considered excessive. Do you think it was excessive?'

Geng said, 'No. But for a scholar performing no service to receive his support notwithstanding is improper.'

Mencius answered, 'If you do not have an intercommunication of the productions of labour, and an interchange of men's services, so that one from his overplus may supply the deficiency of another, then husbandmen will have a superfluity of grain, and women will have a superfluity of cloth. If you have such an interchange, carpenters and carriage-wrights may all get their food from you. Here now is a man, who, at home, is filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders; who watches over the principles of the ancient kings, awaiting the rise of future learners - and yet you will refuse to support him. How is it that you give honour to the carpenter and carriage-wright, and slight him who practises benevolence and righteousness?'

Peng Geng said, 'The aim of the carpenter and carriagewright is by their trades to seek for a living. Is it also the aim of the superior man in his practice of principles thereby to seek for a living?'

'What have you to do,' returned Mencius, 'with his purpose? He is of service to you. He deserves to be supported, and should be supported. And let me ask - Do you remunerate a man's intention, or do you remunerate his service.'

To this Kang replied, 'I remunerate his intention.'

Mencius said, 'There is a man here, who breaks your tiles, and draws unsightly figures on your walls - his purpose may be thereby to seek for his living, but will you indeed remunerate him?'

'No,' said Geng.

Mencius then concluded, 'That being the case, it is not the purpose which you remunerate, but the work done.'

10 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'Sung is a small State. Its ruler is now setting about to practise the true royal government, and Qi and Chu hate and attack him. What in this case is to be done?'

Mencius replied, 'When Tang dwelt in Bo, he adjoined to the State of Ge, the chief of which was living in a dissolute state and neglecting his proper sacrifices. Tang sent messengers to inquire why he did not sacrifice. He replied, "I have no means of supplying the necessary victims." On this, Tang caused oxen and sheep to be sent to him, but he ate them, and still continued not to sacrifice. Tang again sent messengers to ask him the same question as before, when he replied, "I have no means of obtaining the necessary millet." On this, Tang sent the mass of the people of Bo to go and till the ground for him, while the old and feeble carried their food to them. The chief of Ge led his people to intercept those who were thus charged with wine, cooked rice, millet, and paddy, and took their stores from them, while they killed those who refused to give them up. There was a boy who had some millet and flesh for the labourers, who was thus slain and robbed. What is said in the Book of History, "The chief of Ge behaved as an enemy to the provision-carriers," has reference to this Because of his murder of this boy, Tang proceeded to punish

him. All within the four seas said, "It is not because he desires the riches of the kingdom, but to avenge a common man and woman." When Tang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ge, and though he made eleven punitive expeditions, he had not an enemy in the kingdom. When he pursued his work in the east, the rude tribes in the west murmured. So did those on the north, when he was engaged in the south. Their cry was "Why does he make us last." Thus, the people's longing for him was like their longing for rain in a time of great drought. The frequenters of the markets stopped not. Those engaged in weeding in the fields made no change in their operations. While he punished their rulers, he consoled the people. His progress was like the falling of opportune rain, and the people were delighted. It is said in the Book of History, "We have waited for our prince. When our prince comes, we may escape from the punishments under which we suffer." There being some who would not become the subjects of Zhou, king Wu proceeded to punish them on the east. He gave tranquillity to their people, who welcomed him with baskets full of their black and yellow silks, saying "From henceforth we shall serve the sovereign of our dynasty of Zhou, that we may be made happy by him." So they joined themselves, as subjects, to the great city of Zhou. Thus, the men of station of Shang took baskets full of black and yellow silks to meet the men of station of Zhou, and the lower classes of the one met those of the other with baskets of rice and vessels of congee. Wu saved the people from the midst of fire and water, seizing only their oppressors, and destroying them.' In the Great Declaration it is said, "My power shall be put forth, and, invading the territories of Shang, I will seize the oppressor. I will put him to death to punish him - so shall the greatness of my work appear, more glorious than that of Tang." Song is not, as you say, practising true royal government, and so forth. If it were practising royal government, all within the four seas would be lifting up their heads, and looking for its prince, wishing to have him for their sovereign. Great as Qi and Chu are, what would there be to fear from them?'

11 Mencius said to Dai Bu Sheng, 'I see that you are desiring your king to be virtuous, and will plainly tell you how he may be made so. Suppose that there is a great officer of Chu here, who wishes his son to learn the speech of Qi. Will he in that case employ a man of Qi as his tutor, or a man of Chu?'

'He will employ a man of Qi to teach him,' said Bu Sheng. Mencius went on, 'If but one man of Qi be teaching him, and there be a multitude of men of Chu continually shouting out about him although his father heat him every day wishing him to learn the speech of Oi, it will be impossible for him to do so. But in the same way, if he were to be taken and placed for several years in Zhuang or Yue, though his father should beat him, wishing him to speak the language of Chu, it would be impossible for him to do so. You supposed that Xue Ju Zhou was a scholar of virtue, and you have got him placed in attendance on the king. Suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, were Xue Ju Zhous, whom would the king have to do evil with? And suppose that all in attendance on the king, old and young, high and low, are not Xue Ju Zhous, whom will the king gave to do good with? What can one Xue Ju Zhou do alone for the king of Song?'

12 Gong Sun Chou asked Mencius, saying, 'What is the point of righteousness involved in your not going to see the

Mencius replied, 'Among the ancients, if one had not seen a minister in a State, he did not go to see the sovereign. Duan Gan Mu leaped over his wall to avoid the prince. Xie Liu shut his door, and would not admit the prince. These two, however, carried their scrupulosity to excess. When a prince is urgent, it is not improper to see him. Yang Huo wished to get Confucius to go to see him, but disliked doing so by any want of propriety. As it is the rule, therefore, that when a great officer sends a gift to a scholar, if the latter be not at home to receive it, he must go to the officer's to pay his respects, Yang Huo watched when Confucius was out, and sent him a roasted pig. Confucius, in his turn, watched when Huo was out, and went to pay his respects to him. At that time, Yang Huo had taken the initiative - how could Confucius decline going to see him? Zengzi said, "They who shrug up their shoulders, and laugh in a flattering way, toil harder than the summer labourer in the fields." Zi Lu said, "There are those who talk with people with whom they have no great community of feeling. If you look at their countenances, they are full of blushes. I do not desire to know such persons." By considering these remarks, the spirit which the superior man nourishes may be known.'

13 Dai Ying Zhi said to Mencius, 'I am not able at present and immediately to do with the levying of a tithe only, and abolishing the duties charged at the passes and in the markets. With your leave I will lighten, however, both the tax and the duties, until next year, and will then make an end of them. What do you think of such a course?'

Mencius said, 'Here is a man, who every day appropriates some of his neighbour's strayed fowls. Some one says to him, "Such is not the way of a good man;" and he replies, "With your leave I will diminish my appropriations, and will take only one fowl a month, until next year, when I will make an end of the practice." If you know that the thing is unrighteous, then use all despatch in putting an end to it - why wait till next year?"

14 The disciple Gong Du said to Mencius, 'Master, the people beyond our school all speak of you as being fond of disputing. I venture to ask whether it be so.'

Mencius replied, 'Indeed, I am not fond of disputing, but I am compelled to do it. A long time has elapsed since this world of men received its being, and there has been along its history now a period of good order, and now a period of confusion. In the time of Yao, the waters, flowing out of their channels, inundated the Middle Kingdom, Snakes and dragons occupied it, and the people had no place where they could settle themselves. In the low grounds they made nests for themselves on the trees or raised platforms, and in the high grounds they made caves. It is said in the Book of History, The waters in their wild course warned me." Those "waters in their wild course" were the waters of the great inundation. Shun employed Yu to reduce the waters to order. Yu dug open their obstructed channels, and conducted them to the sea. He drove away the snakes and dragons, and forced them into the grassy marshes. On this, the waters pursued their course through the country, even the waters of the Jiang, the Huai, the He, and the Han, and the dangers and obstructions which they had occasioned were removed. The birds and beasts which had injured the people also disappeared, and after this men found the plains available for them, and occupied them.

'After the death of Yao and Shun, the principles that mark sages fell into decay. Oppressive sovereigns arose one after another, who pulled down houses to make ponds and lakes, so that the people knew not where they could rest in quiet; they threw fields out of cultivation to form gardens and parks, so that the people could not get clothes and food. Afterwards, corrupt speakings and oppressive deeds became more rife; gardens and parks, ponds and lakes, thickets and marshes became more numerous, and birds and beasts swarmed. By the time of the tyrant Zhou, the kingdom was again in a state of great confusion. Zhou Gong assisted king Wu, and destroyed Zhou. He smote Yan, and after three years put its sovereign to death. He drove Fei Lian to a corner by the sea, and slew him. The States which he extinguished amounted to fifty. He drove far away also the tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants - and all the people was greatly delighted. It is said in the Book of History, "Great and splendid were the plans of king Wen! Greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wu! They are for the assistance and instruction of us who are of an after day. They are all in principle correct, and deficient in nothing.

'Again the world fell into decay, and principles faded away. Perverse speakings and oppressive deeds waxed rife again. There were instances of ministers who murdered their sovereigns, and of sons who murdered their fathers. Confucius was afraid, and made the "Spring and Autumn." What the "Spring and Autumn" contains are matters proper to the sovereign. On this account Confucius said, "Yes! It is the Spring and Autumn which will make men know me, and it is the Spring and Autumn which will make men condemn me."

'Once more, sage sovereigns cease to arise, and the princes of the States give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions. The words of Yang Zhu and Mo Di fill the country. If you listen to people's discourses throughout it, you will find that they have adopted the views either of Yang or of Mo. Now, Yang's principle is "each one for himself," which does not acknowledge the claims of the sovereign. Mo's principle is "to love all equally," which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. But to acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. Gong Meng Yi said, "In their kitchens, there is fat meat. In their stables, there are fat horses. But their people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. This is leading on beasts to devour men." If the principles of Yang and Mo be not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness. When benevolence and righteousness are stopped up, beasts will be led on to devour men, and men will devour one another. I am alarmed by these things, and address myself to the defence of the doctrines of the former sages, and to oppose Yang and Mo. I drive away their licentious expressions, so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. Their delusions spring up in men's minds, and do injury to their practice of affairs. Shown in their practice of affairs, they are pernicious to their government. When sages shall rise up again, they will not change my words.

'In former times, Yu repressed the vast waters of the inundation, and the country was reduced to order. Zhou Gong's achievements extended even to the barbarous tribes of the east and north, and he drove away all ferocious animals, and the people enjoyed repose. Confucius completed the "Spring and Autumn," and rebellious ministers and villainous sons were struck with terror. It is said in the Book of Poetry,

"He smote the barbarians of the west and the north; He punished Jing and Shu; And no one dared to resist us." These father-deniers and king-deniers would have been smitten by Zhou Gong. I also wish to rectify men's hearts, and to put an end to those perverse doctrines, to oppose their one-sided actions and banish away their licentious expressions - and thus to carry on the work of the three sages. Do I do so because I am fond of disputing? I am compelled to do it. Whoever is able to oppose Yang and Mo is a disciple of the sages.'

15 Kuang Zhang said to Mencius, 'Is not Chen Zhong a man of true self-denying purity? He was living in Wu Ling, and for three days was without food, till he could neither hear nor see. Over a well there grew a plum-tree, the fruit of which had been more than half eaten by worms. He crawled to it, and tried to eat some of the fruit, when, after swallowing three mouthfuls, he recovered his sight and hearing.'

Mencius replied, 'Among the scholars of Qi, I must regard Zhong as the thumb among the fingers. But still, where is the self-denying purity he pretends to? To carry out the principles which he holds, one must become an earthworm, for so only can it be done. Now, an earthworm eats the dry mould above, and drinks the yellow spring below. Was the house in which Zhong dwells built by a Bo Yi? or was it built by a robber like Zhi? Was the millet which he eats planted by a Bo Yi? or was it planted by a robber like Zhi? These are things which cannot be known.'

'But,' said Zhang, 'what does that matter? He himself weaves sandals of hemp, and his wife twists and dresses threads of hemp to sell or exchange them.'

Mencius rejoined, 'Zhong belongs to an ancient and noble family of Qi. His elder brother Dai received from Gai a revenue of 10,000 zhong, but he considered his brother's emolument to be unrighteous, and would not eat of it, and in the same way he considered his brother's house to be unrighteous, and would not dwell in it. Avoiding his brother and leaving his mother, he went and dwelt in Wu Ling. One day afterwards, he returned to their house, when it happened that some one sent his brother a present of a live goose. He, knitting his eyebrows, said, "What are you going to use that cackling thing for?" By-and-by his mother killed the goose, and gave him some of it to eat. Just then his brother came into the house, and said, "It is the flesh of that cackling thing, upon which he went out and vomited it. Thus, what his mother gave him he would not eat, but what his wife gives him he eats. He will not dwell in his brother's house, but he dwells in Wu Ling. How can he in such circumstances complete the style of life which he professes? With such principles as Zhong holds, a man must be an earthworm, and then he can carry them out.

### MENGZI CHAPTER 7 Li Lou 1

I Mencius said, 'The power of vision of Li Lou, and skill of hand of Gong Shu, without the compass and square, could not form squares and circles. The acute ear of the music-master Kuang, without the pitch-tubes, could not determine correctly the five notes. The principles of Yao and Shun, without a benevolent government, could not secure the tranquil order of the kingdom. There are now princes who have benevolent hearts and a reputation for benevolence, while yet the people do not receive any benefits from them, or will they leave any example to future ages - all because they do not put into practice the ways of the ancient kings.

'Hence we have the saying: "Virtue alone is not sufficient for the exercise of government; laws alone cannot carry themselves into practice." It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Without transgression, without forgetfulness, Following the ancient statutes." Never has any one fallen into error, who followed the laws of the ancient kings. When the sages had used the vigour of their eyes, they called in to their aid the compass, the square, the level, and the line, to make things square, round, level, and straight: the use of the instruments is inexhaustible. When they had used their power of hearing to the utmost, they called in the pitch-tubes to their aid to determine the five notes - the use of those tubes is inexhaustible. When they had exerted to the utmost the thoughts of their hearts, they called in to their aid a government that could not endure to witness the sufferings of men - and their benevolence overspread the kingdom.

'Hence we have the saying: "To raise a thing high, we must begin from the top of a mound or a hill; to dig to a great depth, we must commence in the low ground of a stream or a marsh." Can he be pronounced wise, who, in the exercise of government, does not proceed according to the ways of the former kings? Therefore only the benevolent ought to be in high stations. When a man destitute of benevolence is in a high station, he thereby disseminates his wickedness among all below him. When the prince has no principles by which he examines his administration, and his ministers have no laws by which they keep themselves in the discharge of their duties, then in the court obedience is not paid to principle, and in the office obedience is not paid to rule. Superiors violate the laws of righteousness, and inferiors violate the penal laws. It is only by a fortunate chance that a State in such a case is preserved.

'Therefore it is said. "It is not the exterior and interior walls being incomplete, and the supply of weapons offensive and defensive not being large, which constitutes the calamity of a kingdom. It is not the cultivable area not being extended, and stores and wealth not being accumulated, which occasions the ruin of a State." When superiors do not observe the rules of propriety, and inferiors do not learn, then seditious people spring up, and that State will perish in no time. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "When such an overthrow of Zhou is being produced by Heaven, Be not ye so much at your ease!" " At your ease;" - that is, dilatory. And so dilatory may those officers be deemed, who serve their prince without righteousness, who take office and retire from it without regard to propriety, and who in their words disown the ways of the ancient kings. Therefore it is said. "To urge one's sovereign to difficult achievements may be called showing respect for him. To set before him what is good and repress his perversities may be called showing reverence for him. He who does not do these things, saying to himself, My sovereign is incompetent to this, may be said to play the thief with him.

2 Mencius said, 'The compass and square produce perfect circles and squares. By the sages, the human relations are perfectly exhibited. He who as a sovereign would perfectly discharge the duties of a sovereign, and he who as a minister would perfectly discharge the duties of a minister, have only to imitate - the one Yao, and the other Shun. He who does not serve his sovereign as Shun served Yao, does not respect his sovereign; and he who does not rule his people as Yao ruled his, injures his people. Confucius said, "There are but two courses, which can be pursued, that of virtue and its opposite." A ruler who carries the oppression of his people to the highest pitch, will himself be slain, and his kingdom will perish. If one stop short of the highest pitch, his life will notwithstanding be in danger, and his kingdom will be weakened. He will be styled "The Dark." or "The Cruel." and though he may have filial sons and affectionate grandsons, they will not be able in a hundred generations to change the designation. This is what is intended in the words of the Book of Poetry, "The beacon of Yin is not remote, It is in the time of the (last) sovereign of Xia."

3 Mencius said, 'It was by benevolence that the three dynasties gained the throne, and by not being benevolent that they lost it. It is by the same means that the decaying and flourishing, the preservation and perishing, of States are determined. If the sovereign be not benevolent, he cannot preserve the throne from passing from him. If the Head of a State be not benevolent, he cannot preserve his rule. If a high noble or great officer be not benevolent, he cannot preserve his ancestral temple. If a scholar or common man be not benevolent, be cannot preserve his four limbs. Now they hate death and ruin, and yet delight in being not benevolent - this is like hating to be drunk, and yet being strong to drink wine!"

4 Mencius said, 'If a man love others, and no responsive attachment is shown to him, let him turn inwards and examine his own benevolence. If he is trying to rule others, and his government is unsuccessful, let him turn inwards and examine his wisdom. If he treats others politely, and they do not return his politeness, let him turn inwards and examine his own feeling of respect. When we do not, by what we do, realise what we desire, we must turn inwards, and examine ourselves in every point. When a man's person is correct, the whole kingdom will turn to him with recognition and submission. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Be always studious to be in harmony with the ordinances of God, And you will obtain much happiness."

5 Mencius said, 'People have this common saying, "The kingdom, the State, the family." The root of the kingdom is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is in the person of its Head.'

6 Mencius said, 'The administration of government is not difficult - it lies in not offending the great families. He whom the great families affect, will be affected by the whole State; and he whom any one State affects, will be affected by the whole kingdom. When this is the case, such an one's virtue and teachings will spread over all within the four seas like the rush of water.'

7 Mencius said, 'When right government prevails in the kingdom, princes of little virtue are submissive to those of great, and those of little worth to those of great. When bad government prevails in the kingdom, princes of small power are submissive to those of great, and the weak to the strong. Both these cases are the rule of Heaven. They who accord with Heaven are preserved, and they who rebel against Heaven perish. The duke Jing of Qi said, "Not to be able to command others, and at the same time to refuse to receive their commands, is to cut one's self off from all intercourse with others." His tears flowed forth while he gave his daughter to be married to the prince of Wu.

'Now the small States imitate the large, and yet are ashamed to receive their commands. This is like a scholar's being ashamed to receive the commands of his master. For a prince who is ashamed of this, the best plan is to imitate king Wen. Let one imitate king Wen, and in five years, if his State be

large, or in seven years, if it be small, he will be sure to give laws to the kingdom. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The descendants of the sovereigns of the Shang dynasty, Are in number more than hundreds of thousands, But, God having passed His decree, They are all submissive to Zhou. They are submissive to Zhou, Because the decree of Heaven is not unchanging. The officers of Yin, admirable and alert, Pour out the libations, and assist in the capital of Zhou." Confucius said, "As against so benevolent a sovereign, they could not be deemed a multitude." Thus, if the prince of a state love benevolence, he will have no opponent in all the kingdom. Now they wish to have no opponent in all the kingdom, but they do not seek to attain this by being benevolent. This is like a man laying hold of a heated substance, and not having first dipped it in water. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Who can take up a heated substance, Without first dipping it (in

8 Mencius said, 'How is it possible to speak with those princes who are not benevolent? Their perils they count safety, their calamities they count profitable, and they have pleasure in the things by which they perish. If it were possible to talk with them who so violate benevolence, how could we have such destruction of States and ruin of Families? There was a boy singing, "When the water of the Cang Lang is clear, It does to wash the strings of my cap; When the water of the Cang Lang is muddy, It does to wash my feet." Confucius said, "Hear what he sings, my children. When clear, then he will wash his cap-strings; and when muddy, he will wash his feet with it. This different application is brought by the water on itself." A man must first despise himself, and then others will despise him. A family must first destroy itself, and then others will destroy it. A State must first smite itself, and then others will smite it. This is illustrated in the passage of the Tai Jia, "When Heaven sends down calamities, it is still possible to escape them. When we occasion the calamities ourselves, it is not possible any longer to live."

9 Mencius said, 'Jie and Zhou's losing the throne, arose from their losing the people, and to lose the people means to lose their hearts. There is a way to get the kingdom: get the people, and the kingdom is got. There is a way to get the people: get their hearts, and the people are got. There is a way to get their hearts: it is simply to collect for them what they like, and not to lay on them what they dislike. The people turn to a benevolent rule as water flows downwards, and as wild beasts fly to the wilderness. Accordingly, as the ofter aids the deep waters, driving the fish into them, and the hawk aids the thickets, driving the little birds to them, so Jie and Zhou aided Tang and Wu, driving the people to them. If among the present rulers of the kingdom, there were one who loved benevolence, all the other princes would aid him, by driving the people to him. Although he wished not to become sovereign, he could not avoid becoming so. The case of one of the present princes wishing to become sovereign is like the having to seek for mugwort three years old, to cure a seven years' sickness. If it have not been kept in store, the patient may all his life not get it. If the princes do not set their wills on benevolence, all their days will be in sorrow and disgrace, and they will be involved in death and ruin. This is illustrated by what is said in the Book of Poetry, "How otherwise can you improve the kingdom? You will only with it go to ruin."

10 Mencius said, 'With those who do violence to themselves, it is impossible to speak. With those who throw themselves away, it is impossible to do anything. To disown in his conversation propriety and righteousness, is what we mean by doing violence to one's self. To say "I am not able to dwell in benevolence or pursue the path of righteousness," is what we mean by throwing one's self away. Benevolence is the tranquil habitation of man, and righteousness is his straight path. Alas for them, who leave the tranquil dwelling empty and do not reside in it, and who abandon the right path and do not pursue it?'

11 Mencius said, 'The path of duty lies in what is near, and men seek for it in what is remote. The work of duty lies in what is easy, and men seek for it in what is difficult. If each man would love his parents and show the due respect to his elders, the whole land would enjoy tranquillity.'

12 Mencius said, 'When those occupying inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign: if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not obtain the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way of being trusted by one's friends; if one do not serve his parents so as to make them pleased, he will not be trusted by his friends. There is a way to make one's parents pleased: if one, on turning his thoughts inwards, finds a want of sincerity, he will not give pleasure to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self: if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself Therefore sincerity is the way of Heaven. To think how to be sincere is the way of man. Never has there been one possessed of complete sincerity, who did not move others. Never has there been one who had not sincerity who was able to move others.

13 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi, that he might avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the northern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he roused himself, and said, should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old." Tai Gong, that he might avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he roused himself, and said, "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old. Those two old men were the greatest old men of the kingdom. When they came to follow king Wen, it was the fathers of the kingdom coming to follow him. When the fathers of the kingdom joined him, how could the sons go to any other? Were any of the princes to practise the government of king Wen, within seven years he would be sure to be giving laws to the kingdom.'

14 Mencius said, 'Qiu acted as chief officer to the head of the Ji family, whose evil ways he was unable to change, while he exacted from the people double the grain formerly paid. Confucius said, "He is no disciple of mine. Little children, beat the drum and assail him." Looking at the subject from this case, we perceive that when a prince was not practising benevolent government, all his ministers who enriched him were rejected by Confucius - how much more would he have rejected those who are vehement to fight for their prince! When contentions about territory are the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the fields are filled with them. When some struggle for a city is the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the city is filled with them. This is what is called "leading on the land to devour human flesh." Death is not enough for such a crime. Therefore, those who are skilful to fight should suffer the highest punishment. Next to them should be punished those who unite some princes in leagues against others; and next to them, those who take in grassy commons, imposing the cultivation of the ground on the people.

15 Mencius said, 'Of all the parts of a man's body there is none more excellent than the pupil of the eye. The pupil cannot be used to hide a man's wickedness. If within the breast all be correct, the pupil is bright. If within the breast all be not correct, the pupil is dull. Listen to a man's words and look at the pupil of his eye. How can a man conceal his character?'

16 Mencius said, 'The respectful do not despise others. The economical do not plunder others. The prince who treats men with despite and plunders them, is only afraid that they may not prove obedient to him - how can he be regarded as respectful or economical? How can respectfulness and economy be made out of tones of the voice, and a smiling manner?'

17 Chun Yu Kun said, 'Is it the rule that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving or receiving anything?'

Mencius replied, 'It is the rule.'

Kun asked, 'If a man's sister-in-law be drowning, shall he rescue her with his hand?'

Mencius said, 'He who would not so rescue the drowning woman is a wolf. For males and females not to allow their hands to touch in giving and receiving is the general rule; when a sister-in-law is drowning, to rescue her with the hand is a peculiar exigency.'

Kun said, 'The whole kingdom is drowning. How strange it is that you will not rescue it!'

Mencius answered, 'A drowning kingdom must be rescued with right principles, as a drowning sister-in-law has to be rescued with the hand. Do you wish me to rescue the kingdom with my hand?'

18 Gong Sun Chou said, 'Why is it that the superior man does not himself teach his son?'

Mencius replied, 'The circumstances of the case forbid its being done. The teacher must inculcate what is correct. When he inculcates what is correct, and his lessons are not practised, he follows them up with being angry. When he follows them up with being angry, then, contrary to what should be, he is offended with his son. At the same time, the pupil says, 'My master inculcates on me what is correct, and he himself does not proceed in a correct path." The result of this is, that father and son are offended with each other. When father and son come to be offended with each other, the case is evil. The ancients exchanged sons, and one taught the son of another. Between father and son, there should be no reproving admonitions to what is good. Such reproofs lead to alienation, and than alienation there is nothing more inauspicious.'

19 Mencius said, 'Of services, which is the greatest? The service of parents is the greatest. Of charges, which is the greatest? The charge of one's self is the greatest. That those who do not fail to keep themselves are able to serve their parents is what I have heard. But I have never heard of any, who, having failed to keep themselves, were able notwithstanding to serve their parents. There are many services, but the service of parents is the root of all others. There are many charges, but the charge of one's self is the root of all others. The philosopher Zeng, in nourishing Zeng Xi, was always sure to have wine and flesh provided. And when

they were being removed, he would ask respectfully to whom he should give what was left. If his father asked whether there was anything left, he was sure to say, "There is." After the death of Zeng Xi, when Zeng Yuan came to nourish Zengzi, he was al ways sure to have wine and flesh provided. But when the things were being removed, he did not ask to whom he should give what was left, and if his father asked whether there was anything left, he would answer "No;" - intending to bring them in again. This was what is called "nourishing the mouth and body." We may call Zengzi's practice "nourishing the will." To serve one's parents as Zengzi served his, may be accepted as flial piety.'

20 Mencius said, 'It is not enough to remonstrate with a sovereign on account of the mal-employment of ministers, nor to blame errors of government. It is only the great man who can rectify what is wrong in the sovereign's mind. Let the prince be benevolent, and all his acts will be benevolent. Let the prince be righteous, and all his acts will be righteous. Let the prince be correct, and everything will be correct. Once rectify the ruler, and the kingdom will be firmly settled.'

21 Mencius said, 'There are cases of praise which could not be expected, and of reproach when the parties have been seeking to be perfect.'

22 Mencius said, 'Men's being ready with their tongues arises simply from their not having been reproved.'

23 Mencius said, 'The evil of men is that they like to be teachers of others.'

24 The disciple Yue Zheng went in the train of Zi Ao to Qi. He came to see Mencius, who said to him, 'Are you also come to see me?' Yue Zheng replied, 'Master, why do you speak such words?' 'How many days have you been here?' asked Mencius. 'I came yesterday.' 'Yesterday! Is it not with reason then that I thus speak?' 'My lodging-house was not arranged.' 'Have you heard that a scholar's lodging-house must be arranged before he visit his elder?' Yue Zheng said, 'I have done wrong.'

25 Mencius, addressing the disciple Yue Zheng, said to him,

25 Mencius, addressing the disciple Yue Zheng, said to him, 'Your coming here in the train of Zi Ao was only because of the food and the drink. I could not have thought that you, having learned the doctrine of the ancients, would have acted with a view to eating and drinking.'

with a view to eating and drinking.'

26 Mencius said, 'There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them. Shun married without informing his parents because of this, lest he should have no posterity. Superior men consider that his doing so was the same as if he had informed them.'

27 Mencius said, 'The richest fruit of benevolence is this: the service of one's parents. The richest fruit of righteousness is this: the obeying one's elder brothers. The richest fruit of wisdom is this: the knowing those two things, and not departing from them. The richest fruit of propriety is this: the ordering and adorning those two things. The richest fruit of music is this: the rejoicing in those two things. When they are rejoiced in, they grow. Growing, how can they be repressed? When they come to this state that they cannot be repressed, then unconsciously the feet begin to dance and the hands to move '

28 Mencius said, 'Suppose the case of the whole kingdom turning in great delight to an individual to submit to him. To regard the whole kingdom thus turning to him in great delight but as a bundle of grass - only Shun was capable of this. He considered that if one could not get the hearts of his parents he could not be considered a man, and that if he could not get to an entire accord with his parents, he could not be considered a son. By Shun's completely fulfilling everything by which a parent could be served, Gu Sou was brought to find delight in what was good. When Gu Sou was brought to find that delight, the whole kingdom was transformed. When Gu Sou was brought to find that delight, all fathers and sons in the kingdom were established in their respective duties. This is called great filial piety.'

# MENGZI CHAPTER 8 Li Lou 2

29 Mencius said, 'Shun was born in Zhu Feng, removed to Fu Xia, and died in Ming Tiao - a man near the wild tribes on the east. King Wen was born in Zhou by mount Qi, and died in Bi Ying - a man near the wild tribes on the west. Those regions were distant from one another more than a thousand li, and the age of the one sage was posterior to that of the other more than a thousand years. But when they got their wish, and carried their principles into practice throughout the Middle Kingdom, it was like uniting the two halves of a seal. When we examine those sages, both the earlier and the later, their principles are found to be the same.'

30 When Zi Chan was chief minister of the State of Zheng, he would convey people across the Zhen and Wei in his own carriage. Mencius said, 'It was kind, but showed that he did not understand the practice of government. When in the eleventh month of the year the foot-bridges are completed, and the carriage-bridges in the twelfth month, the people have not the trouble of wading. Let a governor conduct his rule on principles of equal justice, and, when he goes abroad, he may cause people to be removed out of his path. But how can he convey everybody across the rivers? It follows that if a

governor will try to please everybody, he will find the days not sufficient for his work.'

31 Mencius said to the king Xuan of Qi, 'When the prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, his ministers regard their prince as their belly and heart; when he regards them as his dogs and horses, they regard him as another man; when he regards them as the ground or as grass, they regard him as a robber and an enemy.'

The king said, 'According to the rules of propriety, a minister wears mourning when he has left the service of a prince. How must a prince behave that his old ministers may thus go into mourning?'

Mencius replied, 'The admonitions of a minister having been followed, and his advice listened to, so that blessings have descended on the people, if for some cause he leaves the country, the prince sends an escort to conduct him beyond the boundaries. He also anticipates with recommendatory intimations his arrival in the country to which he is proceeding. When he has been gone three years and does not return, only then at length does he take back his fields and residence. This treatment is what is called a "thrice-repeated display of consideration." When a prince acts thus, mourning will be worn on leaving his service. Now-a-days, the remonstrances of a minister are not followed, and his advice is not listened to, so that no blessings descend on the people. When for any cause he leaves the country, the prince tries to seize him and hold him a prisoner. He also pushes him to extremity in the country to which he has gone, and on the very day of his departure, takes back his fields and residence. This treatment shows him to be what we call "a robber and an enemy." What mourning can be worn for a robber and an

32 Mencius said, 'When scholars are put to death without any crime, the great officers may leave the country. When the people are slaughtered without any crime, the scholars may remove.'

33 Mencius said, 'If the sovereign be benevolent, all will be benevolent. If the sovereign be righteous, all will be righteous.'

34 Mencius said, 'Acts of propriety which are not really proper, and acts of righteousness which are not really righteous, the great man does not do.'

35 Mencius said, 'Those who keep the Mean, train up those who do not, and those who have abilities, train up those who have not, and hence men rejoice in having fathers and elder brothers who are possessed of virtue and talent. If they who keep the Mean spurn those who do not, and they who have abilities spurn those who have not, then the space between them - those so gifted and the ungifted - will not admit an inch.'

36 Mencius said, 'Men must be decided on what they will NOT do, and then they are able to act with vigour in what they ought to do.'

37 Mencius said, 'What future misery have they and ought they to endure, who talk of what is not good in others!'

38 Mencius said, 'Zhong Ni did not do extraordinary things.'

39 Mencius said, 'The great man does not think beforehand of his words that they may be sincere, nor of his actions that they may be resolute - he simply speaks and does what is right.'

40 Mencius said, 'The great man is he who does not lose his child's-heart.'

41 Mencius said, 'The nourishment of parents when living is not sufficient to be accounted the great thing. It is only in the performing their obsequies when dead that we have what can be considered the great thing.'

42 Mencius said, 'The superior man makes his advances in what he is learning with deep earnestness and by the proper course, wishing to get hold of it as in himself. Having got hold of it in himself, he abides in it calmly and firmly. Abiding in it calmly and firmly, he reposes a deep reliance on it. Reposing a deep reliance on it, he seizes it on the left and right, meeting everywhere with it as a fountain from which things flow. It is on this account that the superior man wishes to get hold of what he is learning as in himself.'

43 Mencius said, 'In learning extensively and discussing minutely what is learned, the object of the superior man is that he may be able to go back and set forth in brief what is essential.'

44 Mencius said, 'Never has he who would by his excellence subdue men been able to subdue them. Let a prince seek by his excellence to nourish men, and he will be able to subdue the whole kingdom. It is impossible that any one should become ruler of the people to whom they have not yielded the subjection of the heart.'

45 Mencius said, 'Words which are not true are inauspicious, and the words which are most truly obnoxious to the name of inauspicious, are those which throw into the shade men of talents and virtue.'

46 The disciple Xu said, 'Zhong Ni often praised water, saying, "0 water! 0 water!" What did he find in water to praise?"

Mencius replied, 'There is a spring of water; how it gushes out! It rests not day nor night. It fills up every hole, and then advances, flowing onto the four seas. Such is water having a spring! It was this which he found in it to praise. But suppose that the water has no spring. In the seventh and eighth when the rain falls abundantly, the channels in the fields are all filled, but their being dried up again may be expected in a short time. So a superior man is ashamed of a reputation bevond his merits.'

47 Mencius said, 'That whereby man differs from the lower animals is but small. The mass of people cast it away, while superior men preserve it. Shun clearly understood the multitude of things, and closely observed the relations of humanity. He walked along the path of benevolence and righteousness; he did not need to pursue benevolence and righteousness.'

48 Mencius said, 'Yu hated the pleasant wine, and loved good words. Tang held fast the Mean, and employed men of talents and virtue without regard to where they came from. King Wen looked on the people as he would on a man who was wounded, and he looked towards the right path as if he could not see it. King Wu did not slight the near, and did not forget the distant. The duke of Zhou desired to unite in himself the virtues of those kings, those founders of the three dynasties, that he might display in his practice the four things which they did. If he saw any thing in them not suited to his time, he looked up and thought about it, from daytime into the night, and when he was fortunate enough to master the difficulty, he sat waiting for the morning.'

49 Mencius said, 'The traces of sovereign rule were extinguished, and the royal odes ceased to be made. When those odes ceased to be made, then the Chun Qiu was produced. The Sheng of Jin, the Tao Wu of Chu, and the Chun Qiu of Lu were books of the same character. The subject of the Chun Qiu was the affairs of Huan of Qi and Wen of Jin, and its style was the historical. Confucius said, "Its righteous decisions I ventured to make."

50 Mencius said, 'The influence of a sovereign sage terminates in the fifth generation. The influence of a mere sage does the same. Although I could not be a disciple of Confucius himself, I have endeavoured to cultivate my virtue by means of others who were.'

51 Mencius said, 'When it appears proper to take a thing, and afterwards not proper, to take it is contrary to moderation. When it appears proper to give a thing and afterwards not proper, to give it is contrary to kindness. When it appears proper to sacrifice one's life, and afterwards not proper, to sacrifice it is contrary to bravery.'

52 Pang Meng learned archery of Yi. When he had acquired completely all the science of Yi, he thought that in all the kingdom only Yi was superior to himself, and so he slew him. Mencius said, 'In this case Yi also was to blame. Gong Meng Yi indeed said, "It would appear as if he were not to be blamed," but he thereby only meant that his blame was slight. How can he be held without any blame? The people of Chang sent Zi Zhuo Ru to make a stealthy attack on Wei, which sent Yu Gong Zhi to pursue him. Zi Zhuo Ru said, "To-day I feel unwell, so that I cannot hold my bow. I am a dead man!" At the same time he asked his driver, "Who is it that is pursuing me?" The driver said, "It is Yu Gong Si." on which he me?" The driver said, "It is Yu Gong Si," on which, he exclaimed, "I shall live." The driver said, "Yu Gong Si is the best archer of Wei, what do you mean by saying 'I shall live?'"
Yu replied, "Yu Gong Si learned archery from Yin Gong Tuo, who again learned it from me. Now, Yin Gong Tuo is an upright man, and the friends of his selection must be upright also." When Yu Gong Si came up, he said, "Master, why are you not holding your bow?" Yu answered him, "To-day I am feeling unwell, and cannot hold my bow." On this Si said, "I learned archery from Yin Gong Tuo, who again learned it from you. I cannot bear to injure you with your own science. The business of to-day, however, is the prince's business, which I dare not neglect." He then took his arrows, knocked off their steel points against the carriage-wheel, discharged four of them, and returned.

53 Mencius said, 'If the lady Xi had been covered with a filthy head-dress, all people would have stopped their noses in passing her. Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, fast, and bathe, he may sacrifice to God.'

54 Mencius said, 'All who speak about the natures of things, have in fact only their phenomena to reason from, and the value of a phenomenon is in its being natural. What I dislike in your wise men is their boring out their conclusions. If those wise men would only act as Yu did when he conveyed away the waters, there would be nothing to dislike in their wisdom. The manner in which Yu conveyed away the waters was by doing what gave him no trouble. If your wise men would also do that which gave them no trouble, their knowledge would also be great. There is heaven so high; there are the stars so distant. If we have investigated their phenomena, we may, while sitting in our places, go back to the solstice of a thousand years ago.'

55 The officer Gong Hang having on hand the funeral of one of his sons, the Master of the Right went to condole with him. When this noble entered the door, some called him to

them and spoke with him, and some went to his place and spoke with him. Mencius did not speak with him, so that he was displeased, and said, 'All the gentlemen have spoken with me. There is only Mencius who does not speak to me, thereby slighting me.'

Mencius having heard of this remark, said, 'According to the prescribed rules, in the court, individuals may not change their places to speak with one another, nor may they pass from their ranks to bow to one another. I was wishing to observe this rule, and Zi Ao understands it that I was slighting him - is not this strange?'

56 Mencius said, 'That whereby the superior man is distinguished from other men is what he preserves in his heart namely, benevolence and propriety. The benevolent man loves others. The man of propriety shows respect to others. He who loves others is constantly loved by them. He who respects others is constantly respected by them. Here is a man, who treats me in a perverse and unreasonable manner. superior man in such a case will turn round upon himself, "I must have been wanting in benevolence; I must have been wanting in propriety - how should this have happened to me?" He examines himself, and is specially benevolent. He turns round upon himself, and is specially observant of propriety. The perversity and unreasonableness of the other, however, are still the same. The superior man will again turn round on himself, "I must have been failing to do my utmost." He turns round upon himself, and proceeds to do his utmost, but still the perversity and unreasonableness of the other are repeated. On this the superior man says, "This is a man utterly lost indeed! Since he conducts himself so, what is there to choose between him and a brute? Why should I go to contend with a brute?" Thus it is that the superior man has a life-long anxiety and not one morning's calamity. As to what is matter of anxiety to him, that indeed be has. He says, "Shun was a man, and I also am a man. But Shun became an example to all the kingdom, and his conduct was worthy to be handed down to after ages, while I am nothing better than a villager." This indeed is the proper matter of anxiety to him. And in what way is he anxious about it? Just that he maybe like Shun: then only will he stop. As to what the superior man would feel to be a calamity, there is no such thing. He does nothing which is not according to propriety. If there should befall him one morning's calamity, the superior man does not account it a calamity.

57 Yu and Ji, in an age when the world was being brought back to order, thrice passed their doors without entering them. Confucius praised them. The disciple Yan, in an age of disorder, dwelt in a mean narrow lane, having his single bamboo-cup of rice, and his single gourd-dish of water; other men could not have endured the distress, but he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Confucius praised him. Mencius said, 'Yu, Ji, and Yan Hui agreed in the principle of their conduct. Yu thought that if any one in the kingdom were drowned, it was as if he drowned him. Ji thought that if any one in the kingdom suffered hunger, it was as if he famished him. It was on this account that they were so earnest. If Yu and Ji, and Yanzi, had exchanged places, each would have done what the other did. Here now in the same apartment with you are people fighting - you ought to part them. Though you part them with your cap simply tied over your unbound hair, your conduct will be allowable. If the fighting be only in the village or neighbourhood, if you go to put an end to it with your cap tied over your hair unbound, you will be in error. Although you should shut your door in such a case, your conduct would be allowable.'

58 The disciple Gong Du said, 'Throughout the whole kingdom everybody pronounces Kuang Zhang unfilial. But you, Master, keep company with him, and moreover treat him with politeness. I venture to ask why you do so.'

Mencius replied, 'There are five things which are pronounced in the common usage of the age to be unfilial. The first is laziness in the use of one's four limbs, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The second is gambling and chess-playing, and being fond of wine, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The third is being fond of goods and money, and selfishly attached to his wife and children, without attending to the nourishment of his parents. The fourth is following the desires of one's ears and eyes, so as to bring his parents to disgrace. The fifth is being fond of bravery, fighting and quarrelling so as to endanger his parents. Is Zhang guilty of any one of these things? Now between Zhang and his father there arose disagreement, he, the son, reproving his father, to urge him to what was good. To urge one another to what is good by reproofs is the way of friends. But such urging between father and son is the greatest injury to the kindness, which should prevail between them. Moreover, did not Zhang wish to have in his family the relationships of husband and wife, child and mother? But because he had offended his father, and was not permitted to approach him, he sent away his wife, and drove forth his son, and all his life receives no cherishing attention from them. He settled it in his mind that if he did not act in this way, his would be one of the greatest of crimes. Such and nothing more is the case of Zhang.

59 When the philosopher Zeng dwelt in Wu Cheng, there came a band from Yue to plunder it. Someone said to him, The plunderers are coming - why not leave this?' Zeng on this left the city, saying to the man in charge of the house, 'Do not lodge any persons in my house, lest they break and injure the plants and trees.' When the plunderers withdrew, he sent word to him, saying, 'Repair the walls of my house. I am about to return.' When the plunderers retired, the philosopher Zeng returned accordingly. His disciples said, Since our master was treated with so much sincerity and respect, for him to be the first to go away on the arrival of the plunderers, so as to be observed by the people, and then to return on their retiring, appears to us to be improper.' Shen You Xing said, 'You do not understand this matter. Formerly, when Shen You was exposed to the outbreak of the grasscarriers, there were seventy disciples in our master's following, and none of them took part in the matter.'

When Zi Si was living in Wei, there came a band from Qi to plunder. Some one said to him, 'The plunderers are coming - why not leave this?' Zi Si said, 'If I go away, whom will the prince have to guard the State with?'

Mencius said, 'The philosophers Zeng and Zi Si agreed in the principle of their conduct. Zeng was a teacher - in the place of a father or elder brother. Zi Si was a minister - in a meaner place. If the philosophers Zeng and Zi Si had exchanged places the one would have done what the other did'

60 The officer Chu said to Mencius, 'Master, the king sent persons to spy out whether you were really different from other men.'

Mencius said, 'How should I be different from other men? Yao and Shun were just the same as other men.'

61 A man of Qi had a wife and a concubine, and lived together with them in his house. When their husband went out, he would get himself well filled with wine and flesh, and then return, and, on his wife's asking him with whom he ate and drank, they were sure to be all wealthy and honourable people. The wife informed the concubine, saying, 'When our good man goes out, he is sure to come back having partaken plentifully of wine and flesh. I asked with whom he ate and drank, and they are all, it seems, wealthy and honourable people. And yet no people of distinction ever come here. I will spy out where our good man goes.'

Accordingly, she got up early in the morning, and privately followed wherever her husband went. Throughout the whole city, there was no one who stood or talked with him. At last, he came to those who were sacrificing among the tombs beyond the outer wall on the east, and begged what they had over. Not being satisfied, he looked about, and went to another party - and this was the way in which he got himself satiated. His wife returned, and informed the concubine, saying, 'It was to our husband that we looked up in hopeful contemplation, with whom our lot is cast for life - and now these are his ways!' On this, along with the concubine she reviled their husband, and they wept together in the middle hall. In the meantime the husband, knowing nothing of all this, came in with a jaunty air, carrying himself proudly to his wife and concubine.

In the view of a superior man, as to the ways by which men seek for riches, honours, gain, and advancement, there are few of their wives and concubines who would not be ashamed and weep together on account of them.

### MENGZI CHAPTER 9 Wan Zhang 1

1 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'When Shun went into the fields, he cried out and wept towards the pitying heavens. Why did he cry out and weep?'

Mencius replied, 'He was dissatisfied, and full of earnest desire.'

Wan Zhang said, 'When his parents love him, a son rejoices and forgets them not. When his parents hate him, though they punish him, he does not murmur. Was Shun then murmuring against his parents?'

Mencius answered, 'Chang Xi asked Gong Ming Gao, saying, "As to Shun's going into the fields, I have received your instructions, but I do not know about his weeping and crying out to the pitying heavens and to his parents." Ming Gao answered him, "You do not understand that matter." Now, Gong Ming Gao supposed that the heart of the filial son could not be so free of sorrow. Shun would say, "I exert my strength to cultivate the fields, but I am thereby only discharging my office as a son. What can there be in me that my parents do not love me?" The Di caused his own children, nine sons and two daughters, the various officers, oxen and sheep, storehouses and granaries, all to be prepared, to serve Shun amid the channelled fields. Of the scholars of the kingdom there were multitudes who flocked to him. The sovereign designed that Shun should superintend the kingdom along with him, and then to transfer it to him entirely. But because his parents were not in accord with him, he felt like a poor man who has nowhere to turn to. To be delighted in by all the scholars of the kingdom, is what men desire, but it was not sufficient to remove the sorrow of Shun. The possession of beauty is what men desire, and Shun had for his wives the two

daughters of the Di, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Riches are what men desire, and the kingdom was the rich property of Shun, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. Honours are what men desire, and Shun had the dignity of being sovereign, but this was not sufficient to remove his sorrow. The reason why the being the object of men's delight, with the possession of beauty, riches, and honours were not sufficient to remove his sorrow, was that it could be removed only by his getting his parents to be in accord with him. The desire of the child is towards his father and mother. When he becomes conscious of the attractions of beauty, his desire is towards young and beautiful women. When he comes to have a wife and children, his desire is towards them. When he obtains office, his desire is towards his sovereign - if he cannot get the regard of his sovereign, he burns within. But the man of great filial piety, to the end of his life, has his desire towards his parents. In the great Shun I see the case of one whose desire at fifty year's was towards them.

2 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In marrying a wife, how ought a man to proceed? He must inform his parents." If the rule be indeed as here expressed, no man ought to have illustrated it so well as Shun. How was it that Shun's marriage took place without his informing his parents?'

Mencius replied, 'If he had informed them, he would not have been able to marry. That male and female should dwell together, is the greatest of human relations. If Shun had informed his parents, he must have made void this greatest of human relations, thereby incurring their resentment. On this account, he did not inform them!'

Wan Zhang said, 'As to Shun's marrying without informing his parents, I have heard your instructions; but how was it that the Di Yao gave him his daughters as wives without informing Shun's parents?'
Mencius said, 'The Di also knew that if he informed them,

he could not marry his daughters to him.

Wan Zhang said, 'His parents set Shun to repair a granary, to which, the ladder having been removed, Gu Sou set fire. They also made him dig a well. He got out, but they, not knowing that, proceeded to cover him up. Xiang said, "Of the scheme to cover up the city-forming prince, the merit is all mine. Let my parents have his oxen and sheep. Let them have his storehouses and granaries. His shield and spear shall be mine. His lute shall be mine. His bow shall be mine. His two wives I shall make attend for me to my bed." Xiang then went away into Shun's palace, and there was Shun on his couch playing on his lute. Xiang said, "I am come simply because I was thinking anxiously about you." At the same time, he blushed deeply. Shun said to him, "There are all my officers - do you undertake the government of them for me." I do not know whether Shun was ignorant of Xiang's wishing to kill

Mencius answered. 'How could he be ignorant of that? But when Xiang was sorrowful, he was also sorrowful; when Xiang was joyful, he was also joyful.

Zhang said, 'In that case, then, did not Shun rejoice hypocritically?'

Mencius replied, 'No. Formerly, some one sent a present of a live fish to Zi Chan of Zhang. Zi Chan ordered his pondkeeper to keep it in the pond, but that officer cooked it, and reported the execution of his commission, saying, "When I first let it go, it embarrassed. In a little while, it seemed to be somewhat at ease, then it swam away joyfully." Zi Chan observed, "It had got into its element! It had got into its element!" The pond-keeper then went out and said, "Who calls Zi Chan a wise man? After I had cooked and eaten the fish, he says, "It had got into its element! It had got into its element!" Thus a superior man may be imposed on by what seems to be as it ought to be, but he cannot be entrapped by what is contrary to right principle. Xiang came in the way in which the love of his elder brother would have made him come; therefore Shun sincerely believed him, and rejoiced. What hypocrisy was there?

3 Wan Zhang said, 'Xiang made it his daily business to slay Shun, When Shun was made sovereign, how was it that he only banished him?

Mencius said, 'He raised him to be a prince. Some supposed that it was banishing him?'

Wan Zhang said, 'Shun banished the superintendent of works to You Zhou; he sent away Huan Dou to the mountain Chong; he slew the prince of San Miao in San Wei; and he imprisoned Gun on the mountain Yu. When the crimes of those four were thus punished, the whole kingdom acquiesced - it was a cutting off of men who were destitute of benevolence. But Xiang was of all men the most destitute of benevolence, and Shun raised him to be the prince of You Bei - of what crimes had the people of You Bei been guilty? Does a benevolent man really act thus? In the case of other men, he cut them off; in the case of his brother, he raised him to be a prince.

Mencius replied, 'A benevolent man does not lay up anger. nor cherish resentment against his brother, but only regards him with affection and love. Regarding him with affection, he wishes him to be honourable: regarding him with love, he wishes him to be rich. The appointment of Xiang to be the prince of You Bei was to enrich and ennoble him. If while Shun himself was sovereign, his brother had been a common man, could he have been said to regard him with affection and

Wan Zhang said, 'I venture to ask what you mean by saying that some supposed that it was a banishing of Xiang?

Mencius replied, 'Xiang could do nothing in his State. The Son of Heaven appointed an officer to administer its government, and to pay over its revenues to him. This treatment of him led to its being said that he was banished. How indeed could he be allowed the means of oppressing the people? Nevertheless, Shun wished to be continually seeing him, and by this arrangement, he came incessantly to court, as is signified in that expression: "He did not wait for the rendering of tribute, or affairs of government, to receive the prince of You Bei.

4 Xian Qiu Meng asked Mencius, saying, 'There is the saying, "A scholar of complete virtue may not be employed as a minister by his sovereign, nor treated as a son by his father. Shun stood with his face to the south, and Yao, at the head of all the princes, appeared before him at court with his face to the north. Gu Sou also did the same. When Shun saw Gu Sou, his countenance became discomposed. Confucius said, At this time, in what a perilous condition was the kingdom! Its state was indeed unsettled." - I do not know whether what is here said really took place.

Mencius replied, 'No. These are not the words of a superior man. They are the sayings of an uncultivated person of the east of Qi. When Yao was old, Shun was associated with him in the government. It is said in the Canon of Yao, "After twenty and eight years, the Highly Meritorious one deceased. The people acted as if they were mourning for a father or mother for three years, and up to the borders of the four seas every sound of music was hushed." Confucius said, "There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns over the people. Shun having been sovereign, and, moreover, leading on all the princes to observe the three years' mourning for Yao, there would have been in this case two sovereigns.

Xian Qiu Meng said, 'On the point of Shun's not treating Yao as a minister. I have received your instructions. But it is said in the Book of Poetry, Under the whole heaven, Every spot is the sovereign's ground; To the borders of the land, Every individual is the sovereign's minister;" - and Shun had become sovereign. I venture to ask how it was that Gu Sou was not one of his ministers.'

Mencius answered. 'That ode is not to be understood in that way - it speaks of being laboriously engaged in the sovereign's business, so as not to be able to nourish one's parents, as if the author said, "This is all the sovereign's business, and how is it that I alone am supposed to have ability, and am made to toil in it?" Therefore, those who explain the odes, may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope. They must try with their thoughts to meet that scope, and then we shall apprehend it. If we simply take single sentences, there is that in the ode called "The Milky Way," - "Of the black-haired people of the remnant of Zhou, There is not half a one left." If it had been really as thus expressed, then not an individual of the people of Zhou was left. Of all which a filial son can attain to, there is nothing greater than his honouring his parents. And of what can be attained to in the honouring one's parents, there is nothing greater than the nourishing them with the whole kingdom. Gu Sou was the father of the sovereign - this was the height of honour. Shun nourished him with the whole kingdom - this was the height of nourishing. In this was verified the sentiment in the Book of Poetry, "Ever cherishing filial thoughts, Those filial thoughts became an example to after ages. It is said in the Book of History, "Reverently performing his duties, he waited on Gu Sou, and was full of veneration and awe. Gu Sou also believed him and conformed to virtue." This is the true case of the scholar of complete virtue not being treated as a son by his father.

5 Wan Zhang said, 'Was it the case that Yao gave the throne to Shun?

Mencius said, 'No. The sovereign cannot give the throne to another.

'Yes - but Shun had the throne. Who gave it to him?'

'Heaven gave it to him,' was the answer.
"' Heaven gave it to him:" - did Heaven confer its appointment on him with specific injunctions?

Mencius replied, 'No. Heaven does not speak. It simply showed its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of

"It showed its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs" - how was this?'

Mencius's answer was, 'The sovereign can present a man to

Heaven, but he cannot make Heaven give that man the throne. A prince can present a man to the sovereign, but he cannot cause the sovereign to make that man a prince. A great officer can present a man to his prince, but he cannot cause the prince to make that man a great officer. Yao presented Shun to Heaven, and Heaven accepted him. He presented him to the

people, and the people accepted him. Therefore I say, "Heaven does not speak. It simply indicated its will by his personal conduct and his conduct of affairs.

Zhang said, 'I presume to ask how it was that Yao presented Shun to Heaven, and Heaven accepted him; and that he exhibited him to the people, and the people accepted him.'

Mencius replied, 'He caused him to preside over the sacrifices, and all the spirits were well pleased with them; thus Heaven accepted him. He caused him to preside over the conduct of affairs, and affairs were well administered, so that the people reposed under him; thus the people accepted him. Heaven gave the throne to him. The people gave it to him. Therefore I said, "The sovereign cannot give the throne to another. Shun assisted Yao in the government for twenty and eight years - this was more than man could have done, and was from Heaven. After the death of Yao, when the three years' mourning was completed, Shun withdrew from the son of Yao to the south of South river. The princes of the kingdom, however, repairing to court, went not to the son of Yao, but they went to Shun. Litigants went not to the son of Yao, but they went to Shun. Singers sang not the son of Yao, but they sang Shun. Therefore I said, "Heaven gave him the throne." It was after these things that he went to the Middle Kingdom, and occupied the seat of the Son of Heaven. If he had, before these things, taken up his residence in the palace of Yao, and had applied pressure to the son of Yao, it would have been an act of usurpation, and not the gift of Heaven. This sentiment is expressed in the words of The Great Declaration: "Heaven sees according as my people see; Heaven hears according as my people hear.

6 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'People say, "When the disposal of the kingdom came to Yu, his virtue was inferior to that of Yao and Shun, and he transmitted it not to the worthiest but to his son." Was it so?"

Mencius replied, 'No; it was not so. When Heaven gave the kingdom to the worthiest, it was given to the worthiest, When Heaven gave it to the son of the preceding sovereign, it was given to him. Shun presented Yu to Heaven. Seventeen years elapsed, and Shun died. When the three years' mourning was expired, Yu withdrew from the son of Shun to Yang Cheng. The people of the kingdom followed him just as after the death of Yao, instead of following his son, they had followed Shun. Yu presented Yi to Heaven. Seven years elapsed, and Yu died. When the three years' mourning was expired, Yi withdrew from the son of Yu to the north of mount Qi. The princes, repairing to court, went not to Yi, but they went to Qi. Litigants did not go to Yi, but they went to Qi, saying, "He is the son of our sovereign;" the singers did not sing Yi, but they sang Qi, saying, "He is the son of our sovereign. That Dan Zhu was not equal to his father, and Shun's son not equal to his; that Shun assisted Yao, and Yu assisted Shun, for many years, conferring benefits on the people for a long time; that thus the length of time during which Shun, Yu, and Yi assisted in the government was so different; that Oi was able, as a man of talents and virtue, reverently to pursue the same course as Yu; that Yi assisted Yu only for a few years, and had not long conferred benefits on the people; that the periods of service of the three were so different; and that the sons were one superior, and the other superior - all this was from Heaven, and what could not be brought about by man. That which is done without man's doing is from Heaven. That which happens without man's causing is from the ordinance of Heaven. In the case of a private individual obtaining the throne, there must be in him virtue equal to that of Shun or Yu; and moreover there must be the presenting of him to Heaven by the preceding sovereign. It was on this account that Confucius did not obtain the throne. When the kingdom is possessed by natural succession, the sovereign who is displaced by Heaven must be like Jie or Zhou. It was on this account that Yi, Yi Yin, and Zhou Gong did not obtain the throne. Yi Yin assisted Tang so that he became sovereign over the kingdom. After the demise of Tang, Tai Ding having died before he could be appointed sovereign, Wai Bing reigned two years, and Zhong Ren four. Tai Jia was then turning upside down the statutes of Tang, when Yi Yin placed him in Tong for three years. There Tai Jia repented of his errors, was contrite, and reformed himself. In Tong be came to dwell in benevolence and walk in righteousness, during those threee years, listening to the lessons given to him by Yi Yin. Then Yi Yin again returned with him to Bo. Zhou Gong not getting the throne was like the case of Yi and the throne of Xia, or like that of Yi Yin and the throne of Yin. Confucius said, "Tang and Yu resigned the throne to their worthy ministers. The sovereign of Xia and those of Yin and Zhou transmitted it to their sons. The principle of righteousness was the same in all the cases."

7 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'People say that Yi Yin sought an introduction to Tang by his knowledge of cookery Was it so?

Mencius replied, 'No, it was not so. Yi Yin was a farmer in the lands of the prince of Xin, delighting in the principles of Yao and Shun. In any matter contrary to the righteousness which they prescribed, or contrary to their principles, though he had been offered the throne, he would not have regarded it;

though there had been voked for him a thousand teams of horses, he would not have looked at them. In any matter contrary to the righteousness which they prescribed, or contrary to their principles, he would neither have given nor taken a single straw. Tang sent persons with presents of silk to entreat him to enter his service. With an air of indifference and self-satisfaction he said. "What can I do with those silks with which Tang invites me? Is it not best for me to abide in the channelled fields, and so delight myself with the principles of Yao and Shun?" Tang thrice sent messengers to invite him. After this, with the Zhange of resolution displayed in his countenance, he spoke in a different style, "Instead of abiding in the channelled fields and thereby delighting myself with the principles of Yao and Shun, had I not better make this prince a prince like Yao or Shun, and this people like the people of Yao or Shun? Had I not better in my own person see these things for myself? "Heaven's plan in the production of mankind is this: that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower to do so. Î am one of Heaven's people who have first apprehended: I will take these principles and instruct this people in them. If I do not instruct them, who will do so?" He thought that among all the people of the kingdom, even the private men and women, if there were any who did not enjoy such benefits as Yao and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch. He took upon himself the heavy charge of the kingdom in this way, and therefore he went to Tang, and pressed upon him the subject of attacking Xia and saving the people. I have not heard of one who bent himself, and at the same time made others straight; how much less could one disgrace himself, and thereby rectify the whole kingdom? The actions of the sages have been different. Some have kept remote from court, and some have drawn near to it; some have left their offices, and some have not done so - that to which those different courses all agree is simply the keeping of their persons pure. I have heard that Yi Yin sought an introduction to Tang by the doctrines of Yao and Shun. I have not heard that he did so by his knowledge of cookery. In the "Instructions of Yi," it is said, "Heaven destroying Jie commenced attacking him in the palace of Mu. I commenced

8 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'Some say that Confucius, when he was in Wei, lived with the ulcer-doctor, and when he was in Qi, with the attendant, Qi Huan; was it so?'

Mencius replied, 'No; it was not so. Those are the inventions of men fond of strange things. When he was in Wei he lived with Yan Chou You. The wives of the officer Mi and Zi Lu were sisters, and Mi told Zi Lu, "If Confucius will lodge with me, he may attain to the dignity of a high noble of Wei. Zi Lu informed Confucius of this, and he said, "That is as ordered by Heaven." Confucius went into office according to propriety, and retired from it according to righteousness. In regard to his obtaining office or not obtaining it, he said, "That is as ordered." But if he had lodged with the attendant Qi Huan, that would neither have been according to righteousness, nor any ordering of Heaven. When Confucius, being dissatisfied in Lu and Wei, had left those States, he met with the attempt of Hwan, the Master of the Horse, of Song, to intercept and kill him. He assumed, however, the dress of a common man, and passed by Song. At that time, though he was in circumstances of distress, he lodged with the citymaster Chang, who was then a minister of Zhou, the marquis of Chen. I have heard that the characters of ministers about court may be discerned from those whom they entertain, and those of stranger officers, from those with whom they lodge. If Confucius had lodged with the ulcer-doctor, and with the attendant Oi Huan, how could be have been Confucius?

9 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, 'Some say that Bai Li Xi sold himself to a cattle-keeper of Jin for the skins of five rams, and fed his oxen, in order to find an introduction to the duke Mu of Qin - was this the case?'

Mencius said, 'No; it was not so. This story was invented by men fond of strange things. Bai Li Xi was a man of Yu. The people of Jin, by the inducement of a round piece of jade from Chui Ji, and four horses of the Qu breed, borrowed a passage through Yu to attack Guo. On that occasion, Gong Zhi Qi remonstrated against granting their request, and Bai Li Xi did not remonstrate. When he knew that the duke of Yu was not to be remonstrated with, and, leaving that State, went to Qin, he had reached the age of seventy. If by that time he did not know that it would be a mean thing to seek an introduction to the duke Mu of Qin by feeding oxen, could he be called wise? But not remonstrating where it was of no use to remonstrate, could he be said not to be wise? Knowing that the duke of Yu would be ruined, and leaving him before that event, he cannot be said not to have been wise. Being then advanced in Oin he knew that the duke Mu was one with whom he would enjoy a field for action, and became minister to him; could he, acting thus, be said not to be wise? Having become chief minister of Qin, he made his prince distinguished throughout the kingdom, and worthy of being handed down to future ages; could he have done this, if he had not been a man of talents and virtue? As to selling himself in order to accomplish all the aims of his prince, even a villager who had a regard for himself would not do such a thing; and shall we say that a man of talents and virtue did it?

### MENGZI CHAPTER 10 Wan Zhang 2

10 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi would not allow his eyes to look on a bad sight, nor his ears to listen to a bad sound. He would not serve a prince whom he did not approve, nor command a people whom he did not esteem. In a time of good government he took office, and on the occurrence of confusion he retired. He could not bear to dwell either in a court from which a lawless government emanated, or among lawless people. He considered his being in the same place with a villager, as if he were to sit amid mud and coals with his court robes and court cap. In the time of Zhou he dwelt on the shores of the Norths ea, waiting the purification of the kingdom. Therefore when men now hear the character of Bo Yi, the corrupt become pure, and the weak acquire determination.

'Yi Yin said, "Whom may I not serve? My serving him makes him my sovereign. What people may I not command? My commanding them makes them my people." In a time of good government he took office, and when confusion prevailed, he also took office. He said, "Heaven's plan in the production of mankind is this: that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower in doing so. I am the one of Heaven's people who has first apprehended; I will take these principles and instruct the people in them." He thought that among all the people of the kingdom, even the common men and women, if there were any who did not share in the enjoyment of such benefits as Yao and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch - for he took upon himself the heavy charge of the kingdom.

'Hui of Liu Xia was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When dismissed and left without office, he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty, he did not grieve. When thrown into the company of village people, he was quite at ease and could not bear to leave them. He had a saying, "You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?" Therefore when men now hear the character of Hui of Liu Xia, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal.

'When Confucius was leaving Qi, he strained off with his hand the water in which his rice was being rinsed, took the rice, and went away. When he left Lu, he said, "I will set out by-and-by" - it was right he should leave the country of his parents in this way. When it was proper to go away quickly, he did so; when it was proper to delay, he did so; when it was proper to keep in retirement, he did so; when it was proper to go into office, he did so - this was Confucius.'

Mencius said, Bo Yi among the sages was the pure one; Yi Yin was the one most inclined to take office; Hui of Liu Xia was the accommodating one; and Confucius was the timeous one. In Confucius we have what is called a complete concert. A complete concert is when the large bell proclaims the commencement of the music, and the ringing stone proclaims its close. The metal sound commences the blended harmony of all the instruments, and the winding up with the stone terminates that blended harmony. The commencing that harmony is the work of wisdom. The terminating it is the work of sageness. As a comparison for wisdom, we may liken it to skill, and as a comparison for sageness, we may liken it to strength – as in the case of shooting at a mark a hundred paces distant. That you reach it is owing to your strength, but that you thit the mark is not owing to your strength.

11 Bei Gong Qi asked Mencius, saying, 'What was the arrangement of dignities and emoluments determined by the House of Zhou?'

Mencius replied, 'The particulars of that arrangement cannot be learned, for the princes, disliking them as injurious to themselves, have all made away with the records of them. Still I have learned the general outline of them. The Son of Heaven constituted one dignity; the Gong one; the Hou one; the Bai one; and the Zi and the Nan each one of equal rankaltogether making five degrees of rank. The Ruler again constituted one dignity; the Chief Minister one; the Great Officers one; the Scholars of the First Class one; those of the Middle Class one; and those of the Lowest Class one altogether making six degrees of dignity.

To the Son of Heaven there was allotted a territory of a thousand li square. A Gong and a Hou had each a hundred li square. A Bai had seventy li, and a Zi and a Nan had each fifty li. The assignments altogether were of four amounts. Where the territory did not amount to fifty li, the chief could not have access himself to the Son of Heaven. His land was attached to some Hou-ship, and was called a Fu Yong. The Chief ministers of the Son of Heaven received an amount of territory equal to that of a Hou; a Great officer received as

much as a Bai; and a scholar of the first class as much as a Zi or a Nan.

'In a great State, where the territory was a hundred li square, the ruler had ten times as much income as his Chief ministers; a Chief minister four times as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the first class: a scholar of the first class twice as much as one of the middle: a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest: the scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had for their emolument as much as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. In a State of the next order, where the territory was seventy li square, the ruler had ten times as much revenue as his Chief minister; a Chief minister three times as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the first class; a scholar of the first class twice as much as one of the middle; a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; the scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had for their emolument as much as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. In a small State, where the territory was fifty li square, the ruler had ten times as much revenue as his Chief minister; a Chief minister had twice as much as a Great officer; a Great officer twice as much as a scholar of the highest class; a scholar of the highest class twice as much as one of the middle: a scholar of the middle class twice as much as one of the lowest; scholars of the lowest class, and such of the common people as were employed about the government offices, had the same emolument - as much, namely, as was equal to what they would have made by tilling the fields. As to those who tilled the fields, each husbandman received a hundred mu. When those mu were manured, the best husbandmen of the highest class supported nine individuals, and those ranking next to them supported eight. The best husbandmen of the second class supported seven individuals, and those ranking next to them supported six; while husbandmen of the lowest class only supported five. The salaries of the common people who were employed about the government offices were regulated according to these differences.

12 Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, 'I venture to ask the principles of friendship.'

Mencius replied, 'Friendship should be maintained without any presumption on the ground of one's superior age, or station, or the circumstances of his relatives. Friendship with a man is friendship with his virtue, and does not admit of assumptions of superiority. There was Meng Xian, chief of a family of a hundred chariots. He had five friends, namely, Yue Zheng Qiu, Mu Zhong, and three others whose names I have forgotten. With those five men Xian maintained a friendship, because they thought nothing about his family. If they had thought about his family, he would not have maintained his friendship with them. Not only has the chief of a family of a hundred chariots acted thus. The same thing was exemplified by the sovereign of a small State. The duke Hui of Bi said, "I treat Zi Si as my Teacher, and Yan Ban as my Friend. As to Wang Shun and Chang Xi, they serve me." Not only has the sovereign of a small State acted thus. The same thing has been exemplified by the sovereign of a large State. There was the duke Ping of Jin with Hai Tang - when Tang told him to come into his house, he came: when he told him to be seated, he sat: when he told him to eat, he ate. There might only be coarse rice and soup of vegetables, but he always ate his fill, not daring to do otherwise. Here, however, he stopped, and went no farther. He did not call him to share any of Heaven's places, or to govern any of Heaven's offices, or to partake of any of Heaven's emoluments. His conduct was but a scholar's honouring virtue and talents, not the honouring them proper to a king or a duke. Shun went up to court and saw the sovereign, who lodged him as his son-in-law in the second palace. The sovereign also enjoyed there Shun's hospitality. Alternately he was host and guest. Here was the sovereign maintaining friendship with a private man. Respect shown by inferiors to superiors is called giving to the noble the observance due to rank. Respect shown by superiors to inferiors is called giving honour to talents and virtue. The rightness in each case is the same.'

13 Wan Zhang asked Mencius, saying, 'I venture to ask what feeling of the mind is expressed in the presents of friendship?'

Mencius replied, 'The feeling of respect.'

'How is it,' pursued Zhang, 'that the declining a present is accounted disrespectful?'

The answer was, 'When one of honourable rank presents a gift, to say in the mind, "Was the way in which he got this righteous or not? I must know this before I can receive it" - this is deemed disrespectful, and therefore presents are not declined.'

Wan Zhang asked again, 'When one does not take on him in so many express words to refuse the gift, but having declined it in his heart, saying, "It was taken by him unrighteously from the people," and then assigns some other reason for not receiving it - is not this a proper course?"

Mencius said, 'When the donor offers it on a ground of reason, and his manner of doing so is according to propriety; in such a case Confucius would have received it.'

Wan Zhang said, 'Here now is one who stops and robs people outside the gates of the city. He offers his gift on a ground of reason, and does so in a manner according to propriety - would the reception of it so acquired by robbery be proper?'

Mencius replied, 'It would not be proper. In "The Announcement to Kang" it is said, "When men kill others, and roll over their bodies to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death, among all the people there are none but detest them" - thus, such characters are to be put to death, without waiting to give them warning. Yin received this rule from Xia and Zhou received it from Yin. It cannot be questioned, and to the present day is clearly acknowledged. How can the grift of a robber be received?'

Zhang said, 'The princes of the present day take from their people just as a robber despoils his victim. Yet if they put a good face of propriety on their gifts, then the superior man receives them. I venture to ask how you explain this.'

Mencius answered. 'Do you think that, if there should arise

Mencius answered, 'Do you think that, if there should arise a truly royal sovereign, he would collect the princes of the present day, and put them all to death? Or would he admonish them, and then, on their not changing their ways, put them to death? Indeed, to call every one who takes what does not properly belong to him a robber, is pushing a point of resemblance to the utmost, and insisting on the most refined idea of righteousness. When Confucius was in office in Lu, the people struggled together for the game taken in hunting, and he also did the same. If that struggling for the captured game was proper, how much more may the gifts of the princes be received!'

Zhang urged, 'Then are we to suppose that when Confucius held office, it was not with the view to carry his doctrines into practice?'

'It was with that view,' Mencius replied,

And Zhang rejoined, 'If the practice of his doctrines was his business, what had he to do with that struggling for the captured game?'

Mencius said, 'Confucius first rectified his vessels of sacrifice according to the registers, and did not fill them so rectified with food gathered from every quarter.'

'But why did he not go away?'

'He wished to make a trial of carrying his doctrines into practice. When that trial was sufficient to show that they could be practised and they were still not practised, then he went away, and thus it was that he never completed in any State a residence of three years. Confucius took office when he saw that the practice of his doctrines was likely; he took office when his reception was proper; he took office when he was supported by the State. In the case of his relation to Qi Huan, he took office, seeing that the practice of his doctrines was likely. With the duke Ling of Wei he took office, because his reception was proper. With the duke Xiao of Wei he took office, because he was maintained by the State.'

14 Mencius said, 'Office is not sought on account of poverty, yet there are times when one seeks office on that account. Marriage is not entered into for the sake of being attended to by the wife, yet there are times when one marries on that account. He who takes office on account of his poverty must decline an honourable situation and occupy a low one; he must decline riches and prefer to be poor. What office will be in harmony with this declining an honourable situation and occupying a low one, this declining riches and preferring to be poor? Such an one as that of guarding the gates, or beating the watchman's stick. Confucius was once keeper of stores. and he then said, "My calculations must be all right. That is all I have to care about." He was once in charge of the public fields, and he then said, "The oxen and sheep must be fat and strong, and superior. That is all I have to care about." When one is in a low situation, to speak of high matters is a crime. When a scholar stands in a prince's court, and his principles are not carried into practice, it is a shame to him.

15 Wan Zhang said, 'What is the reason that a scholar does not accept a stated support from a prince?'

Mencius replied, 'He does not presume to do so. When a prince loses his State, and then accepts a stated support from another prince, this is in accordance with propriety. But for a scholar to accept such support from any of the princes is not in accordance with propriety.'

Wan Zhang said, 'If the prince send him a present of grain, for instance, does he accept it?'

'He accepts it,' answered Mencius.

'On what principle of righteousness does he accept it?'

'Why, the prince ought to assist the people in their necessities.'

Zhang pursued, 'Why is it that the scholar will thus accept the prince's help, but will not accept his pay?'

The answer was, 'He does not presume to do so.'

'I venture to ask why he does not presume to do so.'

'Even the keepers of the gates, with their watchmen's sticks, have their regular offices for which they can take their support from the prince. He who without a regular office should receive the pay of the prince must be deemed disrespectful.'

Zhang asked, 'If the prince sends a scholar a present, he accepts it; I do not know whether this present may be constantly repeated.'

Mencius answered, 'There was the conduct of the duke Mu to Zi Si. He made frequent inquiries after Zi Si's health, and sent him frequent presents of cooked meat. Zi Si was displeased; and at length, having motioned to the messenger to go outside the great door, he bowed his head to the ground with his face to the north, did obeisance twice, and declined the gift, saying, "From this time forth I shall know that the prince supports me as a dog or a horse." And so from that time a servant was no more sent with the presents. When a prince professes to be pleased with a man of talents and virtue, and can neither promote him to office, nor support him in the proper way, can he be said to be pleased with him?'

Zhang said, 'I venture to ask how the sovereign of a State, when he wishes to support a superior man, must proceed, that he may be said to do so in the proper way?'

Mencius answered, 'At first, the present must be offered with the prince's commission, and the scholar, making obeisance twice with his head bowed to the ground, will receive it. But after this the storekeeper will continue to send grain, and the master of the kitchen to send meat, presenting it as if without the prince's express commission. Zi Si considered that the meat from the prince's caldron, giving him the annoyance of constantly doing obeisance, was not the way to support a superior man. There was Yao's conduct to Shun: He caused his nine sons to serve him, and gave him his two daughters in marriage; he caused the various officers, oxen and sheep, storehouses and granaries, all to be prepared to support Shun amid the channelled fields, and then he raised him to the most exalted situation. From this we have the expression, "The honouring of virtue and talents proper to a king or a duke."

16 Wan Zhang said, 'I venture to ask what principle of righteousness is involved in a scholar's not going to see the princes?'

Mencius replied, 'A scholar residing in the city is called "a minister of the market-place and well," and one residing in the country is called "a minister of the grass and plants." In both cases he is a common man, and it is the rule of propriety that common men, who have not presented the introductory present and become ministers, should not presume to have interviews with the prince.'

Wan Zhang said, 'If a common man is called to perform any service, he goes and performs it; how is it that a scholar, when the prince, wishing to see him, calls him to his presence, refuses to go?'

Mencius replied, 'It is right to go and perform the service; it would not be right to go and see the prince. And,' added Mencius, 'on what account is it that the prince wishes to see the scholar?'

'Because of his extensive information, or because of his talents and virtue,' was the reply.

'If because of his extensive information,' said Mencius, 'such a person is a teacher, and the sovereign would not call him how much less may any of the princes do so? If because of his talents and virtue, then I have not heard of any one wishing to see a person with those qualities, and calling him to his presence. During the frequent interviews of the duke Mu with Zi Si, he one day said to him, "Anciently, princes of a thousand chariots have yet been on terms of friendship with scholars - what do you think of such an intercourse?" Zi Si was displeased, and said, "The ancients have said, 'The scholar should be served:' how should they have merely said that he should be made a friend of?" When Zi Si was thus displeased. did he not say within himself, "With regard to our stations, you are sovereign, and I am subject. How can I presume to be on terms of friendship with my sovereign! With regard to our virtue, you ought to make me your master. How can you be on terms of friendship with me?" Thus, when a ruler of a thousand chariots sought to be on terms of friendship with a scholar, he could not obtain his wish - how much less could he call him to his presence! The duke Ching of Oi, once, when he was hunting, called his forester to him by a flag. The forester would not come, and the duke was going to kill him. With reference to this incident, Confucius said, "The determined officer never forgets that his end may be in a ditch or a stream; the brave officer never forgets that he may lose his head. What was it in the forester that Confucius thus approved? He approved his not going to the duke, when summoned by the article which was not appropriate to him.'

Zhang said, 'May I ask with what a forester should be summoned?'

Mencius replied, 'With a skin cap. A common man should be summoned with a plain banner; a scholar who has taken office, with one having dragons embroidered on it; and a Great officer, with one having feathers suspended from the top of the staff. When the forester was summoned with the article appropriate to the summoning of a Great officer, he would have died rather than presume to go. If a common man were summoned with the article appropriate to the

summoning of a scholar, how could he presume to go? How much more may we expect this refusal to go, when a man of talents and virtue is summoned in a way which is inappropriate to his character! When a prince wishes to see a man of talents and virtue, and does not take the proper course to get his wish, it is as if he wished him to enter his palace, and shut the door against him. Now, righteousness is the way, and propriety is the door, but it is only the superior man who can follow this way, and go out and in by this door. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The way to Zhou is level like a whetstone, And straight as an arrow. The officers tread it, And the lower people see it."

Wan Zhang said, 'When Confucius received the prince's message calling him, he went without waiting for his carriage. Doing so, did Confucius do wrong?'

Mencius replied, 'Confucius was in office, and had to observe its appropriate duties. And moreover, he was summoned on the business of his office.'

17 Mencius said to Wan Zhang, 'The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished in a village shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars in the village. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout a State shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of that State. The scholar whose virtue is most distinguished throughout the kingdom shall make friends of all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom. When a scholar feels that his friendship with all the virtuous scholars of the kingdom is not sufficient to satisfy him, he proceeds to ascend to consider the men of antiquity. He repeats their poems, and reads their books, and as he does not know what they were as men, to ascertain this, he considers their history. This is to ascend and make friends of the men of antiquity.'

18 The king Xuan of Qi asked about the office of high ministers. Mencius said, 'Which high ministers is your Majesty asking about?'

'Are there differences among them?' inquired the king.

'There are' was the reply. 'There are the high ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince, and there are those who are of a different surname.'

The king said, 'I beg to ask about the high ministers who are noble and relatives of the prince.'

Mencius answered, 'If the prince have great faults, they ought to remonstrate with him, and if he do not listen to them after they have done so again and again, they ought to dethrone him.'

The king on this looked moved, and changed countenance. Mencius said, 'Let not your Majesty be offended. You asked me, and I dare not answer but according to truth.'

The king's countenance became composed, and he then begged to ask about high ministers who were of a different surname from the prince. Mencius said, 'When the prince has faults, they ought to remonstrate with him; and if he do not listen to them after they have done this again and again, they ought to leave the State.'

# MENGZI CHAPTER 11 Gaozi 1

1 The philosopher Gao said, 'Man's nature is like the qiwillow, and righteousness is like a cup or a bowl. The fashioning benevolence and righteousness out of man's nature is like the making cups and bowls from the qi-willow.'

Mencius replied, 'Can you, leaving untouched the nature of the willow, make with it cups and bowls? You must do violence and injury to the willow, before you can make cups and bowls with it. If you must do violence and injury to the willow in order to make cups and bowls with it, on your principles you must in the same way do violence and injury to humanity in order to fashion from it benevolence and righteousness! Your words, alas! would certainly lead all men on to reckon benevolence and righteousness to be calamities.'

2 The philosopher Gao said, 'Man's nature is like water whirling round in a corner. Open a passage for it to the east, and it will flow to the east; open a passage for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man's nature is indifferent to good and evil, just as the water is indifferent to the east and west.'

Mencius replied, 'Water indeed will flow indifferently to the east or west, but will it flow indifferently up or down? The tendency of man's nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good, just as all water flows downwards. Now by striking water and causing it to leap up, you may make it go over your forehead, and, by damming and leading it you may force it up a hill - but are such movements according to the nature of water? It is the force applied which causes them. When men are made to do what is not good, their nature is dealt with in this way.'

3 The philosopher Gao said, 'Life is what we call nature!'

Mencius asked him, 'Do you say that by nature you mean life, just as you say that white is white?' 'Yes, I do,' was the reply

Mencius added, 'Is the whiteness of a white feather like that of white snow, and the whiteness of white snow like that of white jade?' Gao again said 'Yes.'

'Very well,' pursued Mencius. 'Is the nature of a dog like the nature of an ox, and the nature of an ox like the nature of a man''

4 The philosopher Gao said, 'To enjoy food and delight in colours is nature. Benevolence is internal and not external; righteousness is external and not internal.'

Mencius asked him, 'What is the ground of your saying that benevolence is internal and righteousness external?'

He replied, 'There is a man older than I, and I give honour to his age. It is not that there is first in me a principle of such reverence to age. It is just as when there is a white man, and I consider him white; according as he is so externally to me. On this account, I pronounce of righteousness that it is external.'

Mencius said, 'There is no difference between our pronouncing a white horse to be white and our pronouncing a white man to be white. But is there no difference between the regard with which we acknowledge the age of an old horse and that with which we acknowledge the age of an old man? And what is it which is called righteousness? The fact of a man's being old? Or the fact of our giving honour to his age?'

Gao said, 'There is my younger brother; I love him. But the younger brother of a man of Qin I do not love: that is, the feeling is determined by myself, and therefore I say that benevolence is internal. On the other hand, I give honour to an old man of Chu, and I also give honour to an old man of my own people: that is, the feeling is determined by the age, and therefore I say that righteousness is external.'

Mencius answered him, 'Our enjoyment of meat roasted by a man of Qin does not differ from our enjoyment of meat roasted by ourselves. Thus, what you insist on takes place also in the case of such things, and will you say likewise that our enjoyment of a roast is external?'

5 The disciple Meng Ji asked Gong Du, saying, 'On what ground is it said that righteousness is internal?' Gong Du replied, 'We therein act out our feeling of respect, and therefore it is said to be internal.'

The other objected, 'Suppose the case of a villager older than your elder brother by one year, to which of them would you show the greater respect?' 'To my brother,' was the reply.

you show the greater respect?" 'To my brother,' was the reply.

'But for which of them would you first pour out wine at a feast?' 'For the villager.'

Meng Ji argued, 'Now your feeling of reverence rests on the one, and now the honour due to age is rendered to the otherthis is certainly determined by what is without, and does not proceed from within.'

Gong Du was unable to reply, and told the conversation to Mencius. Mencius said, 'You should ask him, "Which do you respect most, your uncle, or your younger brother?" He will answer, "My uncle." Ask him again, "If your younger brother be personating a dead ancestor, to which do you show the greater respect, to him or to your uncle?" He will say, "To my younger brother." You can go on, "But where is the respect due, as you said, to your uncle?" He will reply to this, "I show the respect to my younger brother, because of the position which he occupies," and you can likewise say, "So my respect to the villager is because of the position which he occupies. Ordinarily, my respect is rendered to my elder brother; for a brief season, on occasion, it is rendered to the villager."

Meng Ji heard this and observed, 'When respect is due to my uncle, I respect him, and when respect is due to my younger brother, I respect him; the thing is certainly determined by what is without, and does not proceed from within.'

Gong Du replied, 'In winter we drink things hot, in summer we drink things cold; and so, on your principle, eating and drinking also depend on what is external!'

6 The disciple Gong Du said, 'The philosopher Gao says, "Man's nature is neither good nor bad." Some say, "Man's nature may be made to practise good, and it may be made to practise evil, and accordingly, under Wen and Wu, the people loved what was good, while under Yu and Li, they loved what was cruel." Some say, "The nature of some is good, and the nature of others is bad. Hence it was that under such a sovereign as Yao there yet appeared Shun; and that with Zhou for their sovereign, and the son of their elder brother besides, there were found Qi, the viscount of Wei, and the prince Bi Gan. And now you say, "The nature is good." Then are all those wrong?"

Mencius said, 'From the feelings proper to it, it is constituted for the practice of what is good. This is what I mean in saying that the nature is good. If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers. The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving. The feeling of commiseration implies the principle of benevolence; that of shame and dislike, the principle of righteousness; that of reverence and respect, the principle of propriety; and that of approving and disapproving, the principle of knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them. And a different view is simply owing to want of reflection. Hence it is said, "Seek and you will find them. Neglect and you will lose them." Men differ from one another

in regard to them - some as much again as others, some five times as much, and some to an incalculable amount - it is because they cannot carry out fully their natural powers. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Heaven in producing mankind, Gave them their various faculties and relations with their specific laws. These are the invariable rules of nature for all to hold, And all love this admirable virtue." Confucius said, "The maker of this ode knew indeed the principle of our nature!" We may thus see that every faculty and relation must have its law, and since there are invariable rules for all to hold, they consequently love this admirable virtue.

7 Mencius said, 'In good years the children of the people are most of them good, while in bad years the most of them abandon themselves to evil. It is not owing to any difference of their natural powers conferred by Heaven that they are thus different. The abandonment is owing to the circumstances through which they allow their minds to be ensnared and drowned in evil. There now is barley. Let it be sown and covered up; the ground being the same, and the time of sowing likewise the same, it grows rapidly up, and, when the full time is come, it is all found to be ripe. Although there may be inequalities of produce, that is owing to the difference of the soil, as rich or poor, to the unequal nourishment afforded by the rains and dews, and to the different ways in which man has performed his business in reference to it. Thus all things which are the same in kind are like to one another; why should we doubt in regard to man, as if he were a solitary exception to this? The sage and we are the same in kind. In accordance with this the scholar Long said, "If a man make hempen sandals without knowing the size of people's feet, yet I know that he will not make them like baskets." Sandals are all like one another, because all men's feet are like one another. So with the mouth and flavours - all mouths have the same relishes. Yi Ya only apprehended before me what my mouth relishes. Suppose that his mouth in its relish for flavours differed from that of other men, as is the case with dogs or horses which are not the same in kind with us, why should all men be found following Yi Ya in their relishes? In the matter of tastes all the people model themselves after Yi Ya; that is, the mouths of all men are like one another. And so also it is with the ear. In the matter of sounds, the whole people model themselves after the music-master Kuang; that is, the ears of all men are like one another. And so also it is with the eye. In the case of Zi Du, there is no man but would recognise that he was beautiful. Any one who would not recognise the beauty of Zi Du must have no eyes. Therefore I say, Men's mouths agree in having the same relishes; their ears agree in enjoying the same sounds: their eyes agree in recognising the same beauty shall their minds alone be without that which the similarly approve? What is it then of which they similarly approve? It is, say, the principles of our nature, and the determinations of righteousness. The sages only apprehended before me that of which my mind approves along with other men. Therefore the principles of our nature and the determinations of righteousness are agreeable to my mind, just as the flesh of grass and grain-fed animals is agreeable to my mouth.

8 Mencius said, 'The trees of the Niu mountain were once beautiful. Being situated, however, in the borders of a large State, they were hewn down with axes and bills - and could they retain their beauty? Still through the activity of the vegetative life day and night, and the nourishing influence of the rain and dew, they were not without buds and sprouts springing forth, but then came the cattle and goats and browsed upon them. To these things is owing the bare and stripped appearance of the mountain, and when people now see it, they think it was never finely wooded. But is this the nature of the mountain? And so also of what properly belongs to man: shall it be said that the mind of any man was without benevolence and righteousness? The way in which a man loses his proper goodness of mind is like the way in which the trees are denuded by axes and bills. Hewn down day after day, can it - the mind - retain its beauty? But there is a development of its life day and night, and in the calm air of the morning, just between night and day, the mind feels in a degree those desires and aversions which are proper to humanity, but the feeling is not strong, and it is fettered and destroyed by what takes place during the day. This fettering taking place again and again, the restorative influence of the night is not sufficient to preserve the proper goodness of the mind; and when this proves insufficient for that purpose, the nature becomes not much different from that of the irrational animals, and when people now see it, they think that it never had those powers which I assert. But does this condition represent the feelings proper to humanity? Therefore, if it receive its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not grow. If it lose its proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not decay away. Confucius said, "Hold it fast, and it remains with you. Let it go, and you lose it. Its outgoing and incoming cannot be defined as to time or place." It is the mind of which this is

9 Mencius said, 'It is not to be wondered at that the king is not wise! Suppose the case of the most easily growing thing in the world; if you let it have one day's genial heat, and then expose it for ten days to cold, it will not be able to grow. It is

but seldom that I have an audience of the king, and when I retire, there come all those who act upon him like the cold. Though I succeed in bringing out some buds of goodness, of what avail is it? Now chess-playing is but a small art, but without his whole mind being given, and his will bent, to it, a man cannot succeed at it. Chess Qiu is the best chess-player in all the kingdom. Suppose that he is teaching two men to play. The one gives to the subject his whole mind and bends to it all his will, doing nothing but listening to Chess Qiu. The other, although he seems to be listening to him, has his whole mind running on a swan which he thinks is approaching, and wishes to bend his bow, adjust the string to the arrow, and shoot it. Although he is learning along with the other, he does not come up to him. Why? Because his intelligence is not equal? Not so.'

10 Mencius said, 'I like fish, and I also like bear's paws. If I cannot have the two together, I will let the fish go, and take the bear's paws. So, I like life, and I also like righteousness. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness. I like life indeed, but there is that which I like more than life, and therefore, I will not seek to possess it by any improper ways. I dislike death indeed, but there is that which I dislike more than death, and therefore there are occasions when I will not avoid danger. If among the things which man likes there were nothing which he liked more than life, why should he not use every means by which he could preserve it? If among the things which man dislikes there were nothing which he disliked more than death, why should he not do everything by which he could avoid danger? There are cases when men by a certain course might preserve life, and they do not employ it; when by certain things they might avoid danger, and they will not do them. Therefore, men have that which they like more than life, and that which they dislike more than death. They are not men of distinguished talents and virtue only who have this mental nature. All men have it; what belongs to such men is simply that they do not lose it. Here are a small basket of rice and a platter of soup, and the case is one in which the getting them will preserve life, and the want of them will be death; if they are offered with an insulting voice, even a tramper will not receive them, or if you first tread upon them, even a beggar will not stoop to take them. And vet a man will accept of ten thousand zhong. without any consideration of propriety or righteousness. What can the ten thousand chung add to him? When he takes them, is it not that he may obtain beautiful mansions, that he may secure the services of wives and concubines, or that the poor and needy of his acquaintance may be helped by him? In the former case the offered bounty was not received, though it would have saved from death, and now the emolument is taken for the sake of beautiful mansions. The bounty that would have preserved from death was not received, and the emolument is taken to get the service of wives and concubines. The bounty that would have saved from death was not received, and the emolument is taken that one's poor and needy acquaintance may be helped by him. Was it then not possible likewise to decline this? This is a case of what is called "Losing the proper nature of one's mind."

11 Mencius said, 'Benevolence is man's mind, and righteousness is man's path. How lamentable is it to neglect the path and not pursue it, to lose this mind and not know to seek it again! When men's fowls and dogs are lost, they know to seek for them again, but they lose their mind, and do not know to seek for it. The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind.'

12 Mencius said, 'Here is a man whose fourth finger is bent and cannot be stretched out straight. It is not painful, nor does it incommode his business, and yet if there be any one who can make it straight, he will not think the way from Qin to Chu far to go to him; because his finger is not like the finger of other people. When a man's finger is not like those of other people, he knows to feel dissatisfied, but if his mind be not like that of other people, he does not know to feel dissatisfaction. This is called "Ignorance of the relative importance of things."

13 Mencius said, 'Anybody who wishes to cultivate the tong or the zi, which may be grasped with both hands, perhaps with one, knows by what means to nourish them. In the case of their own persons, men do not know by what means to nourish them. Is it to be supposed that their regard of their own persons is inferior to their regard for a tong or zi? Their want of reflection is extreme.'

14 Mencius said, 'There is no part of himself which a man does not love, and as he loves all, so he must nourish all. There is not an inch of skin which he does not love, and so there is not an inch of skin which he will not nourish. For examining whether his way of nourishing be good or not, what other rule is there but this, that he determine by reflecting on himself where it should be applied? Some parts of the body are noble, and some ignoble; some great, and some small. The great must not be injured for the small, nor the noble for the ignoble. He who nourishes the little belonging to him is a little man, and he who nourishes the great is a great man. Here is a plantation-keeper, who neglects his wu and jia, and cultivates his sour jujube-trees; he

is a poor plantation-keeper. He who nourishes one of his fingers, neglecting his shoulders or his back, without knowing that he is doing so, is a man who resembles a hurried wolf. A man who only eats and drinks is counted mean by others; because he nourishes what is little to the neglect of what is great. If a man, fond of his eating and drinking, were not to neglect what is of more importance, how should his mouth and belly be considered as no more than an inch of skin?"

15 The disciple Gong Du said, 'All are equally men, but some are great men, and some are little men - how is this?'

Mencius replied, Those who follow that part of themselves which is great are great men; those who follow that part which is little are little men.

Gong Du pursued, 'All are equally men, but some follow that part of themselves which is great, and some follow that part which is little - how is this?'

Mencius answered, 'The senses of hearing and seeing do not think, and are obscured by external things. When one thing comes into contact with another, as a matter of course it leads it away. To the mind belongs the office of thinking. By thinking, it gets the right view of things; by neglecting to think, it fails to do this. These - the senses and the mind - are what Heaven has given to us. Let a man first stand fast in the supremacy of the nobler part of his constitution, and the inferior part will not be able to take it from him. It is simply this which makes the great man.'

16 Mencius said, 'There is a nobility of Heaven, and there is a nobility of man. Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, and fidelity, with unwearied joy in these virtues; these constitute the nobility of Heaven. To be a gong, a qing, or a da fu; this constitutes the nobility of man. The men of antiquity cultivated their nobility of Heaven, and the nobility of man came to them in its train. The men of the present day cultivate their nobility of Heaven in order to seek for the nobility of man, and when they have obtained that, they throw away the other - their delusion is extreme. The issue is simply this, that they must lose that nobility of man as well.'

17 Mencius said, 'To desire to be honoured is the common mind of men. And all men have in themselves that which is truly honourable. Only they do not think of it. The honour which men confer is not good honour. Those whom Zhao the Great ennobles he can make mean again. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "He has filled us with his wine, He has satiated us with his goodness." "Satiated us with his goodness," that is, satiated us with benevolence and righteousness, and he who is so satiated, consequently, does not wish for the fat meat and fine millet of men. A good reputation and far-reaching praise fall to him, and he does not desire the elegant embroidered garments of men.'

18 Mencius said, 'Benevolence subdues its opposite just as water subdues fire. Those, however, who now-a-days practise benevolence do it as if with one cup of water they could save a whole waggon-load of fuel which was on fire, and when the flames were not extinguished, were to say that water cannot subdue fire. This conduct, moreover, greatly encourages those who are not benevolent. The final issue will simply be this: the loss of that small amount of benevolence.'

19 Mencius said, 'Of all seeds the best are the five kinds of grain, yet if they be not ripe, they are not equal to the ti or the bai. So, the value of benevolence depends entirely on its being brought to maturity.'

20 Mencius said, 'Yi, in teaching men to shoot, made it a

20 Mencius said, 'Yi, in teaching men to shoot, made it a rule to draw the bow to the full, and his pupils also did the same. A master-workman, in teaching others, uses the compass and square, and his pupils do the same.'

# MENGZI CHAPTER 12 Gaozi 2

21 A man of Ren asked the disciple Wu Lu, saying, 'Is an observance of the rules of propriety in regard to eating, or eating merely, the more important?' The answer was, 'The observance of the rules of propriety is the more important.'

'Is the gratifying the appetite of sex, or the doing so only according to the rules of propriety, the more important?' The answer again was, 'The observance of the rules of propriety in the matter is the more important.'

The man pursued, 'If the result of eating only according to the rules of propriety will be death by starvation, while by disregarding those rules we may get food, must they still be observed in such a case? If according to the rule that he shall go in person to meet his wife a man cannot get married, while by disregarding that rule he may get married, must he still observe the rule in such a case?

Wu Lu was unable to reply to these questions, and the next day he went to Zou, and told them to Mencius. Mencius said, 'What difficulty is there in answering these inquiries? If you do not adjust them at their lower extremities, but only put their tops on a level, a piece of wood an inch square may be made to be higher than the pointed peak of a high building. Gold is heavier than feathers; but does that saying have reference, on the one hand, to a single clasp of gold, and, on the other, to a waggon-load of feathers? If you take a case where the eating is of the utmost importance and the observing the rules of propriety is of little importance, and

compare the things together, why stop with saying merely that the eating is more important? So, taking the case where the gratifying the appetite of sex is of the utmost importance and the observing the rules of propriety is of little importance, why stop with merely saying that the gratifying the appetite is the more important? Go and answer him thus, "If, by twisting your elder brother's arm, and snatching from him what he is eating, you can get food for yourself, while, if you do not do so, you will not get anything to eat, will you so twist his arm? If by getting over your neighbour's wall, and dragging away his virgin daughter, you can get a wife, while if you do not do so, you will not be able to get a wife, will you so drag her away?""

22 Jiao of Cao asked Mencius, saying, 'It is said, "All men may be Yaos and Shuns:"-- is it so?'

Mencius replied, It is.'

Jiao went on, 'I have heard that king Wen was ten cubits high, and Tang nine. Now I am nine cubits four inches in height. But I can do nothing but eat my millet. What am I to do to realize that saying?'

Mencius answered him, 'What has this - the question of size to do with the matter? It all lies simply in acting as such. Here is a man, whose strength was not equal to lift a duckling he was then a man of no strength. But to-day he says, "I can lift 3,000 catties' weight," and he is a man of strength. And so, he who can lift the weight which Wu Huo lifted is just another Wu Huo. Why should a man make a want of ability the subject of his grief? It is only that he will not do the thing. To walk slowly, keeping behind his elders, is to perform the part of a younger. To walk quickly and precede his elders, is to violate the duty of a younger brother. Now, is it what a man cannot do - to walk slowly? It is what he does not do. The course of Yao and Shun was simply that of filial piety and fraternal duty. Wear the clothes of Yao, repeat the words of Yao, and do the actions of Yao, and you will just be a Yao. And, if you wear the clothes of Jie, repeat the words of Jie, and do the actions of Jie, you will just be a Jie.

Jiao said, 'I shall be having an interview with the prince of Zou, and can ask him to let me have a house to lodge in. I wish to remain here, and receive instruction at your gate.'

Mencius replied, 'The way of truth is like a great road. It is not difficult to know it. The evil is only that men will not seek it. Do you go home and search for it, and you will have abundance of teachers.'

23 Gong Sun Chou asked about an opinion of the scholar Gao, saying, 'Gao observed, "The Xiao Pan is the ode of a little man."

Mencius asked, 'Why did he say so?'

'Because of the murmuring which it expresses,' was the reply. Mencius answered, 'How stupid was that old Gao in dealing with the ode! There is a man here, and a native of Yue bends his bow to shoot him. I will advise him not to do so, but speaking calmly and smilingly; for no other reason but that he is not related to me. But if my own brother be bending his bow to shoot the man, then I will advise him not to do so, weeping and crying the while; for no other reason than that he is related to me. The dissatisfaction expressed in the Xiao Pan is the working of relative affection, and that affection shows benevolence. Stupid indeed was old Gao's criticism on the ode'.

Chou then said, 'How is it that there is no dissatisfaction expressed in the Kai Feng?'

Mencius replied, 'The parent's fault referred to in the Kai Feng is small; that referred to in the Xiao Pan is great. Where the parent's fault was great, not to have murmured on account of it would have increased the want of natural affection. Where the parent's fault was small, to have murmured on account of it would have been to act like water which frets and foams about a stone that interrupts its course. To increase the want of natural affection would have been unfilial, and to fret and foam in such a manner would also have been unfilial. Confucius said, "Shun was indeed perfectly filial! And yet, when he was fifty, he was full of longing desire about his parents."

24 Song Keng being about to go to Chu, Mencius met him in Shi Qiu. 'Master, where are you going?' asked Mencius.

Keng replied, 'I have heard that Qin and Chu are fighting together, and I am going to see the king of Chu and persuade him to cease hostilities. If he shall not be pleased with my advice, I shall go to see the king of Qin, and persuade him in the same way. Of the two kings I shall surely find that I can succeed with one of them.'

Mencius said, 'I will not venture to ask about the particulars, but I should like to hear the scope of your plan. What course will you take to try to persuade them?'

Keng answered, 'I will tell them how unprofitable their course is to them.'

'Master,' said Mencius, 'your aim is great, but your argument is not good. If you, starting from the point of profit, offer your persuasive counsels to the kings of Qin and Chu, and if those kings are pleased with the consideration of profit so as to stop the movements of their armies, then all belonging to those armies will rejoice in the cessation of war, and find their pleasure in the pursuit of profit. Ministers will

serve their sovereign for the profit of which they cherish the thought: sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, from the same consideration and the issue will be, that, abandoning benevolence and righteousness, sovereign and minister, father and son, younger brother and elder, will carry on all their intercourse with this thought of profit cherished in their breasts. But never has there been such a state of society, without ruin being the result of it. If you, starting from the ground of benevolence and righteousness, offer your counsels to the kings of Qin and Chu, and if those kings are pleased with the consideration of benevolence and righteousness so as to stop the operations of their armies, then all belonging to those armies will rejoice in the stopping from war, and find their pleasure in benevolence and righteousness. Ministers will serve their sovereign, cherishing the principles of benevolence and righteousness; sons will serve their fathers, and younger brothers will serve their elder brothers, in the same way - and so, sovereign and minister, father and son, elder brother and younger, abandoning the thought of profit, will cherish the principles of benevolence and righteousness, and carry on all their intercourse upon them. But never has there been such a state of society, without the State where it prevailed rising to the royal sway. Why must you use that word "profit."

25 When Mencius was residing in Zou, the younger brother of the chief of Ren, who was guardian of Ren at the time, paid his respects to him by a present of silks, which Mencius received, not going to acknowledge it. When he was sojourning in Ping Lu, Chu, who was prime minister of the State, sent him a similar present, which he received in the same way. Subsequently, going from Zou to Ren, he visited the guardian; but when he went from Ping Lu to the capital of Qi, he did not visit the minister Chu. The disciple Wu Lu was glad, and said, 'I have got an opportunity to obtain some instruction.' He asked accordingly, 'Master, when you went to Ren, you visited the chief's brother; and when you went to Qi, you did not visit Chu. Was it not because he is only the minister'"

Mencius replied, 'No. It is said in the Book of History, "In presenting an offering to a superior, most depends on the demonstrations of respect. If those demonstrations are not equal to the things offeredred, we say there is no offering, that is, there is no act of the will presenting the offering." This is because the things so offered do not constitute an offering to a superior.'

Wu Lu was pleased, and when some one asked him what Mencius meant, he said, 'The younger of Ren could not go to Zou, but the minister Chu might have gone to Ping Lu.'

26 Chun Yu Kun said, 'He who makes fame and meritorious services his first objects, acts with a regard to others. He who makes them only secondary objects, acts with a regard to himself. You, master, were ranked among the three chief ministers of the State, but before your fame and services had reached either to the prince or the people, you have left your place. Is this indeed the way of the benevolent?'

Mencius replied, 'There was Bo Yi - he abode in an inferior situation, and would not, with his virtue, serve a degenerate prince. There was Yi Yin - he five times went to Tang, and five times went to Jie. There was Hui of Liu Xia - he did not disdain to serve a vile prince, nor did he decline a small office. The courses pursued by those three worthies were different, but their aim was one. And what was their one aim? We must answer "To be perfectly virtuous." And so it is simply after this that superior men strive. Why must they all pursue the same course?'

Kun pursued, 'In the time of the duke Mu of Lu, the government was in the hands of Gong Yi, while Zi Liu and Zi Si were ministers. And yet, the dismemberment of Lu then increased exceedingly. Such was the case, a specimen how your men of virtue are of no advantage to a kingdom!' Mencius said, 'The prince of Yu did not use Bai Li Xi, and thereby lost his State. The duke Mu of Qin used him, and became chief of all the princes. Ruin is the consequence of not employing men of virtue and talents - how can it rest with dismemberment merely?'

Kun urged again, 'Formerly, when Wang Bao dwelt on the Qi, the people on the west of the Yellow River all became skilful at singing in his abrupt manner. When Mian Ju lived in Gao Tang, the people in the parts of Qi on the west became skilful at singing in his prolonged manner. The wives of Hua Zhou and Qi Liang bewailed their husbands so skilfully, that they changed the manners of the State. When there is the gift within, it manifests itself without. I have never seen the man who could do the deeds of a worthy, and did not realize the work of one. Therefore there are now no men of talents and virtue. If there were, I should know them.'

Mencius answered, 'When Confucius was chief minister of Justice in Lu, the prince came not to follow his counsels. Soon after there was the solstitial sacrifice, and when a part of the flesh presented in sacrifice was not sent to him, he went away even without taking off his cap of ceremony. Those who did not know him supposed it was on account of the flesh. Those who knew him supposed that it was on account of the neglect of the usual ceremony. The fact was, that Confucius wanted to

go away on occasion of some small offence, not wishing to do so without some apparent cause. All men cannot be expected to understand the conduct of a superior man.'

27 Mencius said, 'The five chiefs of the princes were sinners against the three kings. The princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs. The Great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes. The sovereign visited the princes, which was called "A tour of Inspection." The princes attended at the court of the sovereign, which was called "Giving a report of office." It was a custom in the spring to examine the ploughing, and supply any deficiency of seed; and in autumn to examine the reaping, and assist where there was a deficiency of the crop. When the sovereign entered the boundaries of a State, if the new ground was being reclaimed, and the old fields well cultivated; if the old were nourished and the worthy honoured; and if men of distinguished talents were placed in office: then the prince was rewarded - rewarded with an addition to his territory. On the other hand, if, on entering a State, the ground was found left wild or overrun with weeds; if the old were neglected and the worthy unhonoured; and if the offices were filled with hard taxgatherers: then the prince was reprimanded. If a prince once omitted his attendance at court, he was punished by degradation of rank; if he did so a second time, he was deprived of a portion of his territory; if he did so a third time, the royal forces were set in motion, and he was removed from his government. Thus the sovereign commanded the punishment, but did not himself inflict it, while the princes inflicted the punishment, but did not command it. The five chiefs, however, dragged the princes to punish other princes, and hence I say that they were sinners against the three kings.

'Of the five chiefs the most powerful was the duke Huan. At the assembly of the princes in Kui Qiu, he bound the victim and placed the writing upon it, but did not slay it to smear their mouths with the blood. The first injunction in their agreement was, "Slay the unfilial; change not the son who has been appointed heir; exalt not a concubine to be the wife." The second was, "Honour the worthy, and maintain the talented, to give distinction to the virtuous." The third was, "Respect the old, and be kind to the young. Be not forgetful of strangers and travellers." The fourth was, "Let not offices be hereditary, nor let officers be pluralists. In the selection of officers let the object be to get the proper men. Let not a ruler take it on himself to put to death a Great officer." The fifth was, "Follow no crooked policy in making embankments. Impose no restrictions on the sale of grain. Let there be no promotions without first announcing them to the sovereign." It was then said, "All we who have united in this agreement shall hereafter maintain amicable relations." The princes of the present day all violate these five prohibitions, and therefore I say that the princes of the present day are sinners against the five chiefs.

The crime of him who connives at, and aids, the wickedness of his prince is small, but the crime of him who anticipates and excites that wickedness is great. The officers of the present day all go to meet their sovereigns' wickedness, and therefore I say that the Great officers of the present day are sinners against the princes.'

28 The prince of Lu wanted to make the minister Shen commander of his army. Mencius said, 'To employ an uninstructed people in war may be said to be destroying the people. A destroyer of the people would not have been tolerated in the times of Yao and Shun. Though by a single battle you should subdue Qi, and get possession of Nan Yang, the thing ought not to be done.'

Shen changed countenance, and said in displeasure, 'This is what I, Gu Li, do not understand.'

Mencius said, 'I will lay the case plainly before you. The territory appropriated to the sovereign is 1,000 li square. Without a thousand li, he would not have sufficient for his entertainment of the princes. The territory appropriated to a Hou is 100 li square. Without 100 li, he would not have sufficient wherewith to observe the statutes kept in his ancestral temple. When Zhou Gong was invested with the principalily of Lu, it was a hundred li square. The territory was indeed enough, but it was not more than 100 li. When Tai Gong was invested with the principality of Qi, it was 100 li square. The territory was indeed enough, but it was not more than 100 li. Now Lu is five times 100 li square. If a true royal ruler were to arise, whether do you think that Lu would be diminished or increased by him? If it were merely taking the place from the one State to give it to the other, a benevolent man would not do it; how much less will he do so, when the end is to be sought by the slaughter of men! The way in which a superior man serves his prince contemplates simply the leading him in the right path, and directing his mind to benevolence.'

29 Mencius said, 'Those who now-a-days serve their sovereigns say, "We can for our sovereign enlarge the limits of the cultivated ground, and fill his treasuries and arsenals." Such persons are now-a-days called "Good ministers," but anciently they were called "Robbers of the people." If a sovereign follows not the right way, nor has his mind bent on benevolence, to seek to enrich him is to enrich a Jie. Or they

will say, "We can for our sovereign form alliances with other States, so that our battles must be successful." Such persons are now-a-days called "Good ministers," but anciently they were called "Robbers of the people." If a sovereign follows not the right way, nor has his mind directed to benevolence, to seek to enrich him is to enrich a Jie. Although a prince, pursuing the path of the present day, and not changing its practices, were to have the throne given to him, he could not retain it for a single morning."

30 Bai Gui said, 'I want to take a twentieth of the produce only as the tax. What do you think of it?'

Mencius said, 'Your way would be that of the Mo. In a country of ten thousand families, would it do to have only one potter?'

Gui replied, 'No. The vessels would not be enough to use.'

Mencius went on, 'In Mo all the five kinds of grain are not grown; it only produces the millet. There are no fortified cities, no edifices, no ancestral temples, no ceremonies of sacrifice; there are no princes requiring presents and entertainments; there is no system of officers with their various subordinates. On these accounts a tax of one-twentieth of the produce is sufficient there. But now it is the Middle Kingdom that we live in. To banish the relationships of men, and have no superior men - how can such a state of things be thought of? With but few potters a kingdom cannot subsist; how much less can it subsist without men of a higher rank than others? If we wish to make the taxation lighter than the system of Yao and Shun, we shall just have a great Mo and a small Mo. If we wish to make it heavier, we shall just have the great Jie and the small Jie.'

31 Bai Gui said, 'My management of the waters is superior to that of Yu.'

Mencius replied, 'You are wrong, Sir. Yu's regulation of the waters was according to the laws of water. He therefore made the four seas their receptacle, while you make the neighbouring States their receptacle. Water flowing out of its channels is called an inundation. Inundating waters are a vast waste of water, and what a benevolent man detests. You are wrong, my good Sir.'

32 Mencius said, 'If a scholar have not faith, how shall he take a firm hold of things?'

33 The prince of Lu wanting to commit the administration of his government to the disciple Yue Zheng,

Mencius said, 'When I heard of it, I was so glad that I could not sleep.'

Gong Sun Chou asked, 'Is Yue Zheng a man of vigour?' and was answered. 'No.'

'Is he wise in council?' 'No.'

'Is he possessed of much information?' 'No.'

'What then made you so glad that you could not sleep?' 'He is a man who loves what is good.'

Is the love of what is good sufficient?" 'The love of what is good is more than a sufficient qualification for the government of the kingdom; how much more is it so for the State of Lu! If a minister love what is good, all within the four seas will count 1000 li but a small distance, and will come and lay their good thoughts before him. If he do not love what is good, men will say, "How self-conceited he looks? He is saying to himself, I know it." The language and looks of that self-conceit will keep men off at a distance of 1,000 li. When good men stop 1,000 li off, calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants will make their appearance. When a minister lives among calumniators, flatterers, and sycophants, though he may wish the State to be well governed, is it possible for it to he so?"

34 The disciple Chen said, 'What were the principles on which superior men of old took office?'

Mencius replied, 'There were three cases in which they accepted office, and three in which they left it. If received with the utmost respect and all polite observances, and they could say to themselves that the prince would carry their words into practice, then they took office with him. Afterwards, although there might be no remission in the polite demeanour of the prince, if their words were not carried into practice, they would leave him. The second case was that in which, though the prince could not be expected at once to carry their words into practice, yet being received by him with the utmost respect, they took office with him. But afterwards, if there was a remission in his polite demeanour, they would leave him. The last case was that of the superior man who had nothing to eat, either morning or evening, and was so famished that he could not move out of his door. If the prince. on hearing of his state, said, "I must fail in the great point, that of carrying his doctrines into practice, neither am I able to follow his words, but I am ashamed to allow him to die of want in my country;" the assistance offered in such a case might be received, but not beyond what was sufficient to avert death

35 Mencius said, 'Shun rose from among the channelled fields. Fu Yue was called to office from the midst of his building frames; Jiao Ge from his fish and salt; Guan Yi Wu from the hands of his gaoler; Sun Shu Ao from his hiding by the sea-shore; and Bai Li Xi from the market-place. Thus, when Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it

first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and supplies his incompetencies. Men for the most part err, and are afterwards able to reform. They are distressed in mind and perplexed in their thoughts, and then they arise to vigorous reformation. When things have been evidenced in men's looks, and set forth in their words, then they understand them. If a prince have not about his court families attached to the laws and worthy counsellors, and if abroad there are not hostile States or other external calamities, his kingdom will generally come to ruin. From these things we see how life springs from sorrow and calamity, and death from ease and pleasure.'

36 Mencius said, 'There are many arts in teaching. I refuse,

36 Mencius said, 'There are many arts in teaching. I refuse, as inconsistent with my character, to teach a man, but I am only thereby still teaching him.'

### MENGZI CHAPTER 13 Jin Xin 1

1 Mencius said, 'He who has exhausted all his mental constitution knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven. To preserve one's mental constitution, and nourish one's nature, is the way to serve Heaven. When neither a premature death nor long life causes a man any double-mindedness, but he waits in the cultivation of his personal character for whatever issue; this is the way in which he establishes his Heaven-ordained being.'

2 Mencius said, 'There is an appointment for everything. A man should receive submissively what may be correctly ascribed thereto. Therefore, he who has the true idea of what is Heaven's appointment will not stand beneath a precipitous wall. Death sustained in the discharge of one's duties may correctly be ascribed to the appointment of Heaven. Death under handcuffs and fetters cannot correctly be so ascribed.'

3 Mencius said, 'When we get by our seeking and lose by our neglecting - in that case seeking is of use to getting, and the things sought for are those which are in ourselves. When the seeking is according to the proper course, and the getting is only as appointed - in that case the seeking is of no use to getting, and the things sought are without ourselves.'

4 Mencius said, 'All things are already complete in us. There is no greater delight than to be conscious of sincerity on self-examination. If one acts with a vigorous effort at the law of reciprocity, when he seeks for the realization of perfect virtue, nothing can be closer than his approximation to it.'

5 Mencius said, 'To act without understanding, and to do so habitually without examination, pursuing the proper path all the life without knowing its nature - this is the way of multitudes.'

6 Mencius said, 'A man may not be without shame. When one is ashamed of having been without shame, he will afterwards not have occasion to be ashamed.'

7 Mencius said, 'The sense of shame is to a man of great importance. Those who form contrivances and versatile schemes distinguished for their artfulness, do not allow their sense of shame to come into action. When one differs from other men in not having this sense of shame, what will he have in common with them?'

8 Mencius said, 'The able and virtuous monarchs of antiquity loved virtue and forgot their power. And shall an exception be made of the able and virtuous scholars of antiquity, that they did not do the same? They delighted in their own principles, and were oblivious of the power of princes. Therefore, if kings and dukes did not show the utmost respect, and observe all forms of ceremony, they were not permitted to come frequently and visit them. If they thus found it not in their power to pay them frequent visits, how much less could they get to employ them as ministers?'

9 Mencius said to Song Gou Jian, 'Are you fond, Sir, of travelling to the different courts? I will tell you about such travelling. If a prince acknowledge you and follow your counsels, be perfectly satisfied. If no one do so, be the same.'

Gou Jian said, 'What is to be done to secure this perfect satisfaction?'

Mencius replied, 'Honour virtue and delight in righteousness, and so you may always be perfectly satisfied. Therefore, a scholar, though poor, does not let go his righteousness; though prosperous, he does not leave his own path. Poor and not letting righteousness go - it is thus that the scholar holds possession of himself. Prosperous and not leaving the proper path - it is thus that the expectations of the people from him are not disappointed. When the men of antiquity realized their wishes, benefits were conferred by them on the people. If they did not realize their wishes, they cultivated their personal character, and became illustrious in the world. If poor, they attended to their own virtue in solitude; if advanced to dignity, they made the whole kingdom virtuous as well.'

10 Mencius said, 'The mass of men wait for a king Wen, and then they will receive a rousing impulse. Scholars distinguished from the mass, without a king Wan, rouse thempelyes.'

- 11 Mencius said, 'Add to a man the families of Han and Wei. If he then look upon himself without being elated, he is far beyond the mass of men.'
- 12 Mencius said, 'Let the people be employed in the way which is intended to secure their ease, and though they be toiled, they will not murmur. Let them be put to death in the way which is intended to preserve their lives, and though they die, they will not murmur at him who puts them to death.'
- 13 Mencius said, 'Under a chief, leading all the princes, the people look brisk and cheerful. Under a true sovereign, they have an air of deep contentment. Though he slay them, they do not murmur. When he benefits them, they do not think of his merit. From day to day they make progress towards what is good, without knowing who makes them do so. Wherever the superior man passes through, transformation follows; wherever he abides, his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad, above and beneath, like that of Heaven and Earth. How can it be said that he mends society but in a small way!
- 14 Mencius said, 'Kindly words do not enter so deeply into men as a reputation for kindness. Good government does not lay hold of the people so much as good instructions. Good government is feared by the people, while good instructions are loved by them. Good government gets the people's wealth, while good instructions get their hearts.'
- 15 Mencius said, 'The ability possessed by men without having been acquired by learning is intuitive ability, and the knowledge possessed by them without the exercise of thought is their intuitive knowledge. Children carried in the arms all know to love their parents, and when they are grown a little, they all know to love their elder brothers. Filial affection for parents is the working of benevolence. Respect for elders is the working of righteousness. There is no other reason for those feelings they belong to all under heaven.'
- 16 Mencius said, 'When Shun was living amid the deep retired mountains, dwelling with the trees and rocks, and wandering among the deer and swine, the difference between him and the rude inhabitants of those remote hills appeared very small. But when he heard a single good word, or saw a single good action, he was like a stream or a river bursting its banks, and flowing out in an irresistible flood.'
- 17 Mencius said, 'Let a man not do what his own sense of righteousness tells him not to do, and let him not desire what his sense of righteousness tells him not to desire to act thus is all he has to do.'
- 18 Mencius said, 'Men who are possessed of intelligent virtue and prudence in affairs will generally be found to have been in sickness and troubles. They are the friendless minister and concubine's son, who keep their hearts under a sense of peril, and use deep precautions against calamity. On this account they become distinguished for their intelligence.'
- 19 Mencius said, 'There are persons who serve the prince; they serve the prince, that is, for the sake of his countenance and favour. There are ministers who seek the tranquillity of the State, and find their pleasure in securing that tranquillity. There are those who are the people of Heaven. They, judging that, if they were in office, they could carry out their principles, throughout the kingdom, proceed so to carry them out. There are those who are great men. They rectify themselves and others are rectified.'
- 20 Mencius said, 'The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the kingdom is not one of them. That his father and mother are both alive, and that he condition of his brothers affords no cause for anxiety; this is one delight. That, when looking up, he has no occasion for shame before Heaven, and, below, he has no occasion to blush before men; this is a second delight. That he can get from the whole kingdom the most talented individuals, and teach and nourish them; this is the third delight. The superior man has three things in which he delights, and to be ruler over the kingdom is not one of them.'
- 21 Mencius said, 'Wide territory and a numerous people are desired by the superior man, but what he delights in is not here. To stand in the centre of the kingdom, and tranquillize the people within the four seas the superior man delights in this, but the highest enjoyment of his nature is not here. What belongs by his nature to the superior man cannot be increased by the largeness of his sphere of action, nor diminished by his dwelling in poverty and retirement for this reason that it is determinately apportioned to him by Heaven. What belongs by his nature to the superior man are benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge. These are rooted in his heart; their growth and manifestation are a mild harmony appearing in the countenance, a rich fullness in the back, and the character imparted to the four limbs. Those limbs understand to arrange themselves, without being told.'
- 22 Mencius said, 'Bo Yi, that he might avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the northern sea when he heard of the rise of king Wen. He roused himself and said, "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old." Tai Gong, to avoid Zhou, was dwelling on the coast of the eastern sea. When he heard of the rise of king Wen, he said, "Why should I not go and follow him? I have heard that the chief if the West knows well

how to nourish the old." If there were a prince in the kingdom, who knew well how to nourish the old, all men of virtue would feel that he was the proper object for them to gather to. Around the homestead with its five mau, the space beneath the walls was planted with mulberry trees, with which the women nourished silkworms, and thus the old were able to have silk to wear. Each family had five brood hens and two brood sows which were kept to their breeding seasons, and thus the old were able to have flesh to eat. The husbandmen cultivated their farms of 100 mu, and thus their families of eight mouths were secured against want. The expression, "The chief of the West knows well how to nourish the old," refers to his regulation of the fields and dwellings, his teaching them to plant the mulberry and nourish those animals, and his instructing the wives and children, so as to make them nourish their aged. At fifty, warmth cannot be maintained without silks, and at seventy flesh is necessary to satisfy the appetite. Persons not kept warm nor supplied with food are said to be starved and famished, but among the people of king Wen, there were no aged who were starved or famished. This is the meaning of the expression in question.

- 23 Mencius said, 'Let it be seen to that their fields of grain and hemp are well cultivated, and make the taxes on them light so the people may be made rich. Let it be seen to that the people use their resources of food seasonably, and expend their wealth only on the prescribed ceremonies so their wealth will be more than can be consumed. The people cannot live without water and fire, yet if you knock at a man's door in the dusk of the evening, and ask for water and fire, there is no man who will not give them, such is the abundance of these things. A sage governs the kingdom so as to cause pulse and grain to be as abundant as water and fire. When pulse and grain are as abundant as water and fire, how shall the people be other than virtuous?"
- 24 Mencius said, 'Confucius ascended the eastern hill, and Lu appeared to him small. He ascended the Tai mountain, and all beneath the heavens appeared to him small. So he who has contemplated the sea, finds it difficult to think anything of other waters, and he who has wandered in the gate of the sage, finds it difficult to think anything of the words of others. There is an art in the contemplation of water. It is necessary to look at it as foaming in waves. The sun and moon being possessed of brilliancy, their light admitted even through an orifice illuminates. Flowing water is a thing which does not proceed till it has filled the hollows in its course. The student who has set his mind on the doctrines of the sage, does not advance to them but by completing one lesson after another.'

  25 Mencius said, 'He who rises at cock-crowing and
- 25 Mencius said, 'He who rises at cock-crowing and addresses himself earnestly to the practice of virtue, is a disciple of Shun. He who rises at cock-crowing, and addresses himself earnestly to the pursuit of gain, is a disciple of Zhi. If you want to know what separates Shun from Zhi, it is simply this: the interval between the thought of gain and the thought of virtue'
- 26 Mencius said, 'The principle of the philosopher Yang was "Each one for himself." Though he might have benefited the whole kingdom by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it. The philosopher Mo loves all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the kingdom, he would have done it. Zi Mo holds a medium between these. By holding that medium, he is nearer the right. But by holding it without leaving room for the exigency of circumstances, it becomes like their holding their one point. The reason why I hate that holding to one point is the injury it does to the way of right principle. It takes up one point and disregards a hundred others.'
- 27 Mencius said, 'The hungry think any food sweet, and the thirsty think the same of any drink, and thus they do not get the right taste of what they eat and drink. The hunger and thirst, in fact, injure their palate. And is it only the mouth and belly which are injured by hunger and thirst? Men's minds are also injured by them. If a man can prevent the evils of hunger and thirst from being any evils to his mind, he need not have any sorrow about not being equal to other men.'
- 28 Mencius said, 'Hui of Liu Xia would not for the three highest offices of State have changed his firm purpose of life.'
- 29 Mencius said, 'A man with definite aims to be accomplished may be compared to one digging a well. To dig the well to a depth of seventy-two cubits, and stop without reaching the spring, is after all throwing away the well.'
- 30 Mencius said, 'Benevolence and righteousness were natural to Yao and Shun. Tang and Wu made them their own. The five chiefs of the princes feigned them. Having borrowed them long and not returned them, how could it be known they did not own them?'
- 31 Gong Sun Chou said, "Yi Yin said, "I cannot be near and see him so disobedient to reason," and therewith he banished Tai Jia to Tong. The people were much pleased. When Tai Jia became virtuous, he brought him back, and the people were again much pleased. When worthies are ministers, may they indeed banish their sovereigns in this way when they are not virtuous?"

Mencius replied, 'If they have the same purpose as Yi Yin, they may. If they have not the same purpose, it would be usurpation'

32 Gong Sun Chou said, 'It is said, in the Book of Poetry, "He will not eat the bread of idleness!" How is it that we see superior men eating without labouring?"

Mencius replied, When a superior man resides in a country, if its sovereign employ his counsels, he comes to tranquillity, wealth and glory. If the young in it follow his instructions, they become filial, obedient to their elders, true-hearted, and faithful. What greater example can there be than this of not eating the bread of idleness?

33 The king's son, Dian, asked Mencius, saying, 'What is the business of the unemployed scholar?'

Mencius replied, 'To exalt his aim.'

Tien asked again, 'What do you mean by exalting the aim?'

The answer was, 'Setting it simply on benevolence and righteousness. He thinks how to put a single innocent person to death is contrary to benevolence; how to take what one has not a right to is contrary to righteousness; that one's dwelling should be benevolence; and one's path should be righteousness. Where else should he dwell? What other path should he pursue? When benevolence is the dwelling-place of the heart, and righteousness the path of the life, the business of a great man is complete.'

34 Mencius said, 'Supposing that the kingdom of Qi were offered, contrary to righteousness, to Chen Zhong, he would not receive it, and all people believe in him, as a man of the highest worth. But this is only the righteousness which declines a dish of rice or a plate of soup. A man can have no greater crimes than to disown his parents and relatives, and the relations of sovereign and minister, superiors and inferiors. How can it be allowed to give a man credit for the great excellences because he possesses a small one?'

35 Tao Ying asked, saying, 'Shun being sovereign, and Gao Yao chief minister of justice, if Gu Sou had murdered a man, what would have been done in the case?'

Mencius said, 'Gao Yao would simply have apprehended him.'

'But would not Shun have forbidden such a thing?

'Indeed, how could Shun have forbidden it? Gao Yao had received the law from a proper source.'

'In that case what would Shun have done?'

'Shun would have regarded abandoning the kingdom as throwing away a worn-out sandal. He would privately have taken his father on his back, and retired into concealment, living some where along the sea-coast. There he would have been all his life, cheerful and happy, forgetting the kingdom.'

36 Mencius, going from Fan to Qi, saw the king of Qi's son at a distance, and said with a deep sigh, 'One's position alters the air, just as the nurture affects the body. Great is the influence of position! Are we not all men's sons in this respect?'

Mencius said, 'The residence, the carriages and horses, and the dress of the king's son, are mostly the same as those of other men. That he looks so is occasioned by his position. How much more should a peculiar air distinguish him whose position is in the wide house of the world! 'When the prince of Lu went to Song, he called out at the Die Shi gate, and the keeper said, "This is not our prince. How is it that his voice is so like that of our prince?" This was occasioned by nothing but the correspondence of their positions.'

- 37 Mencius said, 'To feed a scholar and not love him, is to treat him as a pig. To love him and not respect him, is to keep him as a domestic animal. Honouring and respecting are what exist before any offering of gifts. If there be honouring and respecting without the reality of them, a superior man may not be retained by such empty demonstrations.'
- 38 Mencius said, 'The bodily organs with their functions belong to our Heaven-conferred nature. But a man must be a sage before he can satisfy the design of his bodily organization.'
- 39 The king Xuan of Qi wanted to shorten the period of mourning. Gong Sun Chou said, 'To have one whole year's mourning is better than doing away with it altogether.'

Mencius said, 'That is just as if there were one twisting the arm of his elder brother, and you were merely to say to him "Gently, gently, if you please." Your only course should be to teach such an one filial piety and fraternal duty.'

At that time, the mother of one of the king's sons had died, and his tutor asked for him that he might be allowed to observe a few months' mourning. Gong Sun Chou asked, 'What do you say of this?'

Mencius replied, 'This is a case where the party wishes to complete the whole period, but finds it impossible to do so. The addition of even a single day is better than not mourning at all. I spoke of the case where there was no hindrance, and the party neglected the thing itself.'

40 Mencius said, 'There are five ways in which the superior man effects his teaching. There are some on whom his influence descends like seasonable rain. There are some whose virtue he perfects, and some of whose talents he assists the development. There are some whose inquiries he answers. There are some who privately cultivate and correct themselves.

These five ways are the methods in which the superior man effects his teaching.'

41 Gong Sun Chou said, 'Lofty are your principles and admirable, but to learn them may well be likened to ascending the heavens - something which cannot be reached. Why not adapt your teaching so as to cause learners to consider them attainable, and so daily exert themselves!'

Mencius said, 'A great artificer does not, for the sake of a stupid workman, alter or do away with the marking-line. Yi did not, for the sake of a stupid archer, charge his rule for drawing the bow. The superior man draws the bow, but does not discharge the arrow, having seemed to leap with it to the mark; and he there stands exactly in the middle of the path. Those who are able, follow him.'

- 42 Mencius said, 'When right principles prevail throughout the kingdom, one's principles must appear along with one's person. When right principles disappear from the kingdom, one's person must vanish along with one's principles. I have not heard of one's principles being dependent for their manifestation on other men.'
- 43 The disciple Gong Du said, 'When Geng of Tang made his appearance in your school, it seemed proper that a polite consideration should be paid to him, and yet you did not answer him. Why was that?'

Mencius replied, 'I do not answer him who questions me presuming on his nobility, nor him who presumes on his talents, nor him who presumes on his age, nor him who presumes on services performed to me, nor him who presumes on old acquaintance. Two of those things were chargeable on Geng of Tang.'

- 44 Mencius said, 'He who stops short where stopping is acknowledged to be not allowable, will stop short in everything. He who behaves shabbily to those whom he ought to treat well, will behave shabbily to all. He who advances with precipitation will retire with speed.'
- 45 Mencius said, 'In regard to inferior creatures, the superior man is kind to them, but not loving. In regard to people generally, he is loving to them, but not affectionate. He is affectionate to his parents, and lovingly disposed to people generally. He is lovingly disposed to people generally, and kind to creatures.'
- 46 Mencius said, 'The wise embrace all knowledge, but they are most earnest about what is of the greatest importance. The benevolent embrace all in their love, but what they consider of the greatest importance is to cultivate an earnest affection for the virtuous. Even the wisdom of Yao and Shun did not extend to everything, but they attended earnestly to what was important. Their benevolence did not show itself in acts of kindness to every man, but they earnestly cultivated an affection for the virtuous. Not to be able to keep the three years' mourning, and to be very particular about that of three months, or that of five months; to eat immoderately and swill down the soup, and at the same time to inquire about the precept not to tear the meat with the teeth; such things show what I call an ignorance of what is most important.

### MENGZI CHAPTER 14 Jin Xin 2

47 Mencius said, 'The opposite indeed of benevolent was the king Hui of Liang! The benevolent, beginning with what they care for, proceed to what they do not care for. Those who are the opposite of benevolent, beginning with what they do not care for. proceed to what they care for.'

Gong Sun Chou said, 'What do you mean?'

Mencius answered, 'The king Hui of Liang, for the matter of territory, tore and destroyed his people, leading them to battle. Sustaining a great defeat, he would engage again, and afraid lest they should not be able to secure the victory, urged his son whom he loved till he sacrificed him with them. This is what I call "beginning with what they do not care for, and proceeding to what they care for."

48 Mencius said, 'In the "Spring and Autumn" there are no righteous wars. Instances indeed there are of one war better than another. "Correction" is when the supreme authority punishes its subjects by force of arms. Hostile States do not correct one another.'

49 Mencius said, 'It would be better to be without the Book of History than to give entire credit to it. In the "Completion of the War," I select two or three passages only, which I believe. "The benevolent man has no enemy under heaven. When the prince the most benevolent was engaged against him who was the most the opposite, how could the blood of the people have flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars?""

50 Mencius said, 'There are men who say "I am skilful at marshalling troops, I am skilful at conducting a battle!" They are great criminals. If the ruler of a State love benevolence, he will have no enemy in the kingdom. When Tang was executing his work of correction in the south, the rude tribes on the north murmured. When he was executing it in the east, the rude tribes on the west murmured. Their cry was "Why does he make us last?" When king Wu punished Yin, he had only three hundred chariots of war, and three thousand life-guards. The king said, "Do not fear. Let me give you repose. I am no enemy to the people!" On this, they bowed their heads to the

earth, like the horns of animals falling off. "Royal correction" is but another word for rectifying. Each State wishing itself to be corrected, what need is there for fighting?"

- 51 Mencius said, 'A carpenter or a carriage-maker may give a man the circle and square, but cannot make him skilful in the use of them'
- 52 Mencius said, 'Shun's manner of eating his parched grain and herbs was as if he were to be doing so all his life. When he became sovereign, and had the embroidered robes to wear, the tute to play, and the two daughters of Yao to wait on him, he was as if those things belonged to him as a matter of course.'
- 53 Mencius said, 'From this time forth I know the heavy consequences of killing a man's near relations. When a man kills another's father, that other will kill his father; when a man kills another's elder brother, that other will kill his elder brother. So he does not himself indeed do the act, but there is only an interval between him and it.'
- 54 Mencius said, 'Anciently, the establishment of the frontier-gates was to guard against violence. Nowadays, it is to exercise violence.'
- 55 Mencius said, 'If a man himself do not walk in the right path, it will not be walked in even by his wife and children. If he order men according to what is not the right way, he will not be able to get the obedience of even his wife and children.'
- 56 Mencius said, 'A bad year cannot prove the cause of death to him whose stores of gain are large; an age of corruption cannot confound him whose equipment of virtue is complete.'
- $5\overline{7}$  Mencius said, 'A man who loves fame may be able to decline a State of a thousand chariots; but if he be not really the man to do such a thing, it will appear in his countenance, in the matter of a dish of rice or a platter of soup.'

58 Mencius said, 'If men of virtue and ability be not confided in, a State will become empty and void. Without the rules of propriety and distinctions of right, the high and the low will be thrown into confusion. Without the great principles of government and their various business, there will not be wealth sufficient for the expenditure.'

59 Mencius said, 'There are instances of individuals without benevolence, who have got possession of a single State, but there has been no instance of the throne's being got by one without benevolence.'

60 Mencius said, 'The people are the most important element in a nation; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest. Therefore to gain the peasantry is the way to become sovereign; to gain the sovereign is the way to become a prince of a State; to gain the prince of a State is the way to become a great officer. When a prince endangers the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, he is changed, and another appointed in his place. When the sacrificial victims have been perfect, the millet in its vessels all pure, and the sacrifices offered at their proper seasons, if yet there ensue drought, or the waters overflow, the spirits of the land and grain are changed, and others appointed in their place.'

61 Mencius said, 'A sage is the teacher of a hundred generations - this is true of Bo Yi and Hui of Liu Xia. Therefore when men now bear the character of Bo Yi, the corrupt become pure, and the weak acquire determination. When they hear the character of Hui of Liu Xia, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal. Those two made themselves distinguished a hundred generations ago, and after a hundred generations, those who hear of them, are all aroused in this manner. Could such effects be produced by them, if they had not been sages? And how much more did they affect those who were in contiguity with them, and felt their inspiring influence!'

62 Mencius said, 'Benevolence is the distinguishing characteristic of man. As embodied in man's conduct, it is called the path of duty.'

63 Mencius said, 'When Confucius was leaving Lu, he said, "I will set out by-and-by;" - this was the way in which to leave the State of his parents. When he was leaving Qi, he strained off with his hand the water in which his rice was being rinsed, took the rice, and went away - this was the way in which to leave a strange State.'

64 Mencius said, 'The reason why the superior man was reduced to straits between Chen and Cai was because neither the princes of the time nor their ministers sympathized or communicated with him.'

 $65\ Mo\ Qi$  said, 'Greatly am I from anything to depend upon from the mouths of men.'

Mencius observed, 'There is no harm in that. Scholars are more exposed than others to suffer from the mouths of men. It is said, in the Book of Poetry, "My heart is disquieted and grieved, I am hated by the crowd of mean creatures." This might have been said by Confucius. And again, "Though he did not remove their wrath, He did not let fall his own fame." This might be said of king Wen.'

66 Mencius said, 'Anciently, men of virtue and talents by means of their own enlightenment made others enlightened. Nowadays, it is tried, while they are themselves in darkness, and by means of that darkness, to make others enlightened.'

67 Mencius said to the disciple Gao, 'There are the footpaths along the hills; if suddenly they be used, they become roads; and if, as suddenly they are not used, the wild grass fills them up. Now, the wild grass fills up your mind.'

68 The disciple Gao said, 'The music of Yu was better than that of king Wen.'

Mencius observed, 'On what ground do you say so?'

And the other replied, 'Because at the pivot the knob of Yu's bells is nearly worn through.'

Mencius said, 'How can that be a sufficient proof? Are the ruts at the gate of a city made by a single two-horsed chariot?'

69 When Qi was suffering from famine, Chen Zhen said to Mencius, 'The people are all thinking that you, Master, will again ask that the granary of Tang be opened for them. I apprehend you will not do so a second time.'

Mencius said, 'To do it would be to act like Feng Fu. There was a man of that name in Jin, famous for his skill in seizing tigers. Afterwards he became a scholar of reputation, and going once out to the wild country, he found the people all in pursuit of a tiger. The tiger took refuge in a corner of a hill, where no one dared to attack him, but when they saw Feng Fu, they ran and met him. Feng Fu immediately bared his arms, and descended from the carriage. The multitude were pleased with him, but those who were scholars laughed at him.'

70 Mencius said, 'For the mouth to desire sweet tastes, the eye to desire beautiful colours, the ear to desire pleasant sounds, the nose to desire fragrant odours, and the four limbs to desire ease and rest - these things are natural. But there is the appointment of Heaven in connexion with them, and the superior man does not say of his pursuit of them, "It is my nature." The exercise of love between father and son, the observance of righteousness between sovereign and minister, the rules of ceremony between guest and host, the display of knowledge in recognising the talented, and the fulfilling the heavenly course by the sage - these are the appointment of Heaven. But there is an adaptation of our nature for them. The superior man does not say, in reference to them, "It is the appointment of Heaven."

71 Hao Sheng Bu Hai asked, saying, 'What sort of man is Yue Zheng?'

Mencius replied, 'He is a good man, a real man.'

What do you mean by "A good man," "A real man?"

The reply was, 'A man who commands our liking is what is called a good man. He whose goodness is part of himself is what is called real man. He whose goodness has been filled up is what is called beautiful man. He whose completed goodness is brightly displayed is what is called a great man. When this great man exercises a transforming influence, he is what is called a sage. When the sage is beyond our knowledge, he is what is called a spirit-man. Yue Zheng is between the two first characters, and below the four last.'

72 Mencius said, 'Those who are fleeing from the errors of Mo naturally turn to Yang, and those who are fleeing from the errors of Yang naturally turn to orthodoxy. When they so turn, they should at once and simply be received. Those who nowadays dispute with the followers of Yang and Mo do so as if they were pursuing a stray pig, the leg of which, after they have got it to enter the pen, they proceed to tie.'

73 Mencius said, 'There are the exactions of hempen-cloth and silk, of grain, and of personal service. The prince requires but one of these at once, deferring the other two. If he require two of them at once, then the people die of hunger. If he require the three at once, then fathers and sons are separated.'

74 Mencius said, 'The precious things of a prince are three: the territory, the people, the government and its business. If one value as most precious pearls and jade, calamity is sure to befall him.'

75 Pen Cheng Kuo having obtained an official situation in Qi, Mencius said, 'He is a dead man, that Pen Cheng Kuo!'

Pen Cheng Kuo being put to death, the disciples asked, saying, 'How did you know, Master, that he would meet with death?'

Mencius replied, 'He was a man, who had a little ability, but had not learned the great doctrines of the superior man. He was just qualified to bring death upon himself, but for nothing more.'

76 When Mencius went to Teng, he was lodged in the Upper palace. A sandal in the process of making had been placed there in a window, and when the keeper of the place came to look for it, he could not find it. On this, some one asked Mencius, saying, 'Is it thus that your followers pilfer?'

Mencius replied, 'Do you think that they came here to pilfer the sandal?'

The man said, 'I apprehend not. But you, Master, having arranged to give lessons, do not go back to inquire into the past, and you do not reject those who come to you. If they come with the mind to learn, you receive them without any more add.'

77 Mencius said, 'All men have some things which they cannot bear; extend that feeling to what they can bear, and benevolence will be the result. All men have some things which they will not do; extend that feeling to the things which they do, and righteousness will be the result. If a man can give full development to the feeling which makes him shrink from

injuring others, his benevolence will be more than can be called into practice. If he can give full development to the feeling which refuses to break through, or jump over, a wall, his righteousness will be more than can be called into practice. If he can give full development to the real feeling of dislike with which he receives the salutation, "Thou," "Thou," he will act righteously in all places and circumstances. When a scholar speaks what he ought not to speak, by guile of speech seeking to gain some end; and when he does not speak what he ought to speak, by guile of silence seeking to gain some end; both these cases are of a piece with breaking through a neighbour's wall.'

78 Mencius said, 'Words which are simple, while their meaning is far-reaching, are good words. Principles which, as held, are compendious, while their application is extensive, are good principles. The words of the superior man do not go below the girdle, but great principles are contained in them. The principle which the superior man holds is that of personal cultivation, but the kingdom is thereby tranquillized. The disease of men is this: that they neglect their own fields, and go to weed the fields of others, and that what they require from others is great, while what they lay upon themselves is light.'

79 Mencius said, 'Yao and Shun were what they were by nature; Tang and Wu were so by returning to natural virtue. When all the movements, in the countenance and every turn of the body, are exactly what is proper, that shows the extreme degree of the complete virtue. Weeping for the dead should be from real sorrow, and not because of the living. The regular path of virtue is to be pursued without any bend, and from no view to emolument. The words should all be necessarily sincere, not with any desire to do what is right. The superior man performs the law of right, and thereby waits simply for what has been appointed.'

80 Mencius said, 'Those who give counsel to the great should despise them, and not look at their pomp and display. Halls several times eight cubits high, with beams projecting several cubits; these, if my wishes were to be realized, I would not have. Food spread before me over ten cubits square, and attendants and concubines to the amount of hundreds; these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. Pleasure and wine, and the dash of hunting, with thousands of chariots following after me; these, though my wishes were realized, I would not have. What they esteem are what I would have nothing to do with; what I esteem are the rules of the ancients. Why should I stand in awe of them?'

81 Mencius said, 'To nourish the mind there is nothing better than to make the desires few. Here is a man whose desires are few - in some things he may not be able to keep his heart, but they will be few. Here is a man whose desires are many - in some things he may be able to keep his heart, but they will be few.'

82 Mencius said, 'Zeng Xi was fond of sheep-dates, and his son, the philosopher Zeng, could not bear to eat sheep-dates.' Gong Sun Chou asked, saying, 'Which is best, minced meat and broiled meat, or sheep-dates?'

Mencius said, 'Mince and broiled meat, to be sure.'

Gong Sun Chou went on, 'Then why did the philosopher Zeng eat mince and broiled meat, and would not eat sheep-dates?'

Mencius answered, 'For mince and broiled meat there is a common liking, while that for sheep-dates was peculiar. We avoid the name, but do not avoid the surname. The surname is common; the name is peculiar.'

83 Wan Zhang asked, saying, 'Confucius, when he was in Chen, said: "Let me return. The scholars of my school are ambitious, but hasty. They are for advancing and seizing their object, but cannot forget their early ways." Why did Confucius, when he was in Chen, think of the ambitious scholars of Lu?"

Mencius replied, 'Confucius not getting men pursuing the true medium, to whom he might communicate his instructions, determined to take the ardent and the cautiously-decided. The ardent would advance to seize their object; the cautiously-decided would keep themselves from certain things. It is not to be thought that Confucius did not wish to get men pursuing the true medium, but being unable to assure himself of finding such, he therefore thought of the next class.'

'I venture to ask what sort of men they were who could be styled "The ambitious?"'

Such,' replied Mencius, 'as Qin Zhang, Zeng Xi, and Mu Pi, were those whom Confucius styled "ambitious."

'Why were they styled "ambitious?"'

The reply was, 'Their aim led them to talk magniloquently, saying, "The ancients!" "The ancients!" But their actions, where we fairly compare them with their words, did not correspond with them. When he found also that he could not get such as were thus ambitious, he wanted to get scholars who would consider anything impure as beneath them. Those were the cautiously-decided, a class next to the former. 'Zhang pursued his questioning, 'Confucius said, "They are only your good careful people of the villages at whom I feel no indignation, when they pass my door without entering my

house. Your good careful people of the villages are the thieves of virtue."

'What sort of people were they who could be styled "Your good careful people of the villages?"

Mencius replied, 'They are those who say, "Why are they so magniloquent? Their words have not respect to their actions and their actions have not respect to their words, but they say, "The ancients! The ancients! Why do they act so peculiarly, and are so cold and distant? Born in this age, we should be of this age, to be good is all that is needed." Eunuch-like, flattering their generation - such are your good careful men of the villages.'

Wan Zhang said, 'Their whole village styles those men good and careful. In all their conduct they are so. How was it that Confucius considered them the thieves of virtue?'

Mencius replied, 'If you would blame them, you find nothing to allege. If you would criticise them, you have nothing to criticise. They agree with the current customs. They consent with an impure age. Their principles have a semblance of right-heartedness and truth. Their conduct has a semblance of disinterestedness and purity. All men are pleased with them, and they think themselves right, so that it is impossible to proceed with them to the principles of Yao and Shun. On this account they are called "The thieves of virtue." Confucius said, "I hate a semblance which is not the reality. I hate the darnel, lest it be confounded with the corn. I hate glib-tonguedness, lest it be confounded with righteousness. I hate sharpness of tongue, lest it be confounded with sincerity. I hate the music of Chang, lest it be confounded with the true music. I hate the reddish blue, lest it be confounded with vermilion. I hate your good careful men of the villages, lest they be confounded with the truly virtuous." The superior man seeks simply to bring back the unchanging standard, and, that being correct, the masses are roused to virtue. When they are so aroused, forthwith perversities and glossed wickedness disappear.

84 Mencius said, 'From Yao and Shun down to Tang were 500 years and more. As to Yu and Gao Yao, they saw those earliest sages, and so knew their doctrines, while Tang heard their doctrines as transmitted, and so knew them. From Tang to king Wen were 500 years and more. As to Yi Yin, and Lai Zhu, they saw Tang and knew his doctrines, while king Wen heard them as transmitted, and so knew them. From king Wen to Confucius were 500 years and more. As to Tai Gong Wang and San Yi Sheng, they saw Wen, and so knew his doctrines, while Confucius heard them as transmitted, and so knew them. From Confucius downwards until now, there are only 100 years and somewhat more. The distance in time from the sage is so far from being remote, and so very near at hand was the sage's residence. In these circumstances, is there no one to transmit his doctrines? Yea, is there no one to do so?'

### THE ZHONG YONG

The Constant Mean / The Doctrine of the Mean Author: Kong Ji, grandson of Conficius Translation A: James Legge, 1861 Translation B: A. Charles Muller, 1991 Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century B.C.

(The Doctrine of the Mean or Zhongyong or Zhong Yong is both a doctrine of Confucianism and also the title of one of the Four Books of Confucian philosophy. The text is attributed to Zisi (Kong Ji), the only grandson of Confucius (Kong Zi). It was published as a chapter in the Classic of Rites.

The phrase "doctrine of the mean" first occurs in Book VI, verse 29 of the Analects of Confucius: "The Master [Confucius] said, The virtue embodied in the doctrine of the Mean is of the highest order. But it has long been rare among people"—Analects, 6:29 (Burton Watson tr.)

The Analects never expands on what this term means, but Zisi's text, The Doctrine of the Mean, explores its meaning in detail, as well as how to apply it to one's life. The text was adopted into the canon of the Neo-Confucian movement, as compiled by Zhu Xi.

While Burton Watson translated Zhōngyōng as Doctrine of the Mean, other English-language translators have rendered it differently. James Legge called it Constant Mean. Pierre Ryckmans (aka Simon Leys) Middle Way, while Arthur Waley chose Middle Use. Ezra Pound's attempts include Unswerving Pivot, and Unwobbling Pivot. Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall titled their 2001 translation Focusing the Familiar.

### Authorship

The authorship of The Doctrine of the Mean is controversial. Traditionally, authorship of the treatise (which was actually a chapter from Liji, one of the Five Classics of antiquity) was attributed to Zisi (Kong Ji / Tzu Ssu / Zi Si), a grandson of Confucius and disciple of Zeng Shen; however, this was first questioned by Qing dynasty scholar Cui Shu (1740—1816). According to some modern scholars parts of it may have been written or edited by Confucians during the (transition from the Qin to) Han Dynasties. However, it is

widely agreed that the book presents the ethical core of Confucian teachings.[1][2][3]

(Others seem to attribute it to Confucius himself.)

#### Interpretation

The Doctrine of the Mean is a text rich with symbolism and guidance to perfecting oneself. The mean is also described as the "unswerving pivot" or zhongyong. Zhong means bent neither one way or another, and yong represents unchanging. In James Legge's translation of the text, the goal of the mean is to maintain balance and harmony from directing the mind to a state of constant equilibrium. The person who follows the mean is on a path of duty and must never leave it. A superior person is cautious, a gentle teacher and shows no contempt for his or her inferiors. She always does what is natural according to her or his status in the world. Even common men and women can carry the mean into their practices, as long as they do not exceed their natural order.

The Doctrine of the Mean represents moderation, rectitude, objectivity, sincerity, honesty and propriety. The guiding principle is that one should never act in excess. The Doctrine of the Mean is divided into three parts:

- The Axis Confucian Metaphysics
- The Process Politics
- The Perfect Word/Sincerity Ethics

#### Guidelines

Doctrine of the Mean proposed three guidelines—Selfwatchfulness, Leniency and Sincerity—for how to pursue the Doctrine of the Mean, and one who follows these guidelines can be called a respectable person:

"Zhong-ni said, 'The respectable person embodies the course of the Mean; the average person acts contrary to the course of the Mean."

### Self-watchfulness

This guideline requires self-education, self-questioning and self-discipline during the process of self-cultivation. This principle was exposited in the first chapter of Doctrine of the Mean:

"The respectable person does not wait till he sees things to be cautious, nor till he hears things to be apprehensive. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior person is watchful over himself, when he is alone."

### Leniency

This guideline requires understanding, concern and tolerance towards one another. Leniency was exposited in the 13th chapter: "When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others."

In this chapter, Confucius explained this guideline with four examples: "to serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me", " to serve my prince as I would require my minister to serve me", "to serve my elder brother as I would require my younger brother to serve me", "to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me."

### Sincerity

Sincerity contributes to a close connection between Heaven and human. This guideline was exposited in the 23rd chapter: "It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its full development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men. Able to give its full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion."

# In Chinese society

In China prior to the twentieth century the Doctrine of the Mean was integrated into the education system statewide. Also, one of the prerequisites for employment in the imperial government was the study and understanding of the Four Classics, included in this is the Doctrine of the Mean. The imperial state wanted to reinforce the three bonds of society; between the parent and child, husband and wife, and ruler and subject. This was believed to emphasize a peaceful home and an orderly state.

Recently in China, the New Confucians revisited the Classics, because of its strong foundation in the educational system. Using the Doctrine of the Mean has become a useful source for New Confucians due to the similarities in the terminology and expression used by them and found within the text. This is further reinforced by the support from ancient sages and worthies who prefer education systems more closely linked to traditional Confucian thought.

#### Disputes

Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen both analyzed the doctrine.

Mao Zedong, the founding father of the People's Republic of China, viewed Doctrine of the Mean as a mutation of eelecticism, which draws upon multiple theories, styles, or ideas to gain complementary insights into a subject.

According to Mao's comment on Ai Siqi's analysis of Doctrine of the Mean, Doctrine of the Mean is an eclecticism which simultaneously opposes the abolishment of exploitation and excessive exploitation. According to Mao, Doctrine of the Mean failed to realize that something deserves absolute negation, and in compromise, Doctrine of the Mean prevented China from progress.

In his comment, Mao said that Doctrine of the Mean also goes against dialectics as it stops qualitative change by emphasizing maintaining balance and harmony.

Lu Xun, a leading figure of modern Chinese literature, saw Doctrine of the Mean as major contributing factor of the abject ethnic stereotype in modern China, believing it prevented reform from happening.

prevented reform from happening.
In his speech Silent China, Lu Xun said that Chinese likes the reconcilable and the compromised. "For example, people will not allow you to add a window to a dark room, but when you threaten to uncover the roof, they would compromise to the idea of adding a window. Without a radical proposal pushing them, Chinese won't permit even the mildest reform."

#### Translation and study

Andrew H. Plaks wrote the essay "The mean, nature and self-realization. European translations of the Zhongyong", which was published in De l'un au multiple: Traductions du chinois vers les langues européenes. In his essay Plaks argues that since the text of the Doctrine of the Mean is "too easy", this factor is, as paraphrased by Joshua A. Fogel, an author of a book review for the De l'un au multiple book The Journal of Asian Studies, a "major impediment" to translation.[13]

The Tsinghua bamboo slips feature the text "Bao xun" (保訓) which shares the topos of centrality with the Zhongyong.)

### ZHONG YONG, TRANSLATION A

(by James Legge, 1861)

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 1.

The sum of the whole work.

- 1. What Heaven has conferred is called THE NATURE; an accordance with this nature is called THE PATH of duty; the regulation of this path is called INSTRUCTION.
- 2. The path may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive.
- 3. There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone.
- 4. While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of EQUILIBRIUM. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of HARMONY. This EQUILIBRIUM is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this HARMONY is the universal path which they all should pursue.
- 5. Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 2

Only the superior man can follow the Mean; the mean man is always violating it.

- 1. Chung-nî said, "The superior man embodies the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean.
- 2. "The superior man's embodying the course of the Mean is because he is a superior man, and so always maintains the Mean. The mean man's acting contrary to the course of the Mean is because he is a mean man, and has no caution."

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 3.

The rarity, long existing in Confucius's time, of the practice of the Mean.

The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practice it!

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 4.

How it was that few were able to practice the Mean.

1. The Master said, "I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not walked in:-- The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood:-- The men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it.

2. "There is no body but eats and drinks. But they are few who can distinguish flavours."

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 5.

The Master said, "Alas! How is the path of the Mean untrodden!"

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 6.

How Shun pursued the course of the Mean.

The Master said, "There was Shun:-- He indeed was greatly wise! Shun loved to question others, and to study their words, though they might be shallow. He concealed what was bad in them and displayed what was good. He took hold of their two extremes, determined the Mean, and employed it in his government of the people. It was by this that he was Shun!"

#### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 7.

Their contrary conduct shows men's ignorance of the course and nature of the Mean.

The Master said "Men all say, 'We are wise;' but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, they know not how to escape. Men all say, 'We are wise;' but happening to choose the course of the Mean, they are not able to keep it for a round month."

#### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 8.

How Hûi held fast the course of the Mean.

The Master said "This was the manner of Hûi:-- he made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not lose it."

#### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 9.

The difficulty of attaining to the course of the Mean.

The Master said, "The kingdom, its States, and its families, may be perfectly ruled; dignities and emoluments may be declined; naked weapons may be trampled under the feet;-but the course of the Mean cannot be attained to."

#### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 10.

On energy in its relation to the Mean.

- 1. Tsze-lû asked about energy.
- 2. The Master said, "Do you mean the energy of the South, the energy of the North, or the energy which you should cultivate yourself?
- 3. "To show forbearance and gentleness in teaching others; and not to revenge unreasonable conduct:-- this is the energy of Southern regions, and the good man makes it his study.
- 4. "To lie under arms; and meet death without regret:-- this is the energy of Northern regions, and the forceful make it their study.
- 5. "Therefore, the superior man cultivates a friendly harmony, without being weak.-- How firm is he in his energy! He stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side.-- How firm is he in his energy! When good principles prevail in the government of his country, he does not change from what he was in retirement.-- How firm is he in his energy! When bad principles prevail in the country, he maintains his course to death without changing.-- How firm is he in his energy!"

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 11.

Only the sage man can come up to the requirements of the Mean.

- 1. The Master said, "To live in obscurity, and yet practice wonders, in order to be mentioned with honor in future ages:
   this is what I do not do.
- 2. "The good man tries to proceed according to the right path, but when he has gone halfway, he abandons it:-- I am not able so to stop.
- 3. "The superior man accords with the course of the Mean. Though he may be all unknown, unregarded by the world, he feels no regret.-- It is only the sage who is able for this."

# ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 12.

The course of the Mean reaches far and wide, but yet is secret.

- 1. The way which the superior man pursues, reaches wide and far, and yet is secret.
- 2. Common men and women, however ignorant, may intermeddle with the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice. Great as heaven and earth are, men still find some things in them with which to be dissatisfied. Thus it is that, were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it, and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it.
- 3. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep." This expresses how this way is seen above and below.

4. The way of the superior man may be found, in its simple elements, in the intercourse of common men and women; but in its utmost reaches, it shines brightly through heaven and earth

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 13.

The path of the Mean is not far to seek. Each man has the law of it in himself, and it is to be pursued with earnest sincerity.

- 1. The Master said "The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course, which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered THE PATH.
- 2. "In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'In hewing an axhandle, in hewing an ax-handle, the pattern is not far off.' We grasp one ax handle to hew the other; and yet, if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them, and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops.

  3. "When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his
- 3. "When one cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity, he is not far from the path. What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others.
- 4. "In the way of the superior man there are four things, to not one of which have I as yet attained.— To serve my father, as I would require my son to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my prince, as I would require my minister to serve me: to this I have not attained; to serve my elder brother, as I would require my younger brother to serve me: to this I have not attained; to set the example in behaving to a friend, as I would require him to behave to me: to this I have not attained. Earnest in practicing the ordinary virtues, and careful in speaking about them, if, in his practice, he has anything defective, the superior man dares not but exert himself; and if, in his words, he has any excess, he dares not allow himself such license. Thus his words have respect to his actions, and his actions have respect to his words; is it not just an entire sincerity which marks the superior man?"

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 14.

How the superior man, in every varying situation, pursues the Mean, doing what is right, and finding his rule in himself.

- 1. The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this.
- 2. In a position of wealth and honor, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honor. In a poor and low position, he does what is proper to a poor and low position. Situated among barbarous tribes, he does what is proper to a situation among barbarous tribes. In a position of sorrow and difficulty, he does what is proper to a position of sorrow and difficulty. The superior man can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself.
- 3. In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation, he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against Heaven, nor grumble against men.
- 4. Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments of Heaven, while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences.
- 5. The Master said, "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself."

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 15.

In the practice of the Mean there is an orderly advance from step to step.

- 1. The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in traveling, when to go to a distance we must first traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height, when we must begin from the lower ground.
- 2. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When there is concord among brethren, the harmony is delightful and enduring. Thus may you regulate your family, and enjoy the pleasure of your wife and children."
- 3. The Master said, "In such a state of things, parents have entire complacence!"

# ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 16.

An illustration, from the operation and influence of spiritual beings, of the way of the Mean.

- 1. The Master said, "How abundantly do spiritual beings display the powers that belong to them!
- 2. "We look for them, but do not see them; we listen to, but do not hear them; yet they enter into all things, and there is nothing without them.
- 3. "They cause all the people in the kingdom to fast and purify themselves, and array themselves in their richest dresses, in order to attend at their sacrifices. Then, like overflowing water, they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of their worshippers.

- 4. "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'The approaches of the spirits, you cannot surmise;-- and can you treat them with indifference?"
- 5. "Such is the manifestness of what is minute! Such is the impossibility of repressing the outgoings of sincerity!"

Chapter 17.

The virtue of filial piety, exemplified in Shun as carried to the highest point, and rewarded by Heaven.

- 1. The Master said, "How greatly filial was Shun! His virtue was that of a sage; his dignity was the throne; his riches were all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants preserved the sacrifices to himself.
- 2. "Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain to his long life.
- 3. "Thus it is that Heaven, in the production of things, is sure to be bountiful to them, according to their qualities. Hence the tree that is flourishing, it nourishes, while that which is ready to fall, it overthrows.
- 4. "In the Book of Poetry, it is said, 'The admirable, amiable prince displayed conspicuously his excelling virtue, adjusting his people, and adjusting his officers. Therefore, he received from Heaven his emoluments of dignity. It protected him, assisted him, decreed him the throne; sending from Heaven these favors, as it were repeatedly.'
- 5. "We may say therefore that he who is greatly virtuous will be sure to receive the appointment of Heaven."

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 18.

On king Wan, king Wû and the duke of Châu.

- 1. The Master said, "It is only king Wan of whom it can be said that he had no cause for grief! His father was king Chî, and his son was king Wû. His father laid the foundations of his dignity, and his son transmitted it.
- 2. "King Wû continued the enterprise of king T'âi, king Chî, and king Wan. He once buckled on his armor, and got possession of the kingdom. He did not lose the distinguished personal reputation which he had throughout the kingdom. His dignity was the royal throne. His riches were the possession of all within the four seas. He offered his sacrifices in his ancestral temple, and his descendants maintained the sacrifices to himself.
- 3. "It was in his old age that king Wû received the appointment to the throne, and the duke of Châu completed the virtuous course of Wan and Wû. He carried up the title of king to T'ai and Chî, and sacrificed to all the former dukes above them with the royal ceremonies. And this rule he extended to the princes of the kingdom, the great officers, the scholars, and the common people. If the father were a great officer and the son a scholar, then the burial was that due to a great officer, and the sacrifice that due to a scholar. If the father were a scholar and the son a great officer, then the burial was that due to a scholar, and the sacrifice that due to a great officer. The one year's mourning was made to extend only to the great officers, but the three years' mourning extended to the Son of Heaven. In the mourning for a father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 19.

The far-reaching filial piety of king Wû, and of the duke of Châu.

- The Master said, "How far-extending was the filial piety of king Wû and the duke of Châu!
- "Now filial piety is seen in the skillful carrying out of the wishes of our forefathers, and the skillful carrying forward of their undertakings.
- "In spring and autumn, they repaired and beautified the temple halls of their fathers, set forth their ancestral vessels, displayed their various robes, and presented the offerings of the several seasons.
- 4. "By means of the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction of years.
- 5. "They occupied the places of their forefathers, practiced their ceremonies, and performed their music. They reverenced those whom they honored, and loved those whom they regarded with affection. Thus they served the dead as they would have served them alive; they served the departed as they would have served them had they been continued among them.
- 6. "By the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth they served God, and by the ceremonies of the ancestral temple they sacrificed to their ancestors. He who understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the

meaning of the several sacrifices to ancestors, would find the government of a kingdom as easy as to look into his palm!"

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 20.

On government: showing principally how it depends on the character of the officers administering it, and how that depends on the character of the sovereign himself.

1. The duke Âi asked about government.

- 2. The Master said, "The government of Wan and Wû is displayed in the records,-- the tablets of wood and bamboo. Let there be the men and the government will flourish; but without the men, their government decays and ceases.
- 3. "With the right men the growth of government is rapid, just as vegetation is rapid in the earth; and, moreover, their government might be called an easily-growing rush.
- 4. "Therefore the administration of government lies in getting proper men. Such men are to be got by means of the ruler's own character. That character is to be cultivated by his treading in the ways of duty. And the treading those ways of duty is to be cultivated by the cherishing of benevolence.
- 5. "Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy. The decreasing measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honor due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety.
- 6. "When those in inferior situations do not possess the confidence of their superiors, they cannot retain the government of the people.
- 7. "Hence the sovereign may not neglect the cultivation of his own character. Wishing to cultivate his character, he may not neglect to serve his parents. In order to serve his parents, he may not neglect to acquire knowledge of men. In order to know men, he may not dispense with a knowledge of Heaven.
- 8. "The duties of universal obligation are five, and the virtues wherewith they are practiced are three. The duties are those between sovereign and minister, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those belonging to the intercourse of friends. Those five are the duties of universal obligation. Knowledge, magnanimity, and energy, these three, are the virtues universally binding. And the means by which they carry the duties into practice is singleness.
- 9. "Some are born with the knowledge of those duties; some know them by study; and some acquire the knowledge after a painful feeling of their ignorance. But the knowledge being possessed, it comes to the same thing. Some practice them with a natural ease; some from a desire for their advantages; and some by strenuous effort. But the achievement being made, it comes to the same thing."
- 10. The Master said, "To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practice with vigor is to be near to magnanimity. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy.
- energy.

  11. "He who knows these three things knows how to cultivate his own character. Knowing how to cultivate his own character, he knows how to govern other men. Knowing how to govern other men, he knows how to govern the kingdom with all its states and families.
- 12. "All who have the government of the kingdom with its States and families have nine standard rules to follow;—viz. the cultivation of their own characters; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kindly cherishing of the princes of the States.
- 13. "By the ruler's cultivation of his own character, the duties of universal obligation are set forth. By honoring men of virtue and talents, he is preserved from errors of judgment. By showing affection to his relatives, there is no grumbling nor resentment among his uncles and brethren. By respecting the great ministers, he is kept from errors in the practice of government. By kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers, they are led to make the most grateful return for his courtesies. By dealing with the mass of the people as his children, they are led to exhort one another to what is good. By encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans, his resources for expenditure are rendered ample. By indulgent treatment of men from a distance, they are brought to resort to him from all quarters. And by kindly cherishing the princes of the states, the whole kingdom is brought to revere him.
- 14. "Self-adjustment and purification, with careful regulation of his dress, and the not making a movement contrary to the rules of propriety:— this is the way for a ruler to cultivate his person. Discarding slanderers, and keeping himself from the seductions of beauty; making light of riches, and giving honor to virtue:— this is the way for him to encourage men of worth and talents. Giving them places of honor and large emolument, and sharing with them in their likes and dislikes:— this is the way for him to encourage his relatives to love him. Giving them numerous officers to

discharge their orders and commissions:-- this is the way for him to encourage the great ministers. According to them a generous confidence, and making their emoluments large:-this is the way to encourage the body of officers. Employing them only at the proper times, and making the imposts light:-- this is the way to encourage the people. By daily examinations and monthly trials, and by making their rations in accordance with their labors:-- this is the way to encourage the classes of artisans. To escort them on their departure and meet them on their coming; to commend the good among them, and show compassion to the incompetent:-- this is the way to treat indulgently men from a distance. To restore families whose line of succession has been broken, and to revive states that have been extinguished; to reduce to order States that are in confusion, and support those which are in peril; to have fixed times for their own reception at court, and the reception of their envoys; to send them away after liberal treatment, and welcome their coming with contributions:-- this is the way to cherish the princes of the States.
15. "All who have the government of the kingdom with its

15. "All who have the government of the kingdom with its States and families have the above nine standard rules. And the means by which they are carried into practice is singleness.

16. "In all things success depends on previous preparation, and without such previous preparation there is sure to be failure. If what is to be spoken be previously determined, there will be no stumbling. If affairs be previously determined, there will be no difficulty with them. If one's actions have been previously determined, there will be no sorrow in connection with them. If principles of conduct have been previously determined, the practice of them will be inexhaustible.

- 17. "When those in inferior situations do not obtain the confidence of the sovereign, they cannot succeed in governing the people. There is a way to obtain the confidence of the sovereign;—if one is not trusted by his friends, he will not get the confidence of his sovereign. There is a way to being trusted by one's friends;—if one is not obedient to his parents, he will not be true to friends. There is a way to being obedient to one's parents;—if one, on turning his thoughts in upon himself, finds a want of sincerity, he will not be obedient to his parents. There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one's self;—if a man do not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself.
- 18. "Sincerity is the way of Heaven. The attainment of sincerity is the way of men. He who possesses sincerity is he who, without an effort, hits what is right, and apprehends, without the exercise of thought;--- he is the sage who naturally and easily embodies the right way. He who attains to sincerity is he who chooses what is good, and firmly holds it fast.
- 19. "To this attainment there are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it.
- 20. "The superior man, while there is anything he has not studied, or while in what he has studied there is anything he cannot understand, Will not intermit his labor. While there is anything he has not inquired about, or anything in what he has inquired about which he does not know, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not reflected on, or anything in what he has reflected on which he does not apprehend, he will not intermit his labor. While there is anything which he has not discriminated or his discrimination is not clear, he will not intermit his labor. If there be anything which he has not practiced, or his practice fails in earnestness, he will not intermit his labor. If another man succeed by one effort, he will use a hundred efforts. If another man succeed by ten efforts, he will use a thousand.
- 21. "Let a man proceed in this way, and, though dull, he will surely become intelligent; though weak, he will surely become strong."

# ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 21.

The reciprocal connection of sincerity and intelligence.

When we have intelligence resulting from sincerity, this condition is to be ascribed to nature; when we have sincerity resulting from intelligence, this condition is to be ascribed to instruction. But given the sincerity, and there shall be the intelligence; given the intelligence, and there shall be the sincerity.

# ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 22.

The results of sincerity; and how the possessor of it forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth.

It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can give its fun development to his nature. Able to give its full development to his own nature, he can do the same to the nature of other men, he can give their full development to the natures of animals and things. Able to give their full development to the natures of creatures and things, he can assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a ternion.

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 23.

The way of man; -- the development of perfect sincerity in those not naturally possessed of it.

Next to the above is he who cultivates to the utmost the shoots of goodness in him. From those he can attain to the possession of sincerity. This sincerity becomes apparent. From being apparent, it becomes manifest. From being manifest, it becomes brilliant. Brilliant, it affects others. Affecting others, they are changed by it. Changed by it, they are transformed. It is only he who is possessed of the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can transform.

#### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 24.

That entire sincerity can foreknow.

It is characteristic of the most entire sincerity to be able to foreknow. When a nation or family is about to flourish, there are sure to be happy omens; and when it is about to perish, there are sure to be unlucky omens. Such events are seen in the milfoil and tortoise, and affect the movements of the four limbs. When calamity or happiness is about to come, the good shall certainly be foreknown by him, and the evil also. Therefore the individual possessed of the most complete sincerity is like a spirit.

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 25.

How from sincerity comes self-completion, and the completion of others and of things.

- 1. Sincerity is that whereby self-completion is effected, and its way is that by which man must direct himself.
- 2. Sincerity is the end and beginning of things; without sincerity there would be nothing. On this account, the superior man regards the attainment of sincerity as the most excellent thing.
- 3. The possessor of sincerity does not merely accomplish the self-completion of himself. With this quality he completes other men and things also. The completing himself shows his perfect virtue. The completing other men and things shows his knowledge. But these are virtues belonging to the nature, and this is the way by which a union is effected of the external and internal. Therefore, whenever he -- the entirely sincere man -employs them,-- that is, these virtues,-- their action will be

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 26.

- A parallel between the Sage possessed of entire sincerity, and Heaven and Earth, showing that the same qualities belong to them.
- 1 Hence to entire sincerity there belongs ceaselessness
- 2. Not ceasing, it continues long. Continuing long, it evidences itself.
- 3. Evidencing itself, it reaches far. Reaching far, it becomes large and substantial. Large and substantial, it becomes high and brilliant.
- 4. Large and substantial; -- this is how it contains all things. High and brilliant:-- this is how it overspreads all things Reaching far and continuing long; -- this is how it perfects all things.
- 5. So large and substantial, the individual possessing it is the co-equal of Earth. So high and brilliant, it makes him the co-equal of Heaven. So far-reaching and long-continuing, it makes him infinite.
- 6. Such being its nature, without any display, it becomes manifested; without any movement, it produces changes; and without any effort, it accomplishes its ends.
- 7. The way of Heaven and Earth may be completely declared in one sentence .-- They are without any doubleness, and so they produce things in a manner that is unfathomable.
- 8. The way of Heaven and Earth is large and substantial, high and brilliant, far-reaching and long-enduring.
- 9. The Heaven now before us is only this bright shining spot; but when viewed in its inexhaustible extent, the sun, moon, stars, and constellations of the zodiac, are suspended in it, and all things are overspread by it. The earth before us is but a handful of soil; but when regarded in its breadth and thickness, it sustains mountains like the Hwa and the Yo, without feeling their weight, and contains the rivers and seas, without their leaking away. The mountain now before us appears only a stone; but when contemplated in all the vastness of its size, we see how the grass and trees are produced on it, and birds and beasts dwell on it, and precious things which men treasure up are found on it. The water now before us appears but a ladleful; vet extending our view to its unfathomable depths, the largest tortoises, iguanas, iguanodons, dragons, fishes, and turtles, are produced in it, articles of value and sources of wealth abound in it.
- 10. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "The ordinances of Heaven, how profound are they and unceasing!" The meaning is, that it is thus that Heaven is Heaven. And again, "How illustrious was it, the singleness of the virtue of king Wan!' indicating that it was thus that king Wan was what he was. Singleness likewise is unceasing.

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 27.

The glorious path of the Sage; and how the superior man endeavors to attain to it.

- 1. How great is the path proper to the Sage!
- 2. Like overflowing water, it sends forth and nourishes all things, and rises up to the height of heaven.
- 3. All-complete is its greatness! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of demeanor.
  - 4. It waits for the proper man, and then it is trodden.
- 5. Hence it is said, "Only by perfect virtue can the perfect path, in all its courses, be made a fact."
- 6. Therefore, the superior man honors his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness, so as to omit none of the more exquisite and minute points which it embraces, and to raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy, so as to pursue the course of the Mean. He cherishes his old knowledge, and is continually acquiring new. He exerts an honest, generous earnestness, in the esteem and practice of all propriety
- 7. Thus, when occupying a high situation he is not proud, and in a low situation he is not insubordinate. When the kingdom is well governed, he is sure by his words to rise; and when it is ill governed, he is sure by his silence to command forbearance to himself. Is not this what we find in the Book of Poetry,-- "Intelligent is he and prudent, and so preserves his

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 28.

An illustration of the sentence in the last chapter-- "In a low situation he is not insubordinate."

- 1. The Master said, "Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgment; let a man without rank be fond of assuming a directing power to himself; let a man who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity; -- on the persons of all who act thus calamities will be sure to come.'
- 2. To no one but the Son of Heaven does it belong to order ceremonies, to fix the measures, and to determine the written
- 3. Now over the kingdom, carriages have all wheels, of thesame size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules.
- 4. One may occupy the throne, but if he have not the proper virtue, he may not dare to make ceremonies or music. One may have the virtue, but if he do not occupy the throne, he may not presume to make ceremonies or music.
- 5. The Master said, "I may describe the ceremonies of the Hsiâ dynasty but Chî cannot sufficiently attest my words. I have learned the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, and in Sung they still continue. I have learned the ceremonies of Châu, which are now used, and I follow Châu.

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 29.

An illustration of the sentence in the twenty-seventh chapter -- "When he occupies a high station he is not proud;" or rather, the Sage and his institutions seen in their effect and

- 1. He who attains to the sovereignty of the kingdom, having those three important things, shall be able to effect that there shall be few errors under his government.
- 2. However excellent may have been the regulations of those of former times, they cannot be attested. Not being attested, they cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow them. However excellent might be the regulations made by one in an inferior situation, he is not in a position to be honored. Unhonored, he cannot command credence, and not being credited, the people would not follow his rules.
- 3. Therefore the institutions of the Ruler are rooted in his own character and conduct, and sufficient attestation of them is given by the masses of the people. He examines them by comparison with those of the three kings, and finds them without mistake. He sets them up before Heaven and Earth, and finds nothing in them contrary to their mode of operation. He presents himself with them before spiritual beings, and no doubts about them arise. He is prepared to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, and has no misgivings.
- His presenting himself with his institutions before spiritual beings, without any doubts arising about them, shows that he knows Heaven. His being prepared, without any misgivings, to wait for the rise of a sage a hundred ages after, shows that he knows men.
- 5. Such being the case, the movements of such a ruler, illustrating his institutions, constitute an example to the world for ages. His acts are for ages a law to the kingdom. His words are for ages a lesson to the kingdom. Those who are far from him, look longingly for him; and those who are near him, are never wearied with him
- 6. It is said in the Book of Poetry.-- "Not disliked there. not tired of here, from day to day and night to night, will they perpetuate their praise." Never has there been a ruler, who did not realize this description, that obtained an early renown throughout the kingdom

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 30.

The eulogium of Confucius, as the beau-ideal of the perfectly sincere man, the Sage, making a ternion with Heaven and Earth.

- 1. Chung-nî handed down the doctrines of Yâo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wan and Wû, taking them as his model. Above, he harmonized with the times of Heaven, and below, he was conformed to the water and land.
- 2. He may be compared to Heaven and Earth in their supporting and containing, their overshadowing and curtaining, all things. He may be compared to the four seasons in their alternating progress, and to the sun and moon
- in their successive shining.3. All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. The courses of the seasons, and of the sun and moon, are pursued without any collision among them. The smaller energies are like river currents; the greater energies are seen in mighty transformations. It is this which makes heaven and earth so great.

### ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 31.

The eulogium on Confucius continued.

- 1. It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and allembracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean, and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination
- 2. All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due season his virtues.
- 3. All-embracing and vast, he is like Heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him.
- 4. Therefore his fame overspreads the Middle Kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall:-- all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said,-- "He is the equal of Heaven.'

# ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 32.

The eulogium of Confucius concluded.

- 1. It is only the individual possessed of the most entire sincerity that can exist under Heaven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth; -- shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends?
- 2. Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he!
- 3. Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all Heavenly virtue?

# ZHONG YONG CHAPTER 33.

- The commencement and the completion of a virtuous course. 1. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Over her embroidered robe she puts a plain single garment," intimating a dislike to the display of the elegance of the former. Just so, it is the way of the superior man to prefer the concealment of his virtue. while it daily becomes more illustrious, and it is the way of the mean man to seek notoriety, while he daily goes more and more to ruin. It is characteristic of the superior man, appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating. He knows how what is distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from. He knows how what is minute becomes manifested. Such a one, we may be sure, will enter into virtue.
- 2. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Although the fish sink and lie at the bottom, it is still quite clearly seen." Therefore the superior man examines his heart, that there may be nothing wrong there, and that he may have no cause for dissatisfaction with himself. That wherein the superior man cannot be equalled is simply this,-- his work which other men cannot see.
- 3. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "Looked at in your apartment, be there free from shame as being exposed to the light of heaven "Therefore, the superior man, even when he is not moving, has a feeling of reverence, and while he speaks not, he has the feeling of truthfulness.
- 4. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In silence is the offering presented, and the spirit approached to; there is not the slightest contention." Therefore the superior man does not

use rewards, and the people are stimulated to virtue. He does not show anger, and the people are awed more than by hatchets and battle-axes.

- 5. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "What needs no display is virtue. All the princes imitate it." Therefore, the superior man being sincere and reverential, the whole world is conducted to a state of happy tranquility.
- 6. It is said in the Book of Poetry, "I regard with pleasure your brilliant virtue, making no great display of itself in sounds and appearances." The Master said, "Among the appliances to transform the people, sound and appearances are but trivial influences. It is said in another ode, 'His Virtue is light as a hair.' Still, a hair will admit of comparison as to its size. 'The doings of the supreme Heaven have neither sound nor smell.'-- That is perfect virtue.'

### TRANSLATION B: (by A. Charles Muller, 1991)

A. The Text

B. The Commentary

### A. The Text

1. What Heaven confers is called "nature." Accordance with this nature is called the Way. Cultivating the Way is called 'education.'

That which is called Way cannot be separated from for an instant. What can be separated from is not the Way. Therefore the Noble Man is cautious in the place where he is not seen. and apprehensive in the place where he is not heard.

Nothing is more visible than the hidden, and nothing is more apparent than the subtle. Therefore the Noble Man is cautious when he is alone.

When joy, anger, sorrow and pleasure have not yet arisen, it is called the Mean (centredness, equilibrium). When they arise to their appropriate levels, it is called "harmony". The Mean is the great root of all-under-heaven. "Harmony" is the penetration of the Way through all-under-heaven. When the Mean and Harmony are actualized, Heaven and Earth are in their proper positions, and the myriad things are nourished.

#### B. The Commentary

- 2. Confucius said: "The Noble Man actualizes the mean; the petty man goes against it. The Noble Man actualizes the mean because he is always with it; the inferior man's nonactualization is due to his heedlessness.'
- 3. How far-reaching the mean is! That is why those who are able to keep it for long are few.
- 4. Confucius said: "I know why the Way is not practiced. The intelligent go beyond it and the dull do not reach it. I know why the Way is not disclosed. The 'good' go beyond it and the unworthy do not reach it. There is no one who does not eat or drink, but there are few who really have 'taste.'
- 5. Confucius said: "What a pity! The way is not followed."
  6. Confucius said: "(Emperor) Shun was so wise! He liked to question people and delighted in listening to everyday speech. He would cover people's bad points and showcase their goodness. He snatched up their excesses and facilitated their balanced nature for the benefit of all. It was in this way that Shun made himself into what he was.
- 7. Confucius said: "Everybody says 'I know,' but they are driven forward, becoming ensnared in traps and falling into pits without knowing how to avoid them. Everybody says 'I know,' but in intending the actualization of the mean, they are not able to stay with it for a full month.
- 8. Confucius said: "(Yan) Hui was the kind of person who grasped the mean in such a way that, attaining to a certain goodness, he would cleave to it firmly and never lose it.'
- 9. Confucius said: "You might be able to put in order the whole country, kingdoms and clans; decline rank and meritpay and tread on bare swords, yet still be incapable of actualizing the mean."

[Comment] The performance of phenomenal wonders cannot be compared with the accomplishment of actualizing the mean.

10. Zilu asked about strength. Confucius said: "Do vou mean the strength of the South, the strength of the North, or the strength of self-mastery? To be broadminded and gentle in teaching and not rashly punish wrongdoing is the strength of the South. The Noble Man abides in this. To be able to make a bed of weapons and armor and die without grief-this is the strength of the North. The forceful are at home in this.

'Therefore the Noble Man is easygoing without getting sloppy. How correct his strength is! He stands in the center without leaning to either side. How correct his strength is! When the Way is manifest in the land, he is unwavering in his support of it. How correct his strength is! When the Way is not manifest in the land, he will not sell himself out, even until death. How correct his strength is!"

11. Confucius said: "When you study the occult and perform miracles, later generations always talk about it. This

As a Noble Man, to go according to the Way and abandon it half way-this I certainly cannot do.'

"Then there is the Noble Man, who depends on his actualization of the mean, hides himself from the world such that he is unseen and unknown, and has no regrets about it. Only a sage can do this.'

The Way of the Noble Man functions everywhere, yet is inconspicuous. Average men and women, even if ignorant, know something of it; yet even the sage cannot know it completely. Average men and women, even though lacking in ability are able to practice to some extent; yet even the sage cannot practice it perfectly.

As vast as the universe is, people still have dissatisfaction. When the Noble Man calls it "vast," he means it is too large to be grasped. When he speaks of its smallness, he means that it is something that cannot be further broken down.

The Book of Odes says: "The hawk flies high in the sky; the fish dances in the deep." This means that its height and its depth are both observable. The Way of the Noble Man starts with the common people, but in its absoluteness, it is observed

throughout the universe.

13. Confucius said: "The Way is not something separate from man. If you practice a Way that is apart from man, this cannot the Way. The Book of Odes says:"

Carving axe handles

One after another

They differ little from the original sample

Taking one to carve another.

When you compare them,

There are still differences.

Therefore the Noble Man treats people as human beings, and once they have corrected themselves, he lets them be. Being sincere and fair to all, though this is different from the Way, it are not far from it. This means "not doing to others what you don't want done to yourself." There are four general ways that this can be characterized, one of which I (Confucius) have been able to fully practice:

- (1) Treating my father as I expect my son to treat me.
- (2) Treating my ruler as I expect my ministers to treat me.
- (3) Treating my older brothers as I expect my younger brothers to treat me.
- (4) Treating my friends as I expect my friends to treat me.
- In the putting into practice of virtue or the taking care of speech, if there is somewhere where I am deficient, I certainly endeavor further. If there is excess, I do not dare to merely expend it. His words reflecting his actions, his actions reflecting his words-how can this Noble Man not be sincere through and through?
- 14. The Noble Man acts accepting his own situation. He does not hope to be somewhere else. When he is in a position of fame and fortune, he acts within fame and fortune. When in a position of poverty and low status, he acts within poverty and low status. When dwelling with uncultured tribes, he acts as if he is with uncultured tribes. When he is in stress and difficulty, he acts from within stress and difficulty. There is no place where the Noble Man is not completely himself.

When in a high position, he does not step on those below him. When in a low position, he does not drag down those above him. Correcting yourself and not expecting things from others, you will not create resentments. You will not resent Heaven above, nor blame men below.

The Noble Man abides in change and awaits his destiny. The inferior man practices manipulation and prays for luck.

The Master said: "Practicing archery is like practicing to be a Noble Man. When you miss the bulls-eye, you look for the error in yourself."

15. The Way of the Noble Man can be compared to traveling: To go far, you must start from close by. It can be compared to climbing: To go high, you must start from down low. The Book of Odes says:

The Happy union with wife and children Is like the music of lutes and harps When siblings all get along The harmony is entrancing. So make your household good

And enjoy your wife and children.

The Master said: "Husband and wife should follow each other.

16. Confucius said: "The overabundance of the power of spiritual beings is truly amazing! Looking for them, they cannot be seen. Listening for them, they cannot be heard. There is nothing that they do not embody. They cause the people of the world to fast for purification, and wear beautiful clothes in order to participate at the sacrifices. They are overflowing, seeming to be above, seeming to be on the left and on the right. The Book of Odes says: 'Trying to investigate the spirits, we cannot reach them. How could we possibly grasp them with our thoughts?' The manifestation of the subtle and the inconcealability of sincerity is like this.

17. What a good son was Shun (the sage emperor)! His virtue was that of a sage, he was venerated as an emperor. His wealth included everything within the four seas. He is sacrificed to in the ancestral temple, and his sons and grandsons have preserved his name. Therefore we can say that the greatly virtuous always attain their appropriate position,

always receive their proper reward, always get their recognition and are always long-lived.

We can also know that Heaven develops each thing according to its preparation. Thus, Heaven nourishes the growing sprout, and throws down the leaning tree. The Book of Odes says:

Joyful is the Prince

With the power of his own correctness He harmonized those far and near

He received his reward from Heaven Who protected him, helped him

And gave him the mandate

Which he in turn enhanced.

Thus, the greatly virtuous always receive the Mandate of Heaven.

18. Confucius said: "The only one who didn't suffer from grief was King Wen, since his father was King Chi and his son was King Wu. His father set him up and his son continued his ways. King Wu merely extended what had been handed down from Kings Tai, Ji and Wen. Once he put on his armor, he took control of the whole realm and he never failed to live up to the great reputation the people accorded to him. He was respected as an emperor; his wealth included all within the four seas. The ancestral halls make offerings to him, and his sons and grandsons have preserved his name.

King Wu received the Mandate of Heaven late in life. The Duke of Zhou consummated the virtue of Wen and Wu. Following in the ways of Kings T'ai and Chi, he sacrificed to the former princes with the ceremony proper to an emperor, and spread this ceremony to all the nobles, ministers, officers and the common people. If the father was a minister and the son an officer, then the funeral ceremony would be for a minister, and the sacrifices for an officer. If the father was an officer and the son was a minister, he would be buried as an officer and sacrificed to as a minister. The one year's mourning applied up to the ministers, but the three-year mourning applied up the emperor. In the mourning for parents, there was no distinction according to class.

19. Confucius said: "How completely King Wu and the Duke of Zhou actualized their filial piety! Through filial piety, they correctly passed down the wills of their forefathers and correctly transmitted their works. In spring and autumn, they cleaned the ancestral temple, laid out the sacrificial vessels, dressed up in the ceremonial outfit and prepared the seasonal

Using the ritual of the ancestral temple, they ordered the ancestral lineages

By rank, they distinguished high and low classes; by works, they distinguished goodness.

By having the lower classes offer the toast to the upper classes, they kept the lower classes involved.

By hair color, they distinguished seniority. Each taking their positions, they carried out the ritual, played the music, respected the venerable, loved their relatives. They served the dead as if they were alive, and they served those not present as if they were there. Herein they brought filial piety to its highest level.

They used the Winter and Summer festival to make offerings to the Lord-on-High, and used the rituals on the ancestral temple to make offerings to the ancestors. He who could completely disclose the meaning of the Winter and Summer sacrifices, and the great Imperial sacrifice, could govern the country as easily as if he were pointing to the palm

20. The Duke of Ai asked about government. Confucius said: "The records of the governments of Wen and Wu are on the ancient tablets. When they had the right people, the government functioned, and when they didn't have the right people, government failed. When people are right, the government flourishes; when the ground is right, plants flourish; the governments of Wen and Wu flourished like fastgrowing weeds."

Therefore, the skillful handling of government is contingent upon having the right people. You attract the right people by your own character. You cultivate your character through the Way and you manifest the Way by means of ren. ren is "humanity" [There is a pun here, since "humanity" is also pronounced ren. Thus, in Chinese, this phrase says "ren is ren".] and its most obvious function is in love for relatives. "Justice" means "setting things right" and its most obvious function is in venerating the Good. The differing levels in loving relatives and venerating the good are expressed through propriety.

Thus, if your rank is low, and you do not have the support of those in power, you cannot hope to have an influence on government. Therefore the Noble Man cannot but cultivate

Wanting to cultivate his character, he cannot do it without serving his parents. Wanting to serve his parents, he cannot do it without understanding others. Wanting to understand others, he cannot do it without understanding Heaven.

There are five pervasive relationships in this world, which are carried out in three ways. The relationships are those between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife,

older brother and younger brother, and between friends. The three ways of practice are wisdom, ren and courage, but they are practiced in unison.

Some are born knowing it; some know it by learning and some have to struggle to know it. Nonetheless, the knowledge is the same.

Some practice it by being comfortable within it; some practice it by benefitting from it; and some have to struggle to practice it. But when the practice is perfected, it is the same.

Confucius said: "Loving study, you approach wisdom; loving energetic practice, you approach ren. Understanding shame, you approach courage. If you understand these three, you know how to polish your character; knowing how to polish your character, you know how to handle others; knowing how to handle others, you know how to govern a state or clan.

In general, in the handling of the realm, a state or a clan, there are nine basic patterns of treatment. These are: polishing your own character; venerating the Good; caring for your relatives; respecting the high ministers; making the lower ministers feel like they have a significant role; treating the common people as your children; making the artisans feel welcome; treating foreign guests gently and embracing the

Polishing your character, you set up your own Way. Venerating the Good, you are not deluded. Caring for your relatives, then your fathers, elder and younger brothers will not resent you. Respecting the high ministers, you will not make foolish mistakes. Making the lower ministers feel like they are part of it, they will regard propriety with seriousness. Treating the common people as your children, they will work hard. Making the artisans feel welcome, there will be plenty of commerce. Being gentle to guests from afar, people will flock to you from all directions. If you embrace the nobility, the people will have a healthy fear of them.

Fasting in ceremonial dress, not acting against the norms of propriety; this is how you polish your character. Letting go of slander, freeing yourself from lust, disregarding wealth and prizing virtue: This is how you promote goodness. Respecting their rank, paying them well, going along with their likes and dislikes: this is the way to take care of your relatives. Giving them enough officers to dole out their responsibilities: this is the way to encourage the high ministers. To reward well trustworthiness and loyalty: this is the way to encourage the lower officers. Employing the people around their own farming schedules and taxing them lightly: this is the way to encourage the people. Daily and monthly examining their works and giving merit where due; this is the way to encourage the artisans. Sending out envoys to meet foreign visitors and bestowing kindness and pity on the handicapped: this is the way to be gentle to visitors from afar. To renew their broken lineages, restore their vanquished states, quell their rebellions and protect them from danger; giving them rich presents and expecting little in return: this is how you embrace the nobles

While altogether there are this nine patterns of treatment, there is a single way to carry out all of them.

In all affairs, if you plan ahead you can be successful, and if you don't plan ahead, you will fail. If you are prepared before you speak, you won't be tongue-tied. If you are prepared before you begin a job, you won't have complications. If you are prepared before you act, you won't have to be sorry. If you are prepared before teaching, you won't run out of material.

Again, if you are in a position of low rank, and you have no influence above, you will have no way of governing people. Even though there is a way of influencing superiors, if your friends don't trust you, you won't be able to influence superiors. Even though there is a way of gaining the trust of your friends, if you have discord with your relatives, you will not be trusted by your friends. Even though there is a way of having harmony with your relatives, if your character is not sincere, you will have discord with your relatives. Even though there is a way to make your character sincere, if you have not awakened to your goodness, you will not be able to make your character sincere

Sincerity is the Way of Heaven. Making oneself sincere is the Way of Man. If you can be perfectly sincere without effort, without concern regarding its attainment, and walk embracing the Middle Way, you are a sage

If you are working at making yourself sincere, you must find your goodness and hold fast to it. You must study it broadly, investigate it in detail, deliberate on it carefully, discern it clearly and practice it universally. Where there is a lack in your understanding, or your study has not yet reached the point where it is effective, don't just leave it. When there is something you have investigated, or investigated but not understood, don't just leave it. When there is something that you have considered, or have considered but have not fully grasped, just don't leave it. When there is something that you have not vet discerned, or discerned but not vet clarified, don't just leave it. When there is something you have not yet practiced, or have practiced, but not yet universally, don't just leave it.

If someone else gets it in one try, I will try one hundred times. If someone else gets it in ten tries, I will try one thousand times. If you are able to follow this Way, then even if you are stupid, you will become enlightened. Even if you are weak, you will become strong.

- 21. The enlightenment that comes from sincerity is our own nature. The sincerity that comes from enlightenment is called "education." If you are sincere you will be enlightened. If you are enlightened, you will be sincere.
- 22. Only the perfectly sincere person can actualize his own essence. Actualizing his own essence, he can fully actualize the essence of others. Fully actualizing the essence of others, he can fully actualize the essence of all things. Being able to fully actualize the essence of all things, he can assist Heaven and Earth in their transformation and sustenance. Able to assist in Heaven and Earth's transformation and sustenance, he forms a trinity with Heaven and Earth.
- Those of the next level straighten out their own twistedness. Being straightened they can possess sincerity. Having sincerity, they can give form to their character. Their character having form, their sincerity becomes manifest. Being manifest it is luminous, being luminous it can function. Functioning, it changes; changing, it transforms. Only the most fully actualized sincerity is able to transform people and
- 24. Once you are in the Path of fully actualized sincerity, you have foreknowledge of things. When a nation or clan is about to rise up, there are always omens of their fortune. When a nation or clan is about to fall, there are always omens of their misfortune. It can be seen in the milfoil stalks [Used in Yijing divination.], tortoise shells\* and in the movements of the body. [\* An ancient method of divination where tortoise shells were heated over a fire until they cracked. The cracks were read according to their patterns to diagnose a situation.] When good or evil fortune is imminent, the perfectly sincere person will know without obstruction. With fully actualized sincerity, you are like a god.
- 25. Sincerity is just "perfecting" and the Way is just "following." Sincerity is the beginning and end of all things. Without sincerity there is nothing. Thus the Noble Man values the process of "becoming-sincere." But sincerity is not "just-perfecting;" it also means "perfecting all things." To perfect yourself, you need ren. To perfect others, you need wisdom. The virtue of our nature is that it is none other than the Way by which inner and outer are merged. Thus we can always use it to set things right.
- 26. Therefore, fully actualized sincerity is ceaseless. Ceaseless, it is eternal. Eternal, it is apparent. Apparent, it is far-reaching. Far-reaching, it is vast and deep. Vast and deep, it is high and bright. Since it is vast and deep, it can support all things. Since it is high and bright, it can cover all things. Since it is far-reaching and long-lasting, it can accomplish all things. Vastness and depth refer to the Earth. Highness and brightness refer to Heaven. Far-reaching and long-lasting refer to limitlessness. In this way, it is manifest without being seen, it changes without moving, and accomplishes without

The Way of Heaven and Earth can be perfectly expressed in a single phrase: "Its appearance as things is not repeated; therefore its production of things is unfathomable." The Way of Heaven and Earth is vast and deep, high and bright, farreaching and long-lasting. Now, Heaven is made of many single lights. But they are infinite; the sun, moon and stars are all suspended in it, and it covers the myriad things.

The Earth is but a collection of numerous handfuls of dirt. But it is vast and deep. It supports Mt. Hua and Mt. Yue without feeling their weight; it contains the seas and rivers without spilling a drop. It supports all things.

The mountains are made of many small stones. But they become high and broad. Plants and trees grow on them, the birds and beasts live on them, and rare gems are stored within

The waters are mere collections of many teaspoons. But their depth is unfathomable. Tortoises, alligators, dragons, fish and turtles live there, and all sorts of gems grow there.

The Book of Odes says:

The Mandate of the Heavenly Principle

Has no end to its depth.

This is why we call Heaven, "Heaven."

It also says:

Was it not apparent

The purity of King Wen's virtue?

This is how Wen made his own character—unceasing in

27. How great is the Way of the sage! Superabundant, it develops all things, extending up to Heaven. How excellent it is! It embraces the three hundred rules of ceremony, and the three thousand rules of conduct; it waits for the right person and then functions. Hence it is said: "If you do not perfect your virtue, the perfect Way cannot be actualized." Therefore the Noble Man esteems his virtuous nature and follows the path of inquiry, extending himself in breadth and greatness, penetrating all subtleties, penetrating its height and brilliance, following the course of the actualization of the Mean. He reviews the old and learns the new, thickening his character through the valorization of propriety.

Therefore he abides in a position of power without arrogance, and abides in a low position without being rebellious. When the government is just, he can speak and be praised. When the government is wicked, he can conceal himself by silence. The Book of Odes says:

His intelligence and wit

Were his protection.

Does this not reflect the same meaning?

28. Confucius said: "To be ignorant and like to act as you will; to be of low rank and ignore all the rules; to be living in the present and be following the norms of the past: all these will bring you trouble."

If you are not the emperor, you cannot determine the rules of propriety, set weights and measures, or create ideographs. In the present realm, carriages have the same axle-widths, documents are written with the same characters and people follow the same norms of conduct.

But even if you are emperor, if you lack virtue, you cannot presume to create ritual or music. And even if you possess sufficient virtue, but you are not in the position of emperor, you cannot presume to create ritual or music.

Confucius said: "I can describe the Xia rituals, but the documents from Qi cannot verify it. I have learned the Yin rituals, and they are still preserved in the Song. I have learned the Zhou rituals, which are still in use. I follow the Zhou.

29. In ruling the realm there are three essentials through which one can lessen his mistakes. [At this point in the text. one would expect a clear enumeration of three essential points. But following this are only a set of two, followed by a set of four. James Legge and Wing-tsit Chan, following Zhuxi, say that these three essentials should be the ceremonies, regulations and formation of ideographs mentioned in the prior passage. This judgment may be questioned, since in Confucian texts, errors in rulership are generally shortcomings in the personal character or errors in judgment on moral issues. Since these are three essentials of rulership, we might look to the end of section 20 above, which says: "Loving study, you approach wisdom; loving energetic practice, you approach ren. Understanding shame, you approach courage. If you understand these three, you know how to polish your character; knowing how to polish your character, you know how to handle others; knowing how to handle others, you know how to govern a state or clan."

If you are in a position of rank, even if you are good, if your goodness is not evident, you will not be trusted. Not being trusted, the people will not follow you. If you lack rank, then you will not be respected. Lacking respect, you will not be trusted. Without trust the people will not follow you. [This is another passage which seems to be deficient in the necessary contextual background for solid interpretation. But again, I must differ with Zhuxi's interpretation which reads shang  $\bot$ as "former times" and its antonym xia T as "low position." Since shang and xia are so clearly contrasted here in consecutive sentences, it seems much more sensible and natural to read them as antonyms. Furthermore, though to read shang as "formerly" or "antiquity" may be possible in Classical Chinese, we rarely see it used in that way in the Analects, Great Learning or Doctrine of the Mean. The two terms almost always mean "superior" or "above" and "inferior" or "below," usually in terms of societal rank, or level of personal enlightenment.]

Therefore in the Noble Man's practice of his Way, he starts with himself and then manifests his character to all the people, such that when he contemplates the ways of the three former sage-kings, he cannot feel any shame. He is established between Heaven and Earth without any discord. He presents himself before the spirits of his ancestors without doubting. He waits for a hundred generations for a sage to appear without confusion.

If you can present yourself to the ancestral spirits without doubting, you know Heaven. If you can wait a hundred generations for the appearance of a sage, you know human beings. Therefore, the people regard the movement of the Noble Man as the Way of the world. They regard his actions as the norm of the world. They regard his words as the pattern for the world. When they are away from him, they long for him. When they are near him, they never get tired of him. The Book of Odes says:

When he is away, he is not hated.

When he is here, he is not disliked.

In every situation, from morning to night,

Their praise of him is unceasing.

There has never been a Noble Man who gained rapid recognition from the world and who was not like this.

30. Confucius transmitted the legacy of (sage-emperors) Yao and Shun and modeled his character on that of (sagekings) Wen and Wu. He was ruled by the Heavenly seasons from above, and combined the Earth and Waters below. He was like Heaven and Earth, which have nothing they do not support, and nothing they do not cover. His function was like the revolution of the four seasons, the alternation of sun and moon. He nourishes the myriad things and they grow up

together without harming each other, and they follow their courses simultaneously without interfering with each other. His smaller power is like the rivers and streams. His great power is seen in deep transformations. This is why Heaven and Earth are called "great."

31. Only the perfect sage of the realm possesses the acumen, sharpness and insight necessary for overseeing things, and at the same time has enough generosity, open-mindedness, warmth and flexibility to accept everything. He also has enough energy, strength, firmness and gumption to maintain what he has and enough self-awareness, gravity, centeredness and correctness to be respected and enough refinement, principle, depth and analytical ability to discriminate.

Extremely vast, unfathomably deep—he uses his abilities according to the situation. As vast as Heaven, as deep as an abyss, when he shows himself, there are none who do not respect him. When he speaks, there are none who do not believe him. When he acts, there are not who do not appreciate him. Therefore you can hear his name overflowing from the central kingdoms out to the uncivilized regions. Wherever boats and wagons go, wherever human power can reach to; in every place supported by the Earth; those places illuminated by the sun and moon; wherever dew and frost fall; wherever there are breathing beings, there are none who do not respect him and cherish him. Therefore he is associated with "Heaven."

32. Only that person who has fully actualized sincerity is able to adjust the strings of the Great Net of the World; is able to establish himself in the Great Root of the World; is able to understand the transformations and the nurturing of Heaven and Earth. So sincere is his ren; so unfathomable is his depth; so vast is his spaciousness.

Who is able to understand this, but one who has the firm, acute, luminous sagely intelligence-who is permeated with Heavenly Virtue?

33. The Book of Odes says:

She covered her brocade gown

With a plain robe.

She did not want to show off her finery. Therefore the Noble Man acts in a way such that he conceals himself, yet every day gains in luminosity. The inferior man shows himself and every day loses luminosity. The Way of the Noble Man is tasteless, yet you never get sick of it. Simple, yet refined; warm-hearted, yet principled. He knows the closeness of the distant, knows the origin of customs. He knows the manifestation of the subtle and can enter into virtue.

The Book of Odes says:

Though the fish dive to the bottom

They can be seen.

Hence the Noble Man, finding no perversity within himself, has no evil in his intentions. Those things that the Noble Man is unable to attain to are exactly the things that others cannot

The Book of Odes says:

While in your own room. You should not be ashamed if it were

Opened to the world.

Therefore the Noble Man does not move, and yet is respected. He does not speak, and yet is believed.

The Book of Odes says:

Make your offerings without words,

And there will never be any disagreement.

Therefore the Noble Man receives no awards, yet the people promote him. He is not angry, yet they are more in awe of him than they are of lethal weapons.

The Book of Odes says:

Only if you don't show it

Can you develop virtue.

All the princes are constrained by this.

Therefore the Noble Man, through his generosity and courtesy, pacifies the realm.

The Book of Odes says:

I cherish shining virtue Not big noises and flashy colors.

Confucius said: "In terms of transforming people, sounds and appearances don't amount to much. The Book of Odes says:

. Virtue is as light as a hair,

Yet even a hair possesses the great principles.

In the functions of Supreme Heaven, there are no sounds or smells.
It is "perfect."

### THE SUNZI BINGFA

The Art of War / The Sunzi or The Sun Tzu Romanisation: Pinyin (the name Sunzi), Wade-Giles (text) Translation: Lionel Giles, 1910 Estimated Range of Dating: 520-496 B.C.

(The Art of War (Chinese: Sunzi Bingfa) is an ancient Chinese text on warfare an political strategy. It was written by General Sun Wu (better known as Sunzi or Sun Tzu, which means "Master Sun," 544-496 BC), a high-ranking strategist and Daoist philosopher. The text contains 13 chapters. Each chapter covers one aspect of strategy. The book was written over 2,500 years ago on bamboo slats that were sewn together. The Art of War was one of the earliest books on strategy. It remains one of the best known and most influential books ever written. The book was widely copied in the ancient world. At first it was written on hamboo slats that were sewn together. Politicians, scholars, military and any other kind of leaders use it as a guide. Translations of the book were first read in Japan and Korea.

### Changing the rules

When Sunzi first wrote The Art of War, it was not the first book on military tactics. He quotes from The Book of Military Administration by Chun Cheng. The quote is limited to the use of signal flags and drums to move soldiers. Chun cheng's book has not survived to the present day so little is known of what else was in it. But books of that time were based on rules of warfare that all sides followed. War was the sport of rich noblemen. The rules were based on chivalry. Sun Tzu refused to see war as a sport. He used Daoist principles and applied them to warfare. In doing this he changed the rules of war. Unlike generals who enjoyed long campaigns, he understood war was serious. Sunzi believed that once a war started, the goal was to defeat the enemy. Sunzi was unconventional in that he did not follow the prevailing wisdom of his time. Other generals were simply unprepared for Sunzi's tactics. Sunzi mastered the art of being unpredictable in warfare.

Around the 12th century, some scholars began to doubt the historical existence of Sunzi, primarily on the grounds that he is not mentioned in the historical classic The Commentary of Zuo Zhuan, which mentions most of the notable figures from the Spring and Autumn period. The name "Sun Wu" does not appear in any text prior to the Records of the Grand

The prominent strategist, poet, and warlord Cao Cao in the early 3rd century AD authored the earliest known commentary to the Art of War. Cao's preface makes clear that he edited the text and removed certain passages, but the extent of his changes were unclear historically. The Art of War appears throughout the bibliographical catalogs of the Chinese dynastic histories, but listings of its divisions and size varied widely.

In 1972, the Yinqueshan Han slips were discovered in two Han dynasty (206 BC – AD 220) tombs near the city of Linyi in Shandong Province. Among the many bamboo slip writings contained in the tombs, which had been sealed around 134 and 118 BC, respectively were two separate texts, one attributed to "Sunzi", corresponding to the received text, and another attributed to Sun Bin, which explains and expands upon the earlier The Art of War by Sunzi. The Sun Bin text's material overlaps with much of the "Sunzi" text and the two may be "a single, continuously developing intellectual tradition united under the Sun name". This discovery showed that much of the historical confusion was due to the fact that there were two texts that could have been referred to as "Master Sun's Art of War", not one. The content of the earlier text is about one-third of the chapters of the modern The Art of War, and their text matches very closely. It is now generally accepted that the earlier The Art of War was completed sometime between 500 and 450 BC. For almost 1,500 years it was the lead text in an anthology that would be formalised as the Seven Military Classics by Emperor Shenzong of Song in 1080. The Art of War remains the most influential strategy text in East Asia. It has a profound influence on Eastern and Western military thinking, business tactics, legal strategy and beyond.

The oldest copy from Japan dates to the 8th century. It was translated into French in 1772 by a Jesuit named Jean Joseph Marie Amiot. The first translation into English was published by Lionel Giles in 1910 The Art of War was first translated into Russian in 1950. Due to the Russian knowledge of French culture is it probable they had copies in French much earlier. It is used today by business schools and militaries worldwide.

### Influence

In situations where a smaller weaker force is faced with a stronger larger force, Sunzi's tactics very often proved to be successful. It was read by politicians, scholars and military leaders. Many business books have applied the lessons taken from the book to office politics and corporate strategy. Many Japanese companies make the book required reading for their key executives. The book is also popular among Western business circles citing its utilitarian value regarding management practices. Many entrepreneurs and executives have turned to it for inspiration and advice on how to succeed in competitive business situations. The book has also been applied to the field of education.

#### **Contents**

The Art of War is divided into 13 chapters (or pian); the collection is referred to as being one zhuan ("whole" or alternatively "chronicle").

- 1 Detailed Calculations And Planning
- 2 Waging War
- 3 Strategic Offensive
- 4 Tactical Disposition Of The Army
- 5 Strategic Power Of The Forces
- 6 Weaknesses And Strengths
- 7 Military Manoeuvres
- 8 The Nine Variations And Adaptability
- 9 Movement And Development Of Troops 10 Situational Positioning In The Terrain
- 11 The Nine Battlegrounds
- 12 Attacking With Fire
- 13 Intelligence And Espionage

### Chapter summary

1 Detailed Calculations and Planning explores the five fundamental factors (the Way, seasons, terrain, leadership, and management) and seven elements that determine the outcomes of military engagements. By thinking, assessing and comparing these points, a commander can calculate his chances of victory. Habitual deviation from these calculations will ensure failure via improper action. The text stresses that war is a very grave matter for the state and must not be commenced without due consideration.

2 Waging War explains how to understand the economy of warfare and how success requires winning decisive engagements quickly. This section advises that successful military campaigns require limiting the cost of competition and conflict

3 Strategic Offensive defines the source of strength as unity, not size, and discusses the five factors that are needed to succeed in any war. In order of importance, these critical factors are: Attack, Strategy, Alliances, Army and Cities.

4 Tactical Disposition of the Army explains the importance of defending existing positions until a commander is capable of advancing from those positions in safety. It teaches commanders the importance of recognizing strategic opportunities, and teaches not to create opportunities for the

5 Strategic Power of the Forces explains the use of creativity and timing in building an army's momentum.

6 Weaknesses and Strengths explains how an army's opportunities come from the openings in the environment caused by the relative weakness of the enemy and how to respond to changes in the fluid battlefield over a given area.

Military Manoeuvres explains the dangers of direct conflict and how to win those confrontations when they are forced upon the commander.

8 The Nine Variations and Adaptability focuses on the need for flexibility in an army's responses. It explains how to respond to shifting circumstances successfully.

9 Movement and Development of Troops describes the different situations in which an army finds itself as it moves through new enemy territories, and how to respond to these situations. Much of this section focuses on evaluating the intentions of others

10 Situational Positioning in the Terrain looks at the three general areas of resistance (distance, dangers and barriers) and the six types of ground positions that arise from them. Each of these six field positions offers certain advantages and disadvantages.

11 The Nine Battlegrounds describes the nine common situations (or stages) in a campaign, from scattering to deadly, and the specific focus that a commander will need in order to successfully navigate them.

12 Attacking with Fire explains the general use of weapons and the specific use of the environment as a weapon. This section examines the five targets for attack, the five types of environmental attack and the appropriate responses to such attacks

13 Intelligence and Espionage focuses on the importance of developing good information sources, and specifies the five types of intelligence sources and how to best manage each of

### THE ARTICLES OF SUNZI

### SUNZI SECTION 1

# **Detailed Calculations And Planning**

The words of Sun the Master:

To all nations War is a great matter. Upon the army death or life depend: it is the means of the existence or destruction of the State

Therefore it must be diligently studied

Now, in war, besides stratagem and the situation, there are five indispensable matters. The first is called The Way; the second, Heaven; the third, Earth; the fourth, the Leader; the fifth, Law.

The Way or the proper conduct of man. If the ruling authority be upright, the people are united: fearless of danger, their lives are at the service of their Lord.

Heaven. Yin and Yang; heat and cold; time and season.

Earth. Distance; nature; extent; strategic position.

The Leader. Intelligence; truth; benevolence; courage and strictness

Law. Partition and ordering of troops.

These things must be known by the leader: to know them is to conquer; to know them not is to be defeated.

Further, with regard to these and the following seven matters, the condition of the enemy must be compared with our own.

The seven matters are:-

The virtue of the prince; the ability of the general; natural advantages; the discipline of the armies; the strength of the soldiers; training of the soldiers; justice both in reward and

Knowing these things, I can foretell the victor.

If a general under me fight according to my plans, he always conquers, and I continue to employ him; if he differ from my plans, he will be defeated and dismissed from my service.

Wherefore, with regard to the foregoing, considering that with us lies the advantage, and the generals agreeing, we create a situation which promises victory; but as the moment and method cannot be fixed beforehand, the plan must be modified according to circumstances.

War is a thing of pretence: therefore, when capable of action, we pretend disability; when near to the enemy, we pretend to be far; when far away, we pretend to be near.

Allure the enemy by giving him a small advantage. Confuse and capture him. If there be defects, give an appearance of perfection, and awe the enemy. Pretend to be strong, and so cause the enemy to avoid you. Make him angry, and confuse his plans. Pretend to be inferior, and cause him to despise you. If he have superabundance of strength, tire him out; if united, make divisions in his camp. Attack weak points, and appear in unexpected places.

These are the secrets of the successful strategist, therefore they must not be made known beforehand.

At the reckoning in the Sanctuary before fighting, victory is to the side that excels in the foregoing matters. They that have many of these will conquer; they that have few will not conquer; hopeless, indeed, are they that have none.

If the condition of both sides with regard to these matters be known, I can foretell the victor.

### SUNZI SECTION 2

Waging War Sun the Master said:

Now the requirements of war are such that we need a thousand light chariots with four horses each; a thousand leather-covered chariots, and one hundred thousand armoured men; and we must send supplies to distant fields. Wherefore the cost at home and in the field, the entertainment of guests, glue and lacquer for repairs, and necessities for the upkeep of waggons and armour are such that in one day a thousand pieces of gold are spent. With that amount a force of one hundred thousand men can be raised:-you have the instruments of victory.

But, even if victorious, let the operations long continue, and the soldiers' ardour decreases, the weapons become worn, and, if a siege be undertaken, strength disappears.

Again, if the war last long, the country's means do not suffice. Then, when the soldiers are worn out, weapons blunted, strength gone and funds spent, neighbouring princes arise and attack that weakened country. At such a time the wisest man cannot mend the matter.

For, while quick accomplishment has been known to give the victory to the unskilful, the skilful general has never gained advantage from lengthy operations.

In fact, there never has been a country which has benefited from a prolonged war.

He who does not know the evils of war will not reap advantage thereby. He who is skilful in war does not make a second levy, does not load his supply waggons thrice.

War material and arms we obtain from home, but food sufficient for the army's needs can be taken from the enemy.

The cost of supplying the army in distant fields is the chief drain on the resources of a state: if the war be distant, the citizens are impoverished.

In the neighbourhood of an army prices are high, and so the money of the soldiers and followers is used up. Likewise the state funds are exhausted, and frequent levies must be made; the strength of the army is dissipated, money is spent, the citizen's home swept bare: in all, seven-tenths of his income is forfeited. Again, as regards State property, chariots are broken, horses worn out, armour and helmet, arrow and bow, spear, shield, pike and fighting tower, waggon and oxen used and gone, so that six-tenths of the Government's income is

Therefore the intelligent general strives to feed on the enemy; one bale of the enemy's rice counts as twenty from our own waggons; one bundle of the enemy's forage is better than twenty of our own.

Incitement must be given to vanquish the enemy.

They who take advantage of the enemy should be rewarded. They who are the first to lay their hands on more than ten of the enemy's chariots should be rewarded; the enemy's standard on the chariots exchanged for our own; the captured chariots mixed with our own chariots and taken into use

The accompanying warriors must be treated well, so that, while the enemy is beaten, our side increases in strength.

Now the object of war is victory; not lengthy operations, even skilfully conducted.

The good general is the lord of the people's lives, the guardian of the country's welfare.

### SUNZI SECTION 3

# Strategic Offensive

Sun the Master said:

Now by the laws of war, better than defeating a country by fire and the sword, is to take it without strife.

Better to capture the enemy's army intact than to overcome it after fierce resistance.

Better to capture the "Lu," the "Tsu" or the "Wu" whole, than to destroy them in battle.

To fight and conquer one hundred times is not the perfection of attainment, for the supreme art is to subdue the nemy without fighting.

Wherefore the most skilful warrior outwits the enemy by superior stratagem; the next in merit prevents the enemy from uniting his forces; next to him is he who engages the enemy's army; while to besiege his citadel is the worst expedient.

siege should not be undertaken if it can possibly be avoided. For, before a siege can be commenced, three months are required for the construction of stages, battering-rams and siege engines: then a further three months are required in front of the citadel, in order to make the "Chuyin." Wherefore the general is angered, his patience exhausted, his men surge like ants against the ramparts before the time is ripe, and one-third of them are killed to no purpose. Such are the misfortunes that sieges entail.

Therefore the master of war causes the enemy's forces to vield, but without fighting; he captures his fortress, but without besieging it; and without lengthy fighting takes the enemy's kingdom. Without tarnishing his weapons he gains the complete advantage.

This is the assault by stratagem.

By the rules of war, if ten times as strong as the enemy, surround him; with five times his strength, attack; with double his numbers, divide. If equal in strength, exert to the utmost, and fight; if inferior in numbers, manœuvre and await the opportunity; if altogether inferior, offer no chance of battle. A determined stand by inferior numbers does but lead to their capture.

The warrior is the country's support. If his aid be entire, the country is of necessity strong; if it be at all deficient, then is the country weak.

Now a prince may embarrass his army in three ways, namely:- Ignorant that the army in the field should not advance, to order it to go forward; or, ignorant that the army should not retreat, order it to retire.

This is to tie the army as with a string.

Ignorant of military affairs, to rule the armies in the same way as the state.

This is to perplex the soldiers.

Ignorant of the situation of the army, to settle its

This is to fill the soldiers with distrust.

If the army be perplexed and distrustful, then dangers from neighbouring princes arise. The army is confounded, and offered up to the enemy.

There are five occasions when victory can be foretold:

When the general knows the time to fight and when not to fight; or understands when to employ large or small numbers; when government and people are of one mind; when the state is prepared, and chooses the enemy's unguarded moment for attack; when the general possesses ability, and is not interfered with by his prince.

These five things are the heralds of victory.

It has been said aforetime that he who knows both sides has nothing to fear in a hundred fights; he who is ignorant of the enemy, and fixes his eyes only on his own side, conquers, and the next time is defeated; he who not only is ignorant of the enemy, but also of his own resources, is invariably defeated.

### SUNZI SECTION 4

# **Tactical Disposition Of The Army**

Sun the Master said:-

The ancient masters of war first made their armies invincible, then waited until the adversary could with certainty be defeated.

The causes of defeat come from within: victory is born in the

Skilful soldiers make defeat impossible, and further render the enemy incapable of victory.

But, as it is written, the conditions necessary for victory

may be present, but they cannot always be obtained. If victory be unattainable, we stand on the defensive; if victory be sure, we attack.

Deficiency compels defence; super-abundance permits attack. The skilful in defence crouch, hidden in the deepest shades; the skilful in attack push to the topmost heaven.

If these precepts be observed, victory is certain.

A victory, even if popularly proclaimed as such by the common folk, may not be a true success. To win in fight, and for the kingdom to say, "Well done," does not mark the summit of attainment. To lift an autumn fleece[6] is no proof of strength; the eyes that only see the sun and moon are not the eagle's; to hear the thunder is no great thing.

As has been said aforetime, the able warrior gains the victory without desperate and bloody engagements, and wins thereby no reputation for wisdom or brave deeds. To fight is to win, for he attacks only when the enemy has sown the seeds of defeat.

Moreover, the skilful soldier in a secure position does not let pass the moment when the enemy should be attacked.

The army that conquers makes certain of victory, and then seeks battle.

The army destined to defeat, fights, trusting that chance may bring success to its arms.

The skilful leader is steadfast in the "Way"; upholds the Law, and thereby controls the issue.

Touching the laws of war, it is said: first, the rule; second, the measure: third, the tables: fourth, the scales: fifth, the foretelling of victory.

For the rule is the survey of land; the measure tells the amount of that land's produce; the tables its population; from the scales their weight or quality is made known; and then can we calculate victory or defeat.

The army that conquers as against the army destined to defeat, is as a beam against a feather in the scales. The attack of conquering forces is as the outburst of long-pent-up waters into sunken valleys.

Such are the orders of battle.

### SUNZI SECTION 5 Strategic Power Of The Forces

Sun the Master said:

The control of large numbers is possible, and like unto that of small numbers, if we subdivide them.

By means of drum, bell and flag, the direction of large forces in battle is possible, and like unto the direction of small forces

By the skilful interchange of normal and abnormal manœuvres are the armies certainly preserved from defeat.

The enemy is crushed, like the fall of a grindstone upon an egg, by knowledge of his strength and weakness, and by the employment of truth and artifice.

Moreover, in battle the enemy is engaged with the normal and defeated by the abnormal force.[8]

The abnormal force, skilfully handled, is like the heaven

and earth, eternal; as the tides and the flow of rivers, unceasing; like the sun and moon, for ever interchanging; coming and passing, as the seasons.

There are five notes; but by combinations, innumerable harmonies are produced. There are but five colours: but if we mix them, the shades are infinite. There are five tastes, but if we mix them there are more flavours than the palate can distinguish.

In war there are but two forces, the normal and the abnormal; but they are capable of infinite variation. Their mutual interchange is like a wheel, having neither beginning or end. They are a mystery that none can penetrate.

As the rush of rock-shouldering torrents, so is the spirit of the troops

Like the well-judged flight of the falcon, in a flash crushing its quarry, so should the stroke be timed.

Wherefore the spirit of the good fighter is terrifying, his occasions sudden; like the stretched cross-bow, whose string is released at the touch of the trigger.

In the maze and tumult of the battle, there is no confusion: in the thick of action the battle array is impenetrable.

If discipline be perfect, disorder can be simulated; if truly bold, we can feign fear; if really strong, we can feign weakness. We simulate disorder by subdivision; fear, by spirit; weakness, by battle formation.

We set the enemy in motion by adopting different formations to which he must conform.

If we offer the enemy a point of advantage, he will certainly take it: we give him an advantage, set him in motion and then fall upon him.

Wherefore the good fighter seeks victory from spirit, and does not depend entirely upon the skill of his men. He is careful in his choice, and leaves the rest to battle force; vet. when an opening or advantage shows, he pushes it to its limits.

As a log or rock which, motionless on flat ground, yet moves with ever-increasing force when set on an incline, so await the opportunity, and so act when the opportunity arrives

If the general be skilful, the spirit of his troops is as the impetus of a round stone rolled from the top of a high mountain

#### SUNZI SECTION 6

#### Weaknesses And Strengths

Sun the Master said:-

To be the first in the field, and there to await the enemy, is to husband strength.

To be late, and hurrying to advance to meet the foe, is exhausting.

The good fighter contrives to make the enemy approach; he does not allow himself to be beguiled by the enemy.

By offering an apparent advantage, he induces the enemy to take up a position that will cause his defeat; he plants obstructions to dissuade him from acting in such a way as to threaten his own dispositions.

If the enemy be at rest in comfortable quarters, harass him; if he be living in plenty, cut off his supplies; if sitting composedly awaiting attack, cause him to move.

This may be done by appearing where the enemy is not, and assaulting unexpected points.

If we go where the enemy is not, we may go a thousand leagues without exhaustion.

If we attack those positions which the enemy has not defended, we invariably take them: but on the defence we must be strong, even where we are not likely to be attacked.

Against those skilful in attack, the enemy does not know where to defend: against those skilful in defence, the enemy does not know where to attack.

Now the secrets of the art of offence are not to be easily apprehended, as a certain shape or noise can be understood, of the senses; but when these secrets are once learnt, the enemy is mastered.

We attack, and the enemy cannot resist, because we attack his insufficiency; we retire, and the enemy cannot pursue, because we retire too quickly.

Again, when we are anxious to fight, but the enemy is serenely secure behind high walls and deep moats; we attack some such other place that he must certainly come out to relieve.

When we do not want to fight, we occupy an unfortified line; and prevent the enemy from attacking by keeping him in suspense.

By making feints, and causing the enemy to be uncertain as to our movements, we unite, whilst he must divide.

We become one body; the enemy being separated into ten parts. We attack the divided ten with the united one. We are many, the enemy is few, and in superiority of numbers there is economy of strength.

The place selected for attack must be kept secret. If the enemy know not where he will be attacked, he must prepare in every quarter, and so be everywhere weak.

If the enemy strengthen his front, he must weaken his rear; if he strengthen his right, his left is weakened; and if he strengthen his left, his right is weakened.

Everywhere to make preparations, is to be everywhere weak. The enemy is weakened by his extended preparations, and we gain in strength.

Having decided on the place and day of attack, though the enemy be a hundred leagues away, we can defeat him.

If the ground and occasion be not known, the front cannot help the rear; the left cannot support the right, nor the right the left, nor the rear the front. For on occasion, the parts of the army are two score leagues apart, while a distance of four or five leagues is comparatively close.

The soldiers of Wu are less than the soldiers of Yueh; but as superiority in numbers does not of necessity bring victory, I say, then, that we may obtain the victory.

If the enemy be many in number, prevent him from taking advantage of his superiority, and ascertain his plan of operations. Provoke the enemy and discover the state of his troops; feint and discover the strength of his position. Flap the wings, and unmask his sufficiency or insufficiency. By constant feints and excursions, we may produce on the enemy an impression of intangibility, which neither spies nor art can dispel.

The general makes his plans in accordance with the dispositions of the enemy, and puts his hosts in motion; but the multitude cannot appreciate the general's intention; they see the signs of victory, but they cannot discover the means.

If a victory be gained by a certain stratagem, do not repeat it. Vary the stratagem according to circumstances.

An army may be likened to water.

Water leaves dry the high places, and seeks the hollows. An army turns from strength and attacks emptiness.

The flow of water is regulated by the shape of the ground; victory is gained by acting in accordance with the state of the enemy.

The shape of water is indeterminate; likewise the spirit of war is not fixed.

The leader who changes his tactics in accordance with his adversary, and thereby controls the issue, may be called the God of war

Among the five elements there is no settled precedence; the four seasons come and go; the days are long and short; and the moon waxes and wanes. So in war there is no fixity.

#### SUNZI SECTION 7

#### Military Manoeuvres

Sun the Master said:-

For the most part, military procedure is as follows:-

The general receives orders from his lord; assembles and settles harmony among the forces, and takes the field.

There is nothing more difficult than Battle Tactics. Their difficulty lies in the calculation of time and distance, and the reversal of misfortune.

To make the enemy take a circuitous route by a show of gain, and then, whilst starting after him, to arrive before him, is to be a master of the art of manœuvre.

The operations of an army may reap advantage; the wrangles of a multitude are fraught with peril.

Employing our whole force at one time in order to gain advantage over the enemy, we may not have time enough to gain our object. If we push on with a portion of the force only, the transport is lost. Discarding helmet and armour; stopping neither day nor night; marching double distance; doing double work; and finally contending with the enemy at a distance of a hundred leagues: results in the loss of the general. Since the strong men arrive first, and the tired drop in rear, only one-tenth of the forces is available.

A forced march of fifty leagues to secure an advantage may result in failure to the leader of the vanguard, for only half his men will arrive.

After a forced march of thirty leagues to secure an advantage, only two-thirds of the army will be available.

Further, a lack of ammunition, of supplies, or of stores, may lead to disaster.

The ruler who is ignorant of the designs of neighbouring princes, cannot treat with them.

He who is ignorant of mountain and forest, defile and marsh, cannot lead an army.

He who does not employ a guide, cannot gain advantage from the ground.

Disguise your movements; await a favourable opportunity; divide or unite according to circumstance.

Let your attack be swift as the wind; your march calm like the forest; your occupation devastating as fire. In defence, as a mountain rest firm; like darkness impenetrable to the enemy. Let your movements be swift as the lightning.

Let as many as possible take part in the plunder: distribute the profit from the captured territory.

So he who understands the crooked and the straight way conquers.

These are the methods of Battle Tactics.

According to the ancient books on war, the drum and bell are used, because the voice does not carry; the flag is used to assist the sight. The use of bell, drum, banner and flag is to attract the united attention of eve and ear.

When all are united, the strong are not left to go forward alone, the cowardly are not free to retreat unrestricted. In this way can a multitude be used.

Therefore in night fighting, beacons and drums are largely used; in day fighting, a great number of banners and flags and the enemy's eyes and ears are confounded.

We thus awe his army, and defeat his general's ambition.

In the morning the spirits are keen; at midday there is a laziness; in the evening a desire to return. Wherefore, he who uses his soldiers well, avoids the time when the spirits are keen; but attacks the enemy when he is languid or seeking his camp.

Thus should the nature of energy be turned to account.
To oppose confusion with order, clamour with quiet, is to

have the heart under control.

To await an enemy from a distance, to oppose hunger with satiety, rest with fatigue, is the way to husband strength.

Do not attack where lines of banners wave, nor the serried ranks of battle spread, but patiently await your time.

Do not attack an enemy on high ground, nor one who has high ground at his back. Do not pursue an enemy who is imitating flight; do not attack a spirited enemy.

If the enemy offer an allurement, do not take it.

Do not interfere with an enemy who has struck camp, and is about to retire. When surrounding an enemy, allow him an outlet. Do not press a desperate enemy.

These are the methods of employing troops.

#### SUNZI SECTION 8

# The Nine Variations And Adaptability

Sun the Master said:-

In general, the procedure of war is:—the Leader, having received orders from his lord, assembles the armies.

Do not camp on marshy or low-lying ground; enter into friendly relations with neighbouring states; do not linger in a far country; use stratagem in mountainous and wooded country; on death ground, fight.

There are always roads that must be avoided; forces that must not be attacked; castles that must not be besieged;

ground that must not be chosen for encounter; orders from the lord that must not be obeyed.

The general who knows the Nine Changes understands the use of troops; on the contrary, he who does not understand them, can make no use of his topographical knowledge.

In the management of armies, if the art of the Nine Changes be understood, a knowledge of the Five Advantages is of no avail.

The wise man considers well both advantage and disadvantage. He sees a way out of adversity, and on the day of victory to danger is not blind.

In reducing an enemy to submission, inflict all possible damage upon him; make him undertake useless adventures; also make neighbouring rulers move as you would desire them by tempting them with gain.

Wherefore in the conduct of war do not depend on the enemy's not coming, but rely on your own preparations; do not count on the enemy not attacking your fortress, but leave nothing undefended.

Generals must be on their guard against these five dangerous faults:—

Blind impetuosity, which leads to death.

Over-cautiousness, which leads to capture.

Quick temper, which brings insult.

A too rigid propriety, which invites disgrace.

Over-regard for the troops, which causes inconvenience.

These five faults in the leader are disastrous in war. The overthrow of the army and the slaughter of the general arise from them. Therefore they must be carefully considered.

#### SUNZI SECTION 9

#### Movement And Development Of Troops

Sun the Master said:-

Touching the disposal of troops and observation of the enemy in relation to mountain warfare:—

Cross mountains and camp in valleys, selecting positions of safety.

Place the army on high ground, and avoid an enemy in high places.

In relation to water:-

After crossing waters, pass on immediately to a distance. When the enemy is crossing a stream, do not meet and engage him in the waters, but strike when half his force has passed over. Do not advance on an enemy near water, but place the army on high ground, and in safety.

Do not fight when the enemy is between the army and the source of the river.

With regard to marshes:-

Cross salty marshes quickly: do not linger near them.

If by chance compelled to fight in the neighbourhood of a marsh, seek a place where there is water and grass, and trees in plenty in the rear.

In open country place the army in a convenient place with rising ground in the right rear; so that while in front lies death, behind there is safety.

Such is war in flat country.

Huangti, by observing these things, gained the victory over four Princes.

As a rule, the soldiers prefer high ground to low. They prefer sunny places to those the sun does not reach.

If the health of the troops be considered, and they are encamped on high and sunny ground, diseases will be avoided, and victory made certain.

If there be rising ground, encamp on its sunny side and in front of it; for thereby the soldiers are benefited, and the ground used to our advantage.

If, owing to rains in the upper reaches, the river become turbulent, do not cross until the waters have quieted.

Steep and impassable valleys; well-like places; confined places; tangled impenetrable ground; swamps and bogs; narrow passages with pitfalls:—quickly pass from these, and approach them not. Cause the enemy to approach near to them, but keep yourself from these places; face them, so that the enemy has them in his rear.

If there be near to the army, precipices, ponds, meres, reeds and rushes, or thick forests and trees, search them thoroughly. These are places where the enemy is likely to be in ambush.

When the enemy is close, but quiet, he is strong in reliance on natural defences.

If the enemy challenge to fight from afar, he wishes you to advance.

If the enemy be encamped in open country, it is with some

special object in view.

Movement among the trees shows that the enemy is advancing. Broken branches and trodden grass, as of the passing of a large host, must be regarded with suspicion.

The rising of birds shows an ambush.

Startled beasts show that the enemy is stealthily approaching from several sides.

High, straight spurts of dust betoken that chariots are coming.

Long, low masses of dust show the coming of infantry.

Here and there, thin and high columns of dust are signs that firewood and fodder are being collected.

Small clouds of dust moving to and fro are signs that the enemy is preparing to encamp for a short time.

Busy preparations and smooth words show that the enemy is about to advance to attack.

Big words, and the spurring forward of horsemen, are signs that the enemy is about to retire.

An advance of the light chariots to the flanks of the camp is a sign that the enemy is coming forth to fight.

Without completion guidely to desire an armistics is a

Without consultation, suddenly to desire an armistice, is a mark of ulterior design.

The passing to and fro of messengers, and the forming up of troops, show that the enemy has some movement on foot.

An advance, followed by sudden retirement, is a lure to attack.

When the enemy use their weapons to rest upon, they are

hungry.

If the drawers of water drink at the river, the enemy is

suffering from thirst.

Disregard of booty that lies ready at hand is a sign of

exhaustion.

The clustering of birds round a position shows that it is

The clustering of birds round a position shows that it i unoccupied.

Voices calling in the night betoken alarm.

Disorder in the army is a sign that the general is disregarded.

A changing about of flags and banners is a sign that the army is unsettled.

If the officers be angry, it is because the soldiers are tired, and slow to obey.

The killing of horses for food shows that the enemy is short of provisions.

When the cooking-pots are hung up on the wall and the soldiers turn not in again, the enemy is at an end of his resources.

Exceeding graciousness and familiarity on the part of the general show that he has lost the confidence of the soldiers.

Frequent rewards show that discipline is at an end.

Frequent punishments are a sign that the general is in difficulties.

The general who first blusters, and then is obsequious, is without perception.

He who offers apologies and hostages is anxious for a truce. When both sides, eager for a fight, face each other for a considerable time, neither advancing nor retiring, the occasion requires the utmost vigilance and circumspection.

Numbers are no certain mark of strength.

Even if incapable of a headlong assault, if the forces be united, and the enemy's condition ascertained, victory is possible.

He who without taking thought makes light of the enemy is certain to be captured.

If a general who is strange to the troops punish them, they cease to obey him. If they are not obedient, they cannot be usefully employed.

If the troops know the general, but are not affected by his punishments, they are useless.

By humane treatment we obtain obedience; authority brings uniformity. Thus we obtain victory.

If the people have been trained in obedience from the beginning, they respect their leader's commands.

If the people be not early trained to obedience, they do not respect their leader's commands.

Orders are always obeyed, if general and soldiers are in sympathy.

#### **SUNZI SECTION 10**

# Movement And Development Of Troops

Sun the Master said:-

With regard to the different natures of ground there are:— Open ground; broken ground; suspended ground; defiles; precipices; far countries.

Open ground is that where either side has liberty of movement: be quick to occupy any high ground in the neighbourhood and consider well the line of supplies.

Broken ground. Advance is easy, but retreat from it is difficult. Here, if the enemy be not prepared, we may win: but should he be prepared, and defeat us, and retreat be impossible, then there is disaster.

Suspended ground. The side that takes the initiative is under a disadvantage. Here, if the enemy offer some allurement, we should not advance: but rather, by feigning retreat, wait until he has put forth half his force. Then we may attack him with advantage.

Defiles, make haste to occupy; garrison strongly and await the enemy. Should the enemy be before you, and in strength, do not engage him; but if there be unoccupied points, attack him

In precipitous ground quickly occupy a position on a sunny height, and await the enemy. If the enemy be before you, withdraw and do not attack him.

If distant from the enemy, and the forces be equal, to take the initiative is disadvantageous.

Now, these are the six kinds of ground. It is the duty of generals to study them.

Again, there are six calamities among the troops, arising, not from defect of ground, or lack of opportunity, but from the general's incapacity.

These are: repulse, relaxation, distress, disorganisation, confusion and rout.

If troops be sent to attack an enemy of equal quality, but ten times their number, they retire discomfited.

Strong soldiers with weak officers cause relaxation.

Able officers with feeble soldiers cause distress.

Enraged senior officers, who fall upon the enemy without orders, and obey not the general because he does not recognise their abilities, produce disorganisation.

Weak and amiable generals, whose directions and leadership are vague, whose officers' and men's duties are not fixed, and whose dispositions are contradictory, produce confusion.

Generals, who are unable to estimate the enemy, who oppose small numbers to large, weakness to strength, and who do not put picked men in the van of the army, cause it to be routed.

These six things lead to defeat. It is the duty of the general to study them carefully.

Ground is the handmaid of victory.

Ability to estimate the enemy, and plan the victory; an eye for steepness, command and distances: these are the qualities of the good general.

Whosoever knows these things, conquers; he who understands them not, is defeated.

If victory be certain from the military standpoint, fight, even if the lord forbid.

If defeat be certain from the military standpoint, do not fight, even though the lord commands it.

The general who advances, from no thought of his own glory, or retires, regardless of punishment; but only strives for the people's welfare, and his lord's advantage, is a treasure to the state.

The good general cares for his soldiers, and lovingly treats them as his children; as a consequence they follow him through deep valleys, and are beside him in death.

Nevertheless, over-care for the soldiers may cause disobedience; over-attention may make them unserviceable; over-indulgence may produce disorder: they become like spoilt children, and cannot be used.

He who is confident of his own men, but is ignorant that the enemy should not be attacked, has no certainty of victory.

He who knows that the enemy may be attacked with advantage, but knows not his own men, has no certainty of victory

Confidence in the troops, right judgement when to attack the enemy, but ignorance of the ground, bring uncertain victory.

The wise soldier, once in motion, does not waver, and is never at a loss.

As has been said: "Know thyself; know the enemy; fear not for victory."

Also, if the season and the opportunity be realised, and the ground known, complete victory is certain.

#### SUNZI SECTION 11

#### The Nine Battlegrounds

Sun the Master said:—

In respect to the conduct of war there are:-

Distracting ground; disturbing ground; ground of contention; intersecting ground; path-ridden ground; deeply-involved ground; difficult ground; enclosed ground; death ground.

At all times, when the prince fights in his own territory, it is called distracting[13] ground.

That ground a short way inside the enemy's border is called disturbing ground.

Ground giving advantage to whichever side is in possession, is called ground of contention.

Ground to which either side has access, is called intersecting ground.

Ground between three provinces first possession of which enables the peoples of the earth to be controlled, is called path-ridden ground.

The interior of the enemy's country with many of his fortified towns in rear, is called deeply-involved ground.

Mountain and forest, precipices, ravines, marsh and swamp, all places where passage is hard, are called difficult ground.

A narrow entrance and winding outlet, where a small number can oppose a large force, is called enclosed ground. That ground where delay means disaster, is called death

Wherefore, do not fight on distracting ground; do not linger on disturbing ground

linger on disturbing ground.

If the enemy be in possession of disputed ground, do not attack

In intersecting ground, do not interrupt the highways.
At the crossing of highways, cultivate intercourse.

When deeply involved, levy and store up the enemy's property.

Quickly depart from difficult ground.

On enclosed ground, use stratagem.

On death ground, fight.

The skilful fighters of old were at pains to disconnect the enemy's front and rear; they cut asunder small and large forces of the enemy; prevented mutual help between his officers and men; spread mistrust between high and low. They scattered the enemy, and prevented him from concentrating; if his soldiers were assembled, they were without unity.

If there be a chance of victory, move; if there be no chance of success, stand fast.

If I were asked how a powerful and united force of the enemy should be met, I would say: lay hands on what the enemy cherishes and he will conform to our desires.

In war, above all, speed sustains the spirit of the troops. Strike before the enemy is ready; and attack his unpreparedness from an unexpected quarter.

With regard to war in foreign lands. When strangers in a far country the soldiers are united and are proof against defeat. Plunder fertile plains so that the army is fed; be careful of the health of the soldiers; do not tire them uselessly; unite their minds; store up strength; plan well and secretly. If there be no refuge the soldiers will not fly from death.

If there be no alternative but death, the soldiers exert themselves to the utmost.

In desperate places, soldiers lose the sense of fear.

If there be no place of refuge, there will be no wavering. If deeply involved in the enemy's country, there is unity.

If it be unavoidable, the soldiers will fight their hardest. Even without warnings they are vigilant; they comply without insistence; without stipulations they are tractable; without explicit instructions they will trust the general and obey him

Prohibit the discussion of signs and omens, and remove the soldiers' doubts; then to the moment of death they will be undistracted.

Riches are denied the soldiers, not because money is a bad thing; old age is forbidden them, but not because long life is evil. Hardships and danger are the proper lot of the soldier.

When the order for attack is given, the collars of those who are sitting may be wet with tears; tears may roll down the cheeks of those reclining; yet these men, in a desperate place, will fight with the courage of Chu and Kuei.

Soldiers should be used like the snakes on Mt. Chang; which, if you hit on the head, the tail will strike you; if you hit the tail, the head will strike you; if you strike its middle, head and tail will strike you together.

Should any one ask me whether men can be made to move like these snakes, I say, yes. The men of Wu and Yueh hate each other; yet, if they cross a river in the same boat and a storm overtake them, they help each other like the two hands.

The horses may be tied, and the chariot wheels sunk in the mud; but that does not prevent flight.

Universal courage and unity depend on good management.

The best results from both the weak and strong are obtained by a proper use of the ground.

The skilful warrior can lead his army, as a man leads another by the hand, because he places it in a desperate position.

The general should be calm, inscrutable, just and prudent. He should keep his officers and men in ignorance of his plans, and inform no one of any changes or fresh departures. By changing his camps, and taking devious and unexpected routes, his plans cannot be guessed.

As one taking away the ladder from under those mounted upon the roof, so acts the general when his men are assembled to fight. He penetrates into the heart of the enemy's country and then divulges his plans. He drives the army hither and thither like a flock of sheep, knowing not whither they go.

Therefore the general should assemble the armies, and place them in a desperate position.

The different natures of the Nine Grounds; the suiting of the means to the occasion; the hearts of men: these are things that must be studied.

When deep in the interior of a hostile country, there is cohesion; if only on the borders, there is distraction. To leave home and cross the borders is to be free from interference.

On distracting ground, unite the soldiers' minds.

On disturbing ground, keep together.

On disputed ground, try to take the enemy in rear.

On intersecting ground, look well to the defences.

On path-ridden ground, cultivate intercourse.

On deeply-involved ground be careful of supplies.

On difficult ground, do not linger.

On enclosed ground, close the path of escape.

On death ground, show the soldiers that there is no chance of survival.

It is the nature of soldiers to defend when surrounded, to fight with energy when compelled thereto, to pursue the enemy if he retreat.

He cannot treat with other rulers who knows not their ambitions.

He who knows not mountain and forest; cliffs; ravines; lakes and marshes; cannot conduct an army.

He who does not use guides, cannot take advantage of the ground.

He who has not a complete knowledge of the Nine Grounds. cannot gain military dominion.

The great general, when attacking a powerful nation, prevents the enemy from concentrating his hosts.

He overawes the enemy so that other states cannot join against him.

He does not struggle for the favour of other states; nor is he careful of their rights. He has confidence in himself, and awes the enemy.

Therefore he easily takes the fortress, or reduces the country to subjection.

In the bestowal of rewards, or in his orders, he is not bound by ancient rule.

He manages his forces as though they were one man.

Orders should direct the soldiers; but while what is advantageous should be known. what disadvantageous should be concealed.

If the forces be plunged into danger, there is survival; from death ground there is retrieval; for the force in danger gains the victory.

Discover the enemy's intentions by conforming to his movements. When these are discovered, then, with one stroke, the general may be killed, even though he be one hundred leagues distant.

When war is declared, close the barriers; destroy passports; prevent the passage of the enemy's spies; conduct the business of the government with vigilance.

Take immediate advantage of the enemy's discover what he most values, and plan to seize it.

Shape your plans according to rule, and the circumstances of the enemy.

At first behave with the discretion of a maiden; then, when the enemy gives an opening, dart in like a rabbit. The enemy cannot defend himself.

# **SUNZI SECTION 12**

**Attacking With Fire** 

Sun the Master said:

There are five ways of attack by fire:

The first is called barrack burning; the second, commissariat burning; the third, equipment burning; the fourth, store burning; the fifth, the company burning.

The moment for the fire assault must be suitable. Further, appliances must always be kept at hand.

There is a time and day proper for the setting and carrying out of the fire assault: namely: such time as the weather is dry: and a day when the moon is in the quarters[Pg 68] of the stars Chi, Pi, I, Chen: for these are days of wind.

Regard well the developments that will certainly arise from the fire, and act upon them. When fire breaks out inside the enemy's camp, thrust upon him with all speed from without; but if his soldiers be quiet, wait, and do not attack.

When the fire is at its height, attack or not, as opportunity may arise.

If the opportunity be favourable, set fire to the enemy's camp, and do not wait for it to break out from within.

When fire breaks out on the windward side, do not attack from the leeward.

Wind that rises in the day lasts long. Wind that rises in the night time quickly passes away.

The peculiarities of the five burnings must be known, and

the calendar studied, and, if the attack is to be assisted, the fire must be unquenchable.

If water is to assist the attack, the flood must be overwhelming.

Water may isolate or divide the enemy; fire may consume his camp; but unless victory or possession be obtained, the enemy quickly recovers, and misfortunes arise. The war drags on, and money is spent.

Let the enlightened lord consider well; and the good general keep the main object in view. If no advantage is to be gained thereby, do not move; without prospect of victory, do not use the soldiers; do not fight unless the state be in danger.

War should not be undertaken because the lord is in a moment of passion. The general must not fight because there is anger in his heart.

Do not make war unless victory may be gained thereby; if there be prospect of victory, move; if there be no prospect, do not move

For passion may change to gladness, anger passes away; but a country, once overturned, cannot be restored; the dead cannot be brought to life.

Wherefore it is written, the enlightened lord is circumspect, and the good general takes heed; then is the state secure, and the army victorious in battle.

# SUNZI SECTION 13

Intelligence And Espionage Sun the Master said:-

Calling 100,000 men to arms, and transporting them a hundred leagues, is such an undertaking that in one day 1,000 taels of the citizens' and nobles' money are spent; commotions arise within and without the state; carriers fall down exhausted on the line of march of the army; and the occupations of 700,000[14] homes are upset.

Again, for years the armies may face each other; yet the issue may depend on a single day's victory.

Wherefore, by grudging slight expense in titles and salaries to spies, to remain in ignorance of the enemy's circumstances, is to be without humanity. Such a person is no general; he is no assistance to his lord; he is no master of victory.

The enlightened ruler and the wise general who act, win, and are distinguished beyond the common, are informed beforehand.

This knowledge is not to be got by calling on gods and demons; nor does it come of past experience nor calculation. It is through men that knowledge of the enemy is gained.

Now the five kinds of spies are these: village spies, inner spies, converted spies, death spies, living spies.

If these five means be employed simultaneously, none can discover their working. This is called the Mysterious Thread: it is the Lord's Treasure.

Village spies are such people of the country as give information.

Inner spies are those of the enemy's officials employed by us. Converted spies are those of the enemy's spies in our pay.

Death spies are sent to misinform the enemy, and to spread false reports through our spies already in the enemy's lines.

Living spies return to report.

In connection with the armies, spies should be treated with the greatest kindness; and in dealing out reward, they should receive the most generous treatment. All matters relating to

Without infinite capacity in the general, the employment of spies is impossible. Their treatment requires benevolence and uprightness. Except they be observed with the closest attention, the truth will not be obtained from them.

Wonderful indeed is the power of spies.

There is no occasion when they cannot be used.

If a secret matter be spoken of before the time is ripe, the spy who told the matter, and the man who repeated the same, should be put to death.

If desirous of attacking an army; of besieging a fortress; or of killing a certain person; first of all, learn the names of the general in charge; of his right-hand men; of those who introduce visitors to the Presence; of the gate keeper and the sentries. Then set the spies to watch them.

Seek out the enemy's spies who come to spy on us; give them money; cause them to be lodged and cared for; and convert them to the service. Through them we are enabled to obtain spies among the enemy's villagers and officials.

By means of the converted spy, we can construct a false story for the death spy to carry to the enemy.

It is through the converted spy that we are able to use the five varieties, to their utmost advantage; therefore he must be liberally treated

In ancient times the rise to power of the province of Yin was due to Ichih, who was sent to the country of Hsia. Likewise during the foundation of the state of Chu, Luya lived among the people of Shang.

Wherefore, intelligent rulers and wise generals use the cleverest men as spies, and invariably acquire great merit. The spy is a necessity to the army. Upon him the movement of the army depends.

# GENERAL WU QI'S WUZI

The Wuzi or The Wutzu by General Wu Qi Romanisation: Pinyin (the name Wuzi), Wade-Giles (text) Translation: Lionel Giles, 1910 Estimated Range of Dating: 5th - 4th centuries B.C.

(The Wuzi or Wutzu is a classic Chinese work on military strategy attributed to General Wu Qi. It is considered one of China's Seven Military Classics. It is said there were two books on the art of war by Wu Qi, but one was lost, hence leaving the Wuzi as the only existing book carrying Wu Qi's military thoughts. The oldest Wuzi edition that survives dates to the Song Dynasty (960-1279). Historical references indicate that the Wuzi was very famous and popular in both the Warring States period and in the Han dynasty. In addition to strategic/tactical studies and the philosophy of war, the Wuzi pays significant attention to the logistical achievement of war preparedness.

The Seven Military Classics were seven important military texts of ancient China, which also included General Sunzi's The Art of War. Due to failures in the wars against the Muslims and the Mongols, the texts were canonised under this name during the 11th century AD. From the time of the Song dynasty, they were included in most military reference books. Imperial officers were required reading them to gain promotion, like the requirement for all bureaucrats to learn and know the work of Confucius.

- Jiang Ziya (Taigong)'s Six Secret Teachings
- The Methods of the Sima (also: Sima Rangju Art of War)
- · General Sunzi's The Art of War

- · General Wu Qi's The Wuzi
- · Wei Liaozi
- · Three Strategies of General Huang Shigong
- Questions & Replies between Tang Taizong & Li Weigong

# Authorship

Because of the lack of surviving copies, there is no consensus among modern scholars concerning the latest date of the Wuzi's final composition. The philosophical content of the work mainly consists of a synthesis between Confucianism and Legalism. The work attempts to resolve a humanistic (Confucian) concern for moral values and benevolent government with an administrative (Legalist) need for strict, predictable rewards and punishments. The attempted synthesis between Confucian and Legalist values is common to other military treatises dated more conclusively to the mid-Warring States period. The core of the work is nominally to have been composed around Wu Qi's lifetime (440-381 BC). Due to the lack of archaeological evidence, there is no consensus among modern scholars concerning the exact date that The Wuzi was composed, and if or when it was last modified. A work known as Wuzi was one of the most widely referenced books on military strategy among the records that existed in the Warring States period. (Notable contemporary records mentioning the Wuzi are the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Han Feizi.) Sima Qian, in his Shiji, equates the popularity of the Wuzi, in both the Warring States and the Han dynasty, with that of Sun Tzu's Art of War. There is evidence that, in the Warring States, two different texts titled "Wuzi" existed, but (at least) one of them has been

#### General Wu Oi

Wu Qi (Wade-Giles: Wu Ch'i, 440-381 BC) was a Chinese military leader, Legalist philosopher, and politician in the Warring States period. Born in the State of Wey, he was skilled in leading armies and military strategy. He had served in the states of Lu and Wei (not to be confused with Wèi, currently spelled as Wey as in previous note). In the state of Wei he commanded many great battles and was appointed Xihe Shou (Mayor of Xihe county). Xihe was the area between the Yellow and Luo Rivers that Wei had just taken from Qin. Later, after he became estranged from the lord of Wei and was forced into exile, General Wu Qi went to the State of Chu where he was appointed Prime minister by King Dao of Chu. His reforms made Chu a strong state at that time. The reforms he instituted enraged the old nobility of Chu and he was killed after the death of King Dao.

Wu's reforms, which started around 389 BC, were generally aimed at changing the corrupt and inefficient government. The nobility and officialdom were terribly corrupt and the government was burdened with the costs of paying them and a horde of other minor officials. Wu first lowered the annual salary of Chu officials, then dismissed officials who were useless or incompetent. He also eliminated hereditary privileges after three generations. The money saved by cutting costs was used to create and train a more professional army.

Another of Wu's actions was to move all the nobles to the borders on the frontier, away from the capital, in order to reduce their power and at the same time populate those areas, making them more useful to the state government. He is also credited with devising a set of building codes in Ying, in order to make the city look less "barbaric", and more in line with 'civilised' Chinese architectural aesthetics.

Although his reforms soon started to make Chu a powerful country, the nobles and Daoists of Chu hated him. Nobles accused him of trying to change the old ways, and even managed to find fault with the building codes. Daoists accused him of being a "warmonger" and an "admirer of force and weaponry", even going as far as to say that he was "a threat to humanity". He was accused of not returning for the mourning period of his mother's death and for murdering his own wife (who was the daughter of a noble from the rival state of Qi) in order to gain trust from the ruler of the state of Lu. There is no definitive evidence to the truth of these accusations, and it is possible they were manufactured by Wu Qi's political enemies to slander him.

In the wake of Wu Qi's reforms, Chu's prowess was quickly manifest: Chu defeated the Yue state in the south and the Wei in the north, dealing with each in quick succession. However, King Dao died that same year. The old nobles plotted to assassinate Wu Qi at King Dao's funeral, where he would be separated from the army. Wu Qi spotted the assassins armed with bows, and rushed to the side of King Dao's body. He was killed, but many arrows struck the dead King. The new King Su, furious at his father's body being mutilated, ordered all nobles involved to be executed, along with their families.

#### Contents:

The Sayings Of Wutzu - Introduction

- 1 The Government Of A Country 2 Estimation Of The Enemy
- 3 Control Of The Army 4 Qualities Of The General

5 Suiting The Occasion 6 Encouragement Of The Troops

The present text of the Wuzi consists of six sections, each focusing on a critical aspect of military affairs: Planning for the State; Evaluating the Enemy; Controlling the Army; the Tao of the General; Responding to Change; and, Stimulating the Officers. Although each chapter is less concentrated than the traditional topic headings would suggest, they depict the subject matter and general scope of the book as a whole. As a young man, Wu Qi spent a formative three years as a student of Confucianism. After gaining several years of administrative experience, he came to believe that, in order for benevolence and righteousness to survive in his time, military strength and preparation were necessary. Without a strong military to defend the just, he believed that Confucian virtues would disappear, and evil would dominate the world. Because of his emphasis on the importance of the military for safeguarding civil rights and liberty, the author of the Wuzi states that commanders must be selected carefully, ideally from those possessing courage and who excelled in military arts, but who also possessed good civil administration skills, and who displayed Confucian virtues, particularly those of wisdom and self-control.)

#### THE WUZI - INTRODUCTION

Now Wu, albeit clothed in the raiment of a scholar, was a man skilled in the art of war.

And Wen, Lord of Wei, came unto him and said:

"I am a man of peace, caring not for military affairs." And Wu said:-

"Your actions are witnesses of your mind; why do your words say not what is in your heart?

'You do prepare and dress hides and leather through the four seasons, ornamenting them with red lacquer and the figures of panthers and elephants; which give not warmth in winter, neither in summer, coolness. Moreover, you make halberds, 24 feet long, and pikes 12 feet long, and leather (covered) chariots so large as to fill up the gateways, wheels with ornament, and naves capped with leather. Now, these are neither beautiful to the eye nor light in the chase; I know not for what use my lord makes these things.

"But, although provided with these instruments of war, if the leader be not competent, a brooding hen might as well strike a badger, or a dog with young challenge the tiger: the spirit of encounter may be present, but there is no end but death.

"In ancient times, the Prince Chengsang cultivated virtue, and put away military things, and his kingdom fell.

"The Prince Yuhu put his trust in numbers, and delighted in war and was driven from the throne.

"Therefore the enlightened ruler should ponder over these things; encourage learning and virtue in the kingdom, and be prepared against war from without.

To hesitate before the enemy is not a cause for righteousness; remorse for the fallen is not true humanity.'

And when Lord Wen heard these words, he himself spread a seat, and his wife offered up a cup, and Wu was appointed general before the altar.

Now, in the defence of Hsihe against different states there were fought seventy-six great fights, of which sixty-four were complete victories, and the remainder undecided. And the kingdom grew and stretched 1,000 leagues on every side, which was all due to the virtue of Wu.

#### WUZI SECTION 1

#### The Government Of A Country

And Wu the Master said:

The mighty rulers of old first trained their retainers, and then extended their regard to their outlying feudatories.

There are four discords:-

Discord in the state: then never make war.

Discord in the army: then do not strike camp

Discord in the camp: then do not advance to attack.

Discord in the battle array: then seek not to decide the issue. Therefore, wise rulers who would employ their subjects in

great endeavours, should first establish harmony among them. Lend not a ready ear to human counsellors, but lay the matter before the altar; seek inside the turtle,[19] and consider well the time and season. Then, if all be well, commit ourselves to the undertaking.

If the people know that their lord is careful of their lives, and laments their death beyond all else; then, in the time of danger, the soldiers advance, and, advancing, find glory in death; and in survival after retreat, dishonour.

The Master said:

The Way must follow the only true path: righteousness lies at the root of achievement and merit.

The object of stratagem is to avoid loss and gain advantage. The object of government is to guard enterprise and to preserve the state.

If conduct depart from the Way, and the undertaking accord not with righteousness, then disaster befalls the

Therefore, wise men maintain order by keeping in the Way, and governing with righteousness; they move with discretion, and with benevolence they make the people amenable.

If these four virtues be practised, there is prosperity; if they be neglected, there is decay.

For, when Lord Tang of Cheng defeated Lord Chieh, the people of Hsia rejoiced, and when Wu of Chou defeated Lord Chou, the people of Yin were not discomfited. And this was because it was ordained by Providence and human desire.

The Master said:-

In the government of a country and command of an army, the inculcation of propriety, stimulation of righteousness, and the promotion of a sense of shame are required.

When men possess a sense of shame, they will attack with resolution when in strength, and when few in number defend to the last.

But while victory is easy in attack, it is difficult in defence.

Now, of the fighting races below heaven; those who gained five victories have been worn out: those who have won four victories have been impoverished; three victories have given dominion; two victories have founded a kingdom; and upon one victory an empire has been established.

For those who have gained power on earth by many victories are few; and those who have lost it, many.

The Master said:-

The causes of war are five:-

First, ambition; second, profit; third, overburdened hate; fourth, internal disorder; fifth, famine.

Again, the natures of war are five:-

First, a righteous war; second, a war of might; third, a war of revenge; fourth, a war of tyranny; fifth, an unrighteous war.

The prevention of tyranny and the restoration of order is just; to strike in reliance on numbers is oppression; to raise the standard for reasons of anger is a war of revenge; to quit propriety, and seize advantage is tyranny; when the state is disordered and the people worn out, to harbour designs, and set a multitude in motion, is a war of unrighteousness.

There is a way of overcoming each of these five.

Righteousness is overcome by propriety; might by humanity; revenge by words; tyranny by deception; unrighteousness by strategy

Lord Wen asked and said:-

"I would know the way to control an army, to measure men, and make the country strong.'

Wil answered and said:-

"The enlightened rulers of antiquity respected propriety between sovereign and people; established etiquette between high and low; settled officials and citizens in close accord; gave instruction in accordance with custom; selected men of ability, and thereby provided against what should come to

"In ancient times Prince Huan of Chi assembled 50 000 men at arms, and became chief among the princes; Prince Wen of Chin put 40,000 mighty men in the van, and gained his ambition; Prince Mu of Chin gathered together 30,000 invincibles, and subdued his neighbouring foes. Wherefore, the princes of powerful states must consider their people, and assemble the valiant and spirited men by companies

'Those who delight to attack, and to display their valour and fealty should be formed in companies.

"Those skilful in scaling heights, or covering long distances, and who are quick and light of foot must be collected in

"Retainers who have lost their rank, and who are desirous of displaying their prowess before their superiors should be gathered into companies.

'Those who have abandoned a castle, or deserted their trust, and are desirous of atoning for their misconduct, should be collected and formed into companies.

"These five bodies form the flower of the army. With 3,000 of such troops, if they issue from within, an encompassing enemy can be burst asunder; if they enter from without, a castle can be overthrown.'

Lord Wen asked and said:

"I desire to know how to fix the battle array, render defence secure, and attack with certainty of victory.'

Wu answered and said:-

"To see with the eye is better than ready words. Yet, I say, if the wise men be put in authority and the ignorant in low places, then the army is already arranged.

"If the people be free from anxiety about their estates, and love their officials, then defence is already secure.

"If all the lieges be proud of their lord, and think ill of neighbouring states, then is the battle already won.'

The Lord Wen once assembled a number of his subjects to discuss affairs of state: and none could equal him in wisdom and when he left the council chamber his face was pleased.

Then Wu advanced and said:-

In ancient times, Lord Chuang of Chu once consulted with his lieges, and none were like unto him in wisdom; and when the Lord left the council chamber his countenance was

troubled. Then the Duke Shen asked and said: "Why is my Lord troubled?" And he answered: "I have heard that the world is never without sages, and that in every country there are wise men; that good advisers are the foundation of an empire; and friends of dominion. Now, if I, lacking wisdom, have no equal among the multitude of my officers, dangerous indeed is the state of Chu. It grieves me that whereas Prince Chuang of Chu was troubled in a like case my Lord should be pleased.

And hearing this Lord Wen was inwardly troubled.

#### 2 Estimation Of The Enemy

And Lord Wen said to Wu:

"Chin threatens us on the west: Chu surrounds us on the south: Chao presses us in the north: Chi watches us in the east: Yen stops our rear, and Han is posted in our front. Thus, the armies of six nations encompass us on every side, and our condition is very unpropitious. Canst thou relieve my anxiety?"

Wu answered and said:-

"The path of safety of a state lies first of all in vigilance. Now my Lord has already taken warning, wherefore misfortunes are yet distant.

"Let me state the habits of these six countries. The forces of Chi are weighty but without solidity; the soldiers of Chin are scattered, and fight each of his own accord: the army of Chu is well ordered, but cannot endure: the soldiers of Yen[Pg 86] defend well. but are without dash: the armies of the three Chins are well governed, but cannot be used.

"The nature of Chi is stubborn and the country rich, but prince and officials are proud and luxurious, and neglectful of the common people; government is loose and rewards not impartial; in one camp there are two minds; the front is heavy, but the rear is light. Therefore it is ponderous without stability. To attack it, the force must be divided into three parts, and, by threatening it on three sides, its front can be broken.

"The nature of Chin is strong, the country rugged, and the government firm; rewards and punishments just, the people indomitable, and all have the fighting spirit; wherefore, when separated, each fights of his own accord.

To defeat this people, they must first be tempted by gain to leave their cause, so that the soldiers, greedy of profit, desert their general: then, taking advantage of their disobedience, their scattered forces can be chased, ambushes laid, favourable opportunities taken, and their general captured.

The nature of Chu is weak, its territory wide, the government weak, and the people exhausted; the troops are well ordered but of short endurance.

"The way to defeat them is to assault their camp, throw it into confusion and crush their spirit, advance softly, and retire quickly; tire them out, avoid a serious encounter, and they may be defeated.

'The nature of Yen is straightforward: its people are cautious, loving courage and righteousness, and without guile; wherefore they defend but are not daring.

"The way to defeat them is to draw close and press them; tease them and pass to a distance; move quickly, and appear in the rear, thus causing bewilderment to their officers and fear in their ranks. Our chariots and horsemen will act with circumspection and avoid encounter. Thus their general can be captured.

The three Chins are the middle king[Pg 88]dom: their nature is peaceful and their rule just. Their people are tired of war; their troops are trained, but their leaders are despised; pay is small, and the soldiers lack the spirit of sacrifice, thus they are well governed but cannot be used.

'The way to defeat them is to threaten them from afar. If a multitude attack-defend; if they retreat-pursue, and tire them out

"In every army there are mighty warriors with strength to lift the Censer, swifter of foot than the war horse; who can take the enemy's standard, or slay his general. If such men be selected, and set apart, cared for and honoured, they are the life of the army.

'Those who use the five arms with skill, who are clever, strong and quick, and careless of the enemy, should be given rank and decoration, and used to decide the victory. Their parents and families should be cared for, encouraged by rewards, and kept in fear of punishment. These men consolidate the battle array; their presence causes endurance.

"If these men be well selected, double their number can be defeated."

And Lord Wen said:-

"It is good!"

Wu the Master said:-

"In the estimation of the enemy there are eight cases when, without consulting the oracles, he may be attacked.

"First, an enemy who, in great wind and cold, has risen early, started forth across ice and rivers, and braved stress and hardships.

"Second, an enemy who, in the height of summer, and in great heat, has risen early, has travelled incessantly, is hungry and without water, and is striving to reach a distance.

"Third, an enemy who has been encamped long in one place, who is without provisions, when the farmers are vexed and indignant, who has suffered frequent calamities, and whose officers are unable to establish confidence.

"Fourth, when the enemy's funds are exhausted, fuel and fodder scarce; when the heavens have been overcast by long continued rain; when there is the desire to loot, but no place to loot withal.

"Fifth, when their numbers are few: when water is scarce: when men and horses are scourged by pestilence, and from no quarter is succour at hand.

"Sixth, when night falls, and the way is yet far; when officers and men are worn out and fearful, weary and without food, and have laid aside their armour and are resting.

'Seventh, when the general's authority is weak, the officials false, and the soldiers unsettled; when their army has been alarmed, and no help is forthcoming.

"Eighth, when the battle formation is not yet fixed, or camp pitched; when climbing a hill, or passing through a difficult place; when half is hidden and half exposed.

'An enemy in these situations may be smitten without hesitation.

'There are six enemies, that, without consulting oracles, should be avoided.

"First, wide and vast territories, and a large and rich population.

'Second, where the officials care for the people, and bestow bountiful favours and rewards.

"Third, where rewards are well deserved, punishment accurately apportioned, and operations undertaken only when the time is fitting.

"Fourth, where merit is recognised and given rank, wise men appointed, and ability employed.

"Fifth, where the troops are many and their weapons excellent.

"Sixth, when help is at hand on every side, or from a powerful ally.

"For, if the enemy excel in the foregoing, he must be avoided without hesitation. As it is written, if it be judged good, advance; if it be known to be difficult, retreat.'

And Lord Wen asked and said:

"I desire to know how the interior of the enemy can be known from his outer appearance; the form of his camp by observing his advance, and how victory may be determined?

And Wu answered and said:-

"If the coming of the enemy be reckless like roaring waters, his banners and pennons disordered, and horses and men frequently looking behind then ten can be struck with one Panic will certainly seize them.

'Before the various princes have assembled, before harmony has been established between lord and lieges, before ditches have been dug, or regulations established, and the army is alarmed; wishing to advance, but unable; wishing to retreat, but unable: then the force can strike twice their numbers, and in a hundred fights there is no fear of retreat.

Lord Wen asked:-

"How can the enemy be certainly defeated?"

Wu answered and said:-

"Make certain of the enemy's real condition and quickly strike his weak point; strike an enemy who has just arrived from afar, before his ranks are arranged; or one who has eaten and has not completed his dispositions; or an enemy who is hurrying about, or is busily occupied; or has not made favourable use of the ground, or has let pass the opportunity; or one who has come a long distance, and those in rear are late and have not rested.

"Strike an enemy who is half across waters; or who is on a difficult or narrow road; or whose flags and banners are in confusion; or who is frequently changing position; or whose general is not in accord with the soldiers; or who is fearful.

'All such should be assaulted by the picked men; and the remainder of the army should be divided, and follow after them. They may be attacked at once without hesitation.

# 3 Control Of The Army

Lord Wen said:-

"What is of first importance in operations of war?"

Wu answered and said:

"Lightness, of which there are four[Pg 94] natures, Weight, of which there are two natures, and Confidence must be clearly comprehended."

And Wen said:-

"What are these?"

And Wu answered:-

"If the way be easy, the horses are light of foot; if the horses be light of foot, the chariots travel freely; if the chariots travel easily, men can ride in them without difficulty; if the men be free to move, the fight prospers. If the difficult and easy ways be known, the horses are lightened; if the horses be fed at proper intervals, the chariots are swift; if there be plenty of oil on the axles of the chariots, the riders are quickly conveyed; if the spears be sharp and the armour strong, the men make the

"Large rewards in advance, heavy punishment in retreat, and impartiality in their bestowal are required.

"He who well understands these things is the master of victory

And Lord Wen asked and said:-

"By what means can the army gain the victory?"

And Wij answered:

"The foundation of victory is good government." Again. Wen asked and said:

"Is it not determined by numbers?"

And Wu replied:

"If laws and orders be not clear; if rewards and punishments be not just; if the bell be sounded and they halt not, or drum be beaten and men do not advance; even if there be a hundred thousand men at arms, they are of no avail.

"Where there is order, then there is propriety at rest, and dignity in motion; none can withstand the attack, and retreat forbids pursuit; motion is regulated, and movements to right and left are made in answer to the signal; if the ranks be cut asunder, formation is preserved; if scattered, they are maintained; in fortune or in danger, there is unity; if a number be collected, they cannot be separated; they may be used but not wearied; in [Pg 96] whatever situation they are placed, nothing under heaven can withstand them. The army may be called a father and his children.'

And Wu said:-

"In marching, movements and halts must be properly adjusted, suitable occasions for rationing not missed; the strength of men and horses not exhausted. If these three things be observed, the commands of the superior can be carried out; if the commands of the superior be carried out, order is maintained. If advances and halts be without method, victualling unsuitable, horses and men tired and wearyneither unsaddled or housed—it is because the orders cannot be obeved; if the orders be set aside, there is disorder in the camp, and in battle-defeat.

Wu the Master said:

"On that depository of corpses, the battlefield, if there be certain expectation of death, there is life; if there be happy expectation of life, there is death. The good general is like unto one sitting in a leaking ship, or lying under a burning roof: the wisest man cannot contrive against him: the strongest man cannot destroy his composure; and the enemy's onslaught can be withstood. For procrastination is the greatest enemy of the general; disasters to the army are born of indecision.

Wu the Master said:

"Men meet their death from lack of ability or unskilfulness Wherefore training is the first requirement of war. One man with a knowledge of war can teach ten; ten men skilled in war can teach one hundred; one hundred can teach one thousand; one thousand can teach ten thousand; and ten thousand men can train an army.

"An enemy from a distance should be awaited, and struck at short range; an enemy that is tired should be met in good order; hunger should be opposed by full bellies; the battle formation should be round or square, the men should kneel or stand; go or remain; move to the right or left; advance or retire; concentrate or disperse; close or extend when the signal is given.

"All these changes must be learnt, and the weapons distributed. This is the business of the general.'

Wu the Master said:-

"In the teaching of war, spears are given to the short; bows and catapults to the tall; banners and standards to the strong; the bell and drum to the bold; fodder and provisions to the feeble; the arrangement of the plan to the wise. Men of the same district should be united; and groups and squads should help each other. At one beat of the drum the ranks are put in order; at two beats of the drum, formation will be made; at three beats of the drum, food will be issued; at four beats of the drum, the men will prepare to march; at five beats of the drum, ranks will be formed; when the drums beat together, then the standards will be raised.'

And Lord Wen asked and said:-

What is the way of marching and halting an army?"

And Wu answered:

"Natural ovens and dragons' heads should be avoided. Natural ovens are the mouths of large valleys. Dragons' heads are the extremities of large mountains. The green dragons (banners) should be placed on the left, and the white tigers on the right: the red sparrows in front: the snakes and tortoises behind; the pole star (standard) above; and the soldiers will look to the standard.

"When going forth to battle, the direction of the wind must be studied; if blowing in the direction of the enemy, the soldiers will be assembled and follow the wind; if a head wind. the position will be strengthened, and a wait made for the wind to change "

And Lord Wen asked and said:

"In what way should horses be treated?"

And Wu answered and said:-

'The places where they are kept should be made comfortable; fodder should be suitable and timely. In winter

their stables should be warmed, and in summer sheltered from the heat; their coats clipped, their [Pg 100] feet carefully pared, their attention directed so that they be not alarmed, their paces regulated, and their going and halting trained; horses and men should be in accord, and then the horses can be used. The harness, the saddle, bit, bridle, and reins must be strong; if the horse be without vice at the beginning, he can be used to the end; if the horse be hungry it is good; if his belly be full, his value decreases; if the sun be falling and the way still long, dismount frequently. For it is proper that the men be worked, but the horses must be used with discretion, so that they may be prepared should the enemy suddenly attack us.

"If these things be well known, then there is free passage under heaven.'

#### 4 Qualities Of The General

Wu the Master said:

"The leader of the army is one who is master of both arms and letters. He who is both brave and tender can be entrusted with troops

"In the popular estimation of generals, courage alone is regarded; nevertheless, courage is but one of the qualifications of the leader. Courage is heedless in encounter; and rash encounter, which is ignorant of the consequences, cannot be called good.

"There are five matters which leaders must carefully consider

"First, reason; second, preparation; third, determination; fourth, vigilance: fifth, simplicity,

"With reason, a multitude can be controlled like a small number.

"Preparedness sees an enemy outside the gate.

"Determination before the enemy has no thought of life.

"Even after a victory, vigilance behaves as before the first encounter.

'Simplicity ensures few regulations, and preserves order.

"When the leader receives his orders, he forthwith departs. Not until the enemy has been vanquished does he speak of return. This is the duty of the general.

"Wherefore, from the day of departure of the army, the general seeks glory in death, and dreams not of return in dishonour.

Wu the Master said:-

"In war there are four important influences.

"First, spirit; second, ground; third, opportunity; fourth,

"The military value of the nation's forces-of one hundred times ten thousand fighting men-depends upon the personality of one man alone; this is called the influence of spirit.

"When the road is steep and narrow, when there are famous mountains and fastnesses where ten men can defend and one thousand cannot pass them by; such is the influence of ground.

"When spies have been skilfully sown, and mounted men pass to and from the enemy's camp, so that his masses are divided, his sovereign and ministers vexed with each other, and superiors and inferiors mutually censorious; this is the moment of opportunity.

"When the linch-pins are secure, the oars and sweeps ready for use in the boats, the armed men trained for war, and the horses exercised, we have what is called the influence of force.

"He who understands these four matters has the qualifications of a general. Furthermore, dignity, virtue, benevolence, courage, are needed to lead the troops, to calm the multitude, to put fear in the enemy, to remove doubts. When orders are issued, the subordinates do not defy them. Wheresoever the army is, that place the enemy avoids. If these four virtues be present, the country is strong; if they be not present, the country is overthrown.

'Of such is the good general.

Wu the Master said

"The use of drums and bells is to attract the ear; of flags, standards, and banners to strike the eye; of laws and penalties to put fear in the heart.

To attract the ear the sound must be clear: to strike the eve the colours must be bright. The heart is awed by punishment. therefore punishment must be strict.

"If these three matters be not ordered, the state may, peradventure, be preserved, but defeat by the enemy is certain. Therefore, as it has been said (if these three things be present), there is no departing from the commands of the general; when he orders, there is no going back from death.

Wu the Master said:-

"The secret of war is, first, to know who is the enemy's general, and to judge his ability. If our plans depend on his dispositions, then success will be achieved without toil.

'If their general be stupid, and heedlessly trustful, he may be enticed by fraud; if he be avaricious and careless of his fame, he may be bribed with gifts. If he make unconsidered movements without plan, he should be tired out and placed in difficulties. If the superiors be wealthy and proud, and the inferiors avaricious and resentful, they should be set against each other. An enemy that is undetermined, now advancing

and then retreating, whose soldiers have nought wherein to put their trust, should be alarmed, and put to flight.

When an enemy thinks lightly of the general, and desires to return home, the easy roads should be blocked, and the difficult and narrow roads opened; await their coming and capture them.

"If their advance be easy and retreat difficult, await their coming and then advance against them.

"If their advance be difficult and retreat easy, then press and strike them.

"An army that is camped in marshy ground, where there are no water-courses, and long and frequent rains, should be inundated.

"An army that is camped in wild marshes, covered with dark and overhanging grass and brambles, and swept by frequent high winds, should be overthrown by fire.

"An army that has halted long without moving; whose general and soldiers have grown careless, and neglect precautions, should be approached by stealth, and taken by surprise.'

Lord Wen asked, saying:-

"If the two armies be facing each other, and the name of the enemy's general unknown, in what manner can we discover

And Wu answered and said:-

"A brave man of low degree, lightly but well equipped, should be employed. He should think only of flight and naught of advantage. Then, if he observe the enemy's pursuit, if there be first a halt and then an advance, order is established If we retreat and the enemy pursue, but pretend not to be able to overtake us, see an advantage but pretend not to be aware of it, then their general may be called a wise general, and conflict with him must be avoided. If their army be full of uproar; their banners and standards disordered, their soldiers going about or remaining of their own accord, some in line. others in column; if such an enemy be eager to pursue, and see an advantage which they are desperate to seize, then their general is a fool: even if there be a host, they may be taken.

#### 5 Suiting The Occasion

Lord Wen asked and said:

"If strong chariots, good horses, strong and valiant soldiers suddenly meet the enemy, and are thrown into confusion, and ranks broken, what should be done?'

And Wu answered and said:

'In general, the method of fighting is to effect order in daylight by means of flags and banners, pennons and batons; at night by gongs and drums, whistles and flutes. If a signal be made to the left, the troops move to the left; if to the right, they move to the right. Advance is made at the sound of the drum; halt at the sound of the gong; one blast of the whistle is for advance, two for the rally. If those who disobey be cut down, the forces are subject to authority. If officers and soldiers carry out orders, a superior enemy cannot exist; no position is impregnable in the attack.'

Lord Wen asked and said:-

"What is to be done if the enemy be many and we be few?" And Wu answered and said:-

"Avoid such an enemy on open ground, and meet him in the narrow way; for, as it is written, if 1 is to stand against 1,000, there is naught better than a pass; if 10 are to hold against 100, there is nothing better than a steep place; if 1,000 are to strike 10,000, there is nothing better than a difficult place. If a small force, with beat of gong and drum, suddenly arise in a narrow way, even a host will be upset. Wherefore it is written: 'He who has a multitude seeks the plain, and he who has few seeks the narrow way.'

And Lord Wen asked and said:-

"A mighty host, strong and courageous, which is on the defence with a mountain behind, a precipice between, high ground on the right, and a river on the left, with deep moats, and high walls, and which has artillery; whose retreat is like the removal of a mountain, advance like the hurricane, and whose supplies are in abundance, is an enemy against whom long defence is difficult. In effect, what should be done in such

And Wu answered and said:-

"This indeed is a great question, whose issue depends, not upon the might of chariot and horse, but upon the schemes of

"Let 1,000 chariots and 10,000 horse, well equipped and with foot-men added to them, be divided into five armies, and a road allotted to each army.

Then if there be five armies, and each army take a different road, the enemy will be puzzled, and know not in what quarter to be prepared. If the enemy's defence be strong and united, send envoys quickly to him to discover his intention. If he listen to our advices, he will strike camp and withdraw. But, if he listen not to our advice, but strikes down the messenger, and burns his papers, then divide and attack from five quarters. If victorious, do not pursue; if defeated, flee to a distance. If feigning retreat, proceed slowly, and, if the enemy approach, strike swiftly.

"One army will hold the enemy in front, with another cut his rear, two more with gags in their mouths will attack his weak point, whether on the right or on the left. If five armies thus make alternate onslaughts, success is certain.

"This is the way to strike strength."

And Lord Wen asked and said:

"If the enemy draw near and encompass us, and we would retreat, but there is no way, and in our multitude there is fear, what should be done?

And Wu answered and said:

'In such a case, if we be many and they be few, divide and fall upon them; if the enemy be many and we be few, use stratagem and act according to opportunity; and if opportunities be untiringly seized, even if the enemy be many, he will be reduced to subjection.'

Lord Wen asked and said:-

"If, in a narrow valley with steep places on either side, the enemy be met, and they are many and we are few, what should be done?'

And Wu answered and said:-

"If they be met among hills, woods, in deep mountains, or wide fens, advance quickly, retire swiftly, and hesitate not. If the enemy be suddenly met among high mountains or deep valleys, be the first to strike the drum and fall upon them. Let bow and cross bow advance; shoot and capture; observe the state of their ranks; and, if there be confusion, do not hesitate to strike

Lord Wen asked and said:-

"If the enemy be suddenly met in a narrow place with high mountains on either side, and advance and retreat are alike impossible, what should be done in such a case?"

And Wu answered and said:-

"This is called War in valleys where numbers are of no avail. The ablest officers should be collected, and set against the enemy. Men light of foot and well armed should be placed in front; the chariots divided; the horsemen drawn up, and placed in ambush on four sides, with many leagues between, and without showing their weapons. Then, the enemy will certainly make his defence firm, and neither advance or retreat. Whereupon, the standards will be raised, and the ranks of banners shown, the mountains left, and camp pitched in the

"The enemy will then be fearful, and should be challenged by chariot and horse, and allowed no rest.

"This is the method of fighting in valleys."

And Lord Wen asked and said:

"If the enemy be met in a marsh where the water is out, so that the wheels of the chariots sink in, and the shafts be covered, and the chariots and horsemen overcome by the waters, when there are no boats or oars, and it is impossible either to advance or retreat, what should be done in such a case?'

And Wu answered and said:-

"This is called water fighting. Chariots and horsemen cannot be used, and they must be put for a time on one side. Go up to the top of a high place, and look out to the four quarters. Then the state of the waters will certainly be seen; their extent, and the deep places and shallows fully ascertained. Then, by stratagem, the enemy may be defeated.

"If the enemy should cross the waters he should be engaged when half over "

And Lord Wen asked and said:-

If there has been long continued rain so that the horses sink, and the chariots cannot move; if the enemy appear from four quarters, and the forces are frightened, what is the course in such a case?"

And Wij answered and said:-

When wet and overcast, the chariots should halt; when fine and dry, they should arise. Seek height, and avoid low places; drive the strong chariots, and choose well the road on which to advance or halt. If the enemy suddenly arise, immediately pursue them."

Lord Wen asked and said:-

"If our fields and pastures be suddenly pillaged, and our oxen and sheep taken, what should be done? And Wu answered and said:—

'Lawless enemies that arise are to be feared; defend well and do not reply. When, at sunset, they seek to withdraw, they will certainly be overladen and fearful. Striving to return quickly to their homes, connection will be lost. Then if they be pursued and attacked, they can be overthrown.

Wu the Master said:-

"The way of attacking the enemy and investing his castle is as follows:

'When the outlying buildings have been taken, and the assaulting parties enter the innermost sanctuary, make use of the enemy's officials, and take charge of their weapons. Let the army on no account fell trees or enter dwellings, cut the crops, slay the six domestic animals, or burn the barns: and show the people that there is no cruel desire. Those who wish to surrender, should be received and freed from anxiety.

#### 6 Encouragement Of The Troops

And Lord Wen asked and said:

'If punishment be just and reward impartial, is victory thereby gained?"

And Wu answered and said:

"I cannot speak of all the things that concern justice and impartiality, but on these alone dependence cannot be placed.

"If the people hear the word of command, or listen to the order with rejoicing; if, when the army be raised, and a multitude assembled, they go forth gladly to the fight; if, in the tumult of the fight, when blade crosses blade, the soldiers gladly die; upon these three things can the lord of the people place his trust '

And Lord Wen said:-

"How can this be brought about?"

And Wu answered and said:-

'Seek out merit, advance and reward it, and encourage those without fame.

Accordingly Lord Wen set seats in the garden of the palace in three rows, and made a feast unto his chief retainers. In the first row were set those of chief merit, and on the table were placed the best meats and precious utensils. Those of medium merit were set in the middle row, and the utensils on the table were fewer in number. Those without merit were set in the last row, and utensils of no value were put before them. And when the feast was over, and they had all departed, the parents, wives, and children of those with merit were given presents outside the gates of the palace according to their degree.

Further, messengers were sent yearly with gifts to condole with the parents of those who had lost a son in the service of the state, and to show that they were had in remembrance.

And after this was carried out for three years, the people of Chin gathered an army, and came as far as the Western River. And when the soldiers of Wei heard this, without waiting for orders, they armed themselves and fell upon them; and they that went forth were 10,000 in number.

And Lord Wen called Wu and said:

"The words that you spoke unto me, have they not indeed been carried out?'

And Wu answered and said :-

"I have heard that there are men, great and small; souls, grand and feeble.

"As a trial, let 50,000 men, without merit, be collected, and placed under my command against the country of Chin. If we fail, the state will be the laughing-stock among the princes, and its power under heaven will be lost. If a desperate robber be hidden in a wide plain, and 1,000 men be pursuing him, their glances will be furtive like the owl looking backward like the wolf, for they are in fear of harm from a sudden onslaught.

"One desperate man can put fear in the hearts of a thousand. Now, if this host of 50,000 men become as a desperate thief, and are led against Chin, there is nought to fear.'

On hearing these words Lord Wen agreed, and adding further 500 chariots and 3 000 horse, the hosts of Chin were overthrown, all being due to the encouragement of the troops. On the day before the battle Wu gave orders to the forces,

saying:-

"The army will attack the enemy's chariots, horse and foot, in accordance with our commands. If the chariots do not capture the enemy's chariots, or the horse those of the enemy's, or the foot the enemy's footmen, even if their army be overthrown, no merit will be gained.

Therefore on the day of the battle, the orders were simple, and fear of Wei shook the heavens.

#### HAN FEIZI

[Wade-Giles Romanisation: Han Fei Tzu] by Han Fei; (Warring States period) Translation: W. K. Liao, 1939 Estimated Range of Dating: mid-3rd century B.C.

(The Han Feizi is an ancient Chinese text attributed to foundational political philosopher, "Master" Han Fei. It comprises a selection of essays in the "Legalist" tradition on theories of state power, synthesising the methodologies of his predecessors. Its 55 chapters, most of which date to the Warring States period mid-3rd century BC, are the only such text to survive intact. Easily one of the most important philosophical classics in ancient China, it touches on administration, diplomacy, war and economics, and is also valuable for its abundance of anecdotes about pre-Qin China.

Han Fei's writings were very influential on the future first emperor of China, Qin Shi Huang. After the early demise of the Qin dynasty, Han Fei's philosophy was officially vilified by the following Han Dynasty. Despite its outcast status throughout the history of imperial China, his political theory continued to heavily influence every dynasty thereafter, and the Confucian ideal of a rule without laws was never again realized. Shu Han's chancellor Zhuge Liang demanded emperor Liu Shan read the Han Feizi for learning the way of

Though differing considerably in style, the coherency of the essays lend themselves to the possibility that they were written by Han Fei himself, and are generally considered more philosophically engaging than the Book of Lord Shang.

Han Fei (c. 280 – 233 BC), also known as Han Fei Zi, was a Chinese philosopher of the Legalist school during the Warring States period, and a prince of the state of Han.

Han Fei is often considered to be the greatest representative of "Chinese Legalism" for his eponymous work the Han Feizi, synthesising the methods of his predecessors. Han Fei's ideas are sometimes compared with Niccolò Machiavelli and his book is considered by some to be superior to the "Il Principe" of Niccolò Machiavelli both in content and in writing style.

His writings were very influential on the future first emperor of China, Qin Shi Huang, and were implemented into the state structure of the empire. However, after the early demise of the Qin dynasty, the philosophy of Legalism became officially vilified by the following Han Dynasty. Despite its outcast status throughout the history of imperial China, Han Fei's political theory and the concept of Legalism as a whole continued to heavily influence every dynasty thereafter, and the Confucian ideal of a rule without laws was never to be realised. Shu Han's chancellor Zhuge Liang demanded emperor Liu Shan read the Han Feizi for learning the way of ruling.

Han borrowed Shang Yang's emphasis on laws, Shen Buhai's emphasis on administrative technique, and Shen Dao's ideas on authority and prophecy, emphasising that the autocrat will be able to achieve firm control over the state with the mastering of his predecessors' methodologies: his position of power (Shi), technique (Shu), and law (Fa). He stressed the importance of the concept of King-Ming (holding actual outcome accountable to speech), coupled with the system of the "Two Handles" (punishment and reward), as well as Wu wei (non-exertion).

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 1.

The First Interview with the King of Ch'in: A Memorial

Thy servant has heard: "Who knows not but speaks, is not wise. Who knows but speaks not, is not loyal. Any minister, if not loyal, must be condemned to death. If what he speaks be not true, he must be condemned to death, too." However, thy servant begs to speak all he has heard and entreats Your Majesty to convict him of whatever crime.

Thy servant has heard, All-under-Heaven are forming the Perpendicular Union by uniting with Chao in the centre, Yen in the north, and Wey in the south, confederating with Ching, securing the good-will of Ch'i, and also conjoining Han, with a view to facing the west and thereby forcibly causing Ch'in difficulties. At such a measure thy servant is laughing within himself. While there are in the world three causes of ruin, the allies exemplify all of them. If they are said to be exemplifying all the causes of ruin, it is because of their conspiracy against Ch'in! About the causes of ruin, thy servant has heard the saying, "A misgoverned country attacking a well-governed country will go to ruin; a wicked country attacking an upright country will go to ruin; and a country defying the course of nature, when it attacks a country following the course of nature, will go to ruin."

At present, the treasuries and armouries of the allies are not full; their granaries and storehouses are empty. With all their gentry and commoners enlisted, there can be massed troops counting by hundreds of thousands. Among them, those who would bow their heads, wear feather head-dresses, assume the office of commanders, with a decisive forethought to die fighting, number more than one thousand. While they all avow their determination to die, in case of emergency, even pulled by naked blades in the front and pushed by axes and anvils from behind, they would run backward and never fight to the death. Not that the gentry and commoners cannot fight to the death, but that their superiors are not capable of making them do so. For rewards are not bestowed as promised; nor are punishments inflicted as announced. Since reward and punishment are of no faith, their gentry and commoners would never fight to the death.

Now Ch'in issues verbal commands and written orders and carries out rewards and punishments accordingly, both men of merit and of no merit are clearly distinguished from each other. Therefore, though the people have never seen any bandits since they left their parents' bosoms and lapels, once the news of hostilities reaches their ears, everywhere are found men tapping their feet and baring their arms to rush against sharp blades and step upon the charcoal of burning furnaces with a decisive forethought to die fighting. Verily in time of crisis readiness to die and resolution to live are not the same. Yet the people of Ch'in alone dare all hazards in the cause of their country, for they respect courageous death. Indeed, one man resolved to die a courageous death can overcome ten enemies afraid of death, ten brave men can overcome one hundred coward enemies, one hundred brave men can overcome one thousand coward enemies, one thousand brave men can overcome ten thousand coward enemies, and ten thousand brave men can subdue All-underHeaven.

In these days, Ch'in has a territory, which, if the wider places are cut off to fill up the narrower places, extends over several thousand square li, plus a famous army counting by tens of thousands. In regard to the rewards and punishments carried out by her commands and orders as well as the advantages and disadvantages presented by her topographical features, no other country in All-under-Heaven can be compared to her. On coping with the world in the light of such gains, she can accomplish more than the conquest of All-under-Heaven and can easily hold them at her feet. Thus, Ch'in in warfare has never failed to win, in attack has never failed to take, and whatever has stood in her way she has never failed to smash, having opened up a vast land stretching several thousand li. This has been her great achievement.

However, of late, so dull are her weapons and armour growing, so ill are her gentry and commoners becoming, so scanty are her savings and hoardings become, so fallow are her fields and arable lands resting, so empty are her granaries and storehouses, that her neighbouring feudal lords do not obey her and the title of Hegemonic Ruler is not as yet secured. For such there is no other reason than this: Her State counsellors, all in all, do not exert their spirit of loyalty.

Thy servant dares to speak:-

In times gone by, Ch'i in the south routed Ching, in the east routed Sung, in the west subdued Ch'in, in the north routed Yen, and in the centre put Han and Wey to use. Thus, with wast territory and strong soldiers she won in warfare and took in attack, thus becoming able to enforce her edicts and decrees throughout All-under-Heaven. Of Ch'i, the limpid Chi Stream and the muddy Yellow River sufficed to make boundaries; the long walls and the large dikes sufficed to make frontiers. Therefore, in five successive wars was Ch'i victorious. Later, because of only one war she failed to win, Ch'i was reduced to impotency. From this viewpoint it is clear that warfare is always a life-or-death question to the ruler of ten thousand chariots

Besides, thy servant has heard the saying: "On removing traces, leave no root, and be no neighbour to any catastrophe. There shall then survive no catastrophe." Well, Ch'in in the war with the Chings routed them by long odds and made such a surprise attack upon the city of Ying and the districts of Tung-ting, Wu-tu, and Chiang-nan, that the ruler and ministers of Ching had a narrow escape and sought refuge eastward under the protection of Ch'en. At that moment, if with her forces Ch'in closely pursued the Chings, the Ching State could be taken. After the state was taken, the people would become covetable and the territory fruitful to Ch'in, so that in the east Ch'in could thereby weaken Ch'i and Yen and in the centre devastate the Three Chins. If so, at one stroke she could secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all the neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. Instead, her State counsellors led the troops in retreat and, what was worse, made peace with the Chings, allowed them to recover the ruined country, gather the scattered masses, reinstate the Spirits of Land and Grain on the Altar, and rebuild their ancestral shrines, and let them lead All-underHeaven to face the west and cause Ch'in difficulties. This, no doubt, was the first time the way to Hegemony was lost.

Another time, when All-under-Heaven formed a wicked alliance and entrenched their forces at the foot of Mount Hua, His Majesty by virtue of his own edicts ordered the army to rout them. The soldiers marched as far as the outer walls of Liang. The city of Liang, after being besieged for several tens of days, could be captured. Were Liang captured, the Wey State might fall. Should Wey be taken, the friendly contact between Chao and Ching would come to an end. If the friendly contact between Chao and Ching ceased, Chao would fall into peril. Should Chao fall into peril, Ching would become helpless. So that in the east Ch'in could weaken Ch'i and Yen and in the centre hold down the Three Chins, at one stroke she could secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all her neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. Instead, her State counsellors led the troops in retreat, and, what was worse, made peace with the Weys, allowed them to recover the ruined country, gather the scattered masses, reinstate the Spirits of Land and Grain on the Altar, and rebuild their ancestral shrines, and let them lead All-underHeaven to face the west and cause Ch'in difficulties. This, no doubt, was the second time the way to Hegemony was lost.

In the days of old, Marquis Hsiang, while governing Ch'in, used the soldiers of one country to perform meritorious services for two. As a result, the soldiers of Ch'in were lifelong exposed afield; gentry and commoners were tired and ill at home; while His Majesty never secured the title of Hegemonic Ruler. This, no doubt, was the third time the way to Hegemony was lost.

The Chao Clan, indeed, holds the central state inhabited by heterogeneous populations. Their people are frivolous and hard to rule, their rewards and punishments are of no faith, their topographical features are not advantageous, and their superiors are unable to exert the people's best. Assuredly these are symptoms of a doomed state. Yet, not concerned about the welfare of the masses, they dared to mobilize their gentry and commoners, entrenched their forces in the suburbs of Ch'ang-

p'ing, and thereby contested with Ch'in the districts of Shangtang in Han. Thereupon His Majesty by virtue of his own edicts ordered the army to rout them and captured Wu-an. At that moment, among the Chaos, high and low were not mutually attached; the noble and the humble had no faith in each other. Naturally Han-tan could not hold out long. Should Ch'in take Han-tan, occupy Shan-tung and Ho-chien, and lead her troops on the march westward to fall upon Hsiuwu, cross the Yangch'ang Ascent and subject Tai and Shangtang, then without a single cuirass used and without any gentry or commoners afflicted the thirty-six counties of Tai plus the seventeen counties of Shang-tang would all become Ch'in's possessions. After Tai and Shang-tang had fallen into the hands of Ch'in without fighting, Tung-yang and Ho-wai would also without fighting fall into the hands of Ch'i while the territory to the north of Central Hills and the River Hu-to into the hands of Yen. In consequence Chao would give way. Without Chao, Han would fall. Without Han, neither Ching nor Wey could stand by itself. If Ching and Wey could not stand alone, then at one effort Ch'in could break Han, encroach upon Wey, and capture Ching whereby to weaken Ch'i and Yen in the east, and break up the White Horse Ford whereby to flood the Wey Clan. As a result, the Three Chins would fall; the Unionists would fail; and His Majesty might with clothes dropped and hands folded wait for All-under-Heaven to give way and easily secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler. Instead, the state counsellors led the troops in retreat. and, what was worse, made peace with the Chaos. Thus, notwithstanding the intelligence of His Majesty and the strength of the Ch'in soldiers, the plan for Hegemony was discarded; no inch of territory but insults by a doomed state was gained; which was altogether due to the incompetence of the state counsellors.

Indeed. Chao doomed to ruin did not go to ruin; Ch'in deserving Hegemony did not attain Hegemony. This was the first reason why All-under-Heaven came to penetrate the ability of Ch'in's state counsellors. Again, when Ch'in marched out all her officers and soldiers to launch a fresh attack upon Han-tan, her men failed to take that city, threw away their armour and crossbows, withdrew, and shivered. This was the second reason why All-under-Heaven came to penetrate the strength of Ch'in. Meanwhile, they drew out in retreat and held their breath in the suburbs of Li-hsia, whereupon His Majesty arrived with newly gathered forces. They then started new engagements but could not win. As their supplies stopped coming along, they had to leave the front line. This was the third reason why All-under Heaven came to penetrate the strength of Ch'in. Thus, in the past, they penetrated the ability of Ch'in's State counsellors at home and wore out her military strength abroad. From this viewpoint thy servant believes that the Union of AllunderHeaven has practically had no obstacle. Now that, inside Ch'in, armour and weapons are growing dull, gentry and commoners are falling ill, savings and hoardings are becoming scanty, and fields and arable lands are resting fallow, granaries and storehouses are standing empty; outside Ch'in, All-under-Heaven are very firmly allied against her, would to Your Majesty that there be concerns of mind about such a crisis!

Besides, thy servant has heard the saying: "Be alarmed and trembling and act more carefully day after day. If thou act carefully in due manner, thou mayest hold All-under-Heaven under thy sway." How to prove this? Well, in days of yore, Chow, being the Son of Heaven, commanded hundreds of thousands of troops of All-under-Heaven, with the left flank of his army draining the Rivulet Ch'i and the right flank draining the Rivulet Huan till the water of the Ch'i was used up and the water of the Huan ran no longer. Thereby he intended to cause King Wu of Chou difficulties. Commanding only three thousand troops all clad in white armour, King Wu in one day's battle broke up the state of Chow, took him prisoner, occupied his territory, and subdued his subjects; whereas none in the world ever grieved over the event. Likewise, Earl Chih once led the forces of three countries to attack Viscount Hsiang of Chao at Chin-yang. By cutting down the Chin Stream and thereby inundating the city for three months, he brought the city to the verge of downfall. Thereupon Viscount Hsiang bored a tortoise-shell, counted bamboo slips, divined by casting lots with them, and found omens on the shell foretelling the gains and losses, whereby he chose the country he should surrender to. Meanwhile, he sent out his envoy named Chang Meng-t'an, who wormed through the water and stole out of the city. He turned down the covenant Earl Chih had made with the other two countries and won the forces of the latter to his views. With their aid he fell upon Earl Chih, took him prisoner, and restored to Viscount Hsiang the original territory.

In these days, Ch'in has a territory, which, if the wider places are cut off to fill up the narrower places, extends over several thousand square li, plus a famous army counting by hundreds of thousands. In regard to the rewards and punishments carried out by her commands and orders as well as the advantages and disadvantages presented by her topographical features, no other country in All-under-Heaven

can be compared to her. On coping with the world in the light of such gains, she can conquer and hold All-underHeaven at her feet. Therefore thy servant has in the face of the deathpenalty prayed to have an audience of Your Majesty and speak of the right way whereby to break up the Perpendicular Union of All-under-Heaven, to take Chao and ruin Han, to subject Ching and Wey, to befriend Ch'i and Yen, in order thereby to secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all the neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. May Your Majesty therefore lend ear to this memorial! Should at one effort the Perpendicular Union not be broken, Chao not taken, Han not ruined, Ching and Wey not subjected, Ch'i and Yen not befriended, the title of Hegemonic Ruler not secured, and all the neighbouring feudal lords not laid under tribute, would Your Maiesty behead thy servant as a warning to the whole country on a charge of disloyal counsel to the sovereign?

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 2.

On the Preservation of Han: Issue Between Han Fei and Li

Han Fei Tzu's Memorial to the King of Ch'in:-

"Han has served Ch'in for upwards of thirty years. To Ch'in she has formed a shielding barrier in case of war and made a restful carpet in time of peace. Thus, whenever Ch'in sends out crack troops to conquer new territory and Han follows at her heels, Han incurs hatred from All-under-Heaven, but every achievement belongs to Ch'in.

"Further, since Han pays tribute and renders services to Ch'in, she does not differ from a district or county of Ch'in. Of late, however, thy servant has in secret heard of the scheme of Your Majesty's ministers to raise an army to invade Han. Verily it is the Chaos that have been recruiting officers and soldiers and supporting the advocates of the Perpendicular Union with a view to uniting the troops of All-under-Heaven. And, with the clear understanding that unless Ch'in be weakened, the feudal lords would eventually see their ancestral shrines ruined, they plan to turn west and accomplish their task. This is not such a scheme as could be devised in the brief space of one day. Now supposing Ch'in left the impending harm Chao has been causing and spurned Han so trustworthy a vassal as a eunuch, then Allunder-Heaven would accordingly find reason for the scheme of the Chaos.

Verily Han is a small country. To stand the pressure by All-under-Heaven from the four directions, the sovereign has to bear disgrace and the ministers have to undergo hardships, high and low having thus for years shared griefs with each other in mending garrisons, in making provision against strong foes, in keeping hoardings and savings, and in building walls and moats, in order to solidify their defence works. Therefore, though Ch'in starts invading Han now, she may be unable to take her in a year. Should Ch'in withdraw after taking only a city, she would fall into contempt by All-under-Heaven, who might in their turn crush her soldiers. Again, should Han rebel, Wey would join her and Chao would look to Ch'i for safety. If so, Ch'in will eventually supply Chao with the strength of Han and Wey and let Ch'i unite all these powers to solidify the Perpendicular Union and thereby struggle for supremacy with Ch'in. The result would be Chao's fortune and Ch'in's misfortune, come what might.

"Indeed, if Ch'in on going forward to raid Chao cannot take and on turning backward to attack Han cannot win, her troops, however invulnerable, will become tired of field operations abroad and her transport corps will fall short of supplies from home. Then, if Ch'in masses her distressed and weakened troops to cope with the twenty thousand chariots of Ch'i and Chao, the result will not go in accordance with the original plan to destroy Han. Thus, if everything be done according to the scheme of Your Majesty's ministers, Ch'in will infallibly become the anvil of the forces of All-under-Heaven, wherefore even though Your Majesty's reign may last as long as metals and rocks, there never will come the day to bring the world under one rule.

"Now, it is the stupid suggestion of thy humble servant to send an envoy to Ching and, by bribing the ministers in charge of her state affairs with precious presents, convince them of the reasons why Chao has been conspiring against Ch'in, and at the same time send a hostage to Wey to make her feel at ease, and then to fall upon Chao. Consequently, Chao will not make any serious trouble in spite of her confederation with Ch'i. After the removal of the difficulties with these two countries, Ch'i and Chao, the problem of Han can be solved by means of an official despatch. Likewise, if we can at one effort doom the two countries to ruin, Ching and Wey will voluntarily surrender themselves to us.

"Hence the saying: 'Weapons are dangerous implements, and should not be employed at random.' For illustration, Ch'in in vying with Chao has to challenge Ch'i and simultaneously break off with Han while she is as yet unsuccessful in winning the good-will of Ching and Wey, so that once she fails to win in a single combat, she will certainly suffer a tremendous adversity. Verily schemes are means whereby affairs are settled and therefore should be carefully scrutinized.

"The turning-point of Ch'in, whether towards strength or towards weakness, will come to pass within this year. It is, indeed, a long time since Chao began to plot with other feudal lords against Ch'in. It will be a castastrophe to be defeated by the feudal lords in the first engagement with them. Again, it is a great risk to devise such a scheme as would excite the feudal lords' suspicion. Exposing these two carelessnesses to the world is not the right way to display our strength before the feudal lords. Therefore, with due reverence may thy humble servant pray Your Majesty to ponder over such eventualities and foresee that should the expedition against Han be utilized by the Perpendicular Unionists, it would be too late to regret the consequences?"

Li Ssu's Memorial to the King of Ch'in:-

"Under His Majesty's edict the memorial submitted by the envoy from Han, in which he maintained that Han should not be taken, was handed down to thy servant, Ssu. Thy servant, Ssu, however, considers the viewpoint presented therein extremely fallacious.

"What stomach and heart diseases are to man, that is Han to Ch'in. The man having stomach and heart diseases ordinarily only feels like standing in the mud which is sticky and cannot be brushed off; but as soon as he starts running fast, the trouble becomes serious. Similarly, Han, though she pays homage to Ch'in, is a constant menace to Ch'in. At the news of any kind of hostilities she cannot be trusted. Vying with Chao, Ch'in has sent Ching Su to Ch'i. Nobody is yet able to foretell the outcome. From thy servant's viewpoint, it remains uncertain whether the friendship of Ch'i and Chao will be broken by the mission of Ching Su. Should it remain unbroken, Ch'in would have to exert all her forces to cope with the twenty thousand chariots. To be sure, Han has yielded not to Ch'in's kindness but to her strength. As soon as we move our forces against Ch'i and Chao, Han will make trouble as stomach and heart diseases do. Besides, if Han and Ching have any conspiracy against Ch'in and other feudal lords respond o it, Ch'in is then bound to encounter another humiliation as met at the fort of Mount Yao.

"Fei came here most probably with the intention to elevate his own position in the Han Government by demonstrating his ability to save the Han State. By means of eloquent speeches and beautiful phrases he embellishes lies and falsifies plots in order thereby to fish for advantages from Ch'in and watch Your Majesty's mind on behalf of Han. Indeed, if the friendship of Ch'in and Han becomes intimate, Fei will be esteemed; which is his self-seeking scheme. Having found Fei in his memorial twisting so many beguiling contentions and showing his sophistic ability to the utmost, thy servant is afraid lest Your Majesty should be bewildered by his eloquence and listen to his crooked viewpoint and consequently neglect the consideration of the actual conditions.

"Now thy servant has devised a stupid scheme as follows: Suppose Ch'in sends out troops without announcing the object of the expedition. Then the ministers in charge of Han's state affairs will consider serving Ch'in a good policy. Then thy servant will ask for Your Majesty's permission to interview the King of Han and make him come to visit Your Majesty. When he comes, Your Majesty retains him and never sends him away, but, instead, summons a few important ministers from the Han Government and make bargains with them. In consequence we will be able to encroach upon Han farther inside. After that, if Your Majesty similarly orders Meng Wu to despatch the garrisons of the eastern districts to guard against enemy troops along the border without announcing their objective, the Ch'is will fear surprise invasion and accept the proposal of Ching Su. As a result, before our forces march outside the boundary, we will capture Han while Ch'i will vield to our pressure. As soon as such news spreads among the feudal lords, the Chao Clan will be struck with terror while the Chings will be in doubt how to act and eventually decide to remain loyal to Ch'in. If the Chings make no move at all, Wey will not be sufficient to cause worries, so that we will be able to encroach upon the territories of the feudal lords in the way silkworms eat mulberry-leaves and cope with the forces of Chao. May Your Majesty ponder deliberately over the scheme of thy stupid servant with no hesitation?"

Ch'in accordingly sent Ssu to the court of Han. Li Ssu went to interview the King of Han, but could not have an audience of him. Therefore he sent in a memorial saying:—

"Of old, when Ch'in and Han combined their forces and united their purposes to refrain from invading each other, nobody in the whole world dared to aggress. Such a situation lasted for several generations. Some time ago, when the five feudal lords sent a joint-expedition against Han, Ch'in sent out troops to rescue her. Han being a central state, her territory scarcely stretches a thousand li. Thanks to the traditional policy she has pursued from generation to generation to serve Ch'in, she has been able to occupy an equal position among the feudal lords in All-under-Heaven.

"Another time, however, when the five feudal lords launched a joint-attack upon Ch'in, Han in her turn joined them and stood at the front of the allied line to meet the forces

of Ch'in beneath the Pass of the Armour Gorge. With their armies worn out and their strength exhausted, the feudal lords were compelled to cease hostilities. When Tu Ts'ang was Premier of Ch'in, he mobilised soldiers and despatched generals to revenge the wrong of the allies and attacked Ching first. The Chancellor of Ching, feeling uneasy about it, said: 'Han at first regarded Ch'in as unjust and yet kept fraternal terms with Ch'in in order jointly to menace the rest of the world. Then she betrayed Ch'in and took the lead of the allied forces in storming the Pass. Thus, centrally located, Han is so fickle that nobody knows what she is going to do next.' Thereupon the allies ceded to Ch'in ten cities from the best districts of Han as an apology for their wrong and thereby ceased hostilities.

"Thus, ever since Han turned against Ch'in, the country has been oppressed, her territory invaded, and her army weakened, till the present day. The reason therefor is: Her rulers have been listening to the flippant theories of wicked ministers but have never considered actual conditions. Even if the wicked ministers be put to death, it would be impossible for Han to recover her former strength.

"At present, Chao is massing officers and soldiers with Ch'in as target. Therefore, she has sent envoys to Han to borrow the way through the country on the pretext of attacking Ch'in. Indeed, in her campaign against Ch'in she will naturally invade Han first and Ch'in next. Besides, thy servant has heard: 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Verily Ch'in and Han have to share the same hazard. And such an eventuality is now visible enough.

"Formerly, when Wey was about to despatch troops to attack Han, Ch'in ordered guards to escort her good-will envoys to Han. Now thy servant, Ssu, is sent here by the King of Ch'in, he is not granted an audience. Therefore, he is afraid the present chamberlains of Your Majesty have inherited the scheme of the former wicked ministers and might once more cause Han territorial losses. If thy servant, Ssu, is granted no audience while here and has to go home to report to His Majesty the King of Ch'in on his mission, the relations between Ch'in and Han will certainly be severed. On this mission Ssu came to present the good-will of His Majesty the King of Ch'in to the court of Han and hopes to make the best plan for Your Majesty; which in no wise constitutes sufficient reason for Your Majesty's according thy humble servant such a cold reception as this. Thy servant, Ssu, has petitioned for an audience only to present his stupid counsels inside the court and then to be chopped into inches to death outside the

court. Thereon may Your Majesty deliberate!

"Now supposing Your Majesty executed thy servant in Han, it would not do Your Majesty any good. Moreover, since Your Majesty turns no ear to thy servant's counsels, there will be fostered the seed of catastrophes. For once Ch'in marches her troops out without stopping, Han will then feel concern for the safety of her Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. After thy servant, Ssu, has had his corpse exposed in the market-place in the capital of Han, though Your Majesty might begin to think about thy servant's stupid but loyal counsels, it would be impossible to prevent disaster. After the frontiers have been raided and only the defence work of the capital is held and when the sounds of drums and bells are filling up the ears, though Your Majesty might then apply the counsels of thy servant, Ssu, it will be too late.

"Moreover, though the limits of Han's military strength are generally known throughout the world, she is now betraying Ch'in. Indeed, if cities are evacuated and troops defeated, rebels among the rear forces will infallibly raid the capital. When the capital falls, the civilians will scatter. When the civilians scatter, no more troops can be recruited. Even though the capital might be well defended, yet Ch'in would send out all her men to besiege the only city of Your Majesty. When its communication with the outside world is cut off, it will be impossible to accomplish any scheme, till the situation becomes unsavable. As the consideration of the whole situation by the chamberlains is not thorough, may Your Majesty deliberate on it carefully!

"If what thy servant, Ssu, has said contains anything that does not coincide with actual facts, may Your Majesty allow him to complete his memorial before the throne! After that it will not be too late to put him to death through official censure. The King of Ch'in neither indulges in drinking and eating nor amuses himself with travelling and sight-seeing, but is whole-heartedly scheming against Chao. Therefore he has sent thy servant, Ssu, here to speak on his behalf. Thy servant has petitioned for a personal interview because he feels he must parley with Your Majesty on matters of urgent importance.

"Now, if Your Majesty grants no audience to thy servant, the faith of Han never will be proved. Verily Ch'in will cease the campaign against Chao and move the army against Han. May Your Majesty, therefore, kindly ponder over the matter again and again and grant thy servant a definite answer?"

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 3.

On the Difficulty in Speaking: A Memorial

Thy servant, Fei, is by no means diffident of speaking. As to why he has to hesitate in speaking: if his speeches are compliant and harmonious, magnificent and orderly, he is then regarded as ostentatious and insincere; if his speeches are sincere and courteous, straightforward and careful, he is then regarded as awkward and unsystematic; if his speeches are widely cited and subtly composed, frequently illustrated and continuously analogized, he is then regarded as empty and unpractical; if his speeches summarize minute points and present general ideas, being thus plain and concise, he is then regarded as simple and not discerning; if his speeches are very personally observing and well-versed in the inner nature of mankind, he is then regarded as self-assuming and selfconceited; if his speeches are erudite and profound, he is then regarded as boastful but useless; if his speeches touch the details of house-keeping and estimate each item in terms of numerals, he is then regarded as vulgar; if his speeches are too much concerned with worldly affairs and not offensive in wording, he is then regarded as a coward and a flatterer; if his speeches are far from commonplace and contrary to human experience, he is then regarded as fantastic; if his speeches are witty and eloquent and full of rhetorical excellences, he is then regarded as flippant; if he discards all literary forms of expression and speaks solely of the naked facts, he is then regarded as rustic; and should he quote the Books of Poetry and History from time to time and act on the teachings of the former sages, he is then regarded as a book chantor. These things explain the reason why thy servant, Fei, is diffident in speaking and worried about speaking.

Therefore, weights and measures, however accurate, are not always adopted; doctrines and principles, however perfect, are not always practised. Should His Majesty disbelieve the minister who speaks to the throne, the minister would be found guilty of a blunder or condemned to death.

For example, Tzu-hsü schemed well but was killed by the King of Wu; Chung-ni taught well but was detained by the Ruler of K'uang; and Kuan I-wu was really worthy but was taken prisoner by the Ruler of Lu. Not that these three statesmen were not worthy, but that the three rulers were not intelligent.

In remote antiquity, when T'ang was the sanest and I Yin the wisest of the age, though the wisest attempted to persuade the sanest, yet he was not welcomed even after seventy times of persuasion, till he had to handle pans and bowls and become a cook in order thereby to approach him and become familiar with him. In consequence T'ang came to know his worthiness and took him into service. Hence the saying: "Though the wisest man wants to persuade the sanest man, he is not necessarily welcomed upon his first arrival." Such was the case of I Yin's persuading T'ang. Again the saying: "Though the wise man wants to persuade the fool, he is not necessarily listened to." Such was the case of King Wen's persuading Chow

Thus, just as King Wen attempted to persuade Chow and was put in jail, Marquis Ih was broiled; Marquis Chiu's corpse was dried; Pi-kan had his heart cut open; and Earl Mei's corpse was pickled.

Furthermore, I-wu was bound with chains. Ts'ao Ch'i absconded to Ch'en. Pai-li Tzu begged on his way to the capital of Ch'in. Fu Yüeh was sold into slavery from place to place. Sun Tzu had his feet cut off in Wey. Wu Ch'i wiped off his tears at Dike Gate, lamented over the impending cession of the Western River Districts to Ch'in, and was dismembered in Ch'u. Kung-shu Tso spoke of a man fit to be a pillar of the state but was regarded as unreasonable, so that Kung-sun Yang absconded to Ch'in. Kuan Lung-p'eng was executed. Ch'ang Hung had his intestines chopped into pieces. Yin Tzu was thrown into a trap among brambles. The Minister of War, Tzu-ch'i, was killed and his corpse was floated on the Yang-Tzu River. T'ien Ming was stoned to death. Mi Tzu-chien and Hsi-men Pao quarrelled with nobody but were killed. Tung An-yü was killed and his corpse was exposed in the marketplace. Tsai Yü had to suffer the disaster caused by T'ien Ch'ang. Fan Chü had his ribs broken in Wey.

These tens of men were all benevolent, worthy, loyal, and upright persons in the world and followers of the right way and true path of life. Unfortunately they met such unreasonable, violent, stupid, and crooked masters, and lost their lives in the long run.

Then, why could these worthies and sages escape death penalties and evade disgrace? It was because of the difficulty in persuading fools. Hence every gentleman has to remain diffident of speaking. Even the best speech displeases the ear and upsets the heart, and can be appreciated only by worthy and sage rulers. May Your Majesty therefore ponder over this memorial of thy servant!

### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 4.

On Favourite Vassals: A Memorial

Favourite vassals, if too intimate with the ruler, would cause him personal danger. Ministers, if too powerful, would overturn the august position of the sovereign. Wives and

concubines, if without distinction of rank, would cause legitimate sons dangers. Brothers, if not subservient to the ruler, would endanger the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain

Thy servant has heard: "The ruler of one thousand chariots, if not on his guard, would find close by him vassals of one hundred chariots aiming to shake his authority and upset his country. The ruler of ten thousand chariots, if not on his guard, would find close by him vassals of one thousand chariots aiming to shake his authority and upset his country." That being so, wicked ministers can multiply while the sway of the sovereign declines. Therefore, the territorial expansion of the feudal lords leads to the damnation of the Son of Heaven; the extraordinary wealth of ministers leads to the downfall of the ruler. Hence generals and ministers who would leave the sovereign's interests behind and prosper the welfare of their own families instead, should be ousted by the ruler of men

Nothing is more valuable than the royal person, more honourable than the throne, more powerful than the authority of the sovereign, and more august than the position of the ruler. These four excellences are not obtained from outside nor secured from anybody else, but are deliberated in the ruler's own mind and acquired thereby. Hence the saying: "The lord of men, if unable to exercise his equipment with the four excellences, is bound to end his life in exile." This the ruler of men must keep firmly in mind.

Of old, the ruin of Chow and the fall of Chou were both due to the territorial expansion of the feudal lords; the partition of Chin as well as the usurpation of Ch'i was due to the extraordinary wealth of ministers. So were the regicides in Yen and Sung, indeed. Thus, whether in the cases of Yin and Chou or in the cases of Chin and Ch'i, or in the modern cases of Yen and Sung, the same reason never failed to hold true.

For this reason, the intelligent ruler, in keeping officials in service, exhausts their abilities with laws and corrects their errors with measures. Hence no release from the death penalty, no remission of punishment. Both release from the death penalty and remission of punishment, being called "authority-losing" on the part of the ruler, mark the fall of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain into danger as well as the shifting of the state under the "deflected authority" of the wicked ministers.

Therefore, no minister, however large his bounty may be, should be allowed to include the capital city in his private fief; nor should he be allowed, however numerous his adherents and supporters may be, to subject officers and soldiers as personal vassals. Accordingly, no official, while serving the state, should be allowed to have any private governmental office. While in the army, nobody should be allowed to cultivate personal friendships. No official should be allowed to make any loan from the public treasury to individual families. This is the way the intelligent ruler should forbid wicked practices

For the same reason, no minister should be allowed to have a four-horsed chariot as personal escort nor should he be allowed to carry any kind of weapons. If anyone, being neither a public courier nor a herald of urgent messages, transport implements of war from place to place, he should be condemned to death without mercy. This is the way the intelligent ruler should provide against accidents.

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 5.

The Tao of the Sovereign

Tao is the beginning of the myriad things, the standard of right and wrong. That being so, the intelligent ruler, by holding to the beginning, knows the source of everything, and, by keeping to the standard, knows the origin of good and evil. Therefore, by virtue of resting empty and reposed, he waits for the course of nature to enforce itself so that all names will be defined of themselves and all affairs will be settled of themselves. Empty, he knows the essence of fullness: reposed, he becomes the corrector of motion. Who utters a word creates himself a name; who has an affair creates himself a form. Compare forms and names and see if they are identical. Then the ruler will find nothing to worry about as everything is reduced to its reality.

Hence the saying: "The ruler must not reveal his wants. For, if he reveals his wants, the ministers will polish their manners accordingly. The ruler must not reveal his views. For, if he reveals his views, the ministers will display their hues differently." Hence another saying: "If the like and hate of the ruler be concealed, the true hearts of the ministers will be revealed. If the experience and wisdom of the ruler be discarded, the ministers will take precautions." Accordingly, the ruler, wise as he is, should not bother but let everything find its proper place; worthy as he is, should not be selfassumed but observe closely the ministers' motivating factors of conduct: and courageous as he is should not be enraged but let every minister display his prowess. So, leave the ruler's wisdom, then you will find the ministers' intelligence; leave the ruler's worthiness, then you will find the ministers' merits; and leave the ruler's courage, then you will find the ministers' strength. In such cases, ministers will attend to their duties,

magistrates will have definite work routine, and everybody will be employed according to his special ability. Such a course of government is called "constant and immutable".

Hence the saying: "So quiet, it rests without footing; so vacant, it cannot be located." Thus, the intelligent ruler does nothing, but his ministers tremble all the more. It is the Tao of the intelligent ruler that he makes the wise men exhaust their mental energy and makes his decisions thereby without being himself at his wits' end; that he makes the worthy men exert their talents and appoints them to office accordingly without being himself at the end of his ability; and that in case of merits the ruler gains the renown and in case of demerit the ministers face the blame so that the ruler is never at the end of his reputation. Therefore, the ruler, even though not worthy, becomes the master of the worthies; and, even though not wise, becomes the corrector of the wise men. It is the ministers who do the toil; it is the ruler who gets the spoil. This is the everlasting principle of the worthy sovereign.

Tao exists in invisibility; its function, in unintelligibility. Be empty and reposed and have nothing to do-Then from the dark see defects in the light. See but never be seen. Hear but never be heard. Know but never be known. If you hear any word uttered, do not change it nor move it but compare it with the deed and see if word and deed coincide with each other. Place every official with a censor. Do not let them speak to each other. Then everything will be exerted to the utmost. Cover tracks and conceal sources. Then the ministers cannot trace origins. Leave your wisdom and cease your ability. Then your subordinates cannot guess at your limitations.

Keep your decision and identify it with the words and deeds of your subordinates. Cautiously take the handles and hold them fast. Uproot others' want of them, smash others' thought of them, and do not let anybody covet them. If the ruler is not cautious of the locking or if he does not keep the gate in good repair, the tiger will come into existence. If the ruler does not take precautions for his sway or if he does not cover his realities, the traitor will make his appearance. Who murders the sovereign and takes his place and finds the whole people side in awe with him, is called a tiger. Again, who serves the country by the sovereign's side and watches for his secret faults with villainous motives, is called a traitor. Scatter his partisans, arrest his supporters, lock up the gate, and deprive him of all assistance. Then there will be no tiger in the country. Be too great to be measured, be too profound to be surveyed, identify norms and names, scrutinize laws and manners, and chastise those doing as they please. Then there will be no traitor in the country.

For these reasons, the lord of men always has to face five kinds of delusion: delusion by ministers impeding the sovereign, delusion by ministers controlling public resources and revenues, delusion by ministers issuing decrees at random, delusion by ministers distributing personal favours, and delusion by ministers feeding dependents. When ministers impede the sovereign, the sovereign loses his viewpoint. When they control public resources and revenues, he loses his ruling authority. When they decrees at random, he loses his ruling authority. When they decrees at random, he loses his ruling authority. When they decrees at random, he loses his ruling authority. When they feed their dependents, he loses his supporters. All their doings as such should be based on the initiative of the lord of men and should not be started by the ministers at their pleasure.

The Tao of the lord of men regards tranquillity and humility as treasures. Without handling anything himself, he can tell skilfulness from unskilfulness; without his own concerns of mind, he can tell good from bad luck. Therefore, without uttering any word himself, he finds a good reply given; without exerting his own effort, he finds his task accomplished. Whenever a reply is given to his question, he holds to its covenant. Whenever any task is accomplished, he holds to its result. And out of coincidence and discrepancy between the consequences of tasks accomplished and the covenants of words uttered reward and punishment are born. Therefore, when a minister utters a word, the ruler should according to the word assign him a task to accomplish, and according to the result of the accomplishment call the task to account. If the result corresponds with the task and the task with the word, the minister should be rewarded. If the result corresponds not with the task and the task not with the word, he should be censured. It is in accordance with the Tao of the intelligent ruler that every minister should utter no word that corresponds not with its proper task.

For this reason, the intelligent ruler, in bestowing rewards, is as benign as the seasonable rain that the masses profit by his graces; in inflicting punishments, he is so terrific like the loud thunder that even divines and sages cannot atone for their crimes. Thus the intelligent ruler neglects no reward and remits no punishment. For, if reward is neglected, ministers of merit will relax their duties; if punishment is remitted, villainous ministers will become liable to misconduct. Therefore, men of real merit, however distant and humble, must be rewarded; those of real demerit, however near and dear, must be censured. If both the reward of the distant and humble and the censure of the near and dear are infallible, the

distant and humble will not go idle while the near and dear will not turn arrogant.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 6.

Having Regulations: A Memorial

No country is permanently strong. Nor is any country permanently weak. If conformers to law are strong, the country is strong; if conformers to law are weak, the country is weak.

King Chuang of Ching annexed as many states as twenty-six and extended his territory as far as three thousand li. As soon as King Chuang passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Ching decayed accordingly. Duke Huan of Ch'i annexed as many states as thirty and extended his territory as far as three thousand li. As soon as Duke Huan passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Ch'i decayed accordingly. King Hsiang of Yen took the Yellow River as state-boundary on the south, established the capital at Chi, doubled the defence works at Cho and Fangch'eng, smashed the Ch'i State, and subdued the Central Hills State in such wise that whoever was a friend of Yen was respected and whoever was not a friend of Yen was despised As soon as King Hsiang passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Yen decayed accordingly. King An-li of Wey attacked Yen, rescued Chao, took the land to the east of the Yellow River, and completely conquered both T'ao and Wei. Then he mobilised his troops into Ch'i and took the city of P'ing-lu to be his holiday resort. Then he attacked Han, took Kuan, won the battle by the Ch'i River. Then in the engagement at Chü-yang he drove the worn-out troops of Ching into retreat. Finally in the engagement at Shang-ts'ai and Chao-ling he routed the Ching troops. In this manner he sent out his expeditionary forces in the four directions throughout All-under-Heaven and spread his influence all over the countries of crowns and girdles. 6 Following the death of King An-li, Wey decayed accordingly.

Thus, as long as King Chuang of Ching and Duke Huan of Ch'i were alive, Ching and Ch'i could remain hegemonic; as long as King Hsiang of Yen and King An-li of Wey were alive, Yen and Wey remained strong. Now their countries all fell into decay, because their ministers and magistrates all followed the path to chaos and never sought for the way to order. Though their countries were chaotic, they cast aside the state laws and schemed for nothing but their own outside interests. This was the same as to suppress a fire by carrying frewood on the back. Consequently confusion and weakness turned from bad to worse.

Therefore, at present, any ruler able to expel private crookedness and uphold public law, finds the people safe and the state in order; and any ruler able to expunge private action and act on public law, finds his army strong and his enemy weak. So, find out men following the discipline of laws and regulations, and place them above the body of officials. Then the sovereign can not be deceived by anybody with fraud and falsehood. Find out men able to weigh different situations, and put them in charge of distant affairs. Then the sovereign cannot be deceived by anybody in matters of world politics.

Now supposing promotions were made because of mere reputations, then ministers would be estranged from the sovereign and all officials would associate for treasonable purposes. Supposing officials were appointed on account of their partisanship, then the people would strive to cultivate friendships and never seek employment in accordance with the law. Thus, if the government lack able men, the state will fall into confusion. If rewards are bestowed according to mere reputation, and punishments are inflicted according to mere defamation, then men who love rewards and hate punishments will discard the law of the public and practise self-seeking tricks and associate for wicked purposes. If ministers forget the interest of the sovereign, make friends with outside people. and thereby promote their adherents, then their inferiors will be in low spirits to serve the sovereign. Their friends are many; their adherents, numerous. When they form juntas in and out, then though they have great faults, their ways of disguise will be innumerable.

For such reasons, loyal ministers, innocent as they are, are always facing danger and the death penalty, whereas wicked ministers, though of no merit, always enjoy security and prosperity. Should loyal ministers meet danger and death without committing any crime, good ministers would withdraw. Should wicked ministers enjoy security and prosperity without rendering any meritorious service, villainous ministers would advance. This is the beginning of decay.

Were such the case, all officials would discard legalism, practising favouritism and despising public law. They would frequent the gates of the residences of cunning men, but never once would they visit the court of the sovereign. For one hundred times they would ponder the interests of private families, but never once would they scheme for the state welfare of the sovereign. Thus, their subordinates, however numerous, are not for glorifying the ruler; the officials, however well selected, are not for serving the country. If so, the sovereign would have the mere name of the lord of men

but in reality he simply commits himself to the care of the houses of the various ministers. Hence thy servant says: "The court of a decaying state has no man."

That the court has no man does not imply the emptiness of the court. It means that private families strive to benefit one another but never seek to enhance the state welfare; that high officials strive to honour one another but never seek to honour the ruler; and that petty officials spend their salaries in cultivating personal friendships but never attend to their official duties. The reason therefore is: The sovereign never makes his decisions in accordance with the law but always trusts in his subordinates for whatever they do.

Therefore, the intelligent sovereign makes the law select men and makes no arbitrary promotion himself. He makes the law measure merits and makes no arbitrary regulation himself. In consequence, able men cannot be obscured, bad characters cannot be disguised; falsely praised fellows cannot be advanced, wrongly defamed people cannot be degraded. Accordingly, between ruler and minister distinction becomes clear and order is attained. Thus it suffices only if the sovereign can scrutinize laws.

The wise man, on ministering to a ruler, faces the north and swears an oath of his office, pledging "not to have two minds, never to reject any low commission in the court, and never to reject any hard job in the military camp, but to follow the instructions of his superior, to obey the law of the sovereign and empty his mind so as to wait for the royal decrees to come. and to have no dispute about them". Therefore, though he has a mouth of his own, he never speaks for his own advantage; though he has eyes of his own, he never sees for his private interest. Both his mouth and eyes are kept under his superior's control. In other words, who ministers to a ruler may be likened to the hand that is able to care for the head upward and for the feet downward, never fails to relieve them from extremes of cold and heat, and never fails to strike away even the Mo-veh Sword when it is near the body. Similarly, the intelligent ruler never employs worthy and clever ministers or wise and able men for any selfish purpose. Therefore, the people do not cross the village border to make friends and have no relatives living one hundred li away; high and low do not trespass against each other; the fool and the wise, each being content with his own lot, keep the scale and stand in perfect balance. Such is the crowning phase of order, indeed!

Now, those who make light of rank and bounties, resign from their offices and desert their posts with ease, and thereby choose their masters, thy servant does not call upright. Those who falsify theories, disobey laws, defy the sovereign, and make forcible remonstrances thy servant does not call loval Those who bestow favours, distribute profits, win the hearts of inferiors, and thereby make names, thy servant does not call benevolent. Those who leave the world, retire from active life, and thereby reprove the sovereign, thy servant does not call righteous. Those who serve abroad as envoys to other feudal lords, exhaust the strength of the native country, and wait for the moment of crisis to molest the sovereign, saving, "the inter-state friendship, unless thy servant be in charge of it, cannot become intimate; the inter-state enmity, unless thy servant be in charge of it, cannot be appeased," and thereby aim to win the sovereign's confidence, to be trusted with state affairs, and to increase their influence by lowering the name of the sovereign and benefit their own families by hampering the resources of the country, thy servant does not call wise. These examples are common practices prevailing in the dangerous age, which the law of the early kings would weed out.

The law of the early kings said: "Every minister shall not exercise his authority nor shall he scheme for his own advantage but shall follow His Majesty's instructions. He shall not do evil but shall follow His Majesty's path." Thus, in antiquity the people of an orderly age abode by the public law, discarded all self-seeking tricks, devoted their attention and united their actions to wait for employment by their superiors.

Indeed, the lord of men, if he has to inspect all officials himself, finds the day not long enough and his energy not great enough. Moreover, if the superior uses his eyes, the inferior ornaments his looks; if the superior uses his ears, the inferior ornaments his voice; and, if the superior uses his mind, the inferior twists his sentences. Regarding these three faculties as insufficient, the early kings left aside their own talents and relied on laws and numbers and acted carefully on the principles of reward and punishment. Thus, what the early kings did was to the purpose of political order. Their laws, however simplified, were not violated. Despite the autocratic rule within the four seas, the cunning could not apply their fabrications; the deceitful could not practise their plausibilities; and the wicked found no means to resort to, so that, though as far away from His Majesty as beyond a thousand li, they dared not change their words, and though as near by His Majesty as the courtiers, they dared not cover the good and disguise the wrong. The officials in the court, high and low, never trespassed against each other nor did they ever their posts. Accordingly the sovereign's administrative routine did not take up all his time while each day afforded enough leisure. Such was due to the way the ruler trusted to his position.

Indeed, the minister trespasses against the sovereign in the court as in the lie of the land. Leading forward step by step, he makes the lord of men forget the starting-point until he turns from east to west and is not conscious of the change. To guard against such misleadings, the early kings set up the south-pointing needle to ascertain the directions of sun-rise and sun-set. Thus, every intelligent ruler ordered his ministers never to realize their wishes outside the realm of law and never to bestow their favours inside the realm of law-in short, never to commit any unlawful act. As strict laws are means to forbid extra-judicial action and exterminate selfishness and severe penalties are means to execute decrees and censure inferiors, legal authority should not be deputed to anybody and legal control should not be held behind the same gate. Should legal authority and control be kept in common by both ruler and minister, all varieties of wickedness would come into existence. If law is of no faith, its enforcement by the ruler is absurd. If penalty is not definite, culprits cannot be overcome. Hence the saying: "The skilful carpenter, though able to mark the inked string with his surveying eyes and calculating mind, always takes compasses and squares as measures before his marking; the great genius, though able to accomplish his task with swift move, always takes the law of the early kings as the ruler before his accomplishment." Thus, if the inked string is straight, crooked timbers will be shaved; if the water-level is even, high gnarls will be planed down. Similarly, if weights and balances are well hung up, what is too heavy will be decreased and what is too light will be increased; once pecks and bushels are established, what is too much will be decreased and what is too little will be increased.

Hence to govern the state by law is to praise the right and blame the wrong.

The law does not fawn on the noble; the string does not yield to the crooked. Whatever the law applies to, the wise cannot reject nor can the brave defy. Punishment for fault never skips ministers, reward for good never misses commoners. Therefore, to correct the faults of the high, to rebuke the vices of the low, to suppress disorders, to decide against mistakes, to subdue the arrogant, to straighten the crooked, and to unify the folkways of the masses, nothing could match the law. To warn the officials and overawe the people, to rebuke obscenity and danger, and to forbid falsehood and deceit, nothing could match penalty. If penalty is severe, the noble cannot discriminate against the humble. If law is definite, the superiors are esteemed and not violated. If the superiors are not violated, the sovereign will become strong and able to maintain the proper course of government. Such was the reason why the early kings esteemed legalism and handed it down to posterity. Should the lord of men discard law and practise selfishness, high and low would have no distinction.

### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 7.

The Two Handles

The means whereby the intelligent ruler controls his ministers are two handles only. The two handles are chastisement and commendation. What are meant by chastisement and commendation? To inflict death or torture upon culprits, is called chastisement; to bestow encouragements or rewards on men of merit, is called commendation.

Ministers are afraid of censure and punishment but fond of encouragement and reward. Therefore, if the lord of men uses the handles of chastisement and commendation, all ministers will dread his severity and turn to his liberality. The villainous ministers of the age are different. To men they hate they would by securing the handle of chastisement from the sovereign ascribe crimes; on men they love they would by securing the handle of commendation from the sovereign the handle of commendation from the sovereign the handle of commendation from the sovereign authority of punishment and the profit of reward not in his hands but let the ministers administer the affairs of reward and punishment instead, then everybody in the country would fear the ministers and slight the ruler, and turn to the ministers and away from the ruler. This is the calamity of the ruler's loss of the handles of chastisement and commendation.

As illustration, that which enables the tiger to subject the dog, is his claws and fangs. Supposing the tiger cast aside its claws and fangs and let the dog use them, the tiger would in turn be subjected by the dog. The lord of men controls his ministers by means of chastisement and commendation. Now supposing the ruler of men cast aside the handles of chastisement and commendation and let the ministers use them, the ruler would in turn be controlled by the ministers.

Thus, T'ien Ch'ang petitioned for rank and bounties, which he in his turn conferred upon the body of officials, and enlarged pecks and bushels, by virtue of which he distributed alms among the hundred surnames. In other words, Duke Chien lost the handle of commendation, which T'ien Ch'ang set to use. In the long run Duke Chien was murdered. Likewise, Tzu-han once said to the Ruler of Sung: "Indeed, rewards and charities being what the people like, may Your Highness bestow them! Slaughter and punishments being

what the people dislike, may thy servant beg leave to enforce them?" Thenceforth, the Ruler of Sung lost the handle of chastisement, which Tzu-han set to use. Hence followed the molestation of the Ruler of Sung. Inasmuch as Tien Ch'ang used only the handle of commendation, Duke Chien was murdered; inasmuch as Tzu-han used only the handle of chastisement, the Ruler of Sung was molested. Therefore, if any minister of the present age uses both the handles of chastisement and commendation, the danger of his ruler will be more serious than that of Duke Chien and the Ruler of Sung. For this reason, every sovereign molested, murdered, deluded, or deceived, because he had lost the handles of chastisement and commendation and let the ministers use them, invited danger and ruin accordingly.

The lord of men, whenever he wants to suppress culprits. must see norm accord with name and word never differ from task. 8 Whenever a minister utters a word, the ruler should in accordance with his word assign him a task to accomplish, and in accordance with the task call the work to account. If the work corresponds with the task, and the task corresponds with the word, he should be rewarded. On the contrary, if the work is not equivalent to the task, and the task not equivalent to the word, he should be punished. Accordingly, any minister whose word is big but whose work is small should be punished. Not that the work is small, but that the work is not equivalent to the name. Again, any minister whose word is small but whose work is big should also be punished. Not that big work is not desirable but that the discrepancy between the work and the name is worse than the accomplishment of the big work. Hence the minister should be punished.

Once in by-gone days, Marquis Chao of Han was drunk and fell into a nap. The crown-keeper, seeing the ruler exposed to cold, put a coat over him. When the Marquis awoke, he was glad and asked the attendants, "Who put more clothes on my body?" "The crown-keeper did," they replied. Then the Marquis found the coat-keeper guilty and put the crown-keeper to death. He punished the coat-keeper for the neglect of his duty, and the crown-keeper for the overriding of his post. Not that the Marquis was not afraid of catching cold but that he thought their trespassing the assigned duties was worse than his catching cold.

Thus, when an intelligent ruler keeps ministers in service, no minister is allowed either to override his post and get merits thereby nor to utter any word not equivalent to a fact. Whoever overrides his post is put to death; whoever makes a word not equivalent to a fact is punished. If everyone has to do his official duty, and if whatever he says has to be earnest, then the ministers cannot associate for treasonable purposes.

The lord of men has two difficulties to face: If he appoints only worthy men to office, ministers will on the pretence of worthiness attempt to deceive their ruler; if he makes arbitrary promotions of officials, the state affairs will always be menaced. Similarly, if the lord of men loves worthiness, ministers will gloss over their defects in order to meet the ruler's need. In consequence, no minister will show his true heart. If no minister shows his true heart, the lord of men will find no way to tell the worthy from the unworthy.

For instance, because the King of Yüeh liked brave men, the people made light of death; because King Ling of Ch'u liked slender waists, the country became full of starvelings; because Duke Huan of Ch'i was by nature jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself in order to administer the harem; because Duke Huan liked different tastes, Yi-ya steamed the head of his son and served Duke Huan with the rare taste; because Tzu-k'uai of Yen liked worthies, Tzu-chih pretended that he would not accept the state.

Therefore, if the ruler reveals his hate, ministers will conceal their motives; if the ruler reveals his likes, ministers will pretend to talent; and if the ruler reveals his wants, ministers will have the opportunity to disguise their feelings and attitudes.

That was the reason why Tzu-chih, by pretending to worthiness, usurped the ruler's throne; and why Shu Tiao and Yi-ya, by complying with their ruler's wants, molested their ruler. Thus Tzu-k'uai died in consequence of a civil war and Duke Huan was left unburied until worms from his corpse crawled outdoors. What was the cause of these incidents? It was nothing but the calamity of the rulers' revelation of true hearts to ministers. Every minister in his heart of hearts does not necessarily love the ruler. If he does, it is for the sake of his own great advantage.

In these days, if the lord of men neither covers his feelings nor conceals his motives, and if he lets ministers have a chance to molest their master, the ministers will have no difficulty in following the examples of Tzu-chih and Tiench'ang. Hence the saying: "If the ruler's likes and hate be concealed, the ministers' true hearts will be revealed. If the ministers reveal their true hearts, the ruler never will be deluded."

### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 8.

Wielding the Sceptre

Heaven has its destiny; human beings have their destiny, too. Indeed, anything smelling good and tasting soft, be it rich wine or fat meat, is delicious to the mouth, but it causes the body illness. The beauty having delicate skin and pretty white teeth pleases feeling but exhausts energy. Hence avoid excesses and extremes. Then you will suffer no harm.

The sceptre should never be shown. For its inner nature is non-assertion. The state affairs may be scattered in the four directions but the key to their administration is in the centre. The sage holding this key in hand, people from the four directions come to render him meritorious services. He remains empty and waits for their services, and they will exert their abilities by themselves. With the conditions of the four seas clearly in mind, he can see the Yang by means of the Yin. After appointing attendants on his right and left, he can open the gate and meet anybody. He can go onward with the two handles without making any change. To apply them without cessation is said to be acting on the right way of government.

Indeed, everything has its function; every material has its utility. When everybody works according to his special qualification, both superior and inferior will not have to do anything. Let roosters herald the dawn and let cats watch for rats. When everything exercises its special qualification, the ruler will not have to do anything. If the ruler has to exert any special skill of his own, it means that affairs are not going right. If he is conceited and fond of displaying his ability, he will be deceived by the inferiors. If he is sagacious and lenient, the inferiors will take advantage of his capacity. If superior and inferior exchange their roles, the state never will be in order.

The way to assume oneness starts from the study of terminology. When names are rectified, things will be settled; when names are distorted, things will shift around. Therefore, the sage holds oneness in hand and rests in tranquillity, letting names appoint themselves to tasks and affairs settle themselves. If he does not show off his sagacity, the inferiors will reveal their earnestness and uprightness. He then appoints them to office in accordance with their words, and thus lets them choose their tasks. He confers upon them powers in accordance with their needs and thus lets them raise their ranks. Thus, he rectifies their names first, then works with them, and finally makes them accomplish the tasks. Therefore, he promotes them through the examination of names. When the name is not clear, he seeks for its connotation by tracing its form. After the form and the name are compared and identified, he puts the product into use. If both form and name have to be true, the inferiors will have to reveal their true hearts, too. Carefully attend to your duties, wait for decrees from heaven to come, and never miss the key to government. Then you will become a sage.

The way of the sage is to discard his own wisdom and talent. If his own wisdom and talent are not discarded, it will be hard for him to keep a constant principle of government. When the people exert wisdom and talent, they will suffer disasters; when the sovereign exerts them, the state will be in danger and on the decline. So, conform to the way of heaven, act on the principle of human life, and then consider, compare, and investigate them. Where there is an ending, there is always a beginning. Be empty and reposed, keep behind others, and never assert yourself before anybody else. For the calamity of the ruler originates in self-assertion. Nevertheless, though you have faith in the inferiors' words, you must not listen to them blindly. Then the myriad people will uniformly obey you.

Indeed, Tao is so magnificent as to have no form. Teh is evidently systematic and so extensive as to permeate all lives. When it functions proportionately, the myriad things are formed, though it does not add to their security. Thus Tao is omnipresent in all events. So, follow and preserve its decrees and live and die at the right time. Compare the names of different things, and trace the common source of the principles underlying them.

Hence the saying: "Tao does not identify itself with anything but itself. Teh does not identify itself with the Yin and the Yang. The balance does not identify itself with lightness and heaviness. The inked string does not identify itself with ingress and egress. The reed-organ does not identify itself with dryness and wetness. The ruler does not identify himself with the ministers." These six are effects of Tao.

Tao is never a pair. Hence it is called one. Therefore, the intelligent ruler esteems singleness, the characteristic feature of Tao. Accordingly, ruler and minister do not follow the same path. When the minister presents any word to the throne, the ruler holds to the name and the minister must work out the form. When form and name are compared and found identical, superior and inferior will have peace and harmony.

In general, the right way to listen to the ministers is to take what they utter as the measure of what they harvest. The ruler investigates their names so as to determine their offices, and clarify their duties so as to distinguish between different varieties of work. The right way to hear different utterances is to look drunken. Never start moving your own lips and teeth before the subordinates do. The longer I keep quiet, the sooner others move their lips and teeth. As they themselves move their lips and teeth, I can thereby understand their real intentions. Right and wrong words coming to the fore in such fashion, the ruler does not have to join issue with them.

To remain empty and tranquil and practise inaction is the real status of Tao. To compare, refer, and analogize things, is the form of affairs. Thus you sometime compare them and analogize them to other things and sometime refer them to and accord them with the condition of emptiness. When the root and trunk of a tree never change, motion and rest will cause no loss of its original status. Make the inferiors feel uneasy. Improve their actions by practising inaction. When you like them, affairs will multiply, when you hate them, resentment will appear. So, discard both like and hate and make your empty mind the abode of Tao.

If the ruler does not share the supreme authority with the ministers, the people will regard this as a great blessing. The ruler should never discuss matters of right and wrong with the ministers but let them carry on the discussion themselves. If he locks the inner bar and sees the courtyard from inside the room, then just as differences by inches and feet would come to the fore, so will all ministers know their proper places. Who deserves reward, will be properly rewarded; who deserves punishment, will be properly punished. If everybody pays for whatever he does, and if good and evil visit him without fail, who would dare to distrust the law? Once compasses and squares are established and one angle is made right, the other three angles will come out one after another.

If the sovereign is not mysterious, the ministers will find opportunity to take. For, if his task is improper, they will change their routine of work. To behave as high as heaven and as thick as earth is the way to dissolve all worries. To do as heaven and earth do is the way to dismiss all discriminations between strangers and relatives. Whoever can model himself upon heaven and earth is called a sage.

To govern the interior of the court you may appoint men to office but should never take kindly to them. To govern the exterior of the court you may put one man in charge of one office but should never allow him to act arbitrarily. If things are so, how can anybody shake the ruler's authority or gain any undue power? If there are numerous men frequenting the gates of the high officials' residences, it will cause the ruler anxieties. At the height of political order no minister can surmise what is in the ruler's mind. If the ruler closely accords form with name, the people will attend to their daily business. To leave this key and seek anything else is to fall into serious bewilderment. This will eventually increase the number of cunning people and fill the ruler's right and left with wicked ministers. Hence the saying: "Never ennoble anybody in such wise that he may molest you; and never trust anybody so exclusively that you lose the capital and the state to him.

If the calf is larger than the thigh, it is hard to run fast. As soon as the sovereign ceases being mysterious, the tiger will follow him from behind. If he takes no notice of it, the tiger will behave like a dog. At this moment, if the sovereign does not stop it, the false dog will increase its partisans. The tigers will form a party and murder the mother. If the sovereign has no ministers loyal to him, what kind of a state has he? Yet as soon as the sovereign begins to enforce laws, even tigers will become meek; as soon as he sets himself to inflict penalties, even the largest tiger will become tame. Laws and penalties being of faith, tigers will turn into ordinary human beings and revert to their due status.

Any ruler wishing to give peace to the state must disperse the partisans of powerful ministers. If he does not disperse their partisans, they will enlarge their parties. Any ruler wishing to maintain order in his country must adjust the distribution of his gifts. If he does not adjust the distribution of his gifts, rapacious men will seek for extraordinary profits. To grant them requests will then be the same as to lend axes to enemies. It is not right to lend out such things. For they will be used for assaulting the ruler.

The Yellow Emperor made the saying: "Superior and inferior wage one hundred battles a day." The inferior conceals his tricks which he uses in testing the superior; the superior manipulates rules and measures in splitting the influences of the inferior. Therefore the institution of rules and measures is the sovereign's treasure, the possession of partisans and adherents is the minister's treasure. Such being the situation, if the minister does not murder the ruler, it is because his partisans and adherents are not yet sufficient. Therefore, if the superior loses one or two inches, the inferior will gain eight or sixteen feet. The ruler in possession of a state never enlarges the capital. The minister following the true path never empowers his own family. The ruler following the right way never empowers any minister. Because, once empowered and enriched, the inferior will attempt to supplant the superior. So, guard against dangers and be afraid of eventualities. Install the crown prince quickly. Then many troubles find no way to appear.

To detect culprits inside the court and guard against crooks outside it, the ruler must personally hold his rules and measures. Make the powerful wane and the powerless wax. Both waning and waxing should have limitations. Never allow the people to form juntas and thereby deceive their superiors with one accord. Make the powerful wane like the moon, and the powerless wax like the heat of the bored fire. Simplify orders and dignify censures. Make the application of

penal laws definite. Never loosen your bow; otherwise, you will find two males in one nest. Where there are two males in one nest, there the fighting will continue at sixes and sevens. When wolves are in the stable, sheep never will flourish. When two masters are in one house, nothing can be accomplished. When both man and wife manage the household, children will not know whom to obey.

The ruler of men should often stretch the tree but never allow its branches to flourish. Luxuriant branches will cover the gates of public buildings, till private houses become full, public halls empty, and the sovereign deluded. So, stretch out the tree often but never allow any branch to grow outward. Any branch that grows outward will molest the position of the sovereign. Again, stretch out the tree often but never allow any branch to grow larger than the stem. When the branches are large and the stem is small, the tree will be unable to endure spring winds. When the tree cannot endure spring winds, the branches will damage its kernel. Similarly, when illegitimate sons are many, the heir apparent will have worries and anxieties. The only way to check them is to stretch out the tree often and never let its branches flourish. If the tree is stretched out often, partisans and adherents of the wicked ministers will disperse. When the roots and the stem are dug up, the tree is no longer alive. Fill up the foaming fountain with mud and never let the water clear. Search the bosoms of ministers and take away their powers. The sovereign should exercise such powers himself with the speed of the lightning and with the dignity of the thunder.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 9.

Eight Villainies

In general there are eight ways whereby ministers are led to commit villainy:

The first is said to be "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed". What is meant by "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed"? In reply I say: By graceful ladies, beloved concubines, feminine courtiers, and pretty lads, the lord of men is bewildered. Counting on the sovereign's pleasant rest from governmental work and taking advantage of his being drunken and satiated, the sharers of the same bed would get from him what they want. This is the way to secure unfailing grants. Therefore, ministers bribe them in secret with gold and jewelry and thereby make them bewilder the sovereign. This is said to be "through the bribery of sharers of the same

The second is said to be "through the bribery of bystanders" What is meant by "through the bribery of bystanders"? In reply I say: Actors, jokers, and clowns as well as attendants and courtiers would say, "At your service, at your service, before the sovereign has given any order, and say, "Yes, yes," before he has commanded them to do anything, thus taking orders ahead of his words and looking at his facial expressions and judging his needs by his colour in order thereby to render him service before he makes up his mind. Such people advance and withdraw en bloc, respond and reply with one accord, thus identifying their deeds and unifying their words so as to move the sovereign's mind. Therefore, ministers bribe them in secret with gold, jewelry, curios, and the like, and commit unlawful acts to their advantage and thereby make them beguile the sovereign. This is said to be "through the bribery of bystanders"

The third is said to be "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers". What is meant by "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers"? In reply I say: Sons by concubines are much loved by the sovereign; prime ministers and court officials are consulted by the sovereign. All such people exert their energies and exchange their ideas while the sovereign always listens to them. Ministers, accordingly, entertain concubines and their sons with music and beauties, and win the hearts of prime ministers and court officials with twisted words and sentences. Then through them they make promises and submit projects to the throne, so that when the tasks are accomplished, their ranks are raised, their bounties increased, and their minds thereby satisfied. In this way they make them violate the sovereign. This is said to be "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers".

The fourth is said to be "through fostering calamities" What is meant by "through fostering calamities"? In reply I say: The sovereign enjoys beautifying his palatial buildings, terraces, and pools, and decorating boys, girls, dogs, and horses, so as to amuse his mind. This will eventually bring him calamities. Therefore, ministers exhaust the energy of the people to beautify palatial buildings, terraces, and pools, and increase exactions and taxation for decorating boys, girls, dogs, and horses, and thereby amuse the sovereign and disturb his mind, thus following his wants and harvesting their own advantages thereby. This is said to be "through fostering calamities"

The fifth is said to be "through buying up vagabonds". What is meant by "through buying up vagabonds"? In reply I say: Ministers distribute money out of public revenues to please the masses of people and bestow small favours to win the hearts of the hundred surnames, and thereby make everybody, whether in the court or in the market-place, praise them, and, by deluding the sovereign in this manner, get what they want. This is said to be "through buying up vagabonds"

The sixth is said to be "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers". What is meant by "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers"? In reply I say: The sovereign, with all avenues to news blockaded, rarely hears any disputes and discussions and is therefore apt to change his mind by eloquent persuaders. Accordingly, ministers find eloquent speakers from among the subjects of other feudal lords and feed able persuaders in the country, then make them speak about their self-seeking designs with skilfully polished words and fluent and convincing phrases, show the sovereign the direction of advantages and powers, overawe him with the location of calamities and disadvantages, manipulate all kinds of false sayings, and thereby deprave him. This is said to be "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers".

The seventh is said to be "through the arrogation of authority and strength". What is meant by "through the arrogation of authority and strength"? In reply I say: The ruler of men maintains his authority and strength by keeping all officials and the hundred surnames on his side. Whatever he considers good is regarded as good by the officials and the people; whatever he never considers good is not regarded as good by the officials and the people. Ministers then gather bold swordsmen and desperate rascals to display their authority and make it known that whoever sides with them always gains and whoever does not side with them is bound to die, and thereby overawe the officials and the people and practise selfishness. This is said to be "through the arrogation of authority and strength".

The eighth is said to be "through the accumulation of support from the four directions". What is meant by "through the accumulation of support from the four directions"? In reply I say: The ruler of men, if his country is small, has to serve big powers, and, if his army is weak, has to fear strong armies. Any request by a big power the small country always has to accept; any demand by a strong army the weak army always has to obey. Accordingly, ministers raise exactions and taxations, exhaust public treasuries and armouries, empty the provisions of the country, and thereby serve big powers and utilise their influence to mislead the ruler. In serious cases, they would even send for foreign troops to assemble in the border-lands while they restrain their sovereign inside the country. Otherwise, they would invite special envoys from enemy states to molest their ruler and thereby overawe him. This is said to be "through the accumulation of support from the four directions".

These eight in general are the ways whereby ministers are led to commit villainy and the sovereigns of the present age are deluded, molested, and deprived of their possessions. Therefore, every sovereign should not fail to study them carefully.

The intelligent ruler, as regards women, may enjoy their beauty but ought not to follow their entreaties and comply with their requests.

As regards those near him, though he enjoys their presence, he must always call their words to account and never let them utter any uncalled-for opinion.

As regards uncles, brothers, and chief vassals, the ruler, on adopting their words, ought to hold them liable to penalties in case of failure and appoint them to office in case of success but never give them any arbitrary promotion.

On seeking pleasures and enjoying curios, the ruler ought to have a definite personnel in charge of them and allow nobody to bring such objects in and out at pleasure and thereby let the ministers anticipate the sovereign's want.

In regard to favour-distribution, it ought to be done on the initiative of the ruler to open the emergency treasury and public storehouses and benefit the people. No minister should be allowed to bestow personal favours.

Regarding persuasions and discussions, the ruler must ascertain the abilities of men reputed to be good and testify to the defects of those reputed to be bad, but never allow the ministers to speak to one another about them.

As regards bold and strong men, the ruler should neither neglect reward for merit on the battle-field nor remit punishment for boldness in the village quarrel, and allow no minister to give them money in private.

With respect to the requests made by other feudal lords, if they are lawful, grant them; if they are unlawful, spurn them.

The so-called doomed ruler is not one who no longer has a state but one who has a state but not in his grip. If he lets his ministers control the home affairs through the support they receive from abroad, the ruler of men will be doomed to ruin. Granting that to obey big powers is to save one's own country from ruin, the ruin will in case of obedience come faster than in the case of disobedience. Hence never obey them. As soon as the ministers realize that the ruler will not obey, they will not make friends abroad with other feudal lords. As soon as the feudal lords realize that he will not obey, they will not trust that any of his ministers can be fool him.

The reason why the intelligent ruler establishes posts, offices, ranks, and bounties, is to promote the worthy and encourage the men of merit. Hence the saying: "The worthy get large bounties and take charge of high offices; the men of merit have honourable rank and receive big rewards." sovereign appoints the worthy to office by estimating their abilities, and bestows bounties according to the various merits. For this reason worthies do not disguise their abilities in serving the sovereign; and men of merit rejoice in advancing their careers. As a result, tasks are accomplished and merits achieved.

That is not so nowadays. There is neither any discrimination between the worthy and the unworthy nor any distinction between men of merit and of no merit. Anybody esteemed by the feudal lords is taken into service. Any request made by the courtiers is granted. Uncles and brothers as well as chief vassals ask for ranks and bounties from the sovereign and sell them off to their inferiors and thereby accumulate money and advantages and support their personal dependents. Therefore, men who have much money and many advantages purchase offices in order to become noble, and those who have friendships with the courtiers ask for grants in order to uplift their social prestige. In consequence, officials and officers who have rendered the country meritorious services are lost sight of, and the shift of posts and offices runs off the legitimate track. For this reason, everybody in governmental service overrides his post, cultivates friendship with foreign powers, neglects his duties, and covets money in every way, with the result that worthies are disheartened and will no longer exert their efforts while men of merit idle their time away and give up their careers. Such is the atmosphere of a decaying country.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 10.

Ten Faults

Of the ten faults:-

The first is to practise loyalty in small ways, which betrays lovalty in big ways.

The second is to esteem small advantages, which hampers big advantages.

The third is to force personal bias, assert oneself, and behave discourteously before feudal lords, which leads to selfdestruction.

The fourth is to neglect political counsels and indulge in the five musical notes, which plunges one into misery.

The fifth is to keep covetous and self-opinionated and rejoice in nothing but gain, which is the root of state-ruin and self-destruction.

The sixth is to indulge in women singers and neglect state affairs, which forecasts the catastrophe of state-ruin.

The seventh is to leave home for distant travels and ignore remonstrances, which is the surest way to endanger one's august position at home.

The eighth is to commit faults, turn no ear to loyal ministers, and enforce one's own opinions, which destroys one's high reputation and causes people to laugh at one.

The ninth is not to consolidate the forces within one's boundaries but to rely on feudal lords abroad, which causes the country the calamity of dismemberment.

The tenth is to insult big powers despite the smallness of one's own country and take no advice from remonstrants, which paves the way to the extermination of one's posterity.

What is meant by "practising small loyalty"?

Once King Kung of Ch'u and Duke Li of Chin fought at Yen-ling. The Ch'u troops suffered a defeat. King Kung was wounded in the eye. During the bloody battle Tzu-fan, High Commissioner of the Army, was thirsty and wanted something to drink. His attendant, Shu Yang-ko, brought a cup of wine and presented it to him. "Fie! Get away!" exclaimed Tzu-fan. "It's wine." "No, it isn't wine," replied Yang-ko. Tzu-fan, accordingly, took the cup and drank the wine. Habitually fond of wine, he found it so delicious that he could not keep it from his mouth till he became drunk. When the fighting was over, King Kung wanted to have another battle and sent for the High Commissioner of the Army, Tzu-fan. The High Commissioner of the Army, Tzu-fan, gave a pain in the heart as excuse for his absence from the conference. Thereupon King Kung rode in a carriage and went to make a personal call. As soon as he entered the tent of the Commissioner, he smelt wine and turned back right away, saying: "In to-day's battle, I, the King, was wounded. The only person I have looked to for help is the High Commissioner of the Army. Now that the High Commissioner of the Army is drunken in this manner, he is certainly ruining the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of the Ch'u State and feeling no concern for the welfare of my subjects. I, the King, have no reason to have him with me on the battle-field any longer." So he turned his forces homeward and retreated. He then beheaded Tzu-fan as an expiatory punishment for his disgrace of the King. Thus, the presentation of wine by Shu Yang-ko was not meant to revenge himself on Tzu-fan, but his mind that loved him with loyalty was just enough to put him to death. Hence the saying: "To practise loyalty in small ways betrays loyalty in big

What is meant by "esteeming small advantages"?

Of old, when Duke Hsien of Chin thought of borrowing the way through Yü to invade Kuo, Hsün Hsi said: "If we bribe the Duke of Yü with the jade from Ch'ui-chi and the team of the Ch'ü breed, he will certainly let us have the way." "The jade from Ch'ui-chi," said the Duke, "was the treasure bequeathed by the late ruler. The team of the Ch'ü breed horses is my best possession. Should they accept our present but refuse us the way, what could we do then?" "If they refuse us the way," said Hsün Hsi in reply, "they never will accept our present. If they accept our present and lend us the way, it will be the same as to take the treasure from the inner treasury and keep it in the outer one or to lead the horses out of the inner stable and put them into the outer one. May Your Highness have no worry about it!" "Very well," the Duke said, and he then sent Hsün Hsi off to bribe the Duke of Yü with the jade from Ch'ui-chi and the team of the Ch'ü breed and thereby ask for the way though the country.

The Duke of Yü, regarding the jade and the horses as inordinate advantages, thought of granting the request. Against this idea Kung Chi-ch'i remonstrated with him, saying: "Your Highness should not grant the request. Indeed, Yü has Kuo as neighbour just as the carriage has its wheels. Just as the wheels depend on the carriage, so does the carriage depend on the wheels. Such is the relationship between Yü and Kuo. Suppose we lend Chin the way. Then, if Kuo falls at dawn, Yü will follow at dusk. It is therefore impossible. May Your Highness never grant the request!" The Duke of Yü would not listen to this advice, and he let Chin have the way.

Three years elapsed after his attack on Kuo, his conquest of the country, and victorious return to his home-land, when Hsün Hsi in turn raised armies to invade Yü and also conquered it. When Hsün Hsi led the horses homeward, brought the jade along, and reported the result of the campaign to Duke Hsien. With delight Duke Hsien said: "The jade is as it was before, but the teeth of the horses have grown somewhat longer."

Thus the Duke of Yü saw his army driven into peril and his country dismembered. Why? It was because of his love of small advantages and unconcern about its harmfulness. Hence the saying: "To esteem small advantages hampers large advantages."

What is meant by "enforcing personal bias"?

In by-gone days, when King Ling of Ch'u called an interstate conference at Shen, as the Crown Prince of Sung arrived late, he arrested him and put him into jail. Further, he insulted the Ruler of Hsü and detained Ch'ing Feng of Ch'i. Against these outrageous acts a certain middle chamberlain remonstrated with the King, saying: "In holding a conference of the feudal lords nobody should break the inter-state etiquette. For it involves a death-orlife turning-point to every country. In antiquity, after Chieh held the conference at Yujung, Yu-min revolted; after Chow gave a spring hunting party on the Li Hills, the Eastern Barbarians revolted; and after King Yu organized the T'ai-shih League, the Western and Northern Barbarians revolted. All such incidents were due to the breach of etiquette. May Your Majesty think the matter over!" To this counsel the ruler never listened, but enforced his own opinions instead.

Before ten years elapsed, King Ling made a tour to the south, where the officials molested him. As a result, King Ling starved to death by the Dry Brook. Hence the saying: "To enforce personal bias and assert oneself leads to self-destruction."

What is meant by "indulging in the five musical notes"?

In by-gone days, when Duke Ling of Wei on his way to Chin arrived by the P'u Water, he loosened his carriage, released the horses, and set up a pavilion for sojourning Towards midnight he heard somebody playing a novel piece of music and was thereby greatly pleased. In the morning he sent men out to find the musician in the vicinity, but all came back with the report that he could not be found. Thereupon, the Duke summoned Musician Chüan and said to him: "There was somebody playing strange music last night. I have just sent men out to find the musician in the vicinity, but all reported that they had been unable to find him. It might be the performance by some devil or spirit. Would you, therefore, listen to it and copy it for me?" "At your service," replied Musician Chüan. So he sat still at night and played the harp to copy the music. Next day Musician Chüan gave his report to the Duke, saying: "Thy servant got it but he is still lacking in practice. Let us stay here another night and thy servant will practise it." "Certainly," said Duke Ling. So they spent another night there. By the following day he had mastered it, wherefore they left for Chin.

Duke P'ing of Chin entertained them with a wine feast on the Shih-i Tower. When the drinking was at its height, Duke Ling stood up and said: "There is a novel piece of music. May I have the honour to show it?" "Fine," replied Duke P'ing. Thereupon Duke Ling summoned Musician Chüan and ordered him to sit beside Musician K'uang, hold the harp, and play it. Before the performance was finished, Musician K'uang held down his hands and stopped the music, saying, "This is a state-ruining piece of music, which should not be performed to its end." "Where does this music come from? Do you

know?" asked Duke P'ing. "This was composed by Musician Yen," replied Musician K'uang, "and presented to King Chow. It was a piece of frivolous music. When King Wu attacked Chow, Musician Yen ran eastward as far as the P'u Water, where he drowned himself. Therefore, this music has been heard only by the P'u Water. At any rate, whoever hears this music performed, is bound to see his native soil dismembered. Its performance, therefore, should not be completed." "What amuses me in particular is music," remarked Duke P'ing. "Let him finish the performance." Musician Chüan, accordingly, performed the piece to its end. "What is the name of this tune?" Duke P'ing asked Musician K'uang. "It is the so-called 'pure sibilant tune'," replied Musician K'uang.

"Is the pure sibilant tune the saddest among all?" asked the Duke further. "No," replied Musician K'uang, "it is not as sad as the pure lingual tune." "Is it possible to hear the pure lingual tune?" asked the Duke still further. "No," replied Musician K'uang. "In antiquity, those who heard the pure lingual tune were all rulers of virtue and justice. Now, as Your Highness's virtue is still shallow, Your Highness as yet does not deserve to hear it." "Music amusing me in particular, let me hear it?" asked the Duke insistently. Thereby Musician K'uang was forced to hold up the harp and play it. Following the performance of the first part, there came from the south black cranes, two times eight, and assembled at the end of the ridge of the gallery roof. After the performance of the second part, they lined up themselves in a row. When the third part was performed, they raised their necks to sing and stretched their wings to dance. Among the notes the pitches of kung and shang echoed in heaven. Thereby Duke P'ing was much pleased and the audience were all amused.

Meanwhile, Duke P'ing held a cup of wine and rose to drink with the expression of his wish for the health and happiness of Musician K'uang. When he took his seat again, he asked, "Is there no tune sadder than the pure lingual tune?" "It is not as sad as the pure dental tune," replied Musician K'uang. "Is it then possible to hear the pure dental tune?" asked Duke P'ing. "No," replied Musician K'uang. "In by-gone days the Yellow Emperor once called a meeting of devils and spirits at the top of the Western T'ai Mountain, he rode in a divine carriage pulled by dragons, with Pi-fang keeping pace with the linchpin, Ch'ih-yu marching in the front, Earl Wind sweeping the dirt, Master Rain sprinkling water on the road, tigers and wolves leading in the front, devils and spirits following from behind, rising serpents rolling on the ground, and male and female phoenixes flying over the top. There in such a splendid manner he met the devils and spirits, where he composed the nure dental tune. Now, as Your Highness's virtue is still shallow. Your Highness does not as yet deserve to hear it. If Your Highness does hear it, thy servant is afraid lest there should be a mishap!" "Being weighed down with years and amused by music in particular," said Duke P'ing, "let me hear the tune performed?" Thereby Musician K'uang was forced to play it. Following the performance of the first part, there arose dark clouds from the north-western direction. After the performance of the second part, there came a hurricane and then a downpour followed, tearing the tents and curtains, breaking the bowls and cups, and sweeping down the tiles of the gallery. The audience all dispersed while Duke P'ing, much terrified, had to hide himself in a gallery room. Thenceforth the Chin State continually had dry weather and suffered a barren land for three years, until finally Duke P'ing himself caught a mortal disease. Hence the saying: "To neglect political counsels and enjoy the five musical notes drives one

What is meant by "keeping covetous and self-opinionated"? Of old, Earl Chih Yao led his allies, Chao, Han, and Wey, to attack Fan and Chung-hang and destroyed them. After his victorious return, he rested his soldiers for several years. Then he sent men to demand land from Han. When Viscount K'ang of Han decided not to give it, Tuan Kuei opposed him, saying: "We must not fail to comply with the demand. Earl Chih, indeed, is by nature fond of gain, self-conceited and opinionated. Now that he has sent his men to demand land from us, if we do not give it, he will certainly turn his troops against Han. Suppose Your Highness comply with the demand. For, if we give, he will become over-familiar with this practice and will also demand land from other countries, any of which might fail to obey him. In case any other country fails to obey, Earl Chih will certainly impose military pressure upon her. Then Han will evade the crisis and wait for the change of the whole situation." "Right," said Viscount K'ang, and then ordered messengers to cede a county of ten thousand families to Earl Chih. Thereby Earl Chih was pleased.

Likewise, he sent men to demand land from Wey. When Viscount Hsüan of Wey decided not to give it, Chao Chia protested against the idea, saying: "When he demanded land from Han, Han complied with the demand. Now he is demanding land from Wey, if Wey does not give it, it will mean that Wey counts on its own strength and purposely antagonizes Earl Chih. In case we do not give it, he will certainly move his soldiers against Wey. We had better give it." "Right," said Viscount Hsüan, and then ordered

messengers to cede a county of ten thousand families to Earl Chih.

Earl Chih finally sent men to Chao to demand the districts of Ts'ai and Kao-lang. As Viscount Hsiang of Chao refused to give them, Earl Chih formed a secret alliance with Han and Wey on purpose to invade Chao.

Thereupon Viscount Hsiang summoned Chang Meng-t'an and said to him: "Indeed, Earl Chih is by nature kind to people in appearance but is in reality unkind to everybody. For three times he has sent good-will envoys to Han and Wey, but I have not received any word from him. No doubt, he will move his troops against me. Where can I live in security then?" "Well, Tung An-yü, an able minister of Viscount Chien, governed Chin-yang very well," replied Chang Meng-t'an, "and Yin To followed his steps so closely that the surviving influences of his teachings are still effective in the locality. Suppose Your Highness were to decide to live nowhere but in Ching-yang." "Right," said the Viscount.

Then he summoned Yen-ling Yü and ordered him to lead

the infantry, chariots, and cavalry to Chin-yang first, while he followed after. Upon his arrival he set himself to inspect the city-walls and the provisions stored by the five offices, and found the walls not in good repair, no grain hoarded in the storehouses, no money saved in the treasury, no armour and weapons in the armoury, and the whole city unprepared for defence measures. Feeling rather uneasy, Viscount Hsiang summoned Chang Meng-t'an and said to him: "I have inspected the city-walls as well as the provisions stored by the five offices and found nothing well prepared and equipped. How can I cope with the enemy?" "Thy servant has heard," said Chang Meng-t'an, "the sage during his governorship preserved resources among the people and not in the treasury nor in the armoury. He endeavoured to improve his teachings but did not repair the city-walls. Suppose Your Highness issue an emergency decree, requesting the people to keep enough food for three years and put any surplus amount of grain into the public storehouses, to keep enough expenses for three years and put any surplus amount of money into the state treasury, and to send all leisured men out of their families to repair the city-walls." In the evening the Viscount issued the decree. On the following day, the storehouses became unable to hold any more grain, the treasury unable to hold any more money, and the armoury unable to take in any more armour and weapons. In the course of five days the city-walls were well repaired and all provisions for defence measures were

Then the Viscount summoned Chang Meng-t'an and asked: "Though our city-walls are now in good repair, provisions for defence measures are now ready, money and grain are now sufficient, and armour and weapons are now more than enough, yet what can I do without arrows?" In reply Chang Meng-t'an said: "As thy servant has heard, when Tung Tzu was governing Chin-yang, the fences of the Public Hall all had on their outer enclosures bush-clovers and thorny reeds, whose height nowadays reaches ten feet. Suppose Your Highness take them out and use them. There will then be more than enough arrows." Meanwhile, the Viscount had the reeds and the bushes taken out, had them tried, and found their stiffness not even surpassed by the strength of the stems of fraerant bamboos.

Soon afterwards the Viscount asked: "I have enough arrows, but what can I do without metal?" In reply Chang Meng-t'an said: "Thy servant has heard that when Tung Tzu was governing Chin-yang, the drawing rooms of the Public Hall and the Public Dormitory all had columns and pedestals made of refined copper. Suppose Your Highness were to get them out and use them." So the Viscount had them taken out and got more than enough metal.

No sooner than the commands and orders were established and provisions for defence measures were completed, the armies of the three enemy countries actually arrived.

Immediately after their arrival they fell on the city-walls of Chin-yang and started fighting. Yet, despite three months' engagement, they could not take the city; wherefore they spread out their troops and besieged it, and led the water of the river outside Chin-yang to inundate it. For three years they besieged the city of Chin-yang. In the meantime, the people inside had to make nests for living and hang up their pans for cooking. When money and foodstuffs were near exhaustion and officers and officials were worn out, Viscount Hsiang said to Chang Meng-t'an: "The provisions are scanty, the resources used up, and officers and officials worn out. I am afraid we shall not be able to hold out. If I want to surrender the city, to which country shall I surrender?" In reply Chang Meng-t'an said: "Thy servant has heard, 'If a wise man cannot rescue a doomed city from ruin and protect an endangered object against dangers, there is then no use esteeming wisdom.' Suppose Your Highness were to leave aside such an idea and let thy servant worm through the water and steal out to see the Rulers of Han and Wey."

When Chang Meng-t'an saw the Rulers of Han and Wey, he said: "Thy servant has heard, 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Now that Earl Chih has led Your Highnesses to invade Chao, Chao is on the verge of destruction. After the

fall of Chao, you both will fall next." "We know that is very likely to happen," said the two rulers, "but as Earl Chih is by nature suspicious of everybody and rarely kind to anybody, once he discloses our scheme, his devastation will befall us at once. What can we do then?" "The scheme coming out from the mouths of both of Your Highnesses," said Chang Meng-t'an, "slips only into thy servant's ears. Nobody else will ever know it." Accordingly, the two rulers promised Chang Meng-t'an the revolt of the two armies against Earl Chih and fixed a date. That night they sent Chang Meng-t'an off into Chinyang to report their plot to Viscount Hsiang. Frightened and pleased at the same time, Viscount Hsiang welcomed Meng-t'an and repeated salutations to him.

The two rulers, after having sent Chang Meng-t'an away with the promise, called on Earl Chih. On leaving they met Chih Kuo outside the gate of the commander's headquarters. Wondering at their looks, Chih Kuo went in to see Earl Chih and said to him: "The two lords in their facial expressions reveal their oncoming insurrection." "How?" asked the Earl. "They were in high spirits," replied Chih Kuo, "and walked with mincing steps. 36 Their attitude was no longer as prudent as before. Your Highness had better take drastic measures in advance." "The covenant I made with the two lords is very solemn," remarked the Earl. "Should Chao be smashed, its territory would be divided into three portions. Therefore, I have kept intimate terms with them. They will never deceive me. Moreover, it is three years since the allied forces were entrenched around Chin-yang. Now that we will take the city in no time and enjoy the spoils, how comes it that they have different minds? It won't be possible. Better discard the idea and never worry about it. Also never let it come out of your mouth again." Next morning the two rulers again called on the Earl, went out, and once more met Chih Kuo at the gate of the commander's headquarters. Chih Kuo then went in to see the Earl and asked, "Did Your Highness pass my words to the two lords?" "How do you know?" asked the Earl. "I know because this morning after they had called on Your Highness, when they were going out and saw thy servant, their looks shifted and their eyes gazed at thy servant. Doubtless, they are plotting an insurrection. Your Highness had better kill them." "Leave them alone," said the Earl, "and never again talk about them." "No," said Chih Kuo, "you should not leave them alone. You must kill them. If you won't kill them, then cultivate your friendship with them." cultivate my friendship with them?" asked the Earl. In reply Chih Kuo said: "The counsellor of Viscount Hsüan of Wey is Chao Chia and the counsellor of Viscount K'ang of Han is Tuan Kuei. Both are equally able to shift the policies of their masters. Suppose Your Highness promise their masters to enfeoff the two counsellors, each with a county of ten thousand families, after Chao is taken. In that case the two lords will have no reason to change their minds." "Upon the break-up of Chao," said Earl Chih, "I will have to divide the territory into three portions, and if in addition I have to enfeoff the two counsellors each with a county of ten thousand families, then what I get will be little. That won't do. Finding his advice not taken, Chih Kuo went away and changed his kinsmen into the Fu Clan.

On the appointed night the Chao Clan killed the enemy garrisons of the dikes and led the water to inundate the army of Earl Chih. Earl Chih's troops on keeping the water out fell into confusion. Meanwhile, Han and Wey launched a surprise attack from both sides while Viscount Hsiang led his forces to raid the front. They defeated Earl Chih's troops by long odds and captured Earl Chih. Earl Chih died, his forces were crushed, his country was divided into three, and he became a laughing-stock of the whole world. Hence the saying: "To keep covetous and self-opinionated fosters the root of self-destruction."

What is meant by "indulging in women singers"?

Of old, when Yu Yü was sent by the King of Jung to pay a courtesy visit to the court of Ch'in, Duke Mu asked him, saying: "I have heard about the right way of government but have not yet been able to witness it. I would like to know how and why the intelligent rulers of antiquity won and lost their states." In reply Yu Yü said: "Thy servant happens to have studied it carefully and found that by reason of their frugality they won their states, and by reason of their extravagance they lost their states." "I am at least worthy of asking you, an honourable scholar, about the right way of government. Yet how comes it that you put 'frugality' in your reply to my question?" asked Duke Mu. "Thy servant has heard." replied Yu Yü, "Yao, while ruling All-under-Heaven, ate from earthen plates and drank from earthen bowls. Within his dominion which extended as far as Chiao-chih in the south and Yu-tu in the north and in the east and the west as far as the horizons of sun-rise and moon-rise, sun-set and moon-set, everybody obeyed him willingly. When Yao gave up the rule over All-under-Heaven, Yü Shun accepted it. Thereupon Shun started making new table-wares. He hewed trees from the mountains and cut them into small pieces, which he first whittled, sawed, and smoothed away the traces of the axe, then lacquered them with varnish and ink, and finally transported them to the palace. Of the wood he made table

wares. Therefore, he was regarded by the feudal lords as far more extravagant than his predecessor. And the states that refused to obey him were thirteen. When Shun gave up the rule over All-under-Heaven and bequeathed it to Yü, Yü made sacrificial wares, which he varnished black outside and painted red inside. He had cushions made of pieces of thin, plain silk; mats made of water-oats and hemmed for decoration; cups and decanters embellished with pretty colours; and casks and basins made with ornaments. The extravagance having thus turned from bad to worse, the states that disobeyed were thirty-three. On the downfall of the Hsia-hou Clan the Yins took the reins of government. They then constructed big vehicles and made nine pennants. Their table-wares were carved; cups and decanters were engraved; the walls of the palace were painted white and the courtyard, chalky; and cushions and mats had beautiful designs on them. Such extravagance exceeding that of the predecessors, the states that disobeyed were fifty-three. Thus, the more arts of elegance and refinement the ruling class knew, the less were those willing to obey. Hence thy servant says: 'Frugality is the right way.' "
After Yu Yu had gone out, the Duke summoned the Officer

of the Censorate Liao and said to him: "I have heard that the presence of a sage in a neighbouring country is a constant threat to the enemy countries adjacent to it. Now Yu Yü is a sage, I am worrying about it. What shall I do?" In reply the Officer of the Censorate Liao said: "As thy servant has heard, the dwelling of the King of Jung is so rustic and so remote that he has never heard the music of the Central Land. Suppose Your Highness present him with women singers, disturb his state affairs thereby, then ask him to postpone the date of Yu Yü's return, and thereby keep off Yu Yü's remonstration. After the discord between ruler and minister appears, we can start plotting against their state." "Right," the Duke said, and then ordered the Officer of the Censorate Liao to take the present of sixteen women singers to the King of Jung and thereby ask him to postpone the date of Yu Yü's return. The request was granted by the King of Jung, who was greatly delighted at seeing the women singers. Thenceforth he set up wine feasts, held drinking parties, and spent every day in hearing music. He continued the same throughout the year, till half of his oxen and horses died off. When Yu Yü came back, he remonstrated with the King of Jung against such misconduct, but the King of Jung would not listen. At last Yu Yü left for Ch'in. Duke Mu of Ch'in welcomed him, appointed him Assistant Premier and asked him about the military strength and topographical features of the land of Jung. Having secured enough information he mobilized his army and attacked the country. In consequence he annexed twelve states and extended his territory one thousand li farther. Hence the saying: "To indulge in women singers and neglect the state affairs forecasts the catastrophe of state-ruin."

What is meant by "leaving home for distant travels"?

Once upon a time, while Viscount T'ien Ch'eng was travelling on the sea and amusing himself, he gave a verbal order to all high officials, saying, "Whoever talks about going home shall be put to death." Thereupon Yen Cho-chü remarked: "Your Highness is now travelling on the sea and amusing himself. What can be done in case ministers at home plot against the state? Though you are now enjoying yourself, what will you have when back home?" In reply Viscount T'ien Ch'eng said: "I have already issued the order, saying, 'Whoever talks about going home shall be put to death.' Now that you should have disobeyed my order!" So he took up a lance to assail him. "Remember in by-gone days," said Yen Cho-chü, "Chieh killed Kuan Lung-p'eng and Chow killed Prince Pi-kan. Now, though Your Highness kills thy servant and thus makes him the third martyr in the cause of loyalty, be sure that thy servant has spoken in the interests of the whole country and not for himself." So saying, he stretched his neck forward and added, "May Your Highness strike!" At once the ruler threw away the lance and urged his carriage to hurry home. Three days after his arrival home, he heard about some people planning to prevent Viscount T'ien Ch'eng from re-entering the state capital. Thanks to Yen Cho-chü's effort, Viscount T'ien Ch'eng finally had the Ch'i State in his grip. Hence the saying: "To leave home for distant travels and ignore remonstrants is the surest way to endanger one's august position at home."

What is meant by "committing faults and turn no ear to loyal ministers"?

In by-gone days, Duke Huan of Ch'i called the feudal lords to meet nine times, brought All-under-Heaven under one rule, and became the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers. And Kuan Chung assisted him. When Kuan Chung became aged and unable to attend to his duties, he retired to live at his home. One day Duke Huan went to call on him and asked: "Uncle Chung is ill at home. If by any unlucky chance you should not be up and doing again, to whom should the state affairs be entrusted?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "Thy servant is old and hardly worth consulting. Nevertheless, thy servant has heard, 'Nobody knows the ministers better than the ruler does just as nobody knows the sons better than the father does.'

Suppose Your Highness select one according to his judgement."

"How about Pao Shu-ya?" asked the Duke. "No." replied Kuan Chung. "For Pao Shu-ya is by nature rigorous, self-opinionated, and stubborn-minded. Rigorous, he is likely to be violent towards the people. Self-opinionated, he cannot win the hearts of the people. If he is stubborn-minded, nobody is willing to work under him and all are not afraid of him. Therefore he is not the right kind of assistant to the Hegemonic Ruler."

"Then how about Shu Tiao?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "Such is human nature, indeed, that everybody loves his own body. Now because Your Highness was habitually jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself for the single purpose of administering the harem. If he could not love his own body, how would he be able to love his master?"

"Then how about Prince K'ai-fang of Wei?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "The distance between Ch'i and Wei is not more than ten days' walk. Yet K'ai-fang in order to serve Your Highness and meet his needs never went home for fifteen years to see his parents. Such is against human nature. If he could not hold his parents in affectionate esteem, how would he be so able to hold his master?"

"Well, then, how about Yi-ya?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "Indeed, Yi-ya was in charge of the tastes of Your Highness's diet, and, finding that what Your Highness had never tasted was human flesh only, he steamed the head of his son and presented his master with the rare taste. This is what Your Highness remembers. Nevertheless, such is human nature that everybody loves his own son. Now that he steamed his own son to make food for his master, if he could not even love his own son, how would he be able to love his master?"

"Well, then, who will be the right man?" asked the Duke. "Hsi P'eng is he," replied Kuan Chung. "For he is habitually steadfast in mind and upright towards people and has few wants but many credits. Indeed, steadfast in mind, he can offer an example to others; upright towards people, he can be appointed to important office; having few wants, he will be able to subject the masses; and having many credits, he will be able to make friends with the neighbouring states. A man like this is the right kind of assistant to the Hegemonic Ruler. Suppose Your Highness employ him." "Certainly," said the Duke.

More than one year later, Kuan Chung died, but the Duke did not employ Hsi P'eng but passed the reins of government to Shu Tiao. Shu Tiao had handled the state affairs for three years already, when Duke Huan travelled southward to T'ang-fu. Thereupon Shu Tiao, leading Yi-ya, Prince K'ai-fang of Wei, and the chief vassals, launched a rebellion. In consequence, Duke Huan died of thirst and hunger in heavily-guarded confinement inside the bed chamber by the south gate. There his dead body lay uncovered for three months, until worms crawled outdoors.

But why was it that Duke Huan was at last murdered by his ministers, deprived of his high reputation, and laughed at by All-under-Heaven, although his armies had marched everywhere in the world and he had become the first Hegemonic Ruler himself? It was because of his fault in turning no ear to Kuan Chung. Hence the saying: "To commit faults, turn no ear to loyal ministers, and enforce one's own opinions, destroys one's high reputation and sets people to laugh at one."

What is meant by "not consolidating the forces within one's boundaries"?

Of old, when Ch'in was attacking Yi-yang, the Han Clan was in imminent danger. Thereupon Kung-chung P'eng said to the Ruler of Han: "Our allies are not reliable. Is it not the best policy to make peace with Ch'in through Chang Yi's good offices? Suppose we bribe Ch'in with a famous city and join her in her southward campaign against Ch'u. This will appease our trouble with Ch'in and defeat her friendship with Ch'u." "Good," the Ruler said, and then ordered Kung-chung to set out westward to make peace with Ch'in.

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When the King of Ch'u heard about this scheme, he felt uneasy, summoned Ch'en Chen, and said to him: "P'eng of Han is going westward to make peace with Ch'in. What shall we do?" In reply Ch'en Chen said: "Ch'in, after receiving one city from Han, will mobilize her best-trained soldiers, and will turn the combined forces of Ch'in and Han southward against Ch'u. This is what the King of Ch'in has sought in his prayer at his ancestral shrine. No doubt, they will do Ch'u harm. Suppose Your Majesty quickly send out a good-will envoy to present the Ruler of Han with many chariots and precious gifts and say: 'My country, small as it is, has already mobilized all her forces. I am hoping your great country will display high morale before the Ch'in invaders, and accordingly expects you to send a delegation to our border to watch our mobilization.'"

Han actually sent a delegation to Ch'u. The King of Ch'u, accordingly, despatched chariots and cavalry and lined them up along the northern road. Then he told the Han delegation to inform the Ruler of Han that his troops were about to cross

the border and enter the territory of Han. The delegation brought back the message to the Ruler of Han, who was thereby greatly pleased and stopped Kung-chung from going westward. "No, I should not stop going westward," said Kung-chung, "For Ch'in is harassing us in reality while Ch'u is rescuing us only in name. To listen to the empty words of Ch'u and make light of the real disaster which Ch'in is causing, is the outset of endangering the country." The Ruler of Han would not take Kung-chung's advice, wherefore Kung-chung was angry, went home, and for ten days never visited the court.

The situation at Yi-yang became more and more threatening, when the Ruler of Han despatched envoys to press for reinforcements from Ch'u. One envoy followed on the heels of another so closely that their hats and canopies were almost within one another's sight; but all in vain. Yi-yang was finally taken and the Ruler of Han became a laughing-stock of the feudal lords. Hence the saying: "Not to consolidate the forces within one's boundaries but to rely on other feudal lords causes the country the calamity of dismemberment."

What is meant by "insulting big powers despite the smallness of one's own state"?

In by-gone days, when Prince Ch'ung-erh of Chin was living in exile, he once passed through the Ts'ao State. The Ruler of Ts'ao made him take off his sleeves and upper coat and looked at him. Hsi Fu-chi and Shu Chan then attended in the front. The latter said to the Ruler of Ts'ao: "As far as thy servant can see, the Prince of Chin is not an ordinary man. Your Highness has handled him without mittens. Should he ever get the opportunity to return to his native country and raise armies, he might cause Ts'ao a great harm. Suppose Your Highness kill him now." The Ruler of Ts'ao took no notice, however.

Hsi Fu-chi went home, feeling unhappy. So his wife asked him: "Your Excellency has just come home from outdoors but has some unpleasant colour on the face. Why?" In reply Hsi Fu-chi said: "As I have heard, 'When the ruler has good luck. it will not visit me; but when he has bad luck, it will befall me.' To-day His Highness summoned the Prince of Chin and accorded him very discourteous treatment. I was attending before him. Therefore I have felt unhappy." "As far as I can see." said his wife. "the Prince of Chin will be a ruler of ten thousand chariots, and his followers will be ministers to the ruler of ten thousand chariots. Now that he has been destitute and forced to seek refuge in foreign countries and is passing through Ts'ao and Ts'ao is treating him so impolitely, if he ever returns to his native country, he will, no doubt, punish all breakers of etiquette, and then Ts'ao will be the first victim. Why don't you yourself now treat him differently?" "Certainly, I will," replied Fu-chi. He, accordingly, put gold in pots, covered them with food, placed jades upon them, and at night sent men to present them to the Prince. Seeing the messengers, the Prince repeated his salutations and accepted the food but declined the jades.

From Ts'ao the Prince entered Ch'u, and from Ch'u entered Ch'in. After he had staved in Ch'in for three years, Duke Mu of Ch'in one day summoned all ministers for consultation, saying: "That in by-gone days Duke Hsien of Chin kept intimate friendship with me, every feudal lord has heard. Unfortunately Duke Hsien passed away from the body of officials. It is nearly ten years since. His successors so far have been no good. I am therefore afraid lest this state of continuous chaos should leave their ancestral shrine deserted and deprive their Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of regular offerings. To make no decision to restore order to the country is not the way to maintain my intimate friendship with them. I am therefore thinking of supporting Ch'ung-erh and installing him on the throne of Chin. How do you think?' "Fine," replied all the ministers. Thereupon the Duke raised an army of five hundred leather-covered chariots, two thousand good horsemen, and fifty thousand foot-soldiers, to help Ch'ungerh enter Chin and establish him as Ruler of Chin.

After having been on the throne for three years, Ch'ungerh raised an army and fell upon Ts'ao. He, accordingly, ordered his men to say to the Ruler of Ts'ao, "Seize Shu Chan and send him outside the city. His Highness will kill him as an expiatory punishment for his insult of His Highness." He also ordered his men to say to Hsi Fu-chi, "My troops are storming the city. I understand very well that formerly you never meant to offend me. Put a sign on the gate of your residential quarters. I will issue a decree, ordering the troops not to trespass on it." The people of Ts'ao, hearing about this, brought their relatives into Hsi Fu-chi's residential quarters, where upwards of seven hundred families had safety. This was the effect of his respectfulness to the Prince.

Thus, Ts'ao was a small state pressed between Chin and Ch'u. Its ruler was in constant danger as piled eggs are, but he accorded the Prince of Chin such a discourteous reception. This was the reason why his posterity was wiped out. Hence the saying: "To insult big powers despite the smallness of one's own country and take no advice from remonstrants paves the way to the extinction of one's posterity."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 11.

Solitary Indignation

Men well versed in the principles of tact are always farseeing and clearly observing. For, if not clearly observing, they cannot discern selfishness. Men able to uphold the law are always decisive and straightforward. For, if not straightforward, they cannot correct crookedness.

Ministers who attend to their duties in conformity to orders and fulfil their posts in accordance with laws, are not called "heavy-handed men". The heavy-handed men would without any order act on their will, benefit themselves by breaking the law, help their families by consuming state resources, and have enough power to manipulate their ruler. Such are the so-called "heavy-handed men".

called "heavy-handed men".

Men well versed in the principles of tact, being clearly observing, if listened to and taken into service by the ruler, will discern the secret motives of the heavy-handed men. Men able to uphold the law, being straightforward, if listened to and taken into service by the ruler, will correct the crooked deeds of the heavy-handed men. In short, if these types of men are taken into service, noble and powerful ministers will infallibly fall off the inked string. This is the reason why they and the authorities in charge of the state affairs are bad enemies and unable to coexist.

If the authorities concerned take all matters of the state into their own hands, then everybody, whether outside or inside the court, will be bound to become their tool. Thus, unless through their good offices, feudal lords from abroad cannot accomplish any negotiation, wherefore even enemy states praise them; unless through their good offices, no official in governmental service can advance his career, wherefore the body of officials becomes their tool; unless through their good offices, the courtiers cannot approach the sovereign, wherefore the courtiers conceal their vices; and, unless through their good offices, the allowances of scholars will decrease and the treatment accorded them will deteriorate, wherefore the learned men speak well of them. These four assistances are means whereby wicked ministers embellish themselves

The heavy-handed men cannot be so loyal to the sovereign as to recommend their enemies and the lord of men cannot rise above their four assistances in such wise as to discern the right types of ministers. Therefore, the more deluded the sovereign is, the more powerful the chief vassals become.

In general, the authorities concerned, in relation to the lord of men, are rarely not trusted and beloved, and, moreover, are his old acquaintances and long time intimates. To please the sovereign's mind by sharing the same likes and hates with him, is, of course, their beaten way of self-elevation. Their posts and ranks are noble and powerful; their friends and partisans are numerous; and the whole country praises them with one accord. Contrary to these, upholders of law and tact, when they want to approach the Throne, have neither the relationship of the trusted and beloved nor the favour of the long acquaintances and old intimates, and, what is still worse. intend to reform the biased mind of the lord of men with lectures on law and tact; which altogether is opposed to the taste of the lord of men. Naturally they have to acquiesce in a low and humble status and, having no partisans, live in solitude and singleness.

Indeed, the strange and distant, when contesting with the near and dear, have no reason to win; newcomers and travellers, when contesting with long acquaintances and old intimates, have no reason to win; opponents of the sovereign's opinion, when contesting with his supporters of the same taste, have no reason to win; the humble and powerless, when contesting with the noble and powerful, have no reason to win; and a single mouth, when contesting with the whole country, has no reason to win. Confronted with these five handicaps, upholders of law and tact, though they wait for a number of years, are still unable to see the sovereign. On the contrary, the authorities concerned, possessed of the advantages of five winnings, speak freely to the Throne at any time. If so, how can upholders of law and tact distinguish themselves and when can the lord of men realize his own mistakes?

Being thus hopelessly handicapped in their equipment and rendered incompatible with the authorities by force of circumstances, how can upholders of law and tact avoid dangers? Those who can be falsely accused of criminal offences are censured with state laws; those who cannot be indicted as criminals are ended by private swordsmen. For this reason, those who clarify the principles of law and tact but act contrary to the sovereign's taste, if not executed through official censure, are infallibly dispatched by private swordsmen.

However, friends and partisans who form juntas on purpose to delude the sovereign and twist their words so as to benefit themselves, always win the confidence of the heavy-handed men. Accordingly, those who can be accorded the pretext of meritorious services are ennobled with official rank; those who cannot be accorded any good reputation are empowered through foreign influences. For this reason, men who delude the sovereign and frequent the gates of private mansions, if

not celebrated for official rank, are always empowered through foreign influence.

In these days, the lord of men, without investigating evidence and witness, inflicts censure and punishment upon upholders of law and tact, and, without waiting for meritorious services to appear, confers rank and bounties upon friends and partisans of the authorities. If so, how can the upholders of law and tact risk their lives in presenting their ideas to the Throne, and how would the wicked ministers discard their private advantages and withdraw themselves from office? Therefore, the more humbled the sovereign is, the more ennobled are the private clans.

Indeed, the Yüeh State was rich and her army was strong. Yet the sovereign of every Central State, knowing that she was useless to him, would say: "She is not within the reach of my control." Take for example a state at present. However extensive the territory and however numerous the people, if the lord of men is deluded and the chief vassals have all powers to themselves, that state is the same as Yüeh. If the ruler only perceives no resemblance of his state to Yüeh but fails to perceive no resemblance of the state out of his control to the state under his control, he never thoroughly understands what resemblance is.

People speak of the fall of Ch'i. Not that the land and cities fell to pieces, but that the Lü Clan failed to rule while the T'ien Clan assumed the ruling power. They speak of the fall of Chin. Not that the land and cities fell to pieces, but that the Chi Clan failed to rule while the Six Nobles had all powers to themselves. To-day, if chief vassals have the ruling power in their grip and decide on all state policies by themselves and the sovereign does not know how to recover his prerogatives, it is because the lord of men is not intelligent. Whoever catches the same diseases as dead people did, cannot survive; whoever shows the same symptoms as ruined states did, cannot exist. Therefore, the present followers of the footsteps of Ch'i and Chin, even though they want to secure and preserve their states, will find it to be an unattainable task.

In general, the difficulty in enacting law and tact is met not only by rulers of ten thousand chariots but also by rulers of one thousand chariots. As the attendants of the lord of men are not necessarily intelligent, if in estimating new personnel he first takes counsel from men whom he considers wise and then discusses their words with his attendants, he is talking about wise men to fools. As the attendants of the lord of men are not necessarily worthy, if in estimating new personnel he first pays respect to men whom he considers worthy and then discusses their deeds with his attendants, he is talking about worthies to ruffians. If wise men have to submit their plans for fools' approval and worthies have to see their deeds estimated by ruffians, men of worthiness and wisdom will feel ashamed and the ruler's conclusions will be full of fallacies.

Among the sovereign's subjects aspiring to official honours, refined men would keep their characters clean, and wise men would advance their careers by improving their eloquence. They cannot please anybody with bribes. Counting on their cleanness and eloquence, they are unable to join governmental service by bending the law. Consequently, refined and intelligent men would neither bribe the attendants nor comply with private requests.

The attendants of the lord of men are not as upright in conduct as Poh-i. If they fail to get what they want and receive the bribes they expect, then the refined and intelligent men's merits of cleanness and eloquence will come to naught while words of slander and false accusation will ensue instead. When merits of eloquence are restricted by the courtiers and virtues of cleanness are estimated by slanderers, then refined and intelligent magistrates will be deposed while the sagacity of the lord of men will be debarred. When the ruler estimates wisdom and virtue not according to meritorious services and judges crimes and faults not through the processes of investigation and testimony but simply listens to the words of the courtiers and attendants, then incapable men will fill up the court and stupid and corrupt magistrates will occupy all posts

The threat to the ruler of ten thousand charjots is the chief vassals' being too powerful. The threat to the ruler of one thousand chariots is the attendants' being too much trusted. Both these threats, indeed, are common to every lord of men. Moreover, whether ministers commit major offences or the lord of men has serious faults, ruler and minister always have mutually different interests. How is this known? In reply I say: The sovereign is interested in appointing able men to office: the minister is interested in securing employment with no competent abilities. The sovereign is interested in awarding rank and bounties for distinguished services; the minister is interested in obtaining wealth and honour without merit. The sovereign is interested in having heroic men exerting their abilities; the minister is interested in having their friends and partisans effect self-seeking purposes. Accordingly, when the land of the state is dismembered, private families are enriched; when the sovereign is degraded, chief vassals are empowered. In consequence, when the sovereign loses his influence, ministers gain the rule over the state; when the sovereign changes his title into that of a feudatory vassal, the prime

minister splits tallies into halves. These are the reasons why ministers attempt to beguile the ruler and further their private interests."

Thus, if the sovereign ever changes the circumstances, not even two or three out of ten chief vassals of the present age can remain in favour with him. What is the reason therefor? It is because crimes committed by ministers are serious.

Ministers guilty of major offences must have deceived their sovereign. Such crimes deserve the death penalty. The wise men, far-seeing and afraid of death, never will obey the heavy-handed men. Similarly, the worthies, anxious to cultivate their personal integrity and ashamed of joining the wicked ministers in deceiving the sovereign, never will obey the chief vassals. That being so, the adherents and dependents of the authorities concerned, if not stupid and ignorant of the impending calamity, must be corrupt and mind no wickedness.

The chief vassals, holding such stupid and corrupt men under control, co-operate with them in deceiving the sovereign from above and collect spoils from below. Their friends and partisans exploit the masses of the people, associate for treasonable purposes, bewilder the sovereign by unifying their words, and disturb the gentry and commoners by breaking the law. In so doing they incline the state towards danger and dismemberment and the sovereign towards hardship and disgrace. Such is a major offence. When ministers are guilty of such a major offence and the sovereign never suppresses them, he is then committing a serious fault. Should the sovereign commit such a serious fault and ministers commit such a major offence, to prevent the state from going to ruin would be impossible.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 12.

Difficulties in the Way of Persuation

1. —Difficulties in the way of persuasion, generally speaking, are not difficulties in my knowledge with which I persuade the ruler, nor are they difficulties in my skill of argumentation which enables me to make my ideas clear, nor are they difficulties in my courage to exert my abilities without reserve. As a whole, the difficulties in the way of persuasion lie in my knowing the heart of the persuaded in order thereby to fit my wording into it.

If the persuaded strives after high fame while you persuade him of big profit, you will be considered low-bred, accorded mean treatment, and shunned from afar. If the persuaded strives after big profit while you persuade him of high fame, you will be considered mindless and ignorant of worldly affairs and will never be accepted. If the persuaded strives after big profit in secret but openly seeks for high fame while you persuade him of high fame, you will be accepted in name but kept distant in fact; and, if you persuade him of big profit, your word will be adopted in secret but your person will be left out openly. These points should be carefully deliberated.

Indeed, affairs succeed if kept secret and fail if divulged. Though you never intend to expose the ruler's secrets, yet if you happen to speak of anything he wants to conceal, you are then in danger. When the ruler embarks openly on an enterprise but plans thereby to accomplish a different task, if the persuader knows not only its motive but also its purpose, he is then in danger. When the persuader has devised an extraordinary scheme which suits the ruler, if another wise man finds it out by inferring it from other sources and divulges the secret to the world, the ruler will think he has divulged the secret, wherefore he is in danger. If the persuader exhausts all his wisdom before his master's favour becomes thick, then though his persuasion prevails and has merits, his fruitful services will be forgotten with ease. If his persuasion takes no effect and has demerits, he will fall under suspicion. In such a case he is in danger. Supposing the ruler had an aptitude for certain faults and the persuader spoke plainly on propriety and righteousness and thereby challenged his vices, he would be in danger. If the ruler has taken a scheme from somebody else, which he assumes to be his own work, and the persuader happens to know the whole secret, he is in danger. Whoever forcibly persuades the ruler to do what he cannot do and not to do what he cannot stop doing, is in danger.

Therefore, if you talk about great men to him, he thinks you are intimating his defects. If you talk about small men to him, he thinks you are showing off your superiority. If you discuss an object of his love, he thinks you are expecting a special favour from it. If you discuss an object of his hate, he thinks you are testing his temper. If you simplify your discussion, he thinks you are unwise and will spurn you. If your discussion is lucidly wayward and extensively refined, he thinks you are superficial and flippant. If you omit details and present generalizations only, he thinks you are cowardly and incomplete. If you trace the principles of facts and use wide illustrations, he thinks you are rustic and arrogant. These are difficulties in the way of persuasion, which every persuader should know.

2. —In general, the business of the persuader is to embellish the pride and obliterate the shame of the persuaded. If he has any private urgent need, you ought to encourage him with the cause of public justice. If the persuaded has a mean intention but cannot help it, you ought to praise its excellent points and minimize its harmfulness to the public. If he has a high ambition in mind but his real ability falls short of the mark, you ought to enumerate its mistakes, disclose its disadvantages, and esteem his suspension from realizing it. If he aspires to the pride of wisdom and talent, you ought to enumerate different species of the same genus with reference to every object of knowledge and thereby supply him with abundant information and let him derive ideas from you but pretend to ignorance of his derivation so as to elevate his wisdom.

If you want the persuaded to adopt your suggestion to cultivate inter-state friendship, you ought to explain it in the light of a glorious cause and intimate its accord with his private interest. If you want to describe things dangerous and injurious to the state welfare, you ought to enumerate the reproaches and slanders against them first and then intimate their discord with his private interest.

Praise those men doing the same things as he does. Esteem the tasks under the same scheme as his tasks are. In regard to men having the same faults as he has, be sure to defend their harmlessness. In regard to men having met the same failures as he met, be sure to bring out their incurring no loss. If he makes much of his own strength, do not bring in any difficult task that impedes him. If he thinks his own decisions brave, do not point out their unlawfulness; that angers him. If he thinks his own scheme wise, do not recall his past failures which embarrass him. When your meaning is not offensive and your wording is not flippant, you are then under way to use all your wisdom and eloquence to persuade anybody. In this way you can become near and dear to him, avoid all suspicion, and exert your speech to the utmost.

I Yin had to work as a cook and Pai-li Hsi had to go as a captive, both aiming thereby to approach their masters. These two men were sages. Still they could not help lowering themselves to such a humble level in order to introduce themselves to notice. Now take me as cook or captive. If you find it possible to take advice from me, carry out my suggestion, and thereby save the world, it is no shame to an able man

Indeed, as days multiply in the long course of time and favour with the ruler grows well-grounded, when you are no longer suspected of devising schemes profoundly and not convicted in joining issue with the ruler on any point, then you may frankly weigh the relative advantages and disadvantages of the trend of the times and thereby forecast your meritorious services and straightly point out what is right and what is wrong in the course of government and thereby assert yourself. If ruler and minister stand together in such relationship. It is due to the success of persuasion.

3. —In by-gone days, Duke Wu of Cheng, thinking of invading Hu, married his daughter to the Ruler of Hu and thereby pleased his mind. Then he asked his ministers, "I am thinking of starting a military campaign. Which country should be invaded?" In reply High Officer Kuan Ch'i-Ssu said, "Hu should be invaded." Angered thereby, Duke Wu executed him saying: "Hu is a sister state. Why do you suggest invading her?" Hearing about this, the Ruler of Hu thought Cheng was friendly to him and so took no precaution against her invasion. Meanwhile, the Chengs made a surprise attack upon Hu and took the country.

There was in Sung a rich man. Once it rained and his mud fence collapsed. Thereupon his son said: "If the fence is not immediately rebuilt, burglars might come." So also did the father of his neighbours say to him. On the evening of that day he incurred a great loss of money. Thereafter his family had high regard for his son's wisdom but suspected the father of the neighbours.

Now, what these two men said came out equally true. Yet, the one in the serious case met the death penalty while the other in the minor case incurred suspicion. Not that they had difficulties in getting knowledge, but that they had difficulties in using their knowledge.

Therefore, Jao Ch'ao, after his words had proved true, became a sage in Chin but was executed in Ch'in. This is what every persuader should carefully deliberate.

In by-gone days, Mi Tzu-hsia was in favour with the Ruler of Wei. According to the Law of the Wei State, "whoever in secret rides in the Ruler's coach shall have his feet cut off." Once Mi Tzu-hsia's mother fell ill. Somebody, hearing about this, sent a message to Mi Tzu late at night. Thereupon Mi Tzu on the pretence of the Ruler's order rode in the Ruler's coach. At the news of this, the Ruler regarded his act as worthy, saying: "How dutiful he is! For his mother's sake he even forgot that he was committing a crime making him liable to lose his feet." Another day, when taking a stroll with the Ruler in an orchard, he ate a peach. It being so sweet, he did not finish it, but gave the Ruler the remaining half to eat. So, the Ruler said: "You love me so much indeed, that you would even forget your own saliva taste and let me eat the rest of the When the colour of Mi Tzu faded, the Ruler's love for him slackened. Once he happened to offend the Ruler, the Ruler said: "This fellow once rode in my coach under pretence of my order and another time gave me a half-eaten peach." The deeds of Mi Tzu had themselves never changed. Yet he was

at first regarded as worthy and later found guilty because his master's love turned into hate.

Therefore, if anybody stands in his master's favour, his wisdom will function well and his intimacy with him will grow; once he incurs the master's hatred, his wisdom will stop functioning and his relationship with him will become more and more distant. For this reason, whoever attempts remonstration, persuasion, explanation, and discussion, before the Throne, must carefully observe the sovereign's feelings of love and hate before he starts persuading him. Indeed, when the dragon moves like a worm, man can tame it, play with it, and ride on its back. However, there are below its throat inverted scales, each one foot in diameter. These scales would kill anyone touching them. So does the lord of men have inverted scales. Any persuader able to avoid touching the inverted scales of the lord of men must be very near to the mastery of the art of persuasion.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 13.

The Difficulty of Pien Ho

Once a man of Ch'u, named Pien Ho, came by an uncut jade in the Ch'u Hills. He brought it home and submitted it as a present to King Wu. Thereupon King Wu had a jeweller give an opinion of it. "It is an ordinary stone," said the jeweller. The King, regarding Ho as a liar, had his left foot cut off. Upon King Wu's death, King Wen ascended the throne, when Ho again submitted it as a present to King Wen. King Wen also had a jeweller give an opinion of it. Again he said, "It is an ordinary stone." The King, also regarding Ho as a liar, had his right foot cut off.

When King Wen died and King Ch'eng ascended the throne, Ho, carrying the uncut jade in his arms, cried at the foot of the Ching Hills. After three days and three nights his tears were all exhausted and blood flowed out. At this news the King sent men out to ask him the reason, saying, "Throughout All-under-Heaven men whose feet were cut off are many. Why should you be crying so bitterly?" "I am lamenting not the loss of my feet," said Ho in reply, "but for the calling a precious gem an ordinary stone and for their dubbing an honest man a liar. This is the reason why I am lamenting." Meanwhile, the King had a jeweller polish up the jade and got the treasure out at last. So it was designated "the Jade of Pien Ho".

Indeed, pearls and gems are what the lord of men wants badly. Though Ho presented the uncut jade to the Throne, before it was made beautiful, he was never a harm to His Majesty. Nevertheless, it was only after both his feet had been cut off that the treasure was acknowledged. That to establish an opinion of a treasure should be so difficult!

To-day, the lord of men feels the need of law and tact not necessarily as badly as he wants the Jade of Pien Ho, whereas he has to suppress the self-seeking wickedness of all officials, gentry, and commoners. That being so, upholders of the right way of government are not punished because they have not as yet presented the uncut jade of emperors and kings to the Throne.

If the sovereign uses tact, then neither the chief vassals can fix the state policies at their will, nor will the courtiers dare to sell off any personal favour. If the magistrate enforces the law, then vagabonds have to turn to tillage while itinerants have to stop talking about warfare. If so, law and tact offer a drawback to the officials, gentry, and commoners. Therefore, unless the lord of men can rise against the chief vassals' protests, above the vagabonds' slanders, and exclusively follow the dicta of the true path, upholders of law and tact, even though driven to the verge of death, will never see the true path acknowledged.

In by-gone days, Wu Ch'i taught King Tao of Ch'u a state policy for Ch'u, saying: "When chief vassals are too powerful and enfeoffed retainers too numerous, the body of officials will intimidate the ruler and oppress the people, which is the way to impoverish the state and weaken the army. Therefore, better confiscate the ranks and bounties of the enfeoffed retainers after the third generation of their successors, reduce the salaries and allowances of the magistrates, and eliminate such superfluous offices as of no urgent need, in order thereby to maintain well-chosen and well-trained warriors." King Tao, after enforcing this policy for a year, passed away, whereupon Wu Ch'i was dismembered in Ch'u.

Lord Shang taught Duke Hsiao of Ch'in to organize groups of ten and five families, and establish the system of denunciation of crime and joint responsibility for offence, to burn the Books of Poetry and History and thereby make laws and orders clear, to bar the requests of private families and thereby encourage services to public offices, to prohibit idlers from purchasing official posts, and to celebrate farmers and warriors. The theory was carried into effect by Duke Hsiao with the immediate result that the sovereign thereby became glorious and secure and the state thereby became rich and strong. Eighteen years later the Duke passed away, whereupon Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots in Ch'in.

Ch'u, not employing Wu Ch'i, was dismembered and disturbed; Ch'in, practising the Law of Lord Shang, became rich and strong. Though the two philosophers' words turned

out true, yet how came it that Ch'u dismembered Wu Ch'i and Ch'in tore Lord Shang to pieces by chariots? It was because the chief vassals had regarded law as annoyance and the masses had resented order. Now that in the present age the chief vassals' covetousness of power and the masses' content with disorder are more vivid than the conditions that once prevailed in Ch'u and Ch'in, if the lord of men does not have the same aptitude for counsels as King Tao and Duke Hsiao had, then how can upholders of law and tact run the risk of the two philosophers to make their principles of law and tact clear? This is the reason why the age is chaotic and has no Hegemonic Ruler.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 14

Ministers Apt to Betray, Molest, or Murder the Ruler

Wicked ministers, in general, all think of following the mind of the lord of men in order to attain the status of enjoying the sovereign's confidence and favour. For this reason, whatever the sovereign likes they praise accordingly; whatever the sovereign hates they blame accordingly. On the whole, such is the general nature of mankind that people regard each other as right if their matters of acceptance and rejection are in common, and as wrong if their matters of acceptance and rejection are diverse. Now that what the ministers praise is what the lord of men regards as right, this is called "acceptance in common"; since what the ministers blame is what the sovereign regards as wrong, this is called "rejection in common". Indeed, people who have their matters of acceptance and rejection in common and offend each other. are never heard of. That is the way the ministers win the sovereign's confidence and favour.

Indeed, if wicked ministers can take advantage of the status of enjoying the sovereign's confidence and favour to blame, praise, promote, and degrade the officials, it is because the lord of men has neither the tact and measure to keep them under control nor the procedures of comparison and verification to judge them. Worse than this, because in the past they held every judgement in common with him, he would believe in any word they now utter. This is the reason why favourite ministers can deceive the sovereign and accomplish self-seeking tasks. In consequence, the sovereign is always deluded and the ministers are always powerful. Such ministers are called "lord-manipulating vassals".

If the state has "lord-manipulating vassals", then no official will be able to exert his wisdom and strength and thereby express his spirit of loyalty nor will any magistrate be able to uphold the law and thereby accomplish his merits. How to explain this? Indeed, to choose safety and profit and leave danger and trouble, this is human nature. Now, if men who, being ministers to a ruler, apply their forces to accomplish their merits and exert their wisdom to express their spirit of loyalty, eventually plunge themselves into misery, incline their families towards poverty, and entangle their fathers and sons in their own troubles, and if those who delude the sovereign for the sake of wicked profits and serve nobles and vassals with bribes of cash and commodities, always glorify themselves, enrich their families, and benefit their fathers and sons, then how can people leave the way to safety and profit and choose the place of danger and trouble? Should there be such a fault in the government of the state, it is clear that it would be impossible for the superior to expect the inferior to do no wickedness and the magistrates to uphold the law.

For this reason, as soon as the attendants come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by remaining honest and faithful, they will certainly say: "When we serve the superior honestly and faithfully and increase our meritorious services, to seek safety is as hopeless as to distinguish between black and white colours with blind eyes. When by following the true path and the right tact we serve the superior, practise righteous principles, and never covet wealth and nobility, to seek safety is the same as to discriminate between flat and sharp notes with deaf ears, which is still more hopeless. If neither road leads to safety, why should we not associate for the purpose of deluding the sovereign, committing villainy, and thereby pleasing the heavy-handed men?" Such people will no longer regard the intentions of the lord of men.

Likewise, as soon as officials of all posts come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by playing square and upright, they will certainly say: "When we serve the superior cleanly and incorruptibly, to seek safety is as hopeless as to make squares and circles without the carpenter's compasses and squares. If we hold office by observing the law and not forming juntos, to seek safety is the same as to scratch the head with the foot, which is still more hopeless. If neither road leads to safety, why should we not discard the law, practise selfishness, and thereby please the heavy-handed men?" Such people will no longer regard the laws of the sovereign.

Such being the case, those who work for the heavy-handed men by practising selfishness are many; those who serve the ruler by observing the law are few. For this reason, the sovereign stands in isolation above while the ministers form juntos below. This was the very reason why Tien Ch'eng finally murdered Duke Chien. Indeed, tactful men, when ministering to a ruler, would enforce theories of regulations and measures to clarify the law of the sovereign and harass wicked ministers in order to glorify the sovereign and tranquillize the state. Accordingly, as soon as theories of regulations and measures are enforced, reward and punishment will infallibly become applicable. The lord of men will then earnestly illustrate the tact of the sage but never have to follow the commonplaces of the world. He will decide between right and wrong according to the relation between name and fact and scrutinize words and phrases by means of comparison and verification.

For this reason, attendants and courtiers, as soon as they come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by means of falsehood and deceit, will certainly say: "If we do not stop wicked deeds and apply our strength and exert our wisdom to serve the sovereign, but merely associate with one another for treasonable purposes and make arbitrary blame and praise so as to seek safety, it is as hopeless as to expect to live by falling into an abyss of immeasurable depth with a weight of thirty thousand catties carried on the back."

Likewise, officials of all posts, as soon as they come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by coveting wicked profits, will certainly say: "If we do not obey the law by keeping ourselves pure, incorruptible, square, and upright, but simply want to secure wicked profits by bending the law with the greedy and corrupt minds, it is as hopeless as to expect to live by going up to the top of a high hill and then falling down into the bottom of a deep ravine."

If the road to safety and danger is so clear, then how can the attendants beguile the sovereign with empty words? And how dare the officials exploit the masses covetously? Accordingly, ministers able to express their spirit of loyalty are never put out of sight; inferiors able to attend to their duties never show resentment. That was the way Kuan Chung governed Ch'i and Lord Shang strengthened Ch'in.

From such a viewpoint, I can see that the sage in governing the state pursues the policy of making the people inevitably do him good 13 but never relies on their doing him good with love. For to rely on the people's doing him good with love is dangerous, but to rely on their inevitability to do him good is safe.

To be sure, ruler and minister having no blood kinship, if able to seek safety by following the right and straight way, the minister will apply all his strength to serve the sovereign; if unable to seek safety by following the right and straight way, he will practise selfishness and thereby violate the superior. Knowing this well, the intelligent sovereign simply establishes the system of advantages and disadvantages and thereby shows the world what is right and what is wrong.

Certainly for this reason, though the lord of men neither teaches the officials with his own mouth nor finds the culprits and ruffians with his own eyes, yet the state is always orderly. The lord of men does not have to possess such eyes as those of Li Lou in order to be bright, nor does he have to possess such ears as those of Musician K'uang in order to be acute. If he does not trust to measures but relies on his eyes alone for his brightness, then what he sees will be little. For it is not the technique to avoid delusion. If he does not count on his august position but relies on his own ears alone for his acuteness, then what he hears will be little enough. For it is not the way to avoid deception. The intelligent sovereign would make All-under-Heaven inevitably see and hear on his behalf. Therefore, though his person is confined in the innermost court, his brightness illumines everything within the four seas. If nobody in All-under-Heaven can delude or deceive him, what is the reason therefor? It is because the roads to darkness and chaos have crumbled while the faculties of acuteness and brightness have appeared.

Therefore, who can hold his august position skilfully, finds his state in safety; who does not know how to utilize his august position, finds his state in danger. For illustration, in by-gone days it was the custom in Ch'in for both ruler and minister to discard state laws and uphold private creeds, wherefore the country was disorderly, the army weak, and the sovereign ignoble. Thereupon Lord Shang persuaded Duke Hsiao of Ch'in to alter the law and renovate the custom by making public justice clear, rewarding the denouncers of culprits, discouraging secondary callings, and encouraging primary works. In those days the people of Ch'in were used to the beaten track that men guilty of crimes could be pardoned and men of no merit could be honoured. Therefore, they were very apt to violate the new law. In the meantime, however, the censure of offenders against the new law became strict and definite; the reward of the denouncers of culprits became big and of faith. Hence no culprit was missed. Men sentenced to punishment became many. The people grumbled and resented it. Criminal offences were heard every day. Lending no ear to all these. Duke Hsiao enforced the Law of Lord Shang to the utmost, until at last the people came to know that men guilty of crimes would infallibly be censured and informers against culprits became many. Hence the people dared not violate the law and penalty could be inflicted on nobody. Therefore, the state became orderly, the army strong, the territory extensive, and the sovereign honourable. The cause of all these was

nothing other than heavy punishment for sheltering criminals and big rewards for denouncing culprits. Such was also the way to make All-under-Heaven see and hear on the ruler's own behalf.

The law and craft of the best government are thus clear enough. Yet scholars in the world never understand them.

Further, all stupid scholars in the world do not know the actual conditions of order and chaos but chatter nonsense and chant too many hackneyed old books to disturb the government of the present age. Though their wisdom and thought are not sufficient to avoid pitfalls, they dare to absurdly reproach the upholders of tact. Whoever listens to their words, will incur danger. Whoever employs their schemes, will invite confusion. Such is the greatest height of stupidity as well as the greatest extreme of calamity. Though they gain fame for discussion and persuasion just as the upholders of tact do, yet in reality the former are as far apart from the latter as a distance of thousands of li. That is to say, the similarity is nominal but the difference is actual.

Indeed, what the stupid scholars in the world are to the upholders of tact, that is the ant-hill to the big mound. They are very different from each other. The sage is the one who scrutinizes the facts of right and wrong and investigates the conditions of order and chaos. Therefore, when governing the state he rectifies laws clearly and establishes penalties severely in order to rescue all living beings from chaos, rid All-under-Heaven of misfortune, prohibit the strong from exploiting the weak and the many from oppressing the few, enable the old and the infirm to die in peace and the young and the orphan to grow freely, and see to it that the frontiers be not invaded, that ruler and minister be intimate with each other, that father and son support each other, and that there be no worry about being killed in war or taken prisoner. Such is one of the greatest achievements. Yet the stupid men do not understand it and condemn it as misgovernment.

Of course, the stupid men want order but dislike the true path to order. They all hate danger but welcome the way to danger. How do I know this? Indeed, severe penalty and heavy conviction are hated by the people, but by them the state is governed. Mercy and pity on the hundred surnames and mitigation of penalty and punishment are welcomed by the people, but by them the state is endangered. The sage who makes laws in the state is always acting contrary to the prevailing opinions of the age, but is in accord with Tao and Teh. Who understands Tao and Teh, will agree with the principles of justice but disagree with the commonplaces of the world. Who does not understand Tao and Teh, will disagree with the principles of justice but agree with the commonplaces of the world. If throughout All-under-Heaven those who understand Tao and Teh are few, then the principles of justice will generally be disapproved.

If the upholders of law and tact, being located in an unrighteous position, accorded slanders by everybody, and addicted to the words of the age, want to face the severe Son of Heaven and seek safety, is it not hard for them to hope for any success? This is the reason why every wise man to the end of his life never becomes celebrated in the world.

Lord Ch'un-shen, younger brother of King Chuang of Ch'u, had a beloved concubine named Yü. The son born by his wedded wife was named Chia. Yu first wanted the Lord to desert his lawful wife. So she injured herself. She, showing the injuries to the Lord, shed tears and said: "To be able to become Your Excellency's concubine, is very fortunate, indeed. However, to please madame is not the way to serve the master; to please the master is not the way to serve madame. Being unworthy myself and not able enough to please two lords, thy servant will eventually by force of circumstances displease both. Therefore, instead of dying at the madame's place, I prefer to be allowed to kill myself in front of Your Excellency. After allowing thy servant to kill herself, if Your Excellency favours anybody else among the maid attendants, will Your Excellency be more considerate than now and never become a laughingstock of people?" The Lord, accordingly, took the falsehood of his concubine Yü as true, and deserted his lawful

Yü next wanted to kill Chia and make her own son the heir apparent instead. So she tore the lining of her own petticoat. Showing the torn clothes to the Lord, she shed tears and said: "It is a long time since Yü became able to enjoy Your Excellency's favour, which Chia has known of course. Just a while ago, he thought of taking liberties with Yü by force. Yü struggled with him, till he tore her clothes. No other impious act committed by a son could be worse than this!" Enraged thereby, the Lord killed Chia. Thus, the wife was deserted because of the falsehood of the concubine Yü and the son was killed because of the same.

From this I can see that even the father's love of the son can be demolished and damaged. Now that the mutual relationship of ruler and minister does not involve the kinship of father and son and the slanderous words of the officials are not so simple as those coming out only from the single mouth of a concubine, no wonder worthies and sages are slaughtered and executed! This was the very reason why Lord Shang was

torn to pieces by chariots in Ch'in and Wu Ch'i was dismembered in Ch'u.

In general, ministers, when guilty of crimes, never want to be censured, but, when of no merit, all want to be honoured and celebrated. However, the sage, when governing the state, never bestows rewards on men of no merit but definitely inflicts censures on culprits. If so, the characters of the upholders of tact and measure are certainly disgusting to the attendants and wicked ministers. Accordingly, nobody but an intelligent sovereign can take advice from them.

Scholars of the present age in counselling the lord of men do not say, "Make use of the august and commanding position and thereby harass the wicked and villainous ministers," but all say, "Practise nothing but benevolence, righteousness, favour, and love!" Accordingly, rulers of the present age have praised the names of benevolent and righteous men but have never examined their realities, so that in serious cases they have ruined their states and lost their lives and in minor cases they have seen their territories dismembered and their ranks relegated. How to explain this? Indeed, to give alms to the poor and destitute is what the world calls a benevolent and righteous act; to take pity on the hundred surnames and hesitate to inflict censure and punishment on culprits is what the world calls an act of favour and love. To be sure, when the ruler gives alms to the poor and destitute, men of no merit will also be rewarded; when he hesitates to inflict censure and punishment upon culprits, then ruffians never will be suppressed. If men of no merit in the country are rewarded. the people will neither face enemies and cut heads off on the battlefield nor will they devote their strength to farming and working at home, but all will use articles and money as bribe to serve the rich and noble, accomplish private virtues, and make personal names, in order that they may thereby get high posts and big bounties. In consequence, wicked and selfseeking ministers become many and violent and outrageous fellows gain the upper hand. Under such circumstances, what but ruin can befall the state?

Indeed, severe penalty is what the people fear, heavy punishment is what the people hate. Accordingly, the wise man promulgates what they fear in order to forbid the practice of wickedness and establishes what they hate in order to prevent villainous acts. For this reason the state is safe and no outrage happens. From this I know very well that benevolence, righteousness, love, and favour, are not worth adopting while severe penalty and heavy punishment can maintain the state in order.

Without the severity of the whip and the facility of the bridle, even Tsao-fu could not drive the horse; without the rule of the compasses and squares and the tip of the inked string, even Wang Erh could not draw squares and circles; and without the position of authority and power and the law of reward and punishment, even Yao and Shun could not keep the state in order. Now that rulers of the present age thoughtlessly discard heavy punishment and severe censure and practise love and favour, to realize the achievement of the Hegemonic Ruler is also hopeless.

Therefore, the skilful sovereign makes rewards clear and displays advantages to encourage the people and make them get rewards for meritorious services but no prize for any act of benevolence and righteousness. He makes penalties severe and punishments heavy to restrain the people and make them get censure for criminal offences but no pardon by love and grace. Therefore, men of no merit never long for any reward and those guilty of crimes never look for an amnesty.

If you have a solid carriage and a good horse, you can go over slopes and cliffs on land; if you embark in a safe boat and hold its easy helm in hand, you can get over the hazards of streams and rivers on water. Similarly, if you have the measures of law and tact in your grip and carry heavy punishment and severe censure into effect, you will be able to accomplish the achievement of the Hegemonic Ruler. Now, to have law and tact, reward and punishment, in governing the state, is the same as to have a solid carriage and a good horse in travelling on land and have a fast boat and an easy helm in travelling on water. Whoever has them in his grip will eventually accomplish his purpose.

Yi Yin mastered them, wherefore T'ang became supreme; Kuan Chung mastered them, wherefore Ch'i became hegemonic; and Lord Shang mastered them, wherefore Ch'in became a powerful state. These three men all understood the statecraft of supremacy and hegemony clearly and observed the measures for order and strength closely and were never restrained by worldly and popular sayings. Thus, meeting the demands of the intelligent sovereigns of their times, they emerged from the status of wearers of hemp cloth to the posts of High Official and Prime Minister. When holding office and governing the state, they actually accomplished the task in honouring their masters and extending their territories. Such persons are called "ministers worthy of respect".

T'ang, because he got Yi Yin, rose from one hundred square li of territory to become the Son of Heaven. Duke Huan, because he got Kuan Chung, became the first Hegemonic Ruler, called nine meetings of the feudal lords, and brought All-under-Heaven under one rule. Because Duke Hsiao got

Lord Shang, his territory was extended and his army was strengthened. Therefore, whoever has loyal ministers, has no worry over enemy states outside and no anxiety about rebellious ministers inside, enjoying permanent peace in All-under-Heaven and handing down his name to posterity. Such ministers are the so-called loyal ministers.

Take the case of Yü Jang. When ministering to Earl Chih, he could not counsel the lord of men and make him clearly understand the principles of law and tact, rule and measure. so as to avoid disasters, nor could he lead and control his masses so as to keep the state in safety. When Viscount Hsiang had killed Earl Chih, Yü Jang branded his face and cut off his nose, thus destroying his facial features in order to avenge Earl Chih on Viscount Hsiang. In this wise, though he earned the reputation for destroying his features and sacrificing his life for the cause of the lord of men, yet in reality he rendered Earl Chih not even such a bit of benefit as the tips of autumn spikelets. Such a man is what I look down upon, whereas rulers of the present age regard him as loyal and exalt him. In antiquity, there were men named Poh-i and Shu-ch'i. When King Wu offered to transfer All-under-Heaven to them. both declined it and starved to death on the Shou-yang Mound Ministers like them, neither afraid of heavy censure nor fond of big rewards, cannot be prohibited by punishment, nor can they be encouraged by reward. They are called "ministers of no account". They are what I make light of and cast aside, but are what rulers of the present age think much of and seek out.

There is a proverb saying, "Even the leper feels pity for the king." It is not a reverent saying. Nevertheless, since in antiquity there was no empty proverb, everybody should consider it carefully. It speaks for such sovereigns as are liable to molestation or murder.

If the lord of men does not have law and tact to control his ministers, then though he is still on the green margin of his life and has excellent talents, chief vassals will, as usual, gain influence, administer all state affairs at their will, and make all decisions on their own authority, everybody working to his own advantage. Fearing lest uncles and brothers of the sovereign or some heroic men should exercise the authority of the lord of men to suppress and censure them, they would depose worthy, full-grown rulers and set up young, weak ones on the throne, or set aside lawful heirs and place unlawful ones in their stead.

Hence it is recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals: "Prince Wei of Ch'u was once on his way to visit the court of Cheng. Before he crossed the state border, he heard about His Majesty's illness and therefore turned homeward. When he went in to inquire after the King's illness, he strangled His Majesty to death with the ribbons of his hat, and finally established himself on the throne. The wife of Ts'ui Chu of Ch'i was beautiful. Duke Chuang formed a liaison with her and frequented the house of the Ts'ui Clan. One day, when Duke Chuang went again, a dependent of Ts'ui Tzu, named Chia Chü, led the followers of Ts'ui Tzu and attacked the Duke. The Duke rushed into a room and suggested dividing the state with him, but Ts'ui Tzu would not grant the request. The Duke then asked permission to kill himself in the ancestral shrine, but again Ts'ui Tzu would not listen to the request. So the Duke started to run away. When he was going across the mud fence on the north of the compound, Chia Chü shot him with an arrow and hit his thigh. The Duke fell down upon the ground, where Ts'ui Tzu's followers cut the Duke with lances and killed him. Thereupon his younger brother was installed on the throne as Duke Ching."

As witnessed in recent times, no sooner had Li Tai come into power in Chao, than he starved the Father Sovereign for one hundred days till he died; no sooner had Nao Ch'ih come into power in Ch'i, than he pulled out the sinews of King Min and hanged him on the beam of the ancestral shrine where he died after one night.

Therefore, the leper, despite the boils and swellings all over his body, as compared with rulers of the Spring and Autumn Period, never suffers such miseries as neck-strangling and high-shooting, and, as compared with rulers of recent times, never suffers such miseries as starvation to death and sinew-pulling. Thus, the mental agony and physical pain of the rulers molested and murdered certainly exceed those of the leper. From this viewpoint, though the leper feels pity for the king, there is good reason for it.

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 15.

Portents of Ruin

- 1. As a rule, if the state of the lord of men is small but the fiefs of private families are big, or if the ruler's sceptre is insignificant but the ministers are powerful, then ruin is possible.
- 2. If the ruler neglects laws and prohibitions, indulges in plans and ideas, disregards the defence works within the boundaries and relies on foreign friendship and support, then ruin is possible.
- 3. If all officials indulge in studies, sons of the family are fond of debate, peddlars and shopkeepers hide money in foreign countries, and poor people suffer miseries at home, then ruin is possible.

- 4. If the ruler is fond of palatial decorations, raised kiosks, and embanked pools, is immersed in pleasures of having chariots, clothes, and curios, and thereby tires out the hundred surnames and exhausts public wealth, then ruin is nossible
- 5. If the ruler believes in date-selecting, worships devils and deities, believes in divination and lot-casting, and likes fetes and celebrations, then ruin is possible.
- 6. If the ruler takes advice only from ministers of high rank, refrains from comparing different opinions and testifying to the truth, and uses only one man as a channel of information, then ruin is possible.
- 7. If posts and offices can be sought through influential personages and rank and bounties can be obtained by means of bribes, then ruin is possible.
- 8. If the ruler, being easy-going, accomplishes nothing, being tender-hearted, lacking in decision, and, wavering between acceptance and rejection, has no settled opinion, then ruin is possible.
- 9. If the ruler is greedy, insatiable, attracted to profit, and fond of gain, then ruin is possible.
- 10. If the ruler enjoys inflicting unjust punishment and does not uphold the law, likes debate and persuasion but never sees to their practicability, and indulges in style and wordiness but never considers their effect, then ruin is possible.
- 11. If the ruler is shallow-brained and easily penetrated, reveals everything but conceals nothing, and cannot keep any secret but communicates the words of one minister to another, then ruin is possible.
- 12. If the ruler is stubborn-minded, uncompromising, and apt to dispute every remonstrance and fond of surpassing everybody else, and never thinks of the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but sticks to self-confidence without due consideration, then ruin is possible.
- 13. The ruler who relies on friendship and support from distant countries, makes light of his relations with close neighbours, counts on the aid from big powers, and provokes surrounding countries, is liable to ruin.
- 14. If foreign travellers and residents, whose property and families are abroad, take seats in the state council and interfere in civil affairs, then ruin is possible.
- 15. If the people have no confidence in the premier and the inferiors do not obey the superiors while the sovereign loves and trusts the premier and cannot depose him, then ruin is possible
- 16. If the ruler does not take able men of the country into service but searches after foreign gentlemen, and if he does not make tests according to meritorious services but would appoint and dismiss officials according to their mere reputations till foreign residents are exalted and ennobled to surpass his old acquaintances, then ruin is possible.
- 17. If the ruler disregards the matter of legitimacy and lets bastards rival legitimate sons, or if the sovereign dies before he inaugurates the crown prince, then ruin is possible.
- 18. If the ruler is boastful but never regretful, makes much of himself despite the disorder prevailing in his country, and insults the neighbouring enemies without estimating the resources within the boundaries, then ruin is possible.
- 19. If the state is small but the ruler will not acquiesce in a humble status; if his forces are scanty but he never fears strong foes; if he has no manners and insults big neighbours; or if he is greedy and obstinate but unskilful in diplomacy; then ruin is possible.
- 20. If, after the inauguration of the crown prince, the ruler take in a woman from a strong enemy state, the crown prince will be endangered and the ministers will be worried. Then ruin is possible.
- 21. If the ruler is timid and weak in self-defence and his mind is paralysed by the signs of future events; or if he knows what to decide on but dare not take any drastic measure; then ruin is possible.
- 22. If the exiled ruler is abroad but the country sets up a new ruler, or if before the heir apparent taken abroad as hostage returns, the ruler changes his successor, then the state will divide. And the state divided against itself is liable to ruin.
- 23. If the ruler keeps near and dear to the chief vassals whom he has disheartened and disgraced or stands close by the petty men whom he has punished, then he will make them bear anger and feel shame. If he goes on doing this, rebels are bound to appear. When rebels appear, ruin is possible.
- 24. If chief vassals rival each other in power and uncles and brothers are many and powerful, and if they form juntas inside and receive support from abroad and thereby dispute state affairs and struggle for supreme influence, then ruin is possible
- 25. If words of maids and concubines are followed and the wisdom of favourites is used, and the ruler repeats committing unlawful acts regardless of the grievances and resentments inside and outside the court, then ruin is possible.
- 26. If the ruler is contemptuous to chief vassals and impolite to uncles and brothers, overworks the hundred surnames, and slaughters innocent people, then ruin is possible.
- 27. If the ruler is fond of twisting laws by virtue of his wisdom, mixes public with private affairs from time to time,

alters laws and prohibitions at random, and issues commands and orders frequently, then ruin is possible.

- 28. If the terrian has no stronghold, the city-walls are in bad repair, the state has no savings and hoardings, resources and provisions are scarce, and no preparations are made for defence and attack, but the ruler dares to attack and invade other countries imprudently, then ruin is possible.
- 29. If the royal seed is short-lived, new sovereigns succeed to each other continuously, babies become rulers, and chief vassals have all the ruling authority to themselves and recruit partisans from among foreign residents and maintain interstate friendship by frequently ceding territories, then ruin is possible.
- 30. If the crown prince is esteemed and celebrated, has numerous dependents and protégés, develops friendships with big powers, and exercises his authority and influence from his early years, then ruin is possible.
- 31. If the ruler is narrow-minded, quick-tempered, imprudent, easily affected, and, when provoked, becomes blind with rage, then ruin is possible.
- 32. If the sovereign is easily provoked and fond of resorting to arms and neglects agricultural and military training but ventures warfare and invasion heedlessly, then ruin is possible.
- 33. If nobles are jealous of one another, chief vassals are prosperous, seeking support from enemy states and harassing the hundred surnames at home so as to attack their wrongdoers, but the lord of men never censures them, then ruin is possible.
- 34. If the ruler is unworthy but his half-brothers are worthy; if the heir apparent is powerless and the bastard surpasses him; or if the magistrates are weak and the people are fierce; then the state will be seized with a panic. And a panic-stricken state is liable to ruin.
- 35. If the ruler conceals his anger, which he would never reveal, suspends a criminal case, which he never would censure, and thereby makes the officials hate him in secret and increases their worries and fears, and if he never comes to know the situation even after a long time, then ruin is possible.
- 36. If the commander in the front line has too much power, the governor on the frontier has too much nobility, and if they have the ruling authority to themselves, issue orders at their own will and do just as they wish without asking permission of the ruler, then ruin is possible.
- 37. If the queen is adulterous, the sovereign's mother is corrupt, attendants inside and outside the court intercommunicate, and male and female have no distinction, such a régime is called "bi-regal". Any country having two rulers is liable to ruin.
- 38. If the queen is humble but the concubine is noble, the heir apparent is low but the bastard is high, the prime minister is despised but the court usher is esteemed, then disobedience will appear in and out of the court. If disobedience appears in and out of the court, the state is liable to ruin.
- 39. If chief vassals are very powerful, have many strong partisans, obstruct the sovereign's decisions, and administer all state affairs on their own authority, then ruin is possible.
- 40. If vassals of private families are employed but descendants of military officers are rejected, men who do good to their village communities are promoted but those who render distinguished services to their official posts are discarded, self-seeking deeds are esteemed but public-spirited works are scorned, then ruin is possible.
- 41. If the state treasury is empty but the chief vassals have plenty of money, native subjects are poor but foreign residents are rich, farmers and warriors have hard times but people engaged in secondary professions are benefited, then ruin is possible.
- 42. The ruler who sees a great advantage but does not advance towards it, hears the outset of a calamity but does not provide against it, thus neglecting preparations for attack and defence and striving to embellish himself with the practice of benevolence and righteousness, is liable to ruin.
- 43. If the ruler does not practise the filial piety of the lord of men but yearns after the filial piety of the commoner, does not regard the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but obeys the orders of the dowager queen, and if he allows women to administer the state affairs and eunuchs to meddle with politics, then ruin is possible.
- 44. If words are eloquent but not legal, the mind is sagacious but not tactful, the sovereign is versatile but performs his duties not in accordance with laws and regulations, then ruin is possible.
- 45. If new ministers advance when old officials withdraw, the unworthy meddle with politics when the virtuous pass out of the limelight, and men of no merit are esteemed when hardworking people are disdained, then the people left behind will resent it. If the people left behind resent it, ruin is possible.
- 46. If the bounties and allowances of uncles and brothers exceed their merits, their badges and uniforms override their grades, and their residences and provisions are too extravagant, and if the lord of men never restrains them, then ministers will become insatiable. If ministers are insatiable, then ruin is possible.

47. If the ruler's sons-in-law and grandsons live behind the same hamlet gate with the commoners and behave unruly and arrogantly towards their neighbours, then ruin is possible.

Thus, portents of ruin do not imply certainty of ruin but liability to ruin.

Indeed, two Yaos cannot rule side by side, nor can two Chiehs 15 ruin each other. The secrets of rule or ruin lie in the inclination towards order or chaos, strength or weakness.

It is true, the tree breaks down because 16 of vermin, the fence gives way on account of cracks. Yet, despite the vermin, if no sudden gale blows, the tree will not break down; despite the cracks, if no heavy rain falls, the fence does not give way.

If the sovereign of ten thousand chariots can exercise tact and enforce law and thereby function as gale and rain to rulers having portents of ruin, his annexation of Allunder-Heaven will have no difficulty.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 16.

Three Precautions

The lord of men has three precautions to take. If the three precautions are complete, the state will be safe and he will be prosperous; if the three precautions are not complete, the state will fall into danger and his life will become precarious.

What are meant by the "three precautions"?

Whenever ministers memorialise the Throne the faults of the authorities in power, the mistakes of the personnel in charge of state affairs, and the actual conditions of the officials, if the lord of men, instead of keeping the secret, divulges it to courtiers and favourite vassals and thereby makes ministers, who want to speak to the Throne, please the courtiers and favourite vassals before they submit any instance to the lord of men, then frank and straightforward speakers will not be able to have an audience of the ruler and loyal and honest men will be kept farther and farther aloof.

If the ruler does not by himself benefit the men he loves but would benefit them only after the courtiers have praised them, and if he does not by himself hurt the men he hates but would hurt them only after the courtiers have blamed them, then the lord of men will lose his prestige, and his ruling authority will fall into the hands of his attendants.

If the ruler dislikes the toil of governing the state by himself and lets the ministers group together and administer state affairs, and if in so doing he passes his handles and shifts his position to chief vassals and places the power over life and property in their hands, then his prerogative will be infringed.

These are called "the three precautions unaccomplished". If the three precautions remain incomplete, the situation portends molestation and regicide.

In general, there are three kinds of molestation: Molestation through the formation of juntas, molestation through the dictation of state policies, and molestation through the application of penal laws.

If ministers who hold the honour of chief vassals have the key to the state government in their grip for patronizing the officials and make the administration of foreign and home affairs necessarily go through their approval; and, though there are worthy and upright personages, if people disobeying them always have bad luck and those obeying them always have good luck; then no official would dare to be loyal to the sovereign and worry about state welfare and thereby dispute the advantages and disadvantages of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. If the lord of men, however worthy, cannot devise plans by himself, and if there are ministers who dare not be loyal to the sovereign, then the state must be doomed to ruin. It is then called "a state without ministers". However, a state without ministers does not imply the scarcity of royal guards and the lack of ministers in the court. It really means a state whose ministers hold to their bounties, nourish their friends, practise their private ways of life, and never exert their spirit of loyalty to the public. Such is called "molestation through the formation of juntas".

Again, suppose chief vassals distribute private favours, have all powers to themselves, overawe the country by pretending to have influence abroad, follow the like and hate of the sovereign with his forced interpretation of the signs of fortune and misfortune, advantages and disadvantages. And suppose the lord of men listens to them and upholds their policies even by humiliating himself and neglecting state welfare. Then, when the policies fail, the sovereign has to share the consequent disasters with them; when the policies suchet, take all credit to themselves. Finally, if all the government employees unite their minds and identify their words to speak of their virtues, then though others speak of their vices to the Throne, the sovereign never will believe. Such is called "molestation through the dictation of state policies".

Finally, in matters of court and jail administration as well as prohibition and punishment, if ministers have powers to themselves, their act as such is called "molestation through the application of penal laws".

In short, if the three precautions are not complete, the three molestations will arise; if the three precautions are complete, the three molestations will stop. If the sovereign succeeds in

stopping and debarring these three molestations, he will attain supremacy.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 17.

Guarding Against the Interior

The difficulty of the lord of men lies in his confidence in men. Confiding in men, he is restrained by men.

Ministers, in relation to the ruler, have no kinship, but, solely because constrained by force of circumstances, serve him. Therefore, those who minister to a ruler, always watch the mental condition of their master without stopping even for a moment; whereas the lord of men remains idle and arrogant over them. This is the reason why the world sees cases of ruler-molestation and regicide.

If the lord of men has much confidence in his son, then wicked ministers will utilize his son to accomplish their selfish purposes. For illustration, Li Tai, while assisting the King of Chao, starved the Father Sovereign.

If the lord of men has much confidence in his spouse, then wicked ministers will utilize his spouse to accomplish their selfish purposes. For illustration, Actor Shih, while assisting Princess Li, murdered Shen-sheng and placed Hsi-ch'i in his stead.

Indeed, even the spouse who is so near and the son who is so dear to the sovereign are not trustworthy, much less can anybody else be trustworthy.

Besides, whether he be a ruler of ten thousand chariots or a ruler of one thousand chariots, the queen, the concubine, or the crown prince, even though he be the legitimate son, might hope for his early death.

How do I know it is so? Indeed, man and wife, having no kinship between them, are intimate when mutually in love and distant when not in love. Hence the saying: "If the mother is loved, the son is held in the arms." If so, the contrary must run like this: "If the mother is unloved, the son is cast aside." Men fifty years old are as fond of women as usual, but women only thirty years old are falling off in beauty. If women falling off in beauty have to serve men still fond of the fair sex, then they will be neglected and their sons will doubt if they will remain heirs of their fathers. This is the reason why queens, princesses, and concubines crave the death of the rulers.

It is only when the mother is the queen dowager and the son is the sovereign that decrees never fail to prevail and prohibitions never fail to function. Then she finds as much pleasure between man and woman as at the time when the late ruler was still alive, and under no suspicion can she have all the powers of the ruler of ten thousand chariots to herself. For such a reason, poisoning with wine and hanging in secret are practised.

Hence it is said in T'ao-wu's Spring and Autumn Annals: "Of the lords of men, those who died of illness were not even half of those that died." If the ruler is ignorant of such a danger, seeds of disorder will multiply. Hence the saying: "If those who will profit by the ruler's death are numerous, then the lord of men is in danger."

Thus, Wang Liang liked horses, and Kou-chien, King of Yüeh, liked able-bodied men, merely for driving and fighting purposes. The physician sucks patients' cuts and holds their blood in his mouth, not because he is intimate with them like a blood relation, but because he expects profits from them. Likewise, when the cartwright finishes making carriages, he wants people to be rich and noble; when the carpenter finishes making coffins, he wants people to die early. Not that the cartwright is benevolent and the carpenter is cruel, but that unless people are noble, the carriages will not sell, and unless people die, the coffins will not be bought. Thus, the carpenter's motive is not a hatred for anybody but his profits are due to people's death. For the same reason, when the clique of the queen, the princess, the concubine, or the crown prince, is formed, they want the ruler to die early. For, unless the ruler die, their positions will not be powerful. Their motive is not a hatred for the ruler, but their profits are dependent on the ruler's death. Therefore the lord of men must specially mind those who will profit by his death.

For illustration, though the sun and the moon are surrounded by haloes, the causes of their eclipses are inside themselves. Similarly, though the ruler guards against what he hates, the causes of his calamity consist in what he loves.

For this reason, the intelligent sovereign would neither carry out any untenable task, nor eat any inordinate food, but would listen from all round and observe everybody closely in order thereby to scrutinize the faults of the interior and the exterior, and reflect on pros and cons so as to know the line of demarcation between different factions, compare the results of testimony, and thereby hold every utterance responsible for an equivalent fact, hold the consequent in correspondence with the antecedent, govern the masses in accordance with the law, and gather causes of different affairs for comparison and observation; so that nobody shall receive any undue reward and overstep the limits of his duties, and that every murderer shall be sentenced to proper penalty and no convict shall be pardoned. If so, there will be left no room for wicked and villainous persons to accomplish their self-seeking purposes.

If compulsory labour service is frequent, the people will feel afflicted; if the people are afflicted, powerful and influential men will appear to the fore; if powerful and influential men ake their appearance, exemptions will multiply; and if exemptions multiply, the nobles will, by accepting bribes from the people exempted from labour service, become wealthy. To afflict the people and thereby enrich the nobles and to vacate the august position and let ministers utilize it, is not a permanent advantage to the world. Hence the saying: "If compulsory labour service is rare, the people will feel safe; if the people are safe, the ministers will gain no extra power; if the ministers have no extra power, powerful and influential men will be extinguished; and if powerful and influential men disappear, all credit will be due to the sovereign."

Now, take for illustration the truism that water overpowers fire. Yet, when a tripod-kettle goes between them, then the water will be heated and boiled till it dries up over the fire while the fire can flame with vigour and continue burning beneath the water. Indeed, the fact that government forbids wickedness is still clearer than this. Yet, when ministers who ought to uphold the law play the part of the tripod-kettle by standing between ruler and subject, then the law, however clear in the sovereign's mind, has already lost its reason to forbid wickedness.

According to the sayings handed down from remote antiquity, as recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals, whoever violates the law, launches an insurrection, and thereby commits high treason, comes from among the high and noble ministers. Yet what laws and orders guard against and penalties censure is always among the low and humble. That being so, the people give up all hope of salvation and find nobody to petition for relief. The chief vassals form juntas, obscure the ruler en bloc, and maintain their intimate relationship in secret but pretend in the open to mutual hatred in order to prove their unselfishness, and work as the ears and eyes of one another in order to watch for the sovereign's unguarded moments. Thus, surrounded and deluded, the lord of men has no way to get news from outside and retains the sovereign's title but not the reality while ministers have all laws to themselves and carry them into effect at their discretion. Of such a ruler the Sons of Heaven of Chou were good examples. In short, if the power and influence of the Throne is deputed to any minister in particular, high and low will displace their posts; which amounts to saying that no minister should be allowed to utilize the power and influence of the ruler.

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 18.

Facing the South

The fault of the lord of men is: After having entrusted certain ministers with the state affairs, he guards against them with ministers not entrusted. His reason for so doing is that the non-entrusted and the entrusted will become enemies. Contrary to his expectation, the sovereign will fall under the spell of the non-entrusted. In consequence, the ministers with whom he is now guarding against the entrusted, are mostly those whom he used to guard against. If the lord of men cannot make the law clear and thereby restrain the power of chief vassals, there will be no other way to win confidence from the petty officials.

If the lord of men casts the law aside and guards against ministers with ministers, then those who love one another will associate for wicked purposes and speak well of one another while those who hate one another will form cliques and speak ill of one another. When blame and praise are crossing each other, the sovereign will fall into bewilderment and confusion.

Those who minister to a ruler, unless they have good reputations and make frequent requests, cannot advance their careers; unless they act contrary to the law and take all powers to themselves, they cannot uplift their prestige; and, unless they pretend to loyalty and faithfulness, they cannot rid themselves of prohibitions. These three ways are means of deluding the sovereign and destroying the law.

The lord of men, when employing ministers, should not allow them, however wise and able they may be, to act contrary to the law and take all powers to themselves; should not allow them, however worthy and virtuous they may be, to claim any priority among the men of merit and take precedence of the hard-working people; and should not discard the law and refrain from restricting them, however loyal and faithful they may be. Such a ruler is called an illustrator of the law.

The lord of men is sometimes tempted to tasks and sometimes deluded by words; wherefore both tasks and words need due consideration.

Ministers who imprudently propose tasks, usually underestimate the expenditure and thereby deceive the sovereign with the proposition. Deluded thereby, the sovereign does not carefully consider the tasks but thinks much of the ministers. If so, they will in turn restrain the sovereign with the enterprises. Such is called "temptation to tasks". The ruler once tempted to tasks will be harassed by worries

If the proposition purports a small task but the actual expenses are enormous, then, though meritorious services are performed, the proposition is not one of faith. If the ministers whose propositions are of no faith are found guilty, and if the tasks, though they provide results, get no reward, nobody would dare to twist his words to blind the sovereign. The way to be a sovereign is to make the ministers' previous words never deviate from their subsequent sayings and the subsequent never deviate from the previous and to find them guilty in case of any deviation, although the tasks may have provided results. This is called "skilfully employing subordinates".

The minister, when he devises a project for his master and fears disapproval, will make out a case and declare such a warning as, "Whoever criticizes the project of this task is jealous of the projector." Suppose the lord of men, keeping it in secret, never consults any other minister. The rest of the ministers, frightened by the premonition, dare not criticize the project. If these two sets of circumstances prevail, loyal ministers will not be accepted but well-reputed ministers will be employed exclusively. Such is called "delusion by words". The ruler once deluded by words will be restrained by ministers.

The right way to be the sovereign is to make all ministers understand the reasons why they are blamed for giving opinions and why they are blamed for not giving opinions. If they utter words that have neither beginning nor ending or an argument that has no proof, then they are blamed for giving opinions. If they attempt to evade responsibilities by not giving any opinion so as to maintain their high posts, then they are blamed for not giving opinions.

The lord of men in keeping ministers in service ought to know the motive and purpose of every speaker in order to hold his words responsible for an equivalent fact, and ask the non-speakers to decide between the pros and cons of the proposition so as to hold them accountable for the result of the work. If so, nobody will dare to give any arbitrary opinions nor to keep silent. Because both speaking and silence equally involve accountabilities.

When the lord of men wants to accomplish a task, if he does not understand its beginning and ending so as to clarify the object of his desire, and then if he attempts to accomplish it, his work will gain no advantage but will incur disadvantage instead. If he understands this principle, he will trust to reason and get rid of avarice. The accomplishment of every task has its proper course. If its income is estimated to be big and its outgo is estimated to be small, the project is practicable.

Such is not the case with the deluded sovereign. For he estimates the income but never estimates the outgo. As a result, even though the outgo is twice as much as the income, he never notices the harm. Thus in name he gains but in fact he loses. If such is the case, the achievement will be little while the harm is great.

In general, an achievement implies a big income and a small outgo. Only in such a case can it be called an achievement. Now that much waste incurs no crime and little gain is a merit, ministers naturally waste enormous expenses and perform small merits. As small merits are performed, so the sovereign suffers losses

Those who do not know the right way to political order, always say, "Never change ancient traditions, never remove existing institutions." Change or no change, the sage does not mind. For he aims only at the rectification of government. Whether or not ancient traditions should be changed, whether or not existing institutions should be removed, all depends upon the question whether or not such traditions and such institutions are still useful for present-day political numbers.

If Yi Yin had made no reform on behalf of Yin and T'aikung Wang had made no reform on behalf of Chou, neither T'ang nor Wu could become King. If Kuan Chung had made no reform on behalf of Ch'i and Kuo Yen had made no reform on behalf of Chin, neither Duke Huan nor Duke Wen could have become hegemonic.

Generally speaking, men hesitate to change ancient traditions because they are diffident about affecting the peace of the people. Indeed, not to change ancient traditions is to inherit the traces of disorder; to accord with the mind of the people is to tolerate villainous deeds. If the people are stupid and ignorant of disorder and the superior is weak-spirited and unable to reform traditions and institutions, it is a failure in the process of government.

The lord of men must be intelligent enough to know the true path to order and severe enough to carry out his orders without reserve. Therefore, though he has to act contrary to the mind of the people, he should by all means establish an orderly government.

The basis of this argument is found in the "External and Internal Affairs" by Lord Shang, who had iron spears and heavy shields around him whenever going out to provide against accidents. Likewise, when Kuo Yen began to assume the reins of government, Duke Wen had an official bodyguard. When Kuan Chung began to assume the reins of government,

Duke Huan had an armoured carriage. Thus they all took precautions against mobs.

For the same reason, in dealing with stupid and idle people, if one worries himself about small expenses, then he is forgetting big profits. For instance, Yin Hu, bullied and slandered, was very afraid of even small changes and lost his permanent advantage in consequence. Likewise, the salesman of Tsou was not a carrier, but he was accustomed to chaotic conditions and chary of living in an orderly world. Therefore, the man of Cheng could not go home. . . .

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 19.

On Pretentions and Heresies: A Memorial

It was Chao that, after boring the tortoise-shell, counting the bamboo slips, and finding the omen saying, "Great luck," attacked Yen. It was Yen that, after boring the tortoise-shell, counting the bamboo slips, and finding the omen saying, "Great luck," attacked Chao. Chü Hsin, when serving Yen, rendered no meritorious service, till the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain fell into danger. Tsou Yen, when serving Yen, rendered no meritorious service, till the course of the state policy came to a deadlock. Chao was first successful in Yen and later successful in Ch'i. Though her state once fell into confusion, yet she always held her prestige high and assumed herself adequate to rival Ch'in on an equal footing. It was not because Chao's tortoiseshell was effective and Yen's tortoiseshell was deceptive.

Chao once again bored the tortoise-shell, counted the bamboo slips, and invaded Yen in the north with a view to resisting Ch'in by molesting Yen. The omen said, "Great luck." No sooner had her army marched out through Ta-liang in Wey than Ch'in began to invade Shang-tang in Chao. When her troops reached Li in Yen, she had lost six cities to Ch'in. When they reached Yang-ch'eng in Yen, Ch'in had taken Yeh in Chao. When P'ang Yüan turned Chao's army southward, practically all the strongholds of Chao had fallen into Ch'in's hands.

Thy servant, therefore, says: Chao's tortoise-shell, even though not able to foresee the outcome of her campaign in Yen, should have been able to foretell the victory of Ch'in's invasion at hand. Ch'in, believing in the great luck of the expedition, expanded her territory in fact and rescued Yen in the good cause. Chao, believing in the great luck of the campaign, had her soil dismembered and her forces humiliated, till the sovereign, unable to realise his ambition, passed away. Again, this was not because Ch'in's tortoise-shell was effective and Chao's tortoise-shell was deceptive.

At the outset of the founding of the state. Wey faced the east for several years and completely conquered both T'ao and Wei. Then she turned westward for several years to cope with Ch'in and, as a result, lost land to Ch'in. This was not because such lucky stars as Feng-lung (the star of the god of thundering), Wu-hsing (the constellation having five stars around a circle), T'ai-yi (the star of a heavenly god), Wang-hsiang (the star commanding the motion of Wu-hsing), She-ti (a double-star located in the constellation of Bootes), Liu-shen (stars of six gods), Wu-kua (five stars clustering in a certain constellation), T'ien-ho (the Milky Way), Yin-ch'iang (a star portending warfare and disturbance), and Sui-hsing (Jupiter), were for so many years in the direction of Ch'in and to the west of Wey; nor was it because such unlucky stars as T'ien-ch'üeh (the star of the god of lightning), Hu-ni (four stars in a certain constellation whose arc was said to be irregular), Hsing-hsing (Venus), Yung-hui (Mars, which ancient Chinese like ancient Greeks regarded as the god of war), and K'uei-t'ai (the constellation having sixteen stars resembling a person striding), were for so many years in the direction of Wey and to the east of Ch'in. Hence the saying: "Tortoise-shells, bamboo slips, devils, and deities, are not qualified to guarantee victory; nor are the directions of the stars, whether right or left, front or back, qualified to decide the outcome of war." If so, to believe in them is more stupid than anything

In ancient times, the early kings exerted their forces to renovate the people and doubled their efforts to clarify the law. As the law was made clear, loyal subjects were encouraged. As punishment was made definite, wicked subjects were suppressed. It was Ch'in whose loyal subjects were encouraged and wicked ones were suppressed and whose territory was expanded and sovereign was glorified. It was the states to the east of Mount Hua whose officials formed factions, associated for selfish purposes and thereby obscured the right way of government and committed crookedness in secret, and whose territories were dismembered and sovereigns humiliated. That disorderly and weak states go to ruin, is known to everybody. That orderly and strong states attain supremacy has been the beaten track since antiquity.

Kou-chien, King of Yüeh, believed in the Ta-p'eng Tortoise and waged a war with Wu, but did not win, till finally he had to surrender himself as vassal and went personally to serve the King of Wu. Upon his return, he threw away the tortoise, clarified the law, and renovated the people, with a view to giving Wu his revenge. In the end Fu-ch'a, King of Wu, was

taken captive. Therefore, whoever believes in devils and deities, neglects the law.

Similarly, whoever relies on other feudal lords, endangers his native soil. For instance, Ts'ao, relying on Ch'i, turned a deaf ear to Sung, so that when Ch'i attacked Ching, Sung destroyed Ts'ao. Hsing, relying on Wu, took no advice from Ch'i, so that when Yüeh invaded Wu, Ch'i destroyed Hsing. Hsü, relying on Ching, would not listen to Wey, so that when Ching attacked Sung, Wey destroyed Hsü. Cheng, relying on Wey, would not listen to Han, so that when Wey attacked Ching, Han destroyed Cheng.

To-day, Han, being a small state, is relying upon big powers. Her sovereign, paying little attention to the law, takes every word from Ch'in. The above-mentioned small states, having relied upon Wey, Ch'i, Ching, and Wu for support, went to ruin one after another. Thus reliance on others is not sufficient to extend the native soil. Yet Han never looks at these instances. Again, when Ching attacked Wey, she sent her troops to Wey's allies, Hsü and Yen. When Ch'i attacked Jen and Hu and dismembered Wey's territory, the combined forces of the allies were not even sufficient to preserve Cheng. Yet Han takes no notice of these instances. All these states, indeed, never clarified laws and prohibitions in order to govern their peoples, but relied on foreign powers entirely, and thereby drove their Altars of the Spirits of Land and Grain to extinction.

Thy servant, therefore, says: If measures for political order are clarified, the state, though small in size, will become rich. If reward and punishment are dignified and of faith, the people, though small in number, will become strong. If reward and punishment follow no regulations, the state, however large in size, will have weak soldiers. For the soil is no longer its territory, the people no longer its subjects. Without territory and people, even Yao and Shun never could reign supreme nor could the three dynasties (Hsia, Yin, and Chou) ever become strong.

Moreover, when the sovereign gives indiscriminately, ministers take inconsiderately. Those who discard legal rules, praise the early kings, and thereby illustrate the achievements of the ancients, are entrusted by the ruler with the state affairs. Thy servant, therefore, says: Such an act is to hope for ancient achievements and reward modern men with ancient rewards. In consequence, the sovereign gives wrongly, ministers take idly. If the sovereign gives wrongly, then ministers will expect undue rewards; if ministers take idly, meritorious services will not be held in high esteem. If men of no merit receive rewards, the state exchequer will run low and the people will resent it; if the state exchequer runs low and the people resent it, then nobody will apply his strength to his duties. Therefore, who over-uses reward loses the people; who over-uses penalty cannot hold the people in awe. If reward is not sufficient to encourage, and penalty is not sufficient to prohibit the people, then the state, however large in size, will fall into danger.

Hence the saying: "Who knows few things, should not be allowed to scheme for enterprises; who practises loyalty in small ways, should not be allowed to take charge of judicial administration."

Once King Kung of Ching and Duke Li of Chin fought at Yen-ling. The Ching troops suffered a defeat. King Kung was wounded. During the bloody battle, Tzu-fan, High Commissioner of the Army, was thirsty and wanted some drink. His attendant, Shu Yang-ko, brought a cup of wine and presented it to him. "Get away!" exclaimed Tzu-fan. "It's wine." "No," replied Yang-ko. Tzu-fan, accordingly, took it and drank it. Habitually fond of wine, Tzu-fan felt it so delicious that he could not keep it off his mouth till he became drunk and lay down asleep. Thinking of having another battle, and fixing the stratagems therefor, King Kung sent for Tzufan, but Tzu-fan gave heart-aching as excuse for his absence from the conference. Thereupon, King Kung rode in a carriage and went to see him. As soon as he entered the tent, he smelt wine and turned back right away, saying: "In today's battle, I, the King, was wounded at my eye. The only person I have looked to for help is the High Commissioner of the Army. Now that the High Commissioner of the Army is so drunk, he is certainly ruining the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of the Ching State and feeling no concern for the welfare of my subjects. I, the King, have no reason to have him with me on the battle-field any longer." So he ceased hostilities and retreated. He then beheaded Tzu-fan as an expiatory punishment for his disgrace of His Majesty. Hence the saying: "The presentation of wine by Shu Yang-ko was not out of any malice against Tzu-fan, but his mind that really loved him with loyalty was only enough to put him to death. This is to practise loyalty in small ways and thereby betray loyalty in big ways. Hence the saying: "Small loyalty is the betrayer of big loyalty." Thus, if the ruler puts men loyal in small ways in charge of judicial administration, they will pardon criminal offences. To pardon culprits and thereby love them, is to enjoy temporary peace with the inferiors, whereas it stands in the way of governing the people.

At the time when Wey was clarifying and establishing laws and upholding mandates without fail, men of merit were infallibly rewarded; men guilty of crimes were infallibly censured; her strength was sufficient to rectify AllunderHeaven and her authority prevailed among the neighbours on the four sides. As soon as laws came to be neglected and rewards became arbitrary, the state was dismembered day after day. Similarly, at the time when Chao was enacting state laws and training a big army, she had a large population and a strong army and extended her territory into Ch'i and Yen. As soon as the state laws came to be neglected and the personnel in charge of the state affairs became weak, the state was dismembered day after day. Again, at the time when Yen was upholding the law and scrutinizing official decisions in detail, to the east she seized counties from the Ch'i State and to the south occupied the whole territory of Central Hills. When the upholders of the law died, the official decisions became useless, the attendants disputed with each other, and public opinion had to follow the lead of the inferiors; then the army became weak, the soil was dismembered, and the state fell under the spell of the surrounding enemies. Hence the saying: "Who clarifies the law, is strong; who neglects the law, is weak." The causes of strength and weakness are so vivid. Yet sovereigns of this age never attempt to foster the cause of strength. No wonder their states are doomed to ruin.

There is an ancient proverb saying: "The family that has a definite occupation, does not have to starve in time of famine; the state that has definite laws, does not go to ruin in case of emergency." Indeed, if the ruler discards definite laws and follows private opinions, then ministers will pretend to wisdom and ability, if ministers pretend to wisdom and ability, if ministers pretend to wisdom and ability, then laws and prohibitions will not hold good. In other words, when arbitrary opinions prevail, the way of governing the state dwindles. Therefore, the right way to govern the state is to remove the injurers of the law. In that case, there will be neither bewilderment by pretensions to mame and fame.

Of yore, Shun ordered officials to drain the Great Deluge. One official set himself to work before the order came, and accomplished merit. However, Shun executed him. Once Yü received the feudal lords in audience in the vicinity of Kueichi. As the Ruler of Fang-feng arrived late, Yü beheaded him. From this viewpoint it is clear that if those who went ahead of orders were executed and those who lagged behind orders were beheaded, the ancients must have held conformity to orders in high esteem.

For illustration, if the mirror keeps clean and has no obstacle, then the beautiful and the ugly can be compared; if the balance keeps right and has no obstacle, then the light and the heavy can be weighed. Indeed, when you shake the mirror. the mirror cannot keep clear; when you shake the balance, the balance cannot keep even. The same is true of the law. Therefore, the early kings took Tao as the constant standard, and the law as the basis of government. For, if the basis is orderly, the name is exalted; if the basis is confused, the name is extinguished. In general, wisdom, ability, cleverness, and erudition, if properly employed, take effect; otherwise, all come to nought. Therefore, though wisdom and ability are exerted, if the exertion is not proper, the right way of government cannot be communicated to people. Indeed, the true path and the law are absolutely reliable, wisdom and ability are liable to errors. Similarly, to hang up the balance and know the plane, and to turn round the compasses and know the circle, is an absolutely reliable way.

The intelligent sovereign makes the people conform to the law and thereby knows the true path; wherefore with ease he harvests meritorious results. To discard the compasses and trust to skilfulness, and to discard the law and trust to wisdom, leads to bewilderment and confusion. The violent sovereign lets the people pretend to wisdom but does not know the true path; wherefore in spite of his toil he gets no credit. If the sovereign discards laws and prohibitions and imprudently grants requests and audiences, then ministers will obtain posts from the sovereign for sale and accept pay from their inferiors. For this reason, profits go to private families and authority rests with ministers. In consequence, the people have no mind to exert their strength to serve the sovereign but merely strive to develop friendships with their superiors. If the people are fond of developing friendships with their superiors, then goods and cash will flow upwards and proficient speakers will be taken into service. Should that be the case, men of merit would decrease, wicked ministers would advance, and talented ministers would withdraw, till the sovereign falls into be wilderment and does not know what to do, and the masses flock together but do not know whom to obey. This is the fault of discarding laws and prohibitions, leaving merits and services behind, exalting names and reputations, and granting requests and audiences.

The law-breakers, on the whole, always set fabrications and make excuses in order thereby to seek intimate contact with the sovereign, and would also speak about events of rare occurrence in the world. This is the reason why the outrageous rulers and violent sovereigns are bewildered, and why able ministers and worthy counsellors are violated. For instance, ministers who praise Yi Yin and Kuan Chung for their rendering meritorious services and their being taken

into service, will have sufficient reason to act against the law and pretend to wisdom; those who praise Pi-kan and Tzu-hsū for their being loyal but killed, will have sufficient citations to display hasty persuasions and forcible remonstrations. Indeed, if they now praise worthy and intelligent rulers such as the masters of Yi Yin and Kuan Chung and then blame outrageous and violent sovereigns such as the masters of Pi-kan and Tzu-hsū, then their forced analogies are not worth taking. Such men must be suppressed. The ruler makes laws so as to establish the standard of right. Yet most ministers of to-day exalt their private wisdom. Those who condemn the law as wrong, regard heretic creeds as wise and establish their own standards of conduct beyond the boundary of the law. To suppress such crooks, is the duty of the sovereign.

It is the duty of the sovereign to make clear the distinction between public and private interests, enact laws and statutes openly, and forbid private favours. Indeed, to enforce whatever is ordered and stop whatever is prohibited, is the public justice of the lord of men. To practise personal faith to friends, and not to be encouraged by any reward nor to be discouraged by any punishment, is the private righteousness of ministers. Wherever private righteousness prevails, there is disorder; wherever public justice obtains, there is order. Hence the necessity of distinction between public and private interests

Every minister cherishes both selfish motive and public justice. To refine his personality, improve his integrity, practise public creeds, and behave unselfish in office, is the public justice of the minister. To corrupt his conduct, follow his desires, secure his personal interests, and benefit his own family, is the selfish motive of the minister. If the intelligent sovereign is on the Throne, every minister will discard his selfish motive and practise public justice. If the violent sovereign is on the Throne, every minister will cast public justice aside and act on his selfish motive. Thus, ruler and minister have different frames of mind.

The ruler keeps the minister in service with a calculating mind. So does the minister with a calculating mind serve the ruler. As both ruler and minister are equally calculating, each for himself, the minister never cares to injure his body and benefit the state, nor does the ruler want to injure the state and benefit the minister. By nature the minister would regard the injury of himself as unprofitable. By nature the ruler would think the injury of the state as merciless. In short, ruler and minister work together, each with a calculating mind.

In the face of a crisis, the minister may sacrifice his life, exert his wisdom, and apply his strength. He would do so only on account of the law.

Therefore, the early kings, in order to encourage ministers, made rewards clear, and, in order to overawe them, made penalties severe. For, when rewards and penalties were clarified, the people would risk their lives in the cause of their native soil; when the people were resolved to risk their lives, the army would become strong and the sovereign would be honoured. When reward and penalty were not clearly enacted, men of no merit would expect undue rewards; when men found guilty were pardoned by grace, the army would become weak and the sovereign would become ignoble. Therefore, the early kings and their worthy counsellors applied their strength and exerted their wisdom to make laws clear and penalties severe. Hence the saying: "That public and private interests must be clearly distinguished and laws and prohibitions must be carefully enacted, the early kings already understood."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 20.

Commentaries on Lao Tzu's Teachings

Chapter 38. Discourse on Virtue

Superior virtue is unvirtue. Therefore it has virtue. Inferior virtue never loses sight of virtue. Therefore it has no virtue.

Superior virtue is non-assertion and without pretension. Inferior virtue asserts and makes pretensions.

Superior benevolence acts but makes no pretensions. Superior righteousness acts and makes pretensions.

Superior propriety acts and when no one responds to it, it stretches its arm and enforces its rules.

Thus one leaves Tao and then Teh appears. One leaves Virtue and then Benevolence appears. One leaves Benevolence and then Righteousness appears. One leaves Righteousness and then Propriety appears. The rules of Propriety are the semblance of loyalty and faith, and the beginning of disorder.

Foreknowledge is the flower of Tao, but of ignorance the beginning.

Therefore a great sportsman abides by the solid and dwells not in the superficial. He abides in the fruit and dwells not in the flower.

Therefore he discards the latter and chooses the former

Virtue is internal. Acquirement is external. "Superior virtue is unvirtue" means that the mind does not indulge in external things. If the mind does not indulge in external things, the personality will become perfect. The personality that is perfect is called "acquirement". In other words, acquirement is the acquirement of the personality. In general, virtue begins with non-assertion, develops with non-wanting,

rests secure with non-thinking, and solidifies with non-using. If it acts and wants, it becomes restless; if restless, it is not perfect. If put into use and thought about, it does not solidify; if it does not solidify, it cannot work successfully. If it is not perfect and cannot work successfully, it will become self-assertive virtue. If it becomes self-assertive virtue, it is non-virtue. Contrary to this, if unvirtue, it has virtue. Hence the saying: "Superior virtue is unvirtue. Therefore it has virtue."

The reason why men value non-assertion and nonthinking as emptiness is that by remaining empty one's will is ruled by nothing. Verily, tactless people purposely regard non-assertion and non-thinking as emptiness. To be sure, those who purposely regard non-assertion and non-thinking as emptiness, never forget emptiness in their minds. They are thus ruled by the will to emptiness. By "emptiness" is meant the status of the will not ruled by anything. To be ruled by the pursuit of emptiness is ipso facto not emptiness. When he who rests empty does not assert, he does not regard non-assertion as having a constant way. If he does not regard non-assertion as having a constant way, he is then empty. If he is empty, his virtue flourishes. The virtue that flourishes is called "superior virtue". Hence the saying: "Superior virtue is non-assertion and without pretension."

By "benevolence" is meant the love of men in a pleasant mood in one's innermost heart. It is to rejoice in the good luck of others and to lament on their bad luck. It is born of the sense of sheer necessity, but not of the want of reward. Hence the saying: "Superior benevolence acts but makes no pretensions."

"Righteousness" covers the manners of ruler and minister, superior and inferior, the distinction between father and son, high and low, the contact between intimate acquaintances, between friends, and the difference between the close and the distant, the internal and the external. The minister ought to serve the ruler aright; the inferior ought to comfort the superior aright. The son ought to serve the father aright; the low ought to respect the high aright. Intimate acquaintances and good friends ought to help each other aright. The close ought to be taken in while the distant ought to be kept off. In short, "righteousness" implies whatever is done aright. Anything right ought to be done aright. Hence the saying: "Superior righteousness acts and makes pretensions."

"Propriety" refers to the mode in which one's feelings are expressed. It is concerned with the cultural embellishments of all righteous acts, such as the mutual relations of ruler and minister, father and son. It is the way whereby high and low, worthy and unworthy, are differentiated. For instance, when one pines after someone else but cannot make himself understood, he runs fast towards the person and bows low in front of him so as to express his attachment to that person. Similarly, when one loves someone from one's innermost heart and cannot make himself known, he uses pleasing words and beautiful phrases to convince the person loved. Thus, propriety is the outer embellishment whereby the inner heart is understood. Hence "propriety" refers to the mode in which one's feelings are expressed.

In general, when a man responds to external things, he does not know that the response reveals the propriety of his personality. The masses of the people practise propriety only to show respect for others, wherefore propriety is now cordial and again simple. The superior man practises propriety on purpose to cultivate his personality, Since it is practised on purpose to cultivate his personality, it is intrinsic in mind and forms superior propriety. Since superior propriety is intrinsic in mind and popular propriety changes from time to time, they do not respond to each other. Since they do not respond to each other, hence the saying: "Superior propriety acts and no one responds to it."

Though the masses of the people change propriety from time to time, yet the saintly man is always courteous and respectful, practising the rules of propriety which bind him hand and foot. In so doing he never slackens. Hence the saying: "Superior virtue stretches its arm and enforces its rules."

Tao accumulates; accumulation accomplishes an achievement; and Teh is the achievement of Tao. Achievement solidifies; solidity shines; and Jen is the shining of Teh. Shine has gloss; gloss has function; and Ih is the function of Jen. Function has propriety; propriety has embellishment; and Li is the embellishment of Ih. Hence the saying: "One leaves Tao and then Teh appears. One leaves Virtue and then Benevolence appears. One leaves Benevolence and then Righteousness appears. One leaves Righteousness and then Propriety appears."

Propriety is the mode expressive of feelings. Embellishment is the decoration of qualities. Indeed, the superior man takes the inner feelings but leaves the outer looks, likes the inner qualities but hates the outer decorations. Who judges inner feelings by outer looks, finds the feelings bad. Who judges inner qualities by outer decorations, finds the inner qualities rotten. How can I prove this? The jade of Pien Ho was not decorated with the five bright colours. The bead of Marquis Sui was not decorated with yellow gold. Their qualities are so good that nothing is fit to decorate them. Verily, anything that functions only after being decorated must have poor

qualities. For this reason, between father and son propriety is simple and not brilliant. Hence the saying: "Propriety is superficial semblance only."

In general, things that do not flourish together are Yin and Yang. Principles that mutually take and give are threat and favour. What is substantial in reality but simple in appearance, is the propriety between father and son. From this viewpoint I can see that whoever observes complicated rules of propriety is rotten in his innermost heart. Nevertheless, to observe the rules of propriety is to comply with the naïve minds of people. The masses of the people, when observing the rules of propriety, rejoice imprudently if others respond, and resent it with blame if not. Now that the observers of the rules of propriety with a view to complying with the naïve minds of people are given the opportunity to blame each other, how can there be no dispute? Where there is dispute, there is disorder. Hence the saying: "The rules of propriety are the semblance of loyalty and faith, and the beginning of disorder.'

To act before affairs take place and move before principles are clear, is called foreknowledge. The foreknower makes arbitrary guesses with no special cause. How can I prove this? Once upon a time, Chan Ho was seated and his disciples were waiting upon him. When an ox mooed outside the gate, the disciples said, "It is a black ox but white is on its forehead." In response to this, Chan Ho said, "True, it is a black ox but the white is on its horns." Accordingly, they sent men out to investigate it and found the ox was black and its horns were wrapped with white cloth. To bewilder the minds of the masses with the accomplished tact of Chan Tzu is almost as brilliant as any gay flower. Hence the saying: "Foreknowledge is the flower of Reason."

Supposing by way of trial we discarded the foresight of Chan Tzu and sent out an ignorant boy less than five feet tall to investigate it, then he would know the ox was black and its horns were wrapped with white cloth, too. Thus, with the foresight of Chan Tzu, who had afflicted his mind and exhausted his energy in order to attain it, was accomplished this same merit which an ignorant boy below five feet tall can do. Therefore, it is said to be "the beginning of ignorance". Hence the saying: "Foreknowledge is the flower of Reason, but of ignorance the beginning."

"A great sportsman" is so called because his wisdom is great. To "abide by the solid and dwell not in the superficial", as is said, means to act upon inner feelings and realities and leave aside outer rules of propriety and appearance. To "abide in the fruit and dwell not in the flower", as is said, means to follow causes and principles and make no arbitrary guesses. To "discard the latter and choose the former", as is said, means to discard outer manners and arbitrary guesses, and adapt causes, principles, inner feelings, and realities. Hence the saying: "He discards the former and chooses the latter."

Chapter 58. Adaptation to Change

Whose government is unostentatious, quite unostentatious, his people will be prosperous, quite prosperous. Whose government is prying, quite prying, his people will be needy, quite needy

Misery, alas! is what happiness rests upon. Happiness, alas! is what misery is hidden in. But who foresees the catastrophe? It will not be prevented.

What is ordinary becomes again extraordinary. What is good becomes again unpropitious. This bewilders people, and it happens constantly since times immemorial.

Therefore the saintly man is square but not sharp, strict but not obnoxious, upright but not restraining, bright but not dazzling.

Man encountered by misery feels afraid in mind. If he feels afraid in mind, his motives of conduct will become straight. If his motives of conduct are straight, his thinking processes will become careful. If his thinking processes are careful, he will attain principles of affairs. If his motives of conduct are straight, he will meet no misery. If he meets no misery, he will live a life as decreed by heaven. If he attains principles of affairs, he will accomplish meritorious works. If he can live a life as decreed by heaven, his life will be perfect and long. If he accomplishes meritorious works, he will be wealthy and noble. Who is perfect, long-lived, wealthy, and noble, is called happy. Thus, happiness originates in the possession of misery. Hence the saying: "Misery, alas! is what happiness rests upon" for accomplishing its merit.

When one has happiness, wealth and nobility come to him. As soon as wealth and nobility come to him, his clothes and food become good. As soon as his clothes and food become good, an arrogant attitude appears. When an arrogant attitude appears, his conduct will become wicked and his action unreasonable. If his conduct is wicked, he will come to an untimely end. If his action is unreasonable, he will accomplish nothing. Indeed, to meet the disaster of premature death without making a reputation for achievement, is a great misery. Thus, misery originates in the possession of happiness. Hence the saying: "Happiness, alas! is what misery is hidden in the possession of happiness."

Indeed, those who administer affairs by following reason and principle never fail to accomplish tasks. Those who never

fail to accomplish tasks, can attain the honour and influence of the Son of Heaven for their best or at least easily secure the rewards and bounties of ministers and generals. Indeed, those who discard reason and principle and make arbitrary motions, though they have the honour and influence of the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords on the one hand and possess ten times the wealth of I Tun and T'ao Chu, will eventually lose their subjects and ruin their financial resources. The masses of the people who discard reason imprudently and make arbitrary motions easily, do not know that the cycle of misery and happiness is so great and profound and the way is so wide and long. Hence Lao Tzu taught men by saying: "Who foresees the catastrophe?"

Everybody wants wealth, nobility, health, and longevity. Yet none can evade the disaster of poverty, lowliness, death, or untimely end. To have the want in mind for wealth, nobility, health, and longevity, and meet poverty, lowliness, death, or untimely end, in the long run, means the inability to reach what one wants to reach. In general, who misses the way he seeks and walks at random, is said to be bewildered. If bewildered, he cannot reach the place he wants to reach. Now the masses of the people cannot reach the place they want to reach. Hence the saying of "bewilderment".

That the masses of the people cannot reach the place they want to reach, has been true since the opening of heaven and earth till the present. Hence the saying: "The people have been bewildered from time immemorial."

By "square" is implied the correspondence of the internal with the external, the agreement of word with deed. By "strictness" is implied the determination to die in the cause of fidelity, to take matters of property and money easy. By "uprightness" is implied the sense of duty to stand by the just, the frame of mind to be impartial. By "brightness" is implied the honour of official rank and the excellence of clothes and fur garments. Now, the upholders of the right way of life, though earnest in mind and adaptable outside, neither slander the defamed nor debase the fallen. Though determined to die a martyr to fidelity and not be covetous of money, they neither insult the fickle nor put the greedy to shame. Though righteous and impartial, they neither spurn the wicked nor accuse the selfish. Though their influence is great and their clothes excellent, they neither show off before the humble nor look down upon the poor. What is the cause of this? Well, suppose those who have lost the way are willing to listen to able man and ask knowers of the way. Then they will not be bewildered. Now, the masses of the people want successes but meet failures because they were born ignorant of reason and principle and are still unwilling to ask the knowers and listen to the able. The masses of the people being thus not willing to ask the knowers and listen to the able, if saintly men reproach their misery and failure, they show resentment. The masses are many, the saintly men are few. That the few cannot prevail upon the many, is natural. Now, to make enemies of Allunder-Heaven habitually is not the way to keep oneself intact and enjoy a long life. For this reason, the saintly men follow the four standards of conduct and exalt them in solitude. Hence the saying: "The saintly man is square but not sharp, strict but not obnoxious, upright but not restraining, bright but not dazzling.

Chapter 59. The Way to Maintain Order in the State

For governing the people and obeying heaven nothing is better than frugality.

Now consider that frugality is said to come from early practice.

By early practice it is said that we can accumulate an abundance of virtue. If one accumulates an abundance of virtue, then there is nothing that cannot be overcome.

If nothing cannot be overcome, then no one knows his limit. If no one knows his limit, one can have possession of the state.

Who has possession of the state's mother, may last and abide. This is called the possession of deep roots and of a staunch stem. To long life and to everlasting activity, this is the way.

Sharpness and brightness, intuition and wisdom, are endowed by heaven. Motion and repose, thinking and worry, are enacted by man. Man by virtue of natural brightness sees, by virtue of natural sharpness hears, and thinks and worries owing to natural intelligence. Therefore, if he sees too much, his eyes will not be bright. If he hears too much, his ears will not be sharp. And if his thinking and worry go beyond the limits, his wisdom and knowledge will be confused. The eyes, if not bright, cannot tell the black from the white colour. The ears, if not sharp, cannot distinguish between voiceless and voiced sounds. And wisdom and knowledge, if confused, cannot discriminate the gaining from the losing game. The eyes unable to tell the black from the white colour are said to be blind. The ears unable to distinguish between voiceless and voiced sounds are said to be deaf. And the mind unable to discriminate the gaining from the losing game is said to be insane. Blind, one cannot escape dangers whether by day or night. Deaf, one cannot perceive the damage caused by thunder. And insane, one cannot evade the calamities of the violation of laws and decrees prevailing among his fellow men. Therefore, government of the people, as is said in Lao Tzu's text, should suit the degree of motion and repose and save the

trouble of thinking and worry. The so-called obedience to heaven means not to reach the limits of sharpness and brightness nor to exhaust the functions of wisdom and knowledge. If anybody ventures such extremity and exhaustion, he will have to use too much of his mental energy. If he uses too much of his mental energy, then disasters from blindness, deafness, and insanity will befall him. Hence the need of frugality. Who is frugal, loves his mental energy and saves his wisdom and knowledge. Hence the saying: "For governing the people and obeying heaven, nothing is better than frugality."

The masses of the people, when using their mental energy, are in a great hurry. If in a great hurry, they waste too much of their energy. To waste too much energy is said to be extravagant. The saintly man, when using his mental energy. is reposed. Reposed, he consumes little energy. To consume a small amount of energy is said to be frugal. Frugality, called a tact, originates in reason and principle. The ability to be frugal, indeed, is due to obedience to reason and conformity to principle. The masses of the people, though caught by troubles and overtaken by disasters, are still not aware of the need of retirement and would not follow reason and principle. The saintly man even before he sees the signs of misery and disaster is already humble-minded and follows reason and principle. This is said to be early practice. Hence the saying: 'Now consider that frugality is said to come from early practice."

Who knows how to govern the people, thinks and worries in repose. Who knows how to obey heaven, keeps his sense-organs humble. If one thinks and worries in repose, his old virtue will not go out. If he keeps his sense-organs humble, the spirit of peace will come in every day. Hence the saying: "Accumulate an abundance of virtue."

Indeed, who can make the old virtue not go out and the spirit of peace come in every day, is a man of early practice. Hence the saying: "By early practice it is said that we can accumulate an abundance of virtue."

After one accumulates virtue, one's mind becomes tranquil. After one's mind becomes tranquil, one's spirit of peace becomes abundant. After one's spirit of peace becomes abundant, one becomes able to scheme well. After one becomes able to scheme well, one becomes able to control everything. If able to control everything, one can easily overcome enemies in warfare. If one can easily overcome enemies in warfare, his reputation will spread all over the world. Since the reputation spreads all over the world, hence the saying: "There is nothing that cannot be overcome."

To find nothing invulnerable results from the accumulation of an abundance of virtue. Hence the saying: "If one accumulates an abundance of virtue, then there is nothing that cannot be overcome."

If one can easily overcome his enemies in warfare, he will be able to annex All-under-Heaven. If his reputation spreads all over the world, the people will obey him. Thus, when going forward, he can annex All-under-Heaven; when turning backward, he finds the people obedient to him. If his tact is profound, the masses of the people cannot perceive its beginning and ending. Inasmuch as the people cannot perceive its beginning and ending, no one knows his limit. Hence the saying: "If nothing cannot be overcome, then no one knows his limit."

In general, who first has the state and then loses it, and who first has the body and then drives it to misery, cannot be called able to have possession of the state and keep the safety of the body. Indeed, who can have possession of the state, must be able to keep the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain in security; who can keep the safety of the body, must be able to live through the period of life as decreed by heaven. Such a man can be called able to have possession of the state and keep the safety of the body. Indeed, who can have possession of his state and keep the safety of the body, always holds fast to Tao. If he holds fast to Tao, his wisdom is deep. If his wisdom is deep, his comprehension is far and wide. If his comprehension is far and wide, then the masses of the people cannot know its limit. It is only by realizing the true path that one can prevent people from seeing the limits of one's own affairs. Who can prevent people from seeing the limits of his own affairs, can keep the safety of his body and have possession of his state. Hence the saying: "If no one knows his limit, one can have possession of the state."

As to the so-called "possession of the state's mother", the mother is Tao. Tao appears in the craft whereby the state is possessed. As one has possession of the craft whereby the state is possessed, he is said to have possession of the state's mother. Indeed, Tao moves along with the world, so that it lasts long in building life and abides forever in keeping bounty. Hence the saying: "Who has possession of the state's mother may last and abide." Trees have both widespread roots and straight roots. The straight 36 root is what is called "stem" 37 in the text. By means of the stem the tree builds up its life; by means of the widespread roots the tree keeps up its life. Now, virtue is the means whereby man builds up his life; bounty is the means whereby man keeps up his life. Who establishes himself upon principle, maintains his bounty long. Hence the saying:

"Deepen the roots." Who realizes the true path, lasts long in the course of life. Hence the saying: "Staunch the stem." If the stem is staunched, the life will be long. If the roots are deepened, the activity will last for ever. Hence the saying: "To deepen the roots and staunch the stem is the way to long life and everlasting activity."

Chapter 60. How to Be in Office

Govern a big country as you would fry small fish: (neither gut nor scale them).

If with Tao All-under-Heaven is managed, even its ghosts will not haunt. Not only will its ghosts not haunt, but its gods will not harm the people. Not only will its gods not harm the people, but neither will its sages harm the people. Since neither will do harm, therefore their virtues will be combined.

The craftsman, if he frequently changes his work, will lose his accomplishment. The workman, if he frequently shifts his occupation, will lose his accomplishment, too. If one man loses half-a-day's accomplishment every day, in ten days he will lose five men's accomplishment. If ten thousand men each lose half-a-day's accomplishment every day, in ten days they will lose fifty thousand men's accomplishment. If so, the more numerous those who frequently change their works are, the greater losses they will incur. Likewise, if laws and decrees are altered, advantages and disadvantages will become different. If advantages and disadvantages are different, the duties of the people will change. Change of duties is said to be change of works. Therefore, by reasoning I can see that if tasks are big and many and are frequently shifted, then few of them can be accomplished; that if anybody keeps a great vessel and moves it too often, it will incur many damages; that if, when frying small fish, you poke them around too often, you will ruin the cooking; and that if, when governing a big country, you alter laws and decrees too often, the people will suffer hardships. Therefore, the ruler who follows the proper course of government, values emptiness and tranquillity and takes the alteration of the law seriously. Hence the saying: "Govern a big country 38 as you would fry small fish."

People when ill hold physicians in esteem, and, when miserable, hold ghosts in awe. When the sage is on the throne, the people will have fewer desires. When the people have fewer desires, their blood and spirit will become orderly and their behaviour and conduct reasonable. If blood and spirit are orderly and behaviour and conduct reasonable, there will be fewer disasters. Indeed, those who suffer no trouble of boils and piles inside and incur no misery of punishment and censure outside, hold ghosts in great contempt. Hence the saying: "If with Tao Allunder-Heaven is managed, even its ghosts will not haunt."

The people of an orderly age and ghosts and gods do not harm each other. Hence the saying: "Not only will its ghosts not haunt, but its gods will not harm the people."

If ghosts fall upon sick persons, it is then said that ghosts harm men. If men drive ghosts away, it is then said that men harm ghosts. If the people violate laws and decrees, it is then said that the people harm the sovereign. If the sovereign punishes and chastises the people, it is then said that the sovereign harms the people. If the people do not violate the law, then the sovereign does not have to apply any penalty, either. If the superior does not apply any penalty, it is then said that the sovereign does not harm the people. Hence the saying: "Not only will its gods not harm the people, but neither will its sages harm the people."

The sovereign and the people do not ruin each other while men and ghosts do not harm each other. Hence the saying: "Neither will do harm."

If the people dare not violate the law, then the sovereign does not have to apply penalties on the one hand nor does he have to work to the advantage of his own investments on the other. If the sovereign neither has to apply penalties nor has to work to the advantage of his own investments, the people will multiply and prosper. When the people are multiplying and prospering, their savings and hoardings will flourish. To have a people who multiply and prosper and whose savings and hoardings flourish, is called to have possession of virtue. The so-called cursed person is one whose soul is gone and whose mind is perturbed. If his mind is perturbed, he has no virtue. If ghosts did not fall upon the man, his soul would not go away. If the soul did not go away, his mind would not be perturbed. To have the mind not perturbed is called to have possession of virtue. Therefore, if the sovereign encourages savings and hoardings and ghosts do not disturb their minds. then all virtue will go to the people. Hence the saving: "Since neither will do harm, therefore their virtues will be combined." This means that the virtues of high and low flourish and in both cases are combined into the well-being of

The ruler who upholds Tao incurs no hatred from the neighbouring enemies outside and bestows beneficence upon the people at home. Verily, who incurs no hatred from the neighbouring enemies, observes the rules of etiquette when dealing with the feudal lords; who bestows beneficence upon the people, emphasises primary works when administering the people's affairs. If he treats the feudal lords according to the

rules of etiquette, then warfare will rarely take place. If he administers the people's affairs by emphasising their primary works, then indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood will stop. Now, horses in general are greatly useful because they carry armour and weapons and facilitate indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood. However, inasmuch as the ruler who upholds the true path rarely employs armour and weapons and forbids indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood, the sovereign does not have to use horses in warfare and drive them back and forth and the masses of the people never have to employ horses for transporting luxuries between distant places. What they devote their strength to, is farms and fields only. If they devote their strength to farms and fields, they have to haul dung for fertilizing the land and water for irrigating it. Hence the saying: "When All-under-Heaven follows Tao, race-horses are reserved for hauling dung."

On the contrary, if the ruler of men does not uphold Tao, at home he will misgovern the people and abroad he will offend the neighbouring states. If he misgoverns the people, the people will lose their property; if he offend the neighbouring states, warfare will frequently take place. If the people lose their property, the cattle will decrease; if warfare takes place frequently, officers and soldiers will be exhausted. If cattle decrease, war horses will become few; if officers and soldiers are exhausted, the army will be jeopardised. If war horses are few, then even mares will have to appear on the battle-field; if the army is jeopardised, then even courtiers will have to march to the front line. After all, horses are of great use to troops, and "suburb" means "neighbourhood at hand". Since they have to replenish the army with mares 46 and courtiers, hence the saying: "When All-under-Heaven does not follow Tao, war horses are bred in the suburbs.'

When a man has wild desires, his inferences become confused. When his inferences are confused, his desire becomes intense. When his desire is intense, the crooked mind rules supreme. When the crooked mind rules supreme, affairs go straight to a deadlock. When affairs go straight to a deadlock, disasters take place. From this viewpoint it is clear that disasters are due to the crooked mind, which is in its turn due to submission to desire. As regards submission to desire, the positive kind would lead obedient citizens to villainy, the negative kind would lead good persons to misery. culprits appear, the ruler will be violated and weakened. When misery comes, most people will be harmed. Thus, all sorts of submission to desire either violate and weaken the ruler or harm the people. To violate and weaken the ruler and harm the people is, indeed, a great crime. Hence the saving: 'No greater crime than submitting to desire.'

Therefore the saintly men are never attracted to the five colours nor do they indulge in music; the intelligent ruler treats lightly amusement in curios and rids himself of indulgence in beauties. By nature man has neither wool nor feather. If he wears no clothes at all, he cannot resist cold. Above he does not belong to the heavens. Below he is not stuck to the earth. And the stomach and intestines are what he takes as roots of his life. Unless he eat, he cannot live. Therefore he cannot avoid having an avaricious mind. The avaricious mind, unless banished, would cause one worries. Therefore, the saintly men, if they have sufficient clothes to resist cold and sufficient food to fill their empty stomachs, have no worry at all. The same is not true of the ordinary man. Whether they are feudal lords or only worth a thousand pieces of gold, their worry about what they want to get is never shaken off. It is possible for convicts to receive special pardons; and it happens occasionally that criminals sentenced to death live on for some time. Since the worry of those who know no sufficiency is life-long and inevitable, hence the saying: "No greater misery than not knowing sufficiency.'

Therefore, if avarice is intense, it causes worry. If one worries, he falls ill. If he falls ill, his intelligence declines. If his intelligence declines, he loses the ability to measure and calculate, his action becomes absurd. If his action is absurd, then misery will befall him. If misery befalls him, the illness will turn from bad to worse inside his body. If the illness turns from bad to worse inside his body, he feels pain. If misery hangs over him from without, he feels distressed. The pain and distress that ply out and in 54 would hurt the invalid seriously. Hurt seriously, the invalid retires and finds fault with himself. It is due to the avaricious mind that he retires and finds fault with himself. Hence the saying: "No greater fault than avarice."

Tao is the way of everything, the form of every principle.

Tao is the way of everything, the form of every principle. Principles are the lines that complete things. Tao is the cause of the completion of everything. Hence the saying: "It is Tao that rules everything,"

Things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass against each other. Inasmuch as things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass against each other, principles are determinants of things and everything has a unique principle. Inasmuch as everything has its unique principle and Tao disciplines the principles of all things, everything has to go through the process of transformation. Inasmuch as everything has to go through the

process of transformation, it has no fixed frame. Since everything has no fixed frame, the course of life and death depends upon Tao, the wisdom of the myriad kinds conforms to it, and the rise and fall of the myriad affairs is due to it. Heaven can be high because of it, earth can hold everything because of it, the Polar Star can have its majesty because of it the sun and the moon can make constant illumination because of it, the five constant elements can keep their positions constant because of it, all the stars can keep their orbits right because of it, the four seasons can control their diverse expressions because of it, Hsien-yüan could rule over the four directions at his discretion because of it, Master Red Pine could live as long as heaven and earth because of it, and sages can compose essays and elaborate institutions because of it. It was manifested in the wisdom of Yao and Shunm in the rampancy of Chieh-yü, in the destruction of Chieh and Chow, and in the prosperity of T'ang and Wu. Near as you might suppose it to be, it travels to the four poles of the world. Far as you might suppose it to be, it always abides by the side of everybody. Dim as you might suppose it to be, its gleam is glittering. Bright as you might suppose it to be, its body is obscure. By its achievement heaven and earth are formed. By its harmony thundering is transformed. Thus everything in the world owes it its formation. By nature the inner reality of Tao is neither restrained nor embodied. It is either soft or weak according as the occasion is, and is always in correspondence with principles. Because of it everything dies. Thanks to it everything lives. Because of it every affair fails. Thanks to it every affair succeeds. Tao can be compared to water. Who is drowning, dies as he drinks too much of it. Who is thirsty lives on as he drinks a proper amount of it. Again, it can be compared to a sword or a spear. If the stupid man uses it for wreaking his grudge upon others, calamities will happen. If the saintly man uses it for punishing the outrageous, good luck will ensue. Thus, people die of it, live owing to it, fail because of it, and succeed on account of it.

Men rarely see living elephants. As they come by the skeleton of a dead elephant, they imagine its living according to its features. Therefore it comes to pass that whatever people use for imagining the real is called "image". Though Tao cannot be heard and seen, the saintly man imagines its real features in the light of its present effects. Hence the saying: "It is the form of the formless, the image of the imageless.

Chapter 1. Understanding Tao

The Tao that can be traced as a way is not the eternal Tao The name that can be defined as a name is not the eternal name. What has no name is the beginning of heaven and earth. What has a name is the mother of the myriad things Therefore it is said:

"He who desireless is found The spiritual of the world will sound. But he who by desire is bound Sees the mere shell of things around."

These two things are the same in source but different in name. Their sameness is called a mystery. Indeed, it is the mystery of mysteries. Of all subtleties it is the gate.

In general, principles are what distinguish the square from the round, the short from the long, the coarse from the fine, and the hard from the brittle. Accordingly, it is only after principles become definite that things can attain Tao. Thus, definite principles include those of existence and extinction, of life and death, and of rise and fall. Indeed, anything that first exists and next goes to ruin, now lives and then dies, and prospers at the beginning and declines afterward, cannot be said to be eternal. Only that which begins with the creation of heaven and earth and neither dies nor declines till heaven and earth disappear can be said to be eternal. What is eternal has neither a changing location nor a definite principle and is not inherent in an eternal place. Therefore the eternal cannot be traced as a way. The saintly man, looking at its mysterious emptiness and dwelling upon its universal course, forcibly gave it the name Tao. Only thereafter it can be talked about. Hence the saying: "The Tao that can be traced as a way is not the eternal Tao.

Chapter 50. The Estimation of Life Appear in birth, disappear in death.

There are thirteen dependencies of life; there are thirteen dependencies of death. On thirteen avenues men that live pass into the realm of death.

Now, what is the reason? It is because they live life's intensity.

Yea. I understand that one who takes good care of life. when travelling on land, will not fall a prey to the bison or the tiger. When going among soldiers, he need not fear arms and weapons. The bison finds no place wherein to insert its horns. The tiger finds no place wherein to put his claws. Weapons find no place wherein to thrust their blades. What is the reason? It is because he does not belong to the realm of death

Man begins in birth and ends in death. To begin is called to appear; to end, to disappear. Hence the saying: "Appear in birth, disappear in death."

The human body is composed of three hundred and sixty joints with four limbs and nine passages as its important equipment. Four limbs plus nine passages are thirteen in number. The motion and the repose of all these thirteen depend upon life. As they depend upon life, they are said to be 'dependencies". Hence the saying: "There are thirteen dependencies of life."

As regards death, the thirteen equipments revert to their original status, and all depend upon death. Therefore, the dependencies of death are also thirteen. Hence the saying: There are thirteen dependencies of life; there are thirteen dependencies of death.

On the whole, people who live by living life's intensity, move all the time. When motion is exerted, they incur losses. If motion does not stop, losses will occur incessantly. If losses occur incessantly, life will come to an end. Life's coming to an end is called "death". That is to say, the thirteen equipments are all avenues to pass into the realm of death. Hence the saying: "People move to live in the realm of life. But motion includes all avenues to the realm of death which are also thirteen in number.'

Therefore, the saintly man saves mental energy and esteems the status of repose. Otherwise, conditions would become much worse than the harm of bisons and tigers. True, bisons and tigers have lairs and their motion and repose come on certain occasions. If you keep away from their lairs and avoid the occasions of their activities, then you will be able to evade their harm. However, as people know bisons and tigers have horns and claws but do not know everything else has horns and claws, they cannot evade the harm of the myriad things. How can this be proved? Well, when seasonal rain is falling in torrents and wide fields are lonesome and quiet, if you cross mountains and rivers at dusk or at dawn, the claws and horns of wind and dew will harm you. When serving the superior, if you are not loyal or violate prohibitions and decrees imprudently, the claws and horns of penal law will harm you. When living in the village, if you take no caution but show hatred and love at random, the claws and horns of dispute and quarrel will harm you. If you satiate your appetites without limitation and never regulate your motion and repose, the claws and horns of piles and boils will harm you. If you are habitually fond of applying your self-seeking wisdom and discarding rational principles, the claws and horns of nets and traps will harm you. Thus, while bisons and tigers have lairs and the myriad harms have causes, only if you can keep away from the lairs and stop the causes, will you be able to evade

In general, weapons and armour are for providing against harm. Who clings firmly to life, though serving in the ranks, has no mind of grudge and dispute. Without the mind of grudge and dispute, he finds no place wherein to use the provisions against harm. This not only refers to the troops in the wilderness. But it is also concerned with the saintly man who has no mind to harm anybody when making his way through the world. If he has no mind to harm anybody, he will find no harm from anybody. If he finds no harm from anybody, he need not guard against anybody. Hence the saving: "When travelling on land, he will not fall a prey to the bison or the tiger." Likewise, he does not have to depend on the provisions against harm when walking through the world. Hence the saying: "When going among soldiers, he need not fear arms and weapons." Since he can thus keep away from all kinds of harm, hence the saying: "The bison finds no place wherein to insert its horns. The tiger finds no place wherein to put his claws. Weapons find no place wherein to thrust their

It is the rational principle of heaven and earth that man takes no precaution against any kind of harm and never is harmed. As he merges in the course of heaven and earth, hence the saying: "He does not belong to the realm of death." Inasmuch as he moves and does not belong to the realm of death, he is said to be taking good care of life.

Chapter 67. The Three Treasures

All-under-Heaven call me great; but I resemble the unlikely. Now a man is great only because he resembles the unlikely. Did he resemble the likely, how lasting, indeed, would his mediocrity be!

Indeed. I have three treasures which I cherish and treasure. The first is called compassion. The second is called frugality. The third is called not daring to come to the front of Allunder-Heaven.

The compassionate can be brave; the frugal can be magnificent; those who dare not come to the front of Allunder-Heaven can become perfect as chief vessels.

Now, if people discard compassion and are brave; if they discard frugality and are magnificent; if they discard modesty and are ambitious, they will surely die.

Indeed, the compassionate will in attack be victorious, and in defence firm. Heaven when about to save one will with compassion protect him.

Who loves his child is compassionate to the child Who clings firmly to life, is compassionate to himself. Who values successful accomplishment, is compassionate to tasks. The compassionate mother, regarding her infant child, always strives to establish the child's well-being. If she strives to establish the child's well-being, she will endeavour to rid the child of calamities. If she endeavours to rid the child of calamities, her reflection and consideration become thorough. If her reflection and consideration are thorough, she will attain the principles of affairs. If she attains the principles of affairs, she will certainly accomplish her purposes. If she is certain of accomplishing her purposes, she will not hesitate in her action. To make no hesitation is called "brayery". Now. the saintly man deals with the myriad affairs exactly in the same way as the compassionate mother considers the wellbeing of her child. Therefore, he finds reason for determined action. If he has reason for determined action, he will not hesitate in transacting affairs either. Thus, to make no hesitation is called "bravery"; unhesitating action is due to compassion. Hence the saying: "The compassionate can be brave.

The Duke of Chou said: "If it does not freeze hard in winter days, grass and trees will not flourish in spring and summer. Thus, even heaven and earth can neither always be extravagant nor always be frugal. How much less can mankind be so? Therefore, the myriad things must have prosperity and decline, the myriad affairs must have their rise and fall, the state must have civil and military institutions. and government must have reward and punishment. For this reason, if wise men frugally spend their money, their families will become rich; if the saintly man treasures his mind, his energy will become abundant; and if the ruler of men emphasizes the usefulness of his soldiers for military purposes. his subjects will become numerous. If the subjects are numerous, the state will become magnificent. From all these facts there can be inferred the saying: "The frugal can be

In general, anything that has a form can be easily cut and easily trimmed. How can I prove this? Well, if the thing has form, it has length; if it has length, it has size; if it has size, it has a shape; if it has a shape, it has solidity; if it has solidity. it has weight; and if it has weight, it has colour. Now, length, size, shape, solidity, weight, and colour are called principles. As these are fixed, the thing can be easily cut. Therefore, if you present discussions first in the government and draw your conclusion from them later, then thoughtful and planful personages will know the right decision to make. Likewise, supposing you wanted to construct squares and circles and followed the compasses and squares, then the accomplishment of any task would take its shape. As with everything following the compasses and squares, thinkers and speakers must inspect and follow the compasses and squares. The saintly man thoroughly follows the compasses and squares of the myriad things. Hence the saying: "They dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven.'

Thus, if one dare not come to the front of All-underHeaven, then everything will be done, every achievement will be accomplished, and his theory will prevail all over the world. Then, even though he wants not to attain to high office in government, is it possible? To attain to high office in government is called to become perfect as chief vessels. Hence the saving: "Those who dare not come to the front of Allunder-Heaven can become perfect as chief vessels.

Who is compassionate to his children, dare not stop giving them clothes and food. Who is compassionate to himself, dare not go astray from laws and regulations. Who is compassionate to squares and circles, dare not discard the compasses and squares. For the same reason, if one in the face of warfare is compassionate to the rank and file, he will overcome his enemies in attack; if compassionate to war implements, he will make the city-walls hard and firm. Hence the saying: "The compassionate will in attack be victorious, and in defence firm '

Indeed, who can perfect himself and thoroughly follow the principles of the myriad things, will eventually live a heavenly life. A heavenly life refers to the right way of human nature. The true path of All-under-Heaven leads to the welfare of living beings. If it is protected with compassion, everything will be successful. Then it is called "treasure". Hence the saying: "I have three treasures which I cherish and treasure.

Chapter 53. Gaining Insight If I have ever so little knowledge, I shall walk in the Grand Course. It is but expansion that I must fear.

The Grand Course is very plain, but people are fond of bypaths

When the palace is very splendid, the fields are very weedy and the granaries very empty.

To wear ornaments and gay clothes, to carry sharp swords, to be excessive in drinking and eating, to have a redundance of costly articles, this is the pride of robbers.

Surely, this is non-Course.

The so-called Grand Course in the text is the orthodox way. The so-called hypocrisy is the heretical way. The so-called bypaths are beautiful decorations. And beautiful decorations are part of the heretical way. If the palace is splendid, litigations will become numerous. If litigations multiply, fields will run waste. If the fields run waste, treasuries and storehouses will become empty. If treasuries and storehouses are empty, the country will become poor. If the country is poor, the folkways will become frivolous and extravagant. If the folkways are

frivolous and extravagant, professions for earning clothes and food will stop. If professions for earning clothes and food stop, the people will have to pretend to genius and embellish falsehood. If the people pretend to genius and embellish falsehood, they will use ornaments and gay clothes. To use ornaments and gay clothes is called "wearing ornaments and gay clothes"

If litigations are numerous, granaries and storehouses are empty, and certain people practise frivolity and extravagance as folkways, then the state will be injured as though pierced through by sharp swords. Hence the saying of "carrying sharp swords". Again, those who pretend to wisdom and genius till they injure the state, their own families are always rich. Since the private families are always rich, hence the saying of "having a redundance of costly articles". If there are such crooks in the state, then even stupid people will infallibly follow the example. If they follow the bad example, then small robbers will appear. From this viewpoint I can see that wherever great culprits start, there follow small robbers; whenever great culprits sing, then join the small robbers.

Indeed the Yii is the head of all musical instruments Therefore, once the Yii takes the lead, then follow bells and harps; once the Yü sounds, then join all other instruments. Similarly, wherever great culprits start, there sing common people; wherever common people sing, there join small burglars. Hence, to wear ornaments and gay clothes, to carry sharp swords, to be excessive in drinking and eating, and to have a redundance of costly articles, this is the Yü of robbers.

Chapter 54. Cultivating the Observing Ability "What is well planted is not uprooted;

What is well preserved cannot be looted!"

By sons and grandsons the sacrificial celebrations shall not

Who cultivates it in his person, his virtue is genuine.

Who cultivates it in his family, his virtue is overflowing.

Who cultivates it in his village, his virtue is lasting.

Who cultivates it in his country, his virtue is abundant. Who cultivates it in All-under-Heaven, his virtue is

universal.

Therefore.

By one's person one looks at persons.

By one's family one looks at families.

By one's village one looks at villages.

By one's country one looks at countries.

By one's All-under-Heaven one looks at All-underHeaven

How do I know that All-under-Heaven is such? Through IT. Men, whether stupid or intelligent, either accept or reject things. If reposed and secure, they would know the causes of misfortune and good luck. Excited by likes and dislikes and beguiled by obscene objects, they become different and perturbed. The reason for this is that they are attracted to external things and perturbed by likes and tastes. In fact, repose involves the meaning of accepting likes and rejecting dislikes; security purports the estimation of misfortune and good luck. Now, they are changed by likes and tastes and attracted to external things. Since they are attracted to external things and thereby led astray, hence the saying of "being uprooted". Such is not the case with the saintly man, however. Once he sets up his principle of acceptance and rejection, then though he sees things he likes, he is never attracted to them. Not to be attracted to them is said to "be not uprooted". Once he sets up the basis of devotion, then though there may be things that he likes, his mind is never thereby moved. Not to be moved is said to "be not looted".

Sons and grandsons act upon this Tao and thereby maintain the ancestral halls. The indestructibility of the ancestral halls means "the everlasting duration of the sacrificial celebrations"

To accumulate energy is virtue to oneself. To accumulate property is virtue to one's family. To tranquillize the people is virtue to the village, to the state, and to All-under-Heaven. Since one refines his personality and external things cannot perturb his mind, hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his person, his virtue is genuine." By "genuineness" is meant 'firmness of prudence"

Who manages his family affairs, his decision is never moved by useless things. If this is so, his resources will be overflowing. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his family, his virtue is overflowing.

If the squire of the village acts upon this principle, then homes that have abundance will multiply. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his village, his virtue lasts long and spreads wide."

If the governor of the country acts upon this principle, then villages that have virtue will multiply. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his country, his virtue is abundant."

If the ruler of All-under-Heaven acts upon this principle, then the livelihood of the people will always receive his beneficence. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in All-under-Heaven, his virtue is universal."

If the self-cultivator differentiates the superior man from the small man by means of this principle, and if the squire of the village, the governor of the country, and the ruler of Allunder-Heaven, all follow this principle in making a

comprehensive survey of their respective gains and losses, there can be no single mistake in a myriad cases. Hence the saying: "By one's person one looks at persons. By one's family one looks at families. By one's village one looks at villages. By one's country one looks at countries. By one's All-under-Heaven one looks at All-under-Heaven. How do I know that All-under-Heaven is such? Through IT.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 21.

Illustrations of Lao Tzu's Teachings

Chapter 46. Moderation of Desire

When All-under-Heaven follows Tao, there is no emergency, tranquillity increases daily, and couriers are not employed. Hence the saying: "Race-horses are reserved for hauling

When All-under-Heaven does not follow Tao, there is constant warfare, and self-defence against each other lasts for years without stopping, till the troops cannot return home, even though armour and helmets bring about lice and moths and swallows and sparrows nest in the tents of the generals.

Hence the saying: "War horses are bred in the suburb."

Once a man of Ti presented to Duke Wen of Chin fox furs with thin haired tails and leopard fur with black spots. Accepting the guest's presents, Duke Wen heaved a sigh, "Because of the beauty of their skin, these animals became the victims of a chastisement." Indeed, the ruler of a state who fell a victim to a chastisement because of his popularity, was King Yen of Hsü; those who fell victims to chastisements because of their cities and territories, were Yii and Kuo. Hence the saying: "No greater crime than submitting to desire."

Earl Chih, having annexed the fiefs of Fan and Chung-hang, attacked Chao incessantly. Meanwhile, as Han and Wey betrayed him, his army was defeated at Chin-yang, he was killed to the east of Kao-liang, his territory was partitioned, and his skull was lacquered and made into a liquor vessel. Hence the saying: "No greater misery than not knowing sufficiency."

The Ruler of Yü wanted the team of the Ch'ü breed and the Jade from Ch'ui-chi and took no advice from Kung Chi-Ch'i. In consequence his state went to ruin and he himself to death. Hence the saving: "No greater fault than avarice.

Any country, if able to preserve itself, is fair, and, if able to attain hegemony, is excellent. Anybody, if able to live on, is fair, and, if wealthy and noble, is excellent. Therefore, if not self-destructive, the state will not go to ruin and the self will not be killed. Hence the saying: "Who knows sufficiency's sufficiency is always sufficient.

Chapter 54. Cultivating of the Observing Ability

King Chuang of Ch'u, after winning the war with Chin, held a hunt at Ho-yung. Upon his return, he gave a reward to Sun-shu Ao. However, Sun-shu Ao asked for the sandy and stony land by the Han River. According to the Law of the Ch'u State, allotments to feudal nobles should be confiscated after two generations, but only Sun-shu Ao's fief was left intact. The reason why his fief was not confiscated was because the land was sterile. Accordingly, sacrifices at his family shrine lasted for nine generations unbroken. Hence the saying: "What is well planted is not uprooted; what is well preserved cannot be looted. For by sons and grandsons the sacrificial celebrations shall not cease." Thus was the case with Sun-shu

Chapter 26. The Virtue of Gravity

The heavy is of the light the root, and rest is motion's

Therefore the superior man in his daily walk does not depart from gravity. Although he may have magnificent sights, he calmly sits with liberated mind.

But how is it when the ruler of ten thousand chariots in his personal conduct is too light for All-under-Heaven? If he is too light, he will lose his vassals. If he is too restless, he will lose the throne.

If the ruler has the reins of government in his grip, he is said to be "heavy". If the ruler does not depart from his seat, he is said to be "resting". If heavy, he can control the light. If resting, he can subdue the moving. Hence the saying: "The heavy is of the light the root, and rest is motion's master. Therefore the superior man in his daily work does not depart from gravity.'

The state is the gravity of the ruler of men. The Father Sovereign while still alive alienated the state. In other words, he departed from gravity. Therefore, though he enjoyed himself at Tai and Yün-chung, he had already slipped the Chao State off his grip. Thus, the Father Sovereign, having been a sovereign of ten thousand chariots, became in his personal conduct too light for All-underHeaven. To lose one's own position is said to be "light" and to depart from one's seat is said to be "moving". Therefore, the Father Sovereign was imprisoned alive and eventually put to an end. Hence the saying: "If he is too light, he will lose his vassals. If he is too restless, he will lose the throne." This was the case with the Father Sovereign.

Chapter 36. The Revelation of Secrets

When you are about to contract anything, you would first expand it. When you are about to weaken anything, you would first strengthen it. When you are about to set down anything, you would first set it up. When you are about to take, you would give.

This is a revelation of the secrets whereby the soft conquer the hard and the weak the strong.

As the fish should not escape from the deep, so should the

state's sharp tools not be shown to anybody.

The position that is influential is the deep to the ruler of men. Who rules men, his position must be more influential than the ministers' position. Once lost, it would not be recovered. After Duke Chien lost it to T'ien Ch'eng and the Duke of Chin lost it to the Six Nobles, their states went to ruin and they were put to death. Hence the saying: "The fish should not escape from the deep."

True, reward and punishment are the state's sharp tools. It held in the hands of the ruler, they control the ministers. If held in the hands of the ministers, they control the ruler. If the ruler shows the tool of reward, the ministers will minimize it and thereby distribute private favours. If the ruler shows the tool of punishment, the ministers will aggravate it and thereby overawe the people. Since if the ruler of men shows the tool of reward, the ministers will abuse his position, and if he shows the tool of punishment, they will utilise his authority, hence the saying: "The state's sharp tools should not be shown to anybody.'

The King of Yüeh, after surrendering himself to Wu, showed its ruler how to invade Ch'i with a view to exhausting its strength. The troops of Wu, having defeated Ch'i's men at the Mugwort Mound, expanded their forces from the Chiang and the Ch'i and displayed their strength at the Yellow Pool. As a result, it became possible for the King of Yüeh to rout Wu's men at Lake Five. Hence the saying: "When you are about to weaken anything, you would strengthen it."

When Duke Hsien of Chin was about to raid Yü, he

presented to them a jade and a team of horses. When Earl Chih was about to raid Ch'ou-yu, he presented to them grand chariots. Hence the saying: "When you are about to take, you would give.'

To carry out a plan before it takes shape and thereby accomplish a great achievement in All-under-Heaven, is "a revelation of secrets". To be small and weak but willing to keep humble, is the way "the weak conquer the strong".

Chapter 63. Considering Beginnings

Assert non-assertion.

Practise non-practice. Taste the tasteless

Make great the small.

Make much the little. Requite hatred with virtue.

Contemplate a difficulty when it is easy. Manage a great

thing when it is small. The most difficult undertakings in All-under-Heavennecessarily originate while easy, and the greatest undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while

Therefore, the saintly man to the end does not venture to play the great, and thus he can accomplish his greatness.

Rash promises surely lack faith, and many easy things surely involve in many difficulties.

Therefore, the saintly man regards everything as difficult, and thus to the end encounters no difficulties.

What has a form, always begins its greatness from smallness. What endures a long time, always begins its abundance from scarcity. Hence the saying: "The most difficult undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while easy, and the greatest undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while small." Therefore, who wants to control anything, starts when it is small. Hence the saying: "Contemplate a difficulty when it is easy. Manage a great thing when it is small."

A dike ten thousand feet long begins its crumbling with holes made by ants; a room one hundred feet square begins its burning with sparks of fire leaping through cracks of chimneys. For the same reason, Pai Kuei on inspecting the dikes blocked up all holes; old man on suppressing fire plastered all cracks. Therefore, Pai Kuei met no disaster of any flood and old man met no fire disaster. Both were thus good examples of taking precautions against things when they are easy in order to avoid difficulties and paying attention to things when they are small in order to prevent their greatness.

Pien Ch'iao once had an interview with Duke Huan of Ch'i. After standing for a while, Pien Ch'iao said: "Your Highness has a disease in the capillary tubes. If not treated now, it might go deep." "I have no disease," replied Marquis Huan. After Pien Ch'iao went out, Marquis Huan remarked: 'Physicians are fond of treating healthy men so as to display their attainments "

Ten days later, Pien Ch'iao again had an interview and said: "The disease of Your Highness is in the flesh and skin. If not treated now, it will go still deeper." To this advice Marquis Huan made no reply. Pien Ch'iao went out. Marquis Huan was again displeased.

After ten more days, Pien Ch'iao had another interview and said: "The disease of Your Highness is in the stomach and intestines. If not treated now, it will go still deeper." Again Marquis Huan made no reply to the advice. Pien Ch'iao went out. Marquis Huan was again displeased.

After ten more days, Pien Ch'iao, looking at Marquis Huan, turned back and ran away. The Marquis sent men out to ask him. "Diseases that are in the capillary tubes," said Pien Ch'iao, "can be reached by hot water or flat irons. Those in the flesh and skin can be reached by metal or stone needles. Those in the stomach and intestines can be reached by well-boiled drugs. But after they penetrate the bones and marrow, the patients are at the mercy of the Commissioner of Life wherefore nothing can be done. Now that the disease of His Highness is in his bones and marrow, thy servant has no more advice to give."

In the course of five more days, Marquis Huan began to feel pain in his body, and so sent men out to look for Pien Ch'iao, who, however, had already gone to the Ch'in State. Thus ended the life of Marquis Huan.

For this reason, good physicians, when treating diseases, attack them when they are still in the capillary tubes. This means that they manage things when they are small. Hence, the saintly man begins to attend to things when it is early enough

Chapter 64. Mind the Minute

What is still at rest is easily kept quiet. What has not as yet appeared is easily prevented. What is still feeble is easily broken. What is still minute is easily dispersed.

Treat things before they come into existence. Regulate things before disorder begins. The stout tree has originated from a tiny rootlet. A tower of nine stories is raised by heaping up bricks of clay. A thousand li's journey begins with a foot.

He that makes mars. He that grasps loses.

The saintly man does not make; therefore he loses not. The people on undertaking an enterprise are always near completion, and yet they fail.

Remain careful to the end as in the beginning and you will not fail in your enterprise.

Therefore the saintly man desires to be desireless, and does not prize articles difficult to obtain. He learns to be not learned, and reverts to what multitudes of people pass by.

He assists the myriad things in their natural development, but he does not venture to interfere.

Of yore, when Prince of Chin, Ch'ung-erh, was living in exile, once he passed through the Cheng State. The Ruler of Cheng behaved impolitely to him. Against the manner Shu Chan remonstrated with him, saying: "He is a worthy prince. May Your Highness treat him with great courtesy and thereby place him under an obligation!" To this counsel the Ruler of Cheng never listened. Therefore Shu Chan again admonished him, saying: "If your Highness does not treat him with great courtesy, the best way is to put him to death and let no calamity appear in the future." Again the Ruler of Cheng never listened. After the Prince's return to the Chin State, he raised an army and sent an expedition against Cheng, routing them by long odds and taking eight cities from them.

When Duke Hsien of Chin with the Jade from Ch'ui-chi as present was going to borrow the way through Yü, to attack Kuo, High Officer Kung Chi-ch'i admonished the Ruler of Yü, saying: "The request should not be granted. When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold. Yü and Kuo ought to rescue each other, not because they want to place each other under any obligation, but because if Chin destroys Kuo to-day, to-morrow Yü will follow on its heels to ruin." The Ruler of Yü, taking no advice from him, accepted the jade and lent them the way. After taking Kuo, Chin withdrew and destroyed Yü in turn.

Thus, these two ministers both strove to suppress troubles when they were still in capillary tubes, but both their rulers failed to adopt their counsels. Thus, Shu Chan and Kung Chich'i were the Pien Ch'iao of Cheng and Yü, to whose words both their rulers paid no heed. As a result, Cheng was routed and Yū destroyed. Hence the saying: "What is still at rest is easily kept quiet. What has not as yet appeared is easily prevented."

Chapter 52. Returning to the Origin

When All-under-Heaven takes its beginning, Tao becomes the mother of All-under-Heaven.

As one knows his mother, so she in turn knows her child; as she quickens her child, so he in turn keeps to his mother, and to the end of life he is not in danger. Who closes his mouth, and shuts his sense-gates, in the end of life he will encounter no trouble; but who opens his mouth and meddles with affairs, in the end of life he cannot be saved.

Who beholds smallness is called enlightened. Who preserves tenderness is called strong. Who uses Tao's light and return home to its enlightenment does not surrender his person to perdition. This is called practising the eternal.

Of old, Chow made chop-sticks of ivory. Thereby was the Viscount of Chi frightened. He thought: "Ivory chop-sticks would not be used with earthen-wares but with cups made of jade or of rhinoceros horns. Further, ivory chop-sticks and

jade cups would not go with the soup made of beans and coarse greens but with the meat of longhaired buffaloes and unborn leopards. Again, eaters of the meat of long-haired buffaloes and unborn leopards would not wear short hemp clothes and eat in a thatched house but would put on nine layers of embroidered dresses and move to live in magnificent mansions and on lofty terraces. Afraid of the ending, I cannot help trembling with fear at the beginning."

In the course of five years, Chow made piles of meat in the form of flower-beds, raised roasting pillars, walked upon mounds of distiller's grains, and looked over pools of wine. In consequence ended the life of Chow. Thus, by beholding the ivory chop-sticks, the Viscount of Chi foreknew the impending catastrophe of All-under-Heaven. Hence the saying: "Who beholds smallness is called enlightened."

Kou-chien, after surrendering himself to Wu, held shield and spear and became a front guard of the horses of King Wu. Therefore, he became able to kill Fu-ch'a at Ku-su. Likewise, King Wen was insulted at the Jade Gate, but his facial colour showed no change. In the long run, King Wu took Chow prisoner at the Pastoral Field. Hence the saying: "Who preserves tenderness is called strong."

Chapter 57. The Disease of Knowledge

To know the unknowable, that is elevating. Not to know the knowable, that is sickness.

Only by becoming sick of sickness can we be without sickness.

The saintly man is not sick. Because he is sick of sickness, therefore he is not sick.

The King of Yüeh could become hegemonic because he was not sick of surrender. King Wu could become supreme because he was not sick of insult. Hence the saying: "The saintly man is not sick. As he is not sick, he can get rid of sickness."

Chapter 64. Mind the Minute

Once a countryman of Sung came by a jade stone, which he presented to Tzu-han. This Tzu-han refused to accept. "It is a treasure," remarked the countryman, "and should become a gentleman's possession but not for a rustic's use." In reply Tzu-han said: "You regard the jade as treasure, I regard the refusal to accept the jade as treasure." Thus, the countryman desired the possession of the jade, but Tzu-han did not desire it. Hence the saying: "The saintly man desires to be desireless, and does not prize articles difficult to get."

Once Wang Shou carried books on his back when travelling, and met Hsü Feng in Chou. To him Hsü Feng said: "Any task is an act; action arises from the needs of the time; and time has no permanent tasks. Books contain sayings; sayings arise from knowledge; and a well-informed person does not have to keep books around. Now, why should you carry them around?" Hearing this, Wang Shou burned the books and danced with joy. For the same reason, well-informed persons do not teach with sayings and intelligent persons do not fill cases with books. This is what the world passes by, and Wang Shou reverted to it. In other words, he learned to be not learned. Hence the saying: "He learns to be not learned and reverts to what multitudes of people pass by."

Indeed, everything has a definite shape. It should

Indeed, everything has a definite shape. It should accordingly be put to use. Accordingly, one should follow its shape. Therefore, if reposed, one should stand on Teh; if moving, he should act on Tao.

Once a man of Sung made for the ruler mulberry leaves of ivory. It took him three years to complete them. Having stems and branches, wide and narrow, and tiny buds and colourful gloss, they were scattered amidst real mulberry leaves and showed no difference from them. After all, this man was on account of his skilfulness endowed with a bounty in the Sung State.

When Lieh Tzu heard this, he said: "Supposing heaven and earth made a leaf in three years, then things that have leaves would be few." Therefore, if you do not count on the natural resources of heaven and earth but look to one man for everything, or if you do not follow the course of reason and principle but learn from the wisdom of one man, it is the same as to make a single leaf in three years. For this reason, farming in winter, even the Master of Grains would not be able to turn out good crops; but rich harvests in years of abundance even bondmen and bondmaids could not spoil. Thus, if you depend on the power of one man, even the Master of Grains would not be sufficient; but if you follow the course of nature, then bondmen and bondmaids would be plenty. Hence the saying: "He assists the myriad things in their natural development, but he does not venture to interfere."

Chapter 47. Viewing the Distant

Viewing the Distant
"Without passing out of the door
The Course of All-under-Heaven I prognosticate.
Without peeping through the window
The Way of Heaven I contemplate.

The farther one goes, The less one knows."

Therefore the saintly man does not travel, and yet he has knowledge. He does not see things, and yet he defines them. He does not labour, and yet he completes.

Holes are the doors and windows of the spirit. The ears and the eyes are exhausted by sounds and colours. Mental energy is exhausted by outer attractions. As a result, there is no master inside the body. If there is no master inside the body, then though all kinds of good and bad luck pile like hills and mountains, there is no way to know them. Hence the saying: "Without passing out of the door the Course of All-under-Heaven I prognosticate. Without peeping through the window the Way of Heaven I contemplate." This amounts to saying that the spirit never goes astray from its real abode.

Once upon a time Viscount Hsiang of Chao learned driving from Prince Yü-ch'i. All at once he started racing with Yüch'i. He changed his horses three times, but thrice he lagged behind. Thereupon Viscount Hsiang said: "You teach me how to drive, but the course is not as yet completed." "The course is completed," said Yü-ch'i in reply, "but the fault lies in the way it is applied. In general, what is important in driving is to fix the bodies of the horses firmly to the carriage and the mind of the driver to the horses. Then one can drive fast and far. Now, Your Highness, whenever behind, wants to get ahead of thy servant, and, whenever ahead, is afraid of lagging behind thy servant. To be sure, when one runs a race with others on the same road, he is either ahead of or behind others. Whether ahead or behind, if the mind of Your Highness is always concentrated on thy servant, how can Your Highness keep the horses under control? This was the reason why Your Highness lagged behind."

When Prince Pai Sheng was planning a rebellion, once after the office hour in the government he held his cane upside down and leaned on it. The tip of the cane, being so sharp, pierced through his chin. Therefrom blood flowed down upon the ground but he never noticed it. At the news of this accident, the Chengs said: "When he forgot the pain on his chin, for what was it forgotten at all?" Hence the saying: "The farther one goes, the less one knows." This amounts to saying that if one's intelligence hits everything afar, what is missed will be at hand. Therefore, the saintly man has no definite destination, but can know both far and near. Hence the saying: "He does not travel, and yet he has knowledge." He can see both far and near. Hence the saying: "He does not see things, and yet he defines them." He inaugurates works in accordance with the times, accomplishes merits by means of resources, and employs the utilities of the myriad things to get profits out of them. Hence the saying: "He does not labour, and yet he completes.'

Chapter 41. Sameness in Difference

When a superior scholar hears of Tao, he endeavours to practise it.

When an average scholar hears of Tao, he will sometimes practise it and sometimes lose it.

When an inferior scholar hears of Tao, he will greatly ridicule it. Were it not thus ridiculed, it would as Tao be insufficient.

Therefore the poet says:

"The Tao-enlightened seem dark and black,
The Tao-advanced seem going back,
The Tao-straight-levelled seem rugged and slack.
"The high in virtue resembles a vale,
The purely white in shame must quail,
The staunchest virtue seems to fail.
"The solidest virtue seems not alert,
The purest chastity seems pervert,
The greatest square will rightness desert.
"The largest vessel becomes complete slowly,
The loudest sound is heard rarely.

The greatest form has no shape concrete."

Tao so long as it remains latent is unnameable. Yet Tao alone is good for imparting and completing.

King Chuang, for three years after he took the reins of government, issued no decree and formulated no policy. Therefore, one day the Right Commissioner of the Army, when attending on the Throne, made before the King an intimation, saying: "There is a bird which has perched or a hill-top in the south. For three years it has neither fluttered nor flown nor sung but kept silent without making any sound. What is the name of that bird?" In reply the King said: "For three years it has not fluttered in order thereby to grow its wings and feathers, and has neither flown nor sung in order thereby to look at the conditions of the people. Though it has not flown, yet once it starts flying, it will soar high up into the sky. Though it has not sung, yet once it starts singing, it will surprise everybody. Leave it as it has been. I, the King, understand what you mean."

In the course of half a year, the King began to administer the state affairs himself, abolishing ten things, establishing nine things, censuring five chief vassals, and appointing six hitherto unknown personages to office, with the immediate result that the state became very orderly. In the meantime he raised an army to punish Ch'i and defeated them at Hsü-chou. Then he triumphed over Chin at Ho-yung and called a conference of the feudal lords in Sung, till he attained Hegemony in All-under-Heaven. Thus, King Chuang never did good in a small way, wherefore he accomplished a great

achievement. Hence the saying: "The largest vessel becomes complete slowly, the loudest sound is rarely heard."

Chapter 33. The Virtue of Discrimination

One who knows others is clever, but one who knows himself is englightened.

One who conquers others is powerful, but one who conquers himself is mighty.

One who knows contentment is rich and one who pushes with vigour has will.

One who loses not his place endures.

One who may die but will not perish, has life everlasting.

When King Chuang of Ch'u was thinking of attacking Yüeh, Chuang Tzu admonished him, asking: "For what reason is Your Majesty going to attack Yüeh?" "It is because its government is disorderly and its army weak," replied the King. "Thy servant is afraid," said Chuang Tzu, "Your Majesty's wisdom is like eyes able to see over one hundred steps away but unable to see their own eyelashes. Since Your Majesty's troops were defeated by Ch'in and Chin, Ch'u has lost a territory of several hundred li. This proves the weakness of her army. Again, Chuang Ch'iao has dared robberies within the boundaries of the state, but no magistrate has been able to stop him. This proves the disorder of her government. Thus, Your Majesty has been suffering not less weakness and disorder than Yüeh and yet wants to attack Yüeh. This proves that Your Majesty's wisdom is like the eyes." Thereupon the King gave up the plan. Therefore, the difficulty of knowledge lies not in knowing others but in knowing oneself. Hence the saving: "One who knows himself is enlightened."

Once, when Tzu-hsia saw Tseng Tzu, Tseng Tzu asked, "Why have you become so stout?" "Because I have been victorious in warfare," replied Tzu-hsia. "What do you mean by that?" asked Tseng Tzu. In reply Tzu-hsia said: "Whenever I went in and saw the virtue of the early kings I rejoiced in it. Whenever I went out and saw the pleasure of the rich and noble I rejoiced in it, too. These two conflicting attractions waged a war within my breast. When victory and defeat still hung in the balance, I was thin. Since the virtue of the early kings won the war, I have become stout." Therefore the difficulty of volition lies not in conquering others but in conquering oneself. Hence the saying: "One who conquers himself is mighty."

Chapter 27. The Function of Skill "Good Travellers leave no trace nor track, Good speakers show no fault nor lack, Good counters need no counting rack." Good lockers bolting bars need not, Yet none their locks can loose. Good binders need no string nor knot, Yet none unties their noose."

Therefore the saintly man is always a good saviour of man, for there are no outcast people. He is always a good saviour of things, for there are no outcast things. This is called applied enlightenment.

Thus the good man does not respect multitudes of men. The bad man respects the people's wealth. Who does not esteem multitudes nor is charmed by their wealth, though his knowledge be greatly confused, he must be recognized as profoundly mysterious.

Of old, there were carved jade plates in Chou. Once Chow sent Chiao Li to get them, but King Wen would not give them away. Later, Fei Chung came for them, whereupon King Wen gave them out. It was because Chiao Li was worthy and Fei Chung was not a follower of Tao. Inasmuch as Chou disliked to see any worthy man advancing his career under King Chow. King Wen gave Fei Chung the plates. King Wen raised Tai-kung Wang from the bank of the Wei River because he held him in high esteem, and presented Fei Chung with the jade plates because he loved his usefulness. Hence the saying: "Who does not esteem multitudes nor is charmed by their wealth, though his knowledge be greatly confused, he must be recognized as profoundly mysterious."

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 22.

Collected Persuasions, The Upper Series

T'ang had already subjugated Chieh. Fearing lest All-under-Heaven should speak of him as covetous, he transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Wu Kuang. Again, fearing lest Wu Kuang should accept the throne, he sent men to persuade Wu Kuang that T'ang having killed the ruler wanted to pass the bad reputation to him and so transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to him. In consequence, Wu Kuang plunged into a river.

King Wu of Ch'in ordered Kan Mu to choose the post he wanted, Grand Chamberlain or Minister of Foreign Affairs. Meng Mao said to him: "Your Excellency had better choose the post of Grand Chamberlain. What Your Excellency excels in is the office of an envoy. Though Your Excellency holds the post of Grand Chamberlain, yet His Majesty will appoint you envoy in the hour of need. Then Your Excellency while holding the seal of the Grand Chamberlain in hand will be Minister of Foreign Affairs. In other words, Your Excellency will hold an additional post."

Tzu-yü once introduced Confucius to the Prime Minister of Shang. Confucius went out. Tzu-yü went in and asked for the Premier's opinion of the visitor. In reply the Prime Minister aid: "After I have seen Confucius, you look as small as lice and fleas to me. Now I am going to introduce him to His Highness." Afraid that Confucius might be held in high esteem by the ruler, Tzu-yü persuaded the Prime Minister that after seeing Confucius, the ruler might also consider him as small as lice and fleas. The Prime Minister, accordingly, never saw Confucius again.

King Hui of Wey called a conference of the feudal lords at Chiu-li with a view to restoring the supreme authority to the Son of Heaven. Thereupon P'eng Hsi said to the Ruler of Cheng: "Your Highness had better not listen to him. Big powers dislike the existence of the Son of Heaven. Smaller states profit by it. If Your Highness sides with the big powers and does not listen to him, then how can the Wey State together with smaller ones restore the supreme authority to the Son of Heaven?"

When the Chins were attacking Hsing, Duke Huan of Ch'i thought of rescuing it. Thereupon Pao Shu said: "Too early. Hsing is not yet going to ruin. Chin is not yet exhausted. If Chin is not exhausted, Ch'i cannot become very influential. Moreover, the merit of supporting a state in danger is not as great as the virtue of reviving a ruined one. Your Highness had better rescue it later so as to exhaust Chin! The result will be advantageous in fact. If we wait till Hsing is ruined and then revive it, it will be beautiful in name." Duke Huan, accordingly, stopped sending reinforcements to Hsing.

When Tzu-hsū was making his escape, a frontier patrol caught him. Tzu-hsū said: "The authorities want me because they think I have a beautiful pearl. Now I have already lost it. But I will say that you have seized and swallowed it." Thereupon the patrol released him.

Ch'ing Feng had caused a civil war in Ch'i and was thinking of seeking refuge in Yüeh. His relatives said: "Chin is near. Why won't you go to Chin?" "Yüeh is far," replied Ch'ing Feng, "and so is good for seeking safety." "If your rebellious nature can be changed," said the relatives, "it is all right to stay in Chin; if it cannot be changed, though you go far away to Yüeh. will you be safe there?"

When Earl Chih demanded territory from Viscount Hsüan of Wey, the latter thought of not giving. "Why is Your Highness not going to give?" asked Jen Chang. reason," replied Viscount Hsüan, "he is demanding land from us. Therefore I am not going to give." "If he demands territory from us without any reason," said Jen Chang, "other neighbouring countries will be afraid of the same demand. If his greed grows insatiable. All-under-Heaven will worry about it. If Your Highness gives him land now, he will become arrogant and slight his enemies and the neighbouring countries will out of common fear consolidate their friendship. If mutually friendly troops cope with the country slighting its enemies, the life of Earl Chih will not last long. It is said in the Book of Chou, 'When about to conquer anybody, be sure to assist him; when about to take, be sure to give.' Your Highness had better give and make Earl Chih arrogant. Besides, why should Your Highness hesitate to scheme for the Chih Clan with the rest of the world instead of making ourselves alone the target of the Chihs?" "Right," replied the Viscount, and, accordingly, gave out a fief of ten thousand families. Thereby Earl Chih was greatly pleased. Then he also demanded territory from Chao. The Chaos refused to give, wherefore he besieged Chin-yang. It came to pass that Han and Wey revolted outside while the Chaos responded to them from inside the city. Thus in the long run the Chihs were destroyed.

Once Duke K'ang of Ch'in built a tower taking three years. In the meantime, the Chings raised an army and were about to attack Ch'i. Thereupon Jen Wang said to the Duke: "Famine calls in invaders, pestilence calls in invaders, compulsory labour service calls in invaders, civil war calls in invaders. For three years Your Highness has been building the tower. Now the Chings are raising an army and are about to attack Ch'i, thy servant is afraid they will fight Ch'i in name but raid Ch'in in fact. Better take precautions against their invasion." Accordingly, Ch'in made military preparations on its eastern border, wherefore the Chings actually halted their expedition.

Once Ch'i attacked Sung. Sung sent Ts'ang-sun Tzu to ask for reinforcements from Ching. The King of Ching, greatly pleased, promised him reinforcements in a very encouraging manner. However, Ts'ang-sun Tzu looked worried during his return trip. Therefore the coachman asked: "The request for reinforcements has been just granted, but why does Your Excellency look worried?" In reply Ts'ang-sun Tzu said: "Sung is small while Ch'i is big. To rescue small Sung and thereby offend big Ch'i, it is what everybody worries about. Yet the King of Ching was so willing to give us help. He must thereby mean to stiffen our resistance. For if we offer stubborn resistance, Ch'i will be exhausted, which will eventually be to the advantage of Ching." So saying, Ts'angsun Tzu returned. Meanwhile, the Ch'is took five cities from Sung, but Ching's reinforcements did not come at all.

Once Marquis Wen of Wey wanted to borrow the way through Chao to attack Central Hills. Marquis Shu of Chao at first thought of not letting him have the way. Thereupon Chao K'e said: "Your Highness is mistaken. Suppose Wey attack Central Hills and does not win, Wey will then cease hostilities. Should she cease hostilities, she will fall into contempt while Chao will thereby increase her own prestige. Even though Wey succeeds in taking Central Hills, she will not be able to maintain her rule over the new territory across Chao. This will eventually mean that Wey uses her troops but Chao gains their conquered territory. Therefore, be sure to grant their request in a very encouraging manner! As soon as they come to know that Your Highness is going to profit thereby, they will stop the expedition. Therefore better let them have the way and show that we are obliged to do so."

Ch'ih-i Tzu-p'i was working for Viscount T'ien Ch'eng. When Viscount T'ien Ch'eng left Ch'i and was making an escape to Yen, Ch'ih-i Tzu-p'i carried his pass along and followed him. Upon their arrival at Hope Town Tzu-p'i said: "Has Your Highness ever heard the story of the snakes in a dry swamp? As the swamp was drying up and the snakes had to move away, the small snake said to the big one: 'If you go in the front and I follow from behind, men will think it is nothing but the migration of snakes, and some of them might kill you. Better let our mouths hold each other. And will you carry me on your back while we are moving onward? Then men will regard me as ruler of spirits.' Accordingly, they held each other's mouths and one carried the other. When they were moving across the public avenue in this manner, everybody avoided them, saying, 'It's the ruler of spirits.' Now that Your Highness is handsome while I am homely, if Your Highness appears to be my guest of honour, I would be taken for a ruler of one thousand chariots; if Your Highness appears to be my servant, I would be taken for a noble serving under a ruler of ten thousand chariots. Suppose Your Highness be my retainer." Viscount Ch'eng, accordingly, carried the pass along and followed him to an inn. The inn-keeper actually entertained them with great hospitality and presented them with wine and meat.

Once a man of Wen went to Chou, but the Chous would not admit any alien. "An alien?" asked a Chou official. "No, a native" was the reply. The official then asked him about the alley he was living in, but he did not know. Therefore he put him under arrest. The Ruler of Chou then sent men to ask him, "You are not a native of Chou, but why did you say you were not an alien?" In reply the man said: "Since thy servant was a child, he has been reciting the poem saying:

Where'er their arch the heavens expand, The king can claim the land below. Within the seabounds of the land, At his summons come or go.

Now that Your Majesty is the Son of Heaven, thy servant is one of his subjects. Then can thy servant be both a subject and an alien to His Majesty? So, thy servant said he was a native." Thereupon the Ruler ordered him to be released

King Hsüan of Han once asked Chiu Liu: "I, the King, want to appoint to office both Kung Chung and Kung Shu. Will it be safe?" "No, it will not be safe," replied Chiu Liu. "As Chin employed the Six Nobles, the state was eventually partitioned; as Duke Chien employed both Ti'en Ch'eng and Kan Chih, he was murdered in the long run; and as Wey employed both Hsishou and Chang Yi, all the territory to the west of the Yellow River was lost as a result. Now suppose Your Majesty employ both of them. Then the more powerful one will form his own faction inside while the less powerful one will count on foreign influence. Among the body of officials, if there are some forming factions inside and thereby acting arrogantly towards the sovereign and some others cultivating friendships with foreign states and thereby causing territorial dismemberment, then Your Majesty's state will be jeopardized."

Once upon a time, Shao Chi-mei was drunk and asleep and lost his fur garment. The Ruler of Sung asked, "Is drunkenness sufficient to lose a fur garment?" In reply he said: "Because of drunkenness Chieh lost his rule over All-under-Heaven. So does the 'Announcement to K'ang' read: 'Do not indulge in wine.' To indulge in wine means to drink wine habitually. The Son of Heaven, if he becomes a habitual drinker, will lose his rule over All-under-Heaven. An ordinary man, if he becomes a habitual drinker, will lose his life."

Kuan Chung and Hsi P'eng accompanied Duke Huan in the expedition against Ku-chu. When spring was gone and winter came again, they went astray and lost the way. Thereupon Kuan Chung said: "The wisdom of old horses is trustworthy." So they let old horses go of themselves and followed them from behind, till they found the way. As they went onward, there was no water in the mountains. Thereupon Hsi P'eng said: "Ants live on the sunny side of the mountain in winter and on the shady side in summer. Wherever there is an ant-hill one inch high, there is always water underneath it." So they dug the ground and found water. Thus, Kuan Chung despite his saintliness and Hsi P'eng despite his intelligence never hesitated to learn from old horses and ants what they did not know. Men of to-day, however low their mentality may be,

never think of learning from the wisdom of saintly men. Is it not a great fault?

Once upon a time, somebody presented the elixir of life to the King of Ching. The court usher held it in his hand and entered the palace. There the guard asked him, "May I eat it?" was the reply. The guard, accordingly, took it "Of course" away from the usher and ate it. Enraged thereby, the King sentenced him to death. The guard then sent men to persuade the King, saying: "Thy servant asked the usher. The usher said I might eat it. Therefore thy servant ate it. This means that thy servant is innocent and the usher is the one to blame. Further, the guest is supposed to have presented the elixir of life. Now, if Your Majesty puts thy servant to death after thy servant ate it, then the elixir must be a mortal drug. This will testify his deception of Your Majesty. Indeed, to put thy innocent servant to death and thereby prove somebody else's deception of Your Majesty is not as good as to release thy servant." Hearing this, the King refrained from killing him.

T'ien Ssu once deceived the Ruler of Tsou, wherefore the Ruler of Tsou was about to send men to kill him. Fearing the penalty, T'ien Ssu appealed to Hui Tzu for help. Hui Tzu, accordingly, interviewed the Ruler of Tsou, saying: "Now suppose someone look at Your Highness with one eye shut, what will Your Highness do to him?" "I will put him to death," replied the Ruler. "Yet the blind man shuts both his eyes. Why don't you kill him?" asked Hui Tzu. "It is because by nature he cannot help shutting his eyes," replied the Ruler. "Well, T'ien Ssu deceived the Ruler of Ch'i in the east," said Hui Tzu, "and in the south deceived the King of Ching. Ssu habitually deceives people just as the blind man has to shut both his eyes. Why should Your Highness show resentment at him in particular?" Hearing this, the Ruler of Tsou refrained from killing him.

Duke Mu of Lu sent out the various princes to take up office at the court of Chin and the court of Ching. Thereupon Li Chü said: "Suppose we employ men from Yüeh to rescue our drowning sons. Then though the Yüehs are good swimmers, our sons' lives would not be saved. Suppose a fire burst out and we fetch water from the sea. Then though the water of the sea is abundant, the fire would not go into extinction. Thus, distant water cannot put out a fire at hand. Now, though Chin and Ching are strong, Ch'i is a close neighbour. Should Lu worry that Chin and Ching might not come in time to rescue Lu in case of conflict with Ch'i?"

Yen Sui was not on good terms with the Ruler of Chou, wherefore the Ruler of Chou worried. So Feng Chū said: "Yen Sui is Premier of the Han State, but the Ruler holds Han K'uei in high respect. The best is to assassinate Han K'uei. Then the Ruler of Han would hold the Yen Clan responsible for the act."

Chang Ch'ien, Premier of Han, was ill and about to die. Kung-ch'eng Wu-cheng took thirty taels of gold along in his bosom and inquired after his health. In the course of one month the Ruler of Han went himself to ask Chang Ch'ien: "If the Premier passes away, who else should take his place?" In reply Chang Ch'ien said: "Wu-cheng upholds the law and reveres the superior. However, he is not as good as Prince Shih-wo in winning the hearts of the people." Chang Ch'ien died. The Ruler, accordingly, appointed Wu-cheng Prime Minister

Yo Yang commanded the Wey forces in attacking Central Hills, when his son was in that country. The Ruler of Central Hills steamed his son and sent him the soup. Yo Yang, then seated beneath the tent, supped the soup and drank up the whole plateful. Marquis Wen said to Tu Shih-chan: "Yo Yang on account of His Highness ate the flesh of his son." In response to this Tu Shih-chan said: "Even his own son he ate. Who else then would he not eat?" When Yo Yang came back from the campaign in Central Hills, Marquis Wen rewarded him for his meritorious service but suspected his mind.

Meng Sun went out hunting and got a fawn. He then ordered Ch'in Hsi-pa to bring it home. On the way the mother deer followed along and kept crying. Unable to bear that, Ch'in Hsi-pa gave the fawn back to its mother, when Meng Sun arrived and asked for the fawn. In reply Hsi-pa said: "Unable to bear the mother's crying, I gave it back to her." Enraged thereby, Meng Sun dismissed him. In the course of three months, he recalled him and appointed him tutor of his son. Out of wonder his coachman asked, "Why did Your Excellency blame him before and has now called him back to be tutor of the young master?" "If he could not bear the ruin of my son?"

Hence the saying: "Skilful deception is not as good as unskilful sincerity." For instance, Yo Yang despite his merit incurred suspicion while Ch'in Hsi-pa despite his demerit increased his credit.

Tseng Ts'ung Tzu was good in judging swords. The Ruler of Wei had ill will towards the King of Wu. Therefore Tseng Ts'ung Tzu said to him: "The King of Wu is fond of swords. Thy servant is good in judging swords. May thy servant go to judge swords for the King of Wu, and, when drawing out a sword to show him, thrust him with it and thereby avenge Your Highness?" In reply the Ruler of Wei said: "Your action

is right to your own advantage but not for any public cause. Now that Wu is strong and rich while Wei is weak and poor, if you go at all, you would, I am afraid, be employed by the King of Wu to do the same to me." So saying, he dismissed him

When Chow made chop-sticks of ivory, the Viscount of Chi was frightened. He thought: "Ivory chop-sticks would not be put on earthen-wares but on cups made of iade or of rhinoceros horns. Further, jade cups and ivory chop-sticks would not go with the soup made of beans and coarse greens, but with the meat of long-haired buffaloes and unborn leopards. Again, eaters of the meat of longhaired buffaloes and unborn leopards would not wear short hemp clothes and live in a thatched house but would put on nine layers of embroidered dresses and move to live on lofty terraces and in magnificent mansions. Thus, if their demands go onward at this rate, even All-under-Heaven will not be sufficient." The saintly man by seeing the obscure knew the manifest, and by seeing the origin knew the outcome. Therefore, on seeing the ivory chop-sticks made, he was thereby frightened and knew that eventually even All-under-Heaven would not be sufficient

Duke Tan of Chou, having vanquished Yin, was about to attack Shang-kai, when Duke Chia of Hsin said to him: "Big states are hard to attack, small ones are easy to subjugate. The best is to subjugate small states and thereby intimidate big ones." Accordingly, they fell upon the Nine Barbarians with the result that Shang-kai submitted also.

Chow indulged in over-night drinking and through the pleasure forgot the date of the day. He asked his attendants about the date. None of them knew. So he sent men to ask the Viscount of Chi. Thereupon the Viscount of Chi said to his followers: "Now that he who is the Lord of All-under-Heaven finds everybody in the whole country forget the date of the day, All-under-Heaven must be in danger. Since nobody in the country is aware of the date and I alone am aware of it, I must be in danger, too." So saying, he refused to tell the date by pretending to drunkenness and ignorance of it.

Once upon a time, a man of Lu, who was a good maker of sandals, and whose wife was a good weaver of gloss-silk, was about to migrate to Yüeh. Thereupon someone said, "You are bound to become poor there!" "Why?" asked the man. "Because sandals are for the feet to wear, but the Yüehs go bare-footed. Gloss-silk is for making crowns, but the Yüehs dishevel their hair. With your skill unemployed in that country, how can you help becoming poor?"

Ch'en Hsü was held in esteem by the King of Wey. Hui Tzu said to him: "Be sure to keep on good terms with the attendants. Indeed, the aspen, whether planted sidewise or upside down or from a branch broken off, grows just the same. However, suppose ten men plant ten aspens and only one man pulls them out. Then there will grow no aspen. Now, ten men planting trees so easy to grow cannot overcome only one person pulling them out. Why? It is because it is hard to plant them but easy to pull them out. Similarly, though Your Excellency is skilful in establishing himself with the favour of the King, if those who want to oust Your Excellency are many, Your Excellency will be in danger."

Chi Sun of Lu had recently murdered the Ruler, while Wu Ch'i was still serving him. Thereupon someone said to Wu Ch'i: "Indeed, a dead person who has just died still has living blood. But living blood will turn into dead blood, dead blood into ashes, and ashes into earth. When it is earth, nothing can be done about it. Now, Chi Sun still has living blood. Might it be possible to foreknow what he will become?" Hearing this, Wu Ch'i left for Chin.

Once, when Hsi Ssu-mi visited Viscount T'ien Ch'eng, Viscount T'ien Ch'eng took him to a tower to look out over the four directions. In three directions they could admire farreaching views, but when they looked out over the south, they saw the trees of Hsi Tzu's residence in the way. Thereat Viscount T'ien Ch'eng as well as Hsi Ssu-mi made no remark. Upon his return to his residence Hsi Tzu ordered servants to hew down the trees. No sooner had the axes made several cuts than Hsi Tzu stopped them. "Why does Your Excellency change his mind so suddenly?" asked the house servants. In reply Hsi Tzu said: "The ancients had a proverb saying, "Who knows the fish in the abyss is unlucky.' Indeed, Viscount Tien is about to launch an extraordinary affair. If I show him that I know its minute details, I will be jeopardized. Not hewing down the trees will constitute no offence; knowing what he never utters in word will amount to a serious offence." So they stopped hewing down the trees.

Once Yang Tzu passed through Sung and stayed in an inn. The inn had two waitresses. The ugly one of them was esteemed but the beautiful one was despised. Therefore Yang Tzu asked the reason. In reply the old inn-keeper said: "The beautiful one thinks so much of her own beauty, but I never notice her being so beautiful. The ugly one is so conscious of her own ugliness, but I never notice her being so ugly." Thereupon Yang Tzu said to his disciples: "Who practises worthiness and abandons the aptitude for self-esteem, would be praised wherever he goes."

Once a man of Wei on giving a daughter in marriage taught her, saying: "Be sure to accumulate your own savings because it is usual for a married woman to be divorced and it is unusually lucky if she can succeed in making a new home." The daughter, accordingly, accumulated her own savings in secret. In consequence, her mother-in-law, regarding her as extraordinarily self-seeking, divorced her. Upon her return her possession was twice as much as her dowry. The father not only never blamed himself for having given his daughter a wrong precept but even considered the way he had increased his wealth astute. In these days, office-hunters when appointed to posts would do the same as the daughter given in marriage

Lu Tan thrice persuaded the Ruler of Central Hills, but his advice was never taken. So he spent fifty taels to gain the good-will of the attendants. Then he went to have another audience, when the Ruler, before speaking one word to him, invited him to a banquet. When Lu Tan went out, he did not return to his lodging place but left Central Hills at once. Out of wonder his coachman asked him: "The Ruler of Central Hills only began to show Your Excellency courtesies during the last interview, but why should Your Excellency leave so soon?" In reply he said: "Indeed, just as he showed courtesies to me in accordance with people's words, he would charge me with crimes in accordance with people's words, too." True, before they went out of the state border, the heir apparent slandered him, saying that he had come to spy for Chao. The Ruler of Central Hills, accordingly, searched for him and found him guilty.

Earl T'ien Ting loved warriors and scholars and thereby kept his Ruler in safety; the Duke of White loved warriors and scholars and thereby threw Ching into confusion. Their loving warriors and scholars was the same, but the motives behind the action were different. Again, Kung-sun Chi cut off his feet and thereby recommended Pai-li Hsi; Shu Tiao castrated himself and thereby ingratiated himself with Duke Huan. Their punishing themselves was the same, but the motives behind their self-punishment were different. Therefore, Hui Tzu said: "An insane person is running eastward and a pursuer is running eastward, too. Their running eastward is the same, but the motives behind their running eastward are different." Hence the saying: "Men doing the same thing ought to be differentiated in motive."

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 23.

Collected Persuasions, The Lower Series

Pai-lo once taught two men how to select horses that kick habitually. Later, he went with them to Viscount Chien's stable to inspect the horses. One of the men pulled out a kicking horse. The other man went near behind the horse and patted its flank three times, but the horse never kicked. Therefore, the man who had pulled out the horse thought he had been wrong in the way of selection. Yet the other man said: "You were not wrong in the way of selection. The shoulders of this horse are short but its laps are swollen. The horse that kicks habitually has to raise the hindlegs and lay its whole weight upon the forelegs. Yet swollen laps are not dependable. So the hind legs cannot be raised. You were skilful in selecting kicking horses but not in observing the swollen laps." Verily, everything has the supporter of its weight. However, that the forelegs have swollen laps and therefore cannot support its whole weight, is known only by intelligent men. Hui Tzu said: "Suppose the monkey was put into a cage, it would turn as clumsy as the pig." For the same reason, as long as the position is not convenient, nobody can exert his ability.

Viscount Wen, a general of the Wei State, once called on Tseng Tsu. Tseng Tzu did not stand up but asked him to take a seat while he set himself on a seat of honour. Later, Viscount Wen said to his coachman: "Tseng Tzu is rustic. If he thinks I am a gentleman, why should he pay me no respect? If he thinks I am a rascal, why should he offend a rascal? That Tseng Tzu has never been humiliated is good luck."

A kind of bird called "little cuckoo" has a heavy head and a curved tail. On drinking water from the river, it is bound to be overturned. Therefore, another bird has to hold its feather upward and let it drink. Similarly, men who fall short of drinking ought to find support for their own feather.

Eels are like snakes, silkworms like caterpillars. Men are frightened at the sight of snakes and shocked at the sight of caterpillars. However, fishermen would hold eels in hand and women would pick up silkworms. Thus, where there is profit, there everyone turns as brave as Meng Pen and Chuan Chu.

Pai-lo taught men whom he disliked how to select swift race-horses and taught men whom he liked how to select inferior horses, because swift race-horses being few and far between would yield slow profits while inferior horses being sold every day would bring about quick profits. That swift race-horses yield profits is as casual as the use of vulgar words in a refined style mentioned in the Book of Chou.

Huan He said: "The first step of sculpture is to make the nose large and the eyes small. Because the nose, if too large, can be made small, but, if too small, cannot be enlarged; and the eyes, if too small, can be enlarged, but, if too large, cannot be made small. The same is true with the beginning of any enterprise. If made recoverable at any time, it seldom fails.

Marquis Ch'ung and Wu-lai knew that they would not be chastised by Chow but never foresaw that King Wu would destroy them. Pi-kan and Tzu-hsü knew that their masters would go to ruin but never knew the impending death of themselves. Hence the saying: "Marquis Ch'ung and Wu-lai knew the mind of their master but not the course of events while Pi-kan and Tzu-hsü knew the course of events but not the minds of their masters. The saintly man knowing both is alwavs secure."

The Prime Minister of Sung was powerful and in charge of all important decisions. When Chi Tzu was about to visit the Ruler of Sung, Liang Tzu heard about it and said to him: "During the interview, are you sure the Prime Minister will be present? Otherwise, you might not be able to evade disasters." Chi Tzu, accordingly, persuaded the Ruler of the need of taking care of his health and leaving the state affairs in the hands of able vassals.

Yang Chu's younger brother, Yang Pu, once wore white clothes and went out. As it started raining, he took off the white clothes and put on black ones. Upon his return, his dog, unable to recognize him, barked at him. Yang Pu became very angry and was about to beat it, when Yang Chu said: "Don't beat the dog. You will do the same, too. Supposing the dog went out white and came back black, wouldn't you feel strange?"

Hui Tzu said: "If Hou Yi put the thimble on his right thumb, held the middle of the edge with his left hand, drew the bow, and then released the string, then even men of Yüeh would contentiously go to hold the target for him. But when a small child draws the bow, then even the compassionate mother will run into the house and shut the door." Hence the saying: "If certain of no miss, even men of Yüeh would not doubt Hou Yi. If not certain of no miss, even the compassionate mother will escape her small child."

Duke Huan of Ch'i once asked Kuan Chung if there was any limit of wealth. In reply Kuan Chung said: "Where there is no more water, there is the limit of weater. Where there is content with wealth, there lies the limit of wealth. If one cannot stop with his content, it is because he forgets the limit of wealth."

In Sung there was a rich merchant named Chien Chih Tzu. Once, when he was competing with other people for buying an uncut jade quoted at one hundred taels of gold, he pretended to drop it and thereby break it by mistake. As a result, he had to pay one hundred taels of gold for the damage. Then he repaired the breakage and sold it for twenty thousand taels. Thus, affairs are started and are sometimes ruined. People must have considered it wise not to have started the competition at the moment when the merchant had to pay the damages.

Once there was a man who owing to his skilfulness in driving wanted to see the King of Ching. All coachmen became jealous of him. Therefore, he said, "Thy servant when driving can catch deer." So he was granted an audience. When the King himself drove, he could not catch any deer. Then the man drove and caught them. The King praised his driving, when he told the King about the coachmen's jealousy of him.

When Ching ordered Kung-sun Ch'ao to lead the expeditionary forces against Ch'en, his father-in-law saw him off, saying, "Chin is strong. Be sure to take precautions against their reinforcements." "Why should Father worry?" said Kung-sun Ch'ao. "I will rout the Chins on your behalf." "All right," said his father-in-law. "Then I will build a hut outside the south gate of the capital of Ch'en and wait there for mournful news." "Why do you say that?" asked Ch'ao. "I have to laugh," replied the old man, "at the thought that if it is so easy to scheme for the ruin of enemies as you suppose, why should Kou-chien alone have to endure ten years' hardships in secret and solitude?"

Yao transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Hsü Yu. But Hsü Yu ran away. When he stayed in a farmer's house, the farmer put his fur hat out of the guest's sight. Indeed, the farmer put his hat out of the sight of Hsü Yu who had even declined the rule over All-under-Heaven because he never knew of Hsü Yu.

Once three lice were biting a pig and disputing with one another. Another louse, passing by them, asked, "What are you disputing about?" "We are fighting for fat places," replied the three lice. "If you fellows do not worry about the arrival of the mid-winter festival and the burning of the miscanthus, what else should you worry about?" So saying, the last louse joined the three in biting the body of the pig and ate as much as they wanted. In the meantime, the pig became very thin, wherefore people did not kill it at the time of the festival.

There is a kind of worm called "tapeworm", which has two mouths. Once they quarrelled for food and bit each other, till they killed each other. All ministers who quarrel about public affairs and thereby ruin the state, are all like tapeworms.

If buildings are painted white and furniture cleansed with water, then there is cleanliness. The same is true of human conduct and personality. If there is left no room for further painting and cleansing, then faults must be few.

When Prince Chiu was about to cause a rebellion, Duke Huan of Ch'i sent spies to watch him. They came back with the report that Prince Chiu, inasmuch as he never rejoiced when laughing and never saw when looking at a thing, would certainly cause a rebellion. Hearing this, Duke Huan made the Lus kill him

Kung-sun Hung bobbed his hair and became a cavalier of the King of Yüeh. To sever his relationship with him, Kungsun Hsi sent someone to tell him, "I and you will no longer be brothers." In reply Kung-sun Hung said: "I have my hair cut off. You might have your neck cut off while serving in the army under somebody else. What do I have to say to you then?" True, in the battle south of Chou, Kung-sun Hsi was killed.

A man who lived next-door to a rascal thought of selling off his estate and thereby keeping away from him. Thereupon someone said to him, "His string of wickedness will soon be full. Better wait for a while." "I am afraid he is going to do something against me for filling his measure of wickedness," was the reply. So saying, the man left for elsewhere. Hence the saying: "No hesitation on the verge of danger."

Confucius once asked his disciples, "Who can tell me the way Tzu-hsi made his name?" "Tz'u can," replied Tzu-kung, "and hopes nobody will doubt it. Tzu-hsi said: 'Be broadminded, never be enticed by profit, and keep the people upright. By nature the people follow certain constant principles, considering crookedness crooked and straightness straight.' "'Yet Tzu-hsi could not evade a disastrous end," remarked Confucius. "During the rebellion of the Duke of White he was killed. Hence the saying: 'Who pretends to straightness in conduct, is crooked in desire.'"

Viscount Wen of Chung-hang of Chin, while living in exile, once passed through a county town, when his followers said: "The squire of this place is an old acquaintance of Your Excellency. Why does Your Excellency not stay in his house and wait for the carriage coming from behind?" In reply Viscount Wen said: "I used to love music, when this man presented me with an automatic harp. When I liked girdle ornaments, he presented me with a jade bracelet. In this way, he aggravated my indulgences. Who ingratiated himself with me by using such articles as presents, will ingratiate himself with others by using me as a present too." So saying, he left the place. Meanwhile, the man actually retained Viscount Wen's two carriages that arrived later and presented them to his ruler.

Chou Ts'ao once said to Kung T'a, "Will you tell the King of Ch'i that if His Majesty helps me attain to high office in Wey with Ch'i's influence I will in return make Wey serve Ch'i?" "No," replied Kung T'a. "Your request will show him your being powerless in Wey. I am sure the King of Ch'i would not help any powerless man in Wey and thereby incur hatred from the powerful men in the country. Therefore, you had better say, 'Whatever His Majesty wants, thy servant will make Wey do accordingly.' Then the King of Ch'i would think you are powerful in Wey and support you. In this way, after you become influential in Ch'i, you will gain influence in Wey with Ch'is's support."

Pai Kuei once said to the Premier of Sung: "As soon as your master grows up, he will administer the state affairs himself, and you will have nothing to do. Now your master is young and fond of making a name. Better make the Ching State congratulate him on his filial piety. Then your master never will deprive you of your post and will pay high respects to you and you will always hold high office in Sung."

Kuan Chung and Pao Shu said to each other: "The Ruler who is extremely outrageous, is bound to lose the State. Among all the princes in the Ch'i State, the one worth supporting must be Prince Hsiao-pai, if not Prince Chiu. Let each of us serve one of them and the one who succeeds first recommend the other." So saying, Kuan Chung served Prince Chiu and Pao Shu served Hsiao-pai. In the meantime, the Ruler was actually assassinated by his subjects. Hsiao-pai entered the capital first and proclaimed himself Ruler. The Lus arrested Kuan Chung and sent him to Ch'i. Thereupon Pao Shu spoke to the Throne about him and made him Prime Minister of Ch'i. Hence the proverb saying: "The magician makes good prayers for people but cannot pray for keeping himself away from evil spirits: Surgeon Ch'in was skilful in curing diseases but unable to treat himself with the needle. Similarly, despite his own wisdom, Kuan Chung had to rely on Pao Shu for help. This is exactly the same as what a vulgar proverb says, "The slave sells fur coats but does not buy them, the scholar praises his eloquent speeches but does not believe in them.

The King of Ching attacked Wu. Wu sent Chü Wei and Chüeh Yung to entertain Ching's troops with presents. The Commander of the Ching Army said, "Arrest them and kill them for painting the festive drum with their blood." Then he asked, "Did you divine your fortunes before you started coming here?" "Yes, we did." "Good luck?" "Of course, good luck." "Now, we are going to kill you and paint our festive drum with your blood. Why?" "That is the reason why the omen is good," replied the two men. "Wu sent us here to test Your Excellency. If Your Excellency is serious, they will dig deep trenches and build high ramparts; if not, they will relax their preparations. Now that Your Excellency kills thy

servants, the Wus will take strict precautions against your attack. Moreover, the state's divination was not for one or two men. Verily, if it is not called lucky to have one subject killed and thereby preserve the whole state, what is? Again, dead persons never feel. If so, there is no use painting the drum with the blood of thy servants. If dead persons can feel and know, thy servants will make the drum stop sounding during the battle." Accordingly, the Chings did not kill them.

Earl Chih was about to attack the Ch'ou-yu State, and found the path too hazardous to go through. Thereupon he cast large bells and offered to present them to the Ruler of Ch'ou-yu. The Ruler of Ch'ou-yu, greatly pleased thereby, thought of clearing up the path for accepting the bells. "No," said Ch'ih-chang Wan-chi, "he is acting in the way a small state pays respects to a big power. Now that a big state is sending us such a present, soldiers will certainly follow it. Do not accept it." To this counsel the Ruler of Ch'ouyu would not listen but accepted the bells in the long run. Therefore, Ch'ih-chang Wan-chi cut the naves of his carriage short enough for the narrow road and drove away to the Ch'i State. Seven months afterwards Ch'ou-yu was destroyed.

Yüeh having already vanquished Wu asked reinforcements from Ching in order to attack Chin. Thereupon the Left Court Historiographer Yi Hsiang said to the King of Ching: "Indeed, Yüeh on smashing Wu had able officers killed, brave soldiers extinguished, and heavily-armed warriors wounded. Now they are asking for reinforcements from us to attack Chin and showing us that they are not exhausted. We had better raise an army to partition Wu with "Good," said the King of Ching, and, accordingly, raised an army and pursued the Yüehs. Enraged thereby, the King of Yüeh thought of attacking the Chings. "No," said the High Officer Chung. "Our able officers are practically all gone and heavily-armed warriors wounded. If we fight them, we will not win. Better bribe them." Accordingly, the King ceded as bribe to Ching the land of five hundred li on the shady side of the Dew Mountains.

Ching attacked Ch'en. But Wu went to rescue it. There was only thirty li between the opposing armies. After having been rainy for ten days, the weather began to clear up at night. Thereupon the Left Court Historiographer Yi Hsiang said to Tzu-ch'i: "It has been raining for ten days. The Wus must have assembled piles of armour and a number of troops. To-night they would come. Better make preparations against their raid." Accordingly, they pitched their camps. Before the camps were completed, the Wus actually arrived, but, seeing the camps of the Chings, they withdrew. "The Wus have made a round trip of sixty li," remarked the Left Court Historiographer. "By this time their officers must be resting, and their soldiers eating. If we go thirty li and attack them, we will certainly be able to defeat them." Accordingly, they pursued them and routed Wu's troops by long odds.

When Han and Chao were menacing each other, the Viscount of Han asked for reinforcements from Wey, saying, "We hope you will lend us troops to attack Chao." In reply Marquis Wen of Wey said, "Wey and Chao are brothers. I cannot listen to you." Likewise, when Chao asked for reinforcements from Wey to attack Han, Marquis Wen of Wey said, "Wey and Han are brothers. I dare not listen to you." Receiving no reinforcements, both countries were angry and withdrew. After they found out that Marquis Wen had intended to patch up a peace between them, both paid visits to the Court of Wey.

Ch'i attacked Lu and demanded the tripod made in Ch'an. Lu sent them a forged one. "It's a forged one," said the Ch'is. "It's a real one," said the Lus. "Then bring Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un here to look at it," said the Ch'is. "We will listen to what he is going to say." Thereupon the Ruler of Lu asked Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un to take his side. "Why did you not send them the real one?" asked Yo-cheng Tzu-ch'un. "Because I love it," replied the Ruler. "I love my own reputation, too," replied Yo-cheng.

When Han Chiu proclaimed himself Ruler and everything was not as yet stabilized, his younger brother was in Chou. The Court of Chou wanted to support him but feared the Hans might not accept him. Thereupon Ch'i-mu Hui said: "The best is to send him back with one hundred chariots. If the people accept him, we will say that the chariots are precautions against emergencies. If they refuse to accept him, we will say that we are delivering their traitor to them."

When the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo was about to build city walls around Hsüeh, many of his guests remonstrated against the plan. The Lord of Ch'ing-kuo, therefore, told the usher not to convey their messages to him. However, there came a man from Ch'i who requested an interview, saying, "Thy servant begs to speak only three words. If he utters more than three words, he will be willing to be steamed to death." The Lord of Ch'ing-kuo, therefore, granted him an audience. The visitor ran forward and said, "Big sea fish," and then ran away. "May I know its meaning?" asked the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo. "Thy servant dare not regard dying as joking," said the visitor. "Be kind enough to explain its meaning to me," insisted the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo. In reply the visitor said: "Has Your Highness ever heard about the big fish? Neither the net

can stop it nor the string arrow can catch it. When it jumps at random and gets out of water, then even ants would make fun of it. Now, what the Ch'i State is to Your Excellency, that is the sea to the big fish. As long as Your Excellency remains powerful in Ch'i, why should he care about Hsüeh? Yet once you lose power in Ch'i, then though the city walls of Hsüeh are as high as heaven, you will labour in vain." "Right," said the Lord of Ch'ing-kuo, and, accordingly, never built walls around Hsüeh.

The younger brother of the King of Ching was in Ch'in. When Ch'in refused to send him home, a certain lieutenant spoke to the King, "May Your Majesty finance thy servant with one hundred taels of gold. Then thy servant will be able to make Prince Wu come home." Accordingly, he took one hundred taels of gold along and went to Chin. There he called on Shu-hsiang and said: "The younger brother of the King of Ching is in Ch'in but Ch'in would not let him go home. Therefore His Majesty with one hundred taels of gold as present begs Your Excellency to help his brother go home." Having accepted the money, Shu-hsiang went to see Duke P'ing of Chin and said: "It is now time to construct walls around the Pot Hill." "Why?" asked Duke P'ing. In reply he said: "The younger brother of the King of Ching is in Ch'in but Ch'in refuses to send him home. This means that Ch'in has hatred for Ching. Therefore, Ch'in will certainly not dare to protest against our construction of walls around the Pot Hill. If they do, then we will tell them that if they let the younger brother of the King of Ching go home, we will not build the walls. In case they let Prince Wu go home, we will place the Chings under obligation to us. In case they refuse to send him home, they will execute their wicked plan and therefore certainly not dare to protest against our construction of the walls around the Pot Hill." "Right," said the Duke, and, accordingly, started building walls around the Pot Hill and told the Duke of Ch'in that if he would send the younger brother of the King of Ching home, the Chins would not build the walls. In accordance with the demand Ch'in sent Prince Wu back to Ching. Thereat the King of Ching was greatly pleased, and presented Chin with two thousand taels of fused gold.

Ho-lü attacked Ying and in the fighting won three battles. Then he asked Tzu-hsü, "May we turn back now?" In reply Tzu-hsü said: "Who wants to drown anybody and stops after giving him one drink, cannot drown him to death. Even to keep giving him water, is not as quick as to follow the force of circumstances and sink him.'

A man of Cheng had a son. On going to take up his official post, he said to the family folks, "Be sure to repair the broken places on the mud fence. Otherwise, bad men might come in to steal things." Some dweller in the same alley also said, "Keep the fence in good repair!" Actually a thief broke into the house. The family, therefore, considered the young man wise but suspected that the dweller in the same alley who had warned them was the thief

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 24.

Observing Deeds

Men of antiquity, because their eyes stopped short of selfseeing, used mirrors to look at their faces; because their wisdom stopped short of self-knowing, they took Tao to rectify their characters. The mirror had no guilt of making scars seen: Tao had no demerit of making faults clear. Without the mirror, the eyes had no other means to rectify the whiskers and eyebrows; without Tao, the person had no other way to know infatuation and bewilderment. For the same reason, Hsi-men Pao, being quick-tempered, purposely wore hide on his feet to make himself slow; Tung An-yü, being slow-minded, wore bowstrings on his feet to make himself quick. Therefore, the ruler who supplies scarcity with abundance and supplements shortness with length is called "an intelligent sovereign"

There are in All-under-Heaven three truths: First, that even wise men find unattainable tasks; second, that even strong men find immovable objects; and third, that even brave men find invincible opponents.

For instance, though you have the wisdom of Yao but have no support of the masses of the people, you cannot accomplish any great achievement; though you have the physical force of Wu Huo but have no help from other people, you cannot raise yourself; and though you have the strength of Meng Pen and Hsia Yü and uphold neither law nor tact, you cannot triumph for ever. Therefore, certain positions are untenable; certain tasks, unattainable. Thus, Wu Huo found a thousand chün light but his own body heavy. Not that his body was heavier than a thousand chün, but that position would not facilitate his raising his own body. In the same way, Li Chu found it easy to see across one hundred steps but difficult to see his own eyelashes. Not that one hundred steps were near and evelashes far, but that the way of nature would not permit him to see his own eyelashes. For such reasons, the intelligent sovereign neither reproaches Wu Huo for his inability to raise himself nor embarrasses Li Chu with his inability to see himself. Yet he counts on favourable circumstances and seeks

for the easiest way, so that he exerts small effort and accomplishes both an achievement and a reputation.

Times wax and wane; affairs help and harm; and things come into existence and go into extinction. As the lord of men has these three objects to face, if he expresses the colours of joy and anger, "personages of gold and stone" will be estranged while the wise and shrewd will explore the depth of the ruler's mentality. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign observes people's deeds but never lets people observe his own motives.

Now that you understand the inability of Yao to accomplish the rule by himself, the inability of Wu Huo to raise his own body by himself, and the inability of Meng Pen and Hsia Yü to triumph by themselves, if you uphold law and tact, then the course of observing deeds will be completed.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 25.

Safety and Danger

The means of safety have seven varieties; the ways to danger,

Of the means of safety:

The first is said to be "reward and punishment in accordance with right and wrong".

The second is said to be "fortune and misfortune in accordance with good and evil".

The third is said to be "life and death in accordance with laws and institutions"

The fourth is said to be "discrimination between the worthy and unworthy but not between the loved and the hated"

The fifth is said to be "discrimination between the stupid and the wise but not between the blamed and the praised"

The sixth is to "have feet and inches but let nobody guess the ruler's mind"

The seventh is to "have good faith but no falsehood". Of the ways to danger:

The first is to "make cuts within the string" The second is to "make breaks beyond the string". The third is to "profit by people's danger" The fourth is to "rejoice in people's disaster".

The fifth is to "endanger people's safety".
The sixth is "not to keep intimate with the loved nor to keen the hated at a distance".

In cases like the above-mentioned, people will lose the reason to rejoice in life and forget the reason to take death seriously. If people do not rejoice in life, the lord of men will not be held in high esteem; if people do not take death seriously, orders will not take effect.

Let All-under-Heaven devote their wisdom and talent to the refinement of manners and looks and exert their strength to the observance of vard and weight, so that when you move, you triumph, and, when you rest, you are safe. When governing the world, make men rejoice in life in doing good and make them love their bodies too much to do evil. Then small men will decrease and superior men will increase. Consequently, the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain will stand for ever and the country will be safe for aye. In a rushing carriage there is no need of Chung-ni; beneath a wrecked ship there is no use of Po-i. So are commands and orders the ship and carriage of the state. In time of safety, intelligent and upright men are born; in case of danger, there arise disputants and rustics. Therefore, keeping the state safe is like having food when hungry and clothes when cold, not by will but by nature. The early kings left principles of government on bamboo slips and pieces of cloth. Their course of government being proper, subsequent ages followed them. In the present age, to make people discard clothes and food when they are hungry and cold, even Meng Pen and Hsia Yü cannot execute such an order. Whoever discards the way of nature, though his course of government is proper, cannot hold well. Wherever even strong and brave men cannot execute orders, there the superiors cannot be safe. When the insatiable superiors blame the exhausted inferiors, the latter will always give "No more" as reply. When they give "No more" as reply, they slight the law. The law is what the state is governed by. If it is slighted, neither merit will be rendered nor name will be made.

They say that, of old, Pien Ch'iao, when treating serious diseases, pierced through bones with knives. So does the sage on rescuing the state out of danger offend the ruler's ear with loyal words. After the bone has been pierced through, the body suffers a little pain but the person secures a permanent benefit. After the ear has been offended, the mind feels somewhat thwarted but the state secures a permanent advantage. Therefore, seriously ill persons gain by enduring pains; stubborn-minded rulers have good luck only through ear-offending words. If patients could endure the pain, Pien Ch'iao could exert his skill. If the ruler's ear could be offended, Tzu-hsü would not have ended in failure. Thus, pain-enduring and ear-offending are means to longevity and security. Naturally when one was ill but could not endure pain he would miss Pien Ch'iao's skill; when one is in danger but does not want to have his ear offended, he will miss the sage's counsels. Were such the case, no permanent benefit would continue nor would any glorious fame last long.

If the lord of men does not cultivate himself with Yao as example but requests every minister to imitate Tzu-hsü, he is then doing the same as expecting the Yins to be as loyal as Pi Kan. If everybody could be as loyal as Pi Kan, the ruler would neither lose the throne nor ruin himself. As the ruler does not weigh the ministers' powers despite the existence of rapacious ministers like T'ien Ch'eng but expects everybody to be as loyal as Pi Kan, the state can never have a moment of safety.

If the example of Yao and Shun is set aside and that of Chieh and Chow is followed instead, then the people can neither rejoice in their own merits nor worry over their own defects. If they lose their merits, the country will accomplish nothing; if they stick to the defects, they will not rejoice in life. If the authorities having accomplished nothing attempt to rule the people not rejoicing in life, they will not succeed in unifying the people. Should such be the case, the superiors would have no way to employ the inferiors while the inferiors would find no reason to serve the superiors.

Safety and danger rest with right and wrong but not with strength and weakness. Existence and extinction depend upon substantiality and superficiality, but not on big and small numbers. For example, Ch'i was a state of ten thousand chariots, but her name and her reality were not mutually equivalent. The ruler had superficial powers inside the state and paved no gap between name and reality. Therefore, ministers could deprive the sovereign of the throne. Again, Chieh was the Son of Heaven but saw no distinction between right and wrong, rewarded men of no merit, took slanderers into service, respected hypocrites as noble, censured innocent men, ordered men born humpbacked to have their backs cut open, approved falsehood, and disapproved inborn reason. In consequence, a small country could vanquish his big one.

The intelligent sovereign consolidates internal forces and therefore encounters no external failure. Who fails within his reach, is bound to fail at a distance. For instance, the Chous on supplanting the Yins learned by the latter's failures in the court. Should the Yins have made no mistake in their court, even for an autumn down the Chous would not dare to hope from them. How much less would they dare to shift their throne?

The Tao of the intelligent sovereign is true to the law, and his law is true to the mind. Therefore, when standing close by it, he acts on the law; when going away from it, he thinks of it in the mind. Thus, Yao made no covenant as binding as glue and varnish with his age, but his Tao prevailed. Shun left no territory sufficient to set a gimlet on with subsequent ages, but his Teh is bearing fruit. Who can trace his Tao to remote antiquity and leave his Teh to the myriad subsequent ages, is called "an enlightened sovereign".

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 26.

The Way to Maintain the State

When a sage-king makes laws, he makes rewards sufficient to encourage the good, his authority sufficient to subjugate the violent, and his preparation sufficient to accomplish a task. Ministers of an orderly age, who have rendered the country many meritorious services, hold high posts. Those who have exerted their strength, receive big rewards. Those who have exerted the spirit of loyalty, establish names. If good, they live on as flowers and insects do in spring; if bad, they die out as flowers and insects do in autumn. Therefore, the people strive to apply all their forces and rejoice in exerting the spirit of loyalty. This is said to have high and low living in harmony. As high and low are living in harmony, users of forces exert their strength to the observance of yard and weight and strive to play the role of Jen P'i; warriors march out at the risk of their lives and hope to accomplish the merits of Meng Pen and Hsia Yü; and upholders of the true path all cherish the mind of gold and stone to die in the cause of fidelity as Tzu-hsü did. If the users of forces are as strong as Jen P'i and fight as bravely as Pen and Yü while cherishing the mind of gold and stone, then the ruler of men can sleep without worries and his preparations for the maintenance of the state are already complete

In by-gone days, the good maintainers of the state forbade what they considered light with what they considered heavy. and stopped what they considered easy with what they considered hard. Therefore, both gentlemen and rustics were equally upright. Robber Che and Tseng Ts'an and Shih Ch'iu were equally honest. How do I know this? Indeed, the greedy robber does not go to the ravine to snatch gold. For, if he goes to the ravine to snatch gold, he will not be safe. Similarly, Pen and Yü, without estimating their opponents' strength, would have gained no fame for bravery; Robber Che, without calculating the possibilities of success, would have gained no

When the intelligent sovereign enacts prohibitions, even Pen and Yü are restrained by what they cannot vanquish and Robber Che is afflicted with what he cannot take. Therefore if the ruler can forbid with what Pen and Yü cannot transgress and maintain what Robber Che cannot take, the violent will become prudent; the brave, respectful; and the wicked, upright. Then All-under-Heaven will become just and fair and the common people will become right-spirited.

Once the lord of men leaves the law and loses the hearts of the people. he will fear lest Po-i should take anything away, and will not escape such calamities as are caused by T'ien Ch'eng and Robber Che. Why? Because the present world has not a single man as upright as Po-i but the age is full of culprits. That is the reason why laws, weights, and measures are made. If weights and measures are of faith, Po-i loses no reason to be right and Robber Che cannot do wrong. If laws are distinct and clear, the worthy cannot over-run the unworthy, the strong cannot outrage the weak, and the many cannot violate the few. If the ruler commits All-under-Heaven to the care of the Law of Yao, honest men never miss their due posts and wicked men never seek any godsend. If the arrow of Hou Yi is entrusted with a thousand taels of gold, Po-i cannot lose and Robber Che dare not take. As Yao was too clever to miss the culprits, All-under-Heaven had no wickedness. As Yi was too skilful to miss the mark, the thousand taels of gold would not be lost. Thus, wicked men could not live long, and Robber Che would stop.

Should such be the case, among the pictures there would be inserted no worthy like Tsai Yü and enumerated no rapacious ministers like the Six Nobles; among the books there would be recorded no personage like Tzu-hsü and described no tyrant like Fu-ch'a; the tactics of Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i would be abandoned; and Robber Che's malice would give way. Then the lord of men might enjoy sound sleep inside the jade palace with no trouble of glaring his eyes and grinding his teeth with anger and turning his ear with anxiety; while the ministers might drop their clothes and fold their hands in an iron-walled city with no calamity of seeing their arms clutched, their lips shut tight, and hearing sighs and griefs.

To subdue the tiger not by means of the cage, to suppress the culprit not by means of the law, or to impede the liar not by means of the tally, would be a worry to Pen and Yü and a difficulty to Yao and Shun. Therefore, to construct a cage is not to provide against rats but to enable the weak and timid to subdue the tiger; to establish laws is not to provide against Tseng Ts'an and Shih Ch'iu but to enable the average sovereign to prohibit Robber Che; and to make tallies is not to guard against Wei Sheng but to make the masses never deceive one another. Thus, the right way is not to rely on Pi Kan's martyrdom in the cause of fidelity nor to count on the rapacious minister's committing no deception, but to rely on the ability of the timid to subdue the tiger and appropriate the facilities of the average sovereign to maintain the state. In the present age, who schemes loyally for the sovereign and accumulates virtue for All-underHeaven, finds no advantage more permanent than this! If so, the ruler of men will see no figure of a doomed state and the loval ministers will cherish no image of a ruined personality. As the ruler knows how to honour ranks and make rewards definite, he can make people apply their strength to the observance of yard and weight, die in the cause of their official duties, understand the real desire of Pen and Yü not to choose the death penalty before a peaceful life, and scrutinize the covetous acts of Robber Che so as not to ruin their characters for the sake of money. Then the way to maintain the state is completely paved.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 27.

How to Use Men: Problems of Personnel Administration

They say the ancients who were skilful in personnel administration always conformed to the way of heaven, accorded with the nature of man, and clarified the principles of reward and punishment. As they conformed to the way of heaven, they expended few efforts, but harvested fruitful results. As they accorded with the nature of man, penal acts were simplified, but orders took effect. As they clarified the principles of reward and punishment, Po-i and Robber Che were never mixed up. That being so, white and black were clearly distinguished from each other.

Ministers of an orderly state render meritorious service to the country so as to fulfil their official duties, manifest their talents in office so as to obtain promotions, and devote their strength to the observance of yard and weight so as to manage affairs. As all officials have due abilities, are competent for their duties, and do not covet any additional post; and as they have no ulterior motive in mind and shift no responsibility of any of their additional offices to the ruler; inside there occurs no uprising from hidden resentment nor does such a disaster as caused by the Lord of Ma-fu happen outside.

The intelligent ruler allows no offices to meddle with each other, wherefore no dispute can happen; no personage to hold an additional post, wherefore everybody's talented skill can improve; and nobody to share the same meritorious service with anybody else, wherefore no rivalry can ensue. When rivalry and dispute cease and talents and specialities grow, the strong and the weak will not struggle for power, ice and charcoal will not mix their features, and All-underHeaven will not be able to harm one another. Such is the height of order.

Casting law and tact aside and trusting to personal judgements, even Yao could not rectify a state. Discarding compasses and squares and trusting to optional measures, even Hsi Chung could not make a single wheel. Giving rulers

up and thereby attempting to make shortness and length even, even Wang Erh could not point out the middle. Supposing an average sovereign abode by law and tact and an unskilful carpenter used compasses, squares, and rulers, certainly there would be no mistake in a myriad cases. Who rules men, if he casts aside what the wise and the skilful fall short of and maintains what the average and the unskilful never fail in, can then exert the forces of the people to the utmost and accomplish his achievement and reputation.

The intelligent sovereign offers rewards that may be earned and establishes punishments that should be avoided. Accordingly, worthies are encouraged by rewards and never meet Tzu-hsü's disaster; unworthy people commit few crimes and never see the humpback being cut open; blind people walk on the plain and never come across any deep ravine; stupid people keep silent and never fall into hazards. Should such be the case, the affection between superior and inferior would be well founded. The ancients said, "It is hard to know the mind. It is hard to balance joy and anger." Therefore, the sovereign uses bulletins to show the eye, instructions to tell the ear, and laws to rectify the mind. If the ruler of men discards these three easy measures and practises the sole difficult policy of mind-reading, then anger will be accumulated by the superior and resentment would be accumulated by the inferior. When accumulators of anger are governing accumulators of resentment, both will be in danger.

The bulletins of the intelligent sovereign being so easy to see, his promises keep. His teachings being so easy to understand, his words function. His laws being so easy to observe, his orders take effect. When these three things are well founded and the superiors have no self-seeking mind, the inferiors will obey the law and maintain order; will look at the bulletin and move; will follow the inked string and break; and will follow the flat pins and sew. In such a case, superiors will incur no bad name for selfishness and arrogance nor will inferiors receive any blame for stupidity and awkwardness. Hence the ruler is enlightened and rarely angry while the people are loval and rarely guilty.

people are loyal and rarely guilty.

They say, "To manage an affair and have no worry, even Yao would be unable." Yet the world is always full of affairs. The ruler of men, unless generous in conferring titles and bounties and easy in rewarding people of merit with riches and honours, is not worth helping in saving his jeopardized state. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign encourages men of integrity and bashfulness and invites men of benevolence and righteousness. Of yore, Chieh Tzu-t'ui had neither rank nor bounty but followed Duke Wen in the cause of righteousness, and, being unable to bear the thirst of the Duke's mouth and the hunger of his stomach, sliced off his own flesh to feed his master in the cause of benevolence. Henceforth the lords of men have cited his virtue and books and pictures have quoted his name

Generally speaking, the lord of men rejoices in making the people exert their strength for public causes and suffers by the usurpation of his authority by self-seeking ministers. The minister feels content when receiving appointment to office and overburdened when taking charge of two responsibilities at one time. The intelligent sovereign, therefore, abolishes what the ministers suffer and establishes what the lord of men rejoices in. Such an advantage to both superior and inferior is surpassed by nothing else. Contrary to this, if the ruler fails to observe closely the interiors of private residences, handles important affairs with slight concerns of mind, inflicts severe censure for minor offences, resents small faults for a long time, habitually teases people for amusement's sake and frequently requites trouble-makers with favours, it is the same as to cut off the arm and replace it with a jewel one. Hence the world encounters calamities of dethronement.

If the lord of men institutes difficult requirements and convicts anybody whosoever falls short of the mark, then secret resentment will appear. If the minister disuses his merit and has to attend to a difficult work, then hidden resentment will grow. If toil and pain are not removed and worry and grief are not appeased; if the ruler, when glad, praises small men and rewards both the worthy and the unworthy, and, when angry, blames superior men and thereby makes Po-i and Robber Che equally disgraced, then there will be ministers rebelling against the sovereign.

Supposing the King of Yen hated his people at home but loved the Lus abroad, then Yen would not serve him nor would Lu obey him. The Yens, as hated, would not exert their strength to render him meritorious services; while the Lus, though delighted, would never forget the death-or-life question and thereby become intimate with the sovereign of another state. In such a case, the ministers would fall into discord; the lord of men, into isolation. The country in which ministers in discord serve the sovereign left in isolation, is said to be in a great danger.

Supposing you discarded the mark and target and shot blindly, then though you hit it, you would not thereby be skilful. Similarly, supposing you cast laws and institutions aside and got angry blindly, then, though you slaughter many, the culprits would not be afraid of you. If the crime is committed by "A" but the consequent disaster befalls "B",

then hidden resentment will grow. Therefore, in the state of the highest order there are reward and punishment but neither joy nor anger. For the same reason, the sage enacts all kinds of penal law; whereas, though he sentences criminals to death, he is neither malicious nor cruel. Hence the culprits yield to his justice.

Wherever the shot arrow hits the mark and reward and punishment correspond with the tallies of merits and demerits, there Yao can come to life again and Yi can reappear. In such an orderly country, superiors will encounter no catastrophe as met by the Yins and the Hsias; inferiors will suffer no disaster as met by Pi-kan; the ruler can sleep without worries; ministers can rejoice in their daily work; Tao will spread all over heaven and earth; and Teh will last throughout a myriad generations.

Indeed, if the lord of men, instead of paving cracks and gaps, works hard on painting the surface with red and white clay, be sure swift rain and sudden gale will tumble the house down. Likewise, if he does not escape the impending disaster as near as the eyebrows and eyelashes but yearns after the manner of the death of Pen and Yü; if he takes no heed of the imminent trouble within the enclosure but solidifies the iron castles in remote frontiers; and if he does not adopt the schemes of the worthies near by him but cultivates friendships with the states of ten thousand chariots a thousand li away; then once the whirlwind arises, Pen and Yü will not be in time to rescue him nor will foreign friends arrive in time, till the catastrophe will be surpassed by none. In the present age, whoever gives loyal counsels to the sovereign, should neither make the King of Yen like the Lus, nor make the modern age yearn after the worthies of antiquity, nor expect the Yüehs to rescue the drowning persons in the Central States. Should such be the case, superior and inferior would be mutually affectionate, great achievement would be accomplished at home, and good reputation would be established abroad.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 28.

Achievement and Reputation

The factors of the intelligent ruler's success in accomplishing achievement and establishing reputation are four: The first is said to be "the time of heaven"; the second, "the hearts of the people"; the third, "technical ability"; and the fourth, "influential status."

Without the time of heaven, even ten Yaos cannot in winter grow a single ear of grain. Acting contrary to the hearts of the people, even Pen and Yü cannot make them exert their forces to the utmost. Therefore, when grains gain the favour of the time of heaven, they grow of themselves with no need of special care; when the ruler wins the hearts of the people, he elevates himself without being raised. When one relies on his technical ability, he hastens by himself without being hurried. When one occupies an influential status, his name is made without being commended.

Like water flowing and like the ship floating, the ruler follows the course of nature and enacts boundless decrees. Hence he is called "an enlightened sovereign".

Indeed, the possessor of talent who has no position, even though he is worthy, cannot control the unworthy. For illustration, when a foot of timber is placed on the top of a high mountain, it overlooks the ravine a thousand fathoms below. Not that the timber is long, but that its position is high. Chieh, while the Son of Heaven, could rule over Allunder-Heaven. Not that he was worthy but that his position was influential. Yao, while a commoner, could not rectify three families. Not that he was unworthy but that his position was low. A weight of one thousand chun, if aboard a ship, floats; but the utmost farthing, if overboard, sinks. Not that one thousand chun is light and the utmost farthing is heavy, but that the former has a favourable position while the latter has none. Therefore, the short thing can by its location overlook the tall one; the unworthy man can by his position rule over the worthy.

The lord of men, because supported by All-under-Heaven with united forces, is safe; because upheld by the masses of the people with united hearts, he is glorious. The minister, because he maintains his merit and exerts his ability, is loyal. If a glorious sovereign rules loyal ministers, everybody in the state can live a long and enjoyable life and accomplish achievement and reputation. Name and reality will support each other and will be accomplished. Form and shadow will coincide with each other and stand together. Hence sovereign and minister have the same desire but different functions.

The anxiety of the lord of men comes from the absence of minister's responses to his call. Hence the saying: "Nobody can clap with one hand, however fast he moves it." The anxiety of the minister lies in the inability to secure a full-time routine of work. Hence the saying: "The right hand drawing a circle and the left hand drawing a square at the same time cannot both succeed." Hence the saying again: "In the state at the height of order the ruler is like the drumstick and the minister like the drum; the technique is like the carriage and the task like the horse." Therefore, men having surplus strength respond easily to calls; techniques having excessive skill are convenient to tasks. On the contrary, if those who

accomplish achievements are not sufficiently strong; if those who are near and dear to the ruler are not sufficiently faithful; if those who have made names are not sufficiently influential; if only those who work within the ruler's reach become intimate; and if those who are stationed far away are not familiar; such will instance the discrepancy between name and fact. If the position of a sage like Yao and Shun in virtue and like Po-i in conduct is not supported by the world, his achievement will not be accomplished and his reputation will not be established.

Therefore, the ancients who could secure both achievement and reputation, were all assisted by the multitudes with forces, the near supporting them in earnest, the distant praising them with names, and the honourable supporting them with influences. Such being the case, their achievements as magnificent as Mountain Tai have stood permanently in the country and their reputations as glorious as the sun and the moon have shone upon heaven and earth for ever and ever. It was in such wise that Yao faced the south and maintained his reputation and Shun faced the north and accomplished his achievement

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 29.

The Principal Features of Legalism

The ancients who completed the principal features of legalism, looked upon heaven and earth, surveyed rivers and oceans, and followed mountains and ravines; wherefore they ruled as the sun and the moon shine, worked as the four seasons rotate, and benefited the world in the way clouds spread and winds move.

They never burdened their mind with avarice nor did they ever burden themselves with selfishness, but they entrusted law and tact with the settlement of order and the suppression of chaos, depended upon reward and punishment for praising the right and blaming the wrong, assigned all measures of lightness and heaviness to yard and weight. They never acted contrary to the course of heaven, never hurt the feeling and reason of mankind, never blew off any hair to find small scars, never washed off any dirt to investigate anything hard to know, never drew the inked string off the line and never pushed the inked string inside the line, and was neither severe beyond the boundary of law nor lenient within the boundary of law; but observed acknowledged principles and followed self-existent standards. Thus, disaster and fortune were based on rational principles and legal regulations, but not on love and hate; the responsibility for prosperity and humility rested with nobody but oneself.

Therefore, in the age at the height of safety law is like the morning dew, pure and simple but not yet dispersed. There is no resentment in the mind nor is there any quarrelsome word from the mouth. Carriages and horses, accordingly, are not worn out on the road; flags and banners are never confused on the big swamps; the myriad people do not lose lives among bandits and weapons; courageous warriors do not see their longevities determined by flags and streamers; excellent men are not reputed in pictures and books nor are their merits recorded on plates and vases; and documents of annals are left empty. Hence the saying: "No benefit is more permanent than simplicity, no fortune is more perpetual than security."

Supposing Carpenter Stone kept the longevity of one thousand years, had his scythes, watched his compasses and squares, and stretched his inked string, for the purpose of rectifying Mountain T'ai and supposing Pen and Yü girdled the Kan-chiang Sword to unify the myriad people, then though skill is exerted to the utmost extent and though longevity is prolonged to the utmost limit, Mountain T'ai would not be rectified and the people would not be unified. Hence the saying: "The ancient shepherds of All-underHeaven never ordered Carpenter Stone to exert his skill and thereby break the shape of Mountain T'ai nor did they instruct Pen and Yü to exercise all their authorities and thereby harm the inborn nature of the myriad people."

If in accordance with Tao, the law is successfully enforced, the superior man will rejoice and the great culprit will give way. Placid, serene, and leisurely, the enlightened ruler should in accordance with the decree of heaven maintain the principal features of legalism. Therefore, he makes the people commit no crime of going astray from law and the fish suffer no disaster by losing water. Consequently, nothing in All-under-Heaven will be unattainable.

If the superior is not as great as heaven, he never will be able to protect all inferiors; if his mind is not as firm as earth, he never will be able to support all objects. Mountain Tai, seeing no difference between desirable and undesirable clouds, can maintain its height; rivers and oceans, making no discrimination against small tributaries, can accomplish their abundance. Likewise, great men, patterning after the features of heaven and earth, find the myriad things well provided, and, applying their mind to the observation of mountains and oceans, find the country rich. The superior shows no harm from anger to anybody, the inferior throws no calamity of hidden resentment at anybody. Thus, high and low both live on friendly terms and take Tao as the standard of value. Consequently, permanent advantages are piled up and great

merits accomplished. So is a name made in a lifetime. So is the benefaction left to posterity. Such is the height of order.

#### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 30.

Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Series: Seven Tacts
There are seven tacts which the sovereign ought to employ,
and six minutiæ which he ought to penetrate.

Of the seven tacts, the first is said to be "comparing and inspecting all available different theories"; the second, "making punishment definite and authority clear"; the third, "bestowing rewards faithfully and everybody exert his ability"; the fourth, "listening to all sides of every story and holding every speaker responsible for it"; the fifth, "issuing spurious edicts and making pretentious appointments"; the sixth, "inquiring into cases by manipulating different information"; and the seventh, "inverting words and reversing tasks."

These seven are what the sovereign ought to employ.

#### 1. Comparing Different Views

If the sovereign does not compare what he sees and hears, he will never get at the real. If his hearing has any particular passage to come through at all, he will be deluded by ministers. The saying is based on the clown's dream of a cooking stove and on Duke Ai's saying that his mind became bewildered because of no advisory council. For further illustration, the man of Ch'i claimed to have seen the Earl of the River. Hui Tzu remarked that the ruler had lost half the brains in the country. Its contrary is instanced by the starvation of Shu Sun by Shu Niu and the interpretation of Ching's customary law by Chiang Yi. Duke Ssu wanted political order, but, not knowing any special kind of statecraft, merely made the ministers hostile to one another. For the same reason, the intelligent sovereign would infer the need of guarding against rapacious ministers from the reason for piling iron bars on the walls of the room as measures against stray arrows, and judge the existence of an impending calamity in the market-place from the allegation of facts by

# 2. Making Punishment Definite

If the ruler is too compassionate, the law will never prevail. If the authority is too weak, the inferior will offend the superior. For this reason, if penalties are not definite, prohibitions and decrees will take no effect. The saying is based on Tung Tzu's tour to the Stony Country and Tzuch'an's instruction to Yu Chi. For further illustration, Chung-ni talked about the function of frost, the Law of Yin punished anybody throwing ashes into the streets, the highway guards left Yo Ch'ih, and Kung-sun Yang strictly censured minor offences. On the contrary, the gold-dust in the Clear Water was not kept safe, the fire at the Product Swamp was not suppressed. Ch'eng Huan thought that extreme benevolence would weaken the Ch'i State; Pu P'i thought that compassion and beneficence would ruin the King of Wey. Kuan Chung, knowing the necessity of making prohibitions strict, extended jurisdiction over dead persons. Duke Ssu, knowing the necessity of making punishment definite, bought back a labour fugitive.

# 3. Bestowing Reward and Honour

If reward and honour are insufficient and faithless, the inferior would not obey. If reward and honour are great and of faith, the inferior will make light of death. The saying is based on Viscount Wen's saying, "The inferior turn to great reward and high honour just like the wild deer going to luxuriant grass." For further illustration, the King of Yüeh set fire to the palace building, Wu Ch'i leaned the shaft of a carriage outside the city-gate, Li K'uei judged lawsuits on the basis of the litigants' shooting abilities, and the people of Ch'ung-men in Sung would on account of reward and honour reduce themselves to death. Kou-chien, knowing the utility of reward and honour, saluted an angry frog; Marquis Chao, knowing the utility of reward and honour, stored up old trousers. Big reward, indeed, makes everybody as brave as Meng Pen and Chuan Chu. Women daring to pick up silkworms and fishermen daring to grasp eels, both testify to the utility of reward and honour.

# 4. Listening to All Sides of Every Story

If the ruler listens straight to one project alone, he cannot distinguish between the stupid and the intelligent. If he holds every projector responsible, ministers cannot confound their abilities. The saying is based on the demand of the Cheng territory by Wey and on the playing of the Yü instrument. Its opposite is instanced by Shen Tzu's employment of Chao Shao and Han Ta to test the opinion of the Ruler of Han. For further instance, Prince Ch'ih suggested the cession of the territory east of the Yellow River; Marquis Ying proposed to loosen the garrison at Shang-tang.

# 5. Making Pretentious Appointments

If someone has frequent audience with his superior and is accorded a long reception but not appointed to any office, then villainous men will disperse in his presence like deer in all

directions. If the superior sends men out to find anything other than what is in question, the inferior would not dare to sell private favours. Therefore, P'ang Ching recalled the sheriff, Tai Huan ordered men to find out if there was any covered wagon, the Sovereign of Chou purposely lost jade bodkins, and the Premier of Shang spoke about ox dung.

# 6. Manipulating Different Information

If you make inquiries by manipulating different information, then even unknown details will come to the fore. If you know everything of something, then all the hidden will be seen in a different light. The saying is based on Marquis Chao's holding one of his nails in his fist. For further illustration, when the knowledge of the conditions outside the south gate became definite, conditions going on in the other three directions were found out, too. The Sovereign of Chou looked for crooked canes, wherefore the officials became afraid of him thereafter. Pu P'i employed a petty official as detective. Hsi-men Pao pretended to have lost the linchpin of his carriage.

#### 7. Inverting Words

Invert words and reverse affairs, and thereby cross-examine the suspect. Then you will get at the reality of culprits. Thus, Shan-yang purposely slandered Chiu Shu, Nao Ch'ih fabricated an envoy from Ch'in, the Ch'is wanted to create disturbances, Tzu-chih lied about the white horse, Tzu-ch'an separated the litigants, and Duke Ssu purposely made his men go through the pass of the city.

So much above for the canons.

#### Annotations to Canon I:-

At the time of Duke Ling of Wei, Mi Tzu-hsia was in favour with him, and administered all public affairs in the Wei State. One day, the clown, while interviewing the Duke, said, "The dream of thy servant has materialized, indeed." "What did you dream?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant dreamt that a cooking stove stood in lieu of Your Highness," replied the 'What? As I understand," said the Duke in anger, 'who sees the lord of men in dreaming dreams the sun. Why did you see a cooking stove in your dream of His Highness?" In reply the dwarf said: "Indeed, the sun shines upon everything under heaven while nothing can cover it; the ruler of men reigns all over the country while nobody can delude him. Accordingly, who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams the sun. In the case of a cooking stove, however, if one person stands before it, then nobody from behind can see. Now, supposing someone were standing before Your Highness, would it not be possible for thy servant to dream of a cooking stove?"

Once Duke Ai of Lu asked Confucius, saying, "In spite of the popular proverb, 'Getting bewildered because of no advisory council,' why is it that in administering the state affairs the more I consult with the body of officials the more disorderly the state becomes?" In reply Confucius said: "When the enlightened sovereign asks ministers about state affairs, one minister might know while another might not know. In that case, the enlightened sovereign can preside over a conference while the ministers earnestly discuss the affairs before him. Now that every official utters every word in accord with the opinion of Chi Sun and the whole State of Lu falls under the sway of one and the same bias, even though Your Highness consults with everybody within the state boundaries, the state cannot help becoming disorderly."

According to a different source: When Yen Ying Tzu visited the court of Lu, Duke Ai asked, "In spite of the common saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with,' why is it that Lu cannot help becoming disorderly, although I consult with the whole nation?" In reply Yen Tzu said: "The ancient saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with,' means that as one person may miss the point while the other two may get at it, three persons are sufficient to form an advisory council. Hence the saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with.' Now that the officials throughout the Lu State, numbering hundreds and thousands, all talk in accordance with the private bias of the Chi Clan, though the number of persons is not small, yet what they say is the opinion of one man. Then how can there be three?"

Once somebody of Ch'i said to the King of Ch'i: "The Earl of the River is a great god. Why may Your Majesty not try to meet with him?" May thy servant enable Your Majesty to meet with him!" Thereupon he built an altar on the middle of the flood and stood with the King upon it. In the meantime, there was a big fish making motions. "That is the Earl of the River!" said the man.

Chang Yi wanted to attack Ch'i and Ching with the allied forces of Ch'in, Han, and Wey, while Hui Shih wanted to halt the war by befriending Ch'i and Ching. The two opened a debate. The officials and the chamberlains all spoke in favour of Chang Tzu, pointing out the advantage of attacking Ch'i and Ching, while nobody spoke in favour of Hui Tzu. The King actually followed Chang Tzu's advice, considering Hui

Tzu's proposal impracticable. After the expedition against Ch'i and Ching had been successfully carried out, Hui Tzu went into the court to have an audience, when the King said: "Sir, you should not have said anything at all. The expedition against Ch'i and Ching actually turned out to our advantage. And the whole nation had so expected." Thereupon Hui Tzu said: "May Your Majesty not refrain from deliberating upon the whole situation! Indeed, the expedition against Ch'i and Ching turned out to our advantage. And so had the whole nation expected. How numerous wise men were! If the expedition against Ch'i and Ching turned out to our disadvantage while the whole nation had expected the advantage, then how numerous must stupid men have been? After all, every scheme is a doubt from the outset. Who really doubts at all, usually considers every scheme half practicable and half impracticable. Now that all brains of the nation took the practicable side, it means that Your Majesty lost half the brains, namely, the brains of the negative side. The sovereign intimidated by wicked ministers is, as a rule, a loser of half the brains in the country."

When Shu Sun was Premier of Lu, he was influential and in charge of all state affairs. His favourite, named Shu Niu, also abused his orders. Shu Sun had a son named Jen. Jealous of Jen, Shu Niu wanted to kill him. Accordingly, he went with Jen to visit the inner court of the Ruler of Lu. The Ruler of Lu bestowed upon him a jade ring. Jen, making a deep bow, accepted it. But he dared not hang it on his girdle and so told Shu Niu to secure Shu Sun's permission beforehand. Deceiving him, Shu Sun said: "I have already secured his permission for you to wear it." Therefore Jen wore it on his girdle. Shu Niu then purposely said to Shu Sun, "Why does Your Excellency not present Jen to the Ruler?" "Why is the boy worth presenting?" said Shu Sun. "As a matter of fact, Jen has already had several interviews with the Ruler," said Shu Niu. "The Ruler bestowed upon him a jade ring, which he has already started wearing." Thereupon Shu Sun summoned Jen and found him actually wearing it on his girdle. Angered thereby, Shu Sun killed Jen.

Jen's elder brother was named Ping. Shu Niu was also jealous of him and wanted to kill him. So he cast a bell for Ping. When the bell was ready, Ping dared not toll it and so told Shu Niu to secure Shu Sun's permission beforehand. Instead of securing the permission for him, Shu Niu again deceived him and said: "I have already secured his permission for you to toll it." Therefore Ping tolled it. Hearing this, Shu Sun said, "Without securing my permission Ping tolled the bell at his own pleasure." Angered thereby, he banished Ping. Ping ran out and escaped to Ch'i, One year later, Shu Niu on behalf of Ping apologized to Shu Sun. Shu Sun then ordered Shu Niu to recall Ping. Without recalling Ping, Shu Niu in his report said, "I have already summoned Ping, but he is very angry and will not come." Shu Sun, enraged thereby, ordered men to kill him. After the death of the two sons, Shu Sun fell ill, wherefore Shu Niu alone took care of him, discharged the attendants, and would not let anybody else in, saving, "Shu Sun does not want to hear anybody's noise." As a result, Shu Sun ate nothing and starved to death. When Shu Sun was already dead, Shu Niu intentionally held no funeral service, but moved his private storages and treasure boxes, emptied them, and ran away to Ch'i. Indeed, if anybody listens to the words of a trusted crook and in consequence father and son are put to death, it is the calamity of not comparing different

When Chiang Yi was sent by the King of Wey as envoy to Ching, he said to the King of Ching: "After entering the boundaries of Your Majesty, thy servant heard that, according to the customary law of your honourable kingdom, a gentleman should neither obscure anybody else's virtue nor expose anybody else's vice. Do you really have such a customary law?" "Certainly, we do!" replied the King. "If so, did the Duke of White's rebellion involve no danger at all? If you uphold such a customary law, then vicious ministers will be pardoned for committing capital crimes."

Duke Ssu of Wei had confidence in Ju Erh and loved Princess Shih. Fearing lest both should delude him because of his confidence and love, he purposely ennobled Po Yi to rival Ju Erh and favoured Princess Wey to counteract Princess Shih and said, "This is to make one compare himself or herself with the other." Duke Ssu knew the need of suffering no delusion but never got at the right technique. Indeed, if the sovereign does not allow the humble to criticize the noble and the inferior to denounce the superior, but always expects the powers of high and low to balance, then ministers on equal footing will dare to conspire with each other. In so doing he will increase the number of delusive and deceitful officials. Thus was begun the delusion of Duke Ssu.

Indeed, if arrows come from a certain direction, then pile iron bars in that direction to guard against them. If arrows come from unknown directions, then make an iron-walled room to guard against all of them. If one guards against them this way, his body will receive no injury. Therefore, in the way one guards against all arrows and receives no injury, the ruler should stand in opposition to all ministers and thereby encounter no culprit.

When P'ang Kung together with the Crown Prince was going to Han-tan as hostage, he said to the King of Wey: Now, if someone says there in the market-place is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "No, I will not believe it. replied the King. "Then, if two men say there in the marketplace is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "No, I will not believe it," was another reply. "If three men say there in the market-place is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" will believe it," affirmed the King finally. Thereupon P'ang Kung said: "That there is no tiger in the market-place is clear enough, indeed. Nevertheless, because three men allege the presence of a tiger, the tiger comes into existence. Now that Han-tan is far more distant from the Wey State than the market-place is from the court and those who criticize thy servant are more than three men, may Your Majesty deliberate over the mission of thy servant!" As expected, when P'ang Kung returned from Han-tan, he could not secure an admission into the city

Annotations to Canon 2:-

Tung An-yū, Magistrate of the Upper Land in the Chao State, once toured the mountains in the Stony Country. Seeing there a deep gorge with steep sides like high walls, one nundred fathoms deep at least, he asked the villagers in the surrounding vicinities, "Has anybody ever walked into this gorge?" "Nobody," replied they. "Then has any child or baby or any blind or deaf man or any insane or unconscious person ever walked into it?" "No," they replied similarly. "Then has any ox or horse or dog or pig ever walked into it?" "No," was again the reply. Thereat Tung An-yū heaved a deep sigh, saying: "Lo! I have acquired the ability to govern the people. Only if I make my law grant no pardon just like the walk into the gorge always leading to death, then nobody dare to violate it. And everything will be well governed."

Tzu-ch'an, Premier of Cheng, when ill and about to die, said to Yu Chi: "After my death you will certainly be appointed Premier of Cheng. Then be sure to handle the people with severity. Indeed, fire appears severe, wherefore men rarely get burned; water appears tender, wherefore men often get drowned. You must not forget to make your penalties severe and do not immerse yourself in tenderness.' After Tzu-ch'an's death, however, Yu Chi could not bear applying severe penalties. Meanwhile, young men in Cheng followed one another in becoming robbers and established themselves on the Bushy Tail Swamp ready to menace Cheng at any time. Thereupon Yu Chi led chariots and cavalrymen and fought with them. After a combat lasting a whole day and a whole night the finally was harely able to overcome them. Taking a heavy breath. Yu Chi sighed and said: "Could I have practised my master's instruction early, I would not have come to regret to this point!"

Duke Ai of Lu once asked Chung-ni: "There is the record in the Spring and Autumn Annals that in winter during the month of January frost does not kill grass. Why was there made such a record?" In reply Chung-ni said: "This is to say that what ought to be killed was not killed. Indeed, frost should kill grass but never kills it. Peach- and plum-trees bear fruits in winter. If heaven loses its proper course, even grass and trees will violate and transgress it. How much more would the people do so if the ruler of men loses his true path?"

The Law of Yin would punish anybody throwing ashes into the streets. This Tzu-kung regarded as too severe and so asked Chung-ni about it. "They knew the right way of government," replied Chung-ni. "Indeed, ashes thrown into the streets would blow into the eyes of the passers-by and obscure their sight. And if anybody obscures the sight of others, he would irritate them. When irritated, they start quarrelling. On quarrelling, each side would mobilize their three clans to slaughter the other. It means that throwing ashes into the streets leads to the mutual onslaught between the three clans of both sides. Therefore it is right to punish any offender. Indeed, heavy punishment is disliked by the people, but throwing no ashes is easy to them. To make the people do easy things and not ignore their dislike is the right way of government."

According to a different source: According to the Law of Yin, whoever threw ashes on the public road should have his hands cut off. Tzu-kung said: "The crime of ash-throwing is light but the punishment of hand-cutting is heavy. Why were the ancients so cruel?" In reply Confucius said: "Not to throw ashes is easy but to have hands cut off is disliked. The ancients considered it easy to enforce the easy and prevent the disliked. Therefore they enacted the law."

Yo Ch'ih, Premier of Central Hills, when appointed envoy to Chao, took one hundred chariots along and selected the wise and able men among his guests to be his highway guards. On the way they became disorderly. "Gentlemen," said Yo Ch'ih, "I regarded you as wise and appointed you highway guards. Now that you are creating a commotion on the way, what is the reason?" The guests, accordingly, resigned from their posts and went away, saying: "Your Excellency does not know the right way of government. Indeed, it needs prestige to keep people obedient and it needs profit to encourage them. Therefore good government is possible. Now, thy servants are

Your Excellency's junior guests. Indeed, to employ the junior in disciplining the senior and the low in governing the high and thereby become unable to exercise the authorities of reward and punishment to control the subordinates, is the cause of confusion. Suppose you employ your subordinates on trial, appoint the good ones ministers, and behead those not good. Then how could there be disorder?"

The Law of Kung-sun Yang took minor offences seriously. Major offences are hard for men to commit while small faults are easy for men to remove. To make men get rid of easy faults and not ignore difficult offences is the right way of government. Indeed, when small faults never appear, big offences will not come into existence. For this reason, men committed no crime and disorder did not appear.

According to a different source: Kung-sun Yang said, "In applying penalties, take light ones seriously because if light penalties are not applied, heavy ones will not come at all. This is said to be getting rid of penalties by means of penalties."

In the southern part of Ching the bottom of the Clear Water produced gold-dust. Many men in secret dug out golddust. In accordance with the prohibition law, a number of gold-diggers were caught and stoned to death in the marketplace. Then the authorities built walls to bar the water from the people. Still people never stopped stealing gold-dust. Indeed, no chastisement is severer than stoning to death in the market-place. That people never stopped stealing gold-dust was because the culprits were not always caught. In this connection, supposing someone said, "I will give you the reign over All-under-Heaven and put you to death," then even a mediocre man would not accept the offer. Indeed, the reign over All-under-Heaven is a great advantage, but he would not accept it as he knew he would be put to death. Therefore, if not always caught, people never stop stealing gold-dust despite the danger of being stoned to death. But if they are certain of being put to death, then they dare not accept even the reign over All-under-Heaven.

The Lus once set fire to the Product Swamp. As the northern winds appeared, the fire spread southward. Fearing lest the state capital might be burned, Duke Ai trembled and personally directed the masses in suppressing the fire. Meanwhile, he found nobody around, all having gone to hunt animals and leaving the fire unsuppressed. Thereupon he summoned Chung-ni and asked him about it. "Indeed, hunting animals," said Chung-ni, "is a pleasure and incurs no punishment. But putting out the fire is a hardship and promises no reward. That is the reason why the fire is not put "Right," remarked Duke Ai. "It is untimely, however, to offer rewards just in time of emergency like this," added Chung-ni. "If Your Highness has to reward all the participants in the suppression of the fire, then even the whole state wealth is not enough for rewarding them. Suppose we enforce the policy of punishment for the time being." "Good," said Duke Ai. Thereupon Chung-ni issued the order that absence in the suppression of the fire should be sentenced to the same punishment as surrender to or escape from enemies and hunting animals should be sentenced to the same punishment as trespass upon the inner court of the palace. In consequence, the fire was put out before the order spread all

Ch'eng Huan said to the King of Ch'i, "Your Majesty is too benevolent but too lenient to bear censuring people." "Isn't it a good name to be too benevolent and too lenient to bear censuring people?" asked the King. In reply Ch'eng Huan said: "It is good to ministers but not what the lord of men ought to do. Indeed, ministers must be benevolent in order to be trustworthy, and must be lenient to people in order to be accessible. If not benevolent, he is not trustworthy; if not lenient to people, he is not accessible." "If so, to whom am I too benevolent and to whom am I too lenient?" asked the King. In reply Ch'eng Huan said: "Your Majesty is too benevolent to the Duke of Hsüeh and too lenient to the various T'iens. If Your Majesty is too benevolent to the Duke of Hsüeh, then chief vassals will show no respect for order. If Your Maiesty is too lenient to the Tiens, then uncles and brothers will violate the law. If chief vassals show no respect for order, the army will become weak abroad. If uncles and brothers violate the law, then at home the government will fall into disorder. To have the army weakened abroad and the government disordered at home, this is the fundamental factor ruining the state."

King Hui of Wey said to Pu P'i, "When you hear His Majesty's voice, how does it sound to you?" "Thy servant hears the compassion and beneficence of Your Majesty," was the reply. "Then to what extent will my achievement progress?" asked the King in great delight. "To the extent of ruin," was the reply. "To be compassionate and beneficent is to practise good deeds. Why should such a practice lead to ruin?" wondered the King. In reply Pu P'i said: "To be sure, compassion means leniency; beneficence, fondness of giving favours. If lenient, Your Majesty will not censure those who have faults; if fond of giving favours, Your Majesty will bestow rewards without waiting for merits to appear. If men guilty of faults are not punished and those of no merit are rewarded, isn't ruin the possible outcome?"

The people of the Ch'i State would hold expensive funeral rites, till cloth and silk fabrics were exhausted by clothes and covers, and wood and lumber by inner and outer coffin-walls. Worried over this, Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung: "If the people exhaust cloth this way, nothing will be left for national wealth. If they exhaust wood this way, nothing will be left for military defence. And yet the people will hold expensive funeral rites and never stop How can prohibition be effected?' In reply Kuan Chung said, "If people do anything at all, it is done for profit if not for repute." Thereupon he issued the order that if the thickness of both inner and outer coffin-walls were to go beyond legal limits, the corpse should be cut into pieces and the mourning relatives should be held guilty. Indeed, to cut the corpse into pieces would create no repute; to hold guilty the mourning relatives would produce no profit Why should the people continue holding expensive funeral rites then?

At the time of Duke Ssu of Wei, once a labour convict escaped to the Wey State and there took care of the illness of the queen of King Hsiang. When Duke Ssu of Wei heard about this, he sent men out and offered fifty taels of gold for the purchase money of the fugitive. The men went back and forth five times, but the King of Wey refused to surrender the convict. Thereupon Duke Ssu decided to exchange the City of Tso-shih for the man. Against this decision all the officials and attendants remonstrated with the King, asking whether it should be practicable to exchange a city for a labour fugitive. "You, gentlemen, do not understand my reason," explained the Ruler. "Indeed, government must be concerned even with small affairs so that no serious disturbance can take place. If the law does not stand firm and censure is not definite, there is no use in keeping ten Tso-shihs. If the law stands firm and censure is definite, there is no harm even by losing ten Tso-shihs." Hearing about this, the King of Wey said, "When one sovereign wants to govern well, if another does not listen to him, it is sinister." Accordingly, he sent off the fugitive in a cart and surrendered him free of charge.

Annotations to Canon 3:-

The King of Ch'i once asked Viscount Wen how to govern a state well. In reply Viscount Wen said: "Indeed, reward and punishment as means of political control are sharp weapons. Your Majesty should have them in your grip and never show them to anybody else. For ministers turn to reward and honour like wild deer going to luxuriant grass."

The King of Yüeh once asked High Official Chung, "I want to attack Wu. Is it practicable?" "Certainly practicable," replied Chung. "Our rewards are liberal and of faith; our punishments are strict and definite. If Your Majesty wants to know the effect of reward and punishment, why should Your Majesty hesitate to try setting fire to the palace building?' Thereupon fire was set to the palace building, whereas nobody would come to put the fire out. Accordingly, an order was issued that "those who die in the suppression of the fire shall be rewarded like men killed by enemies in war, those who are not killed in the suppression of the fire shall be rewarded like men victorious over enemies in war, and those who do not take part in putting the fire out shall be held guilty as men surrendering to or escaping from enemies". In consequence, men who painted their bodies with mud and put on wet clothes and rushed at the fire numbered three thousands from the left and three thousands from the right. In this way the King knew the circumstances assuring victory.

When Wu Ch'i was Governor of the Western River District under Marquis Wu of Wey, Ch'in had a small castle standing close by the state border. Wu Ch'i wanted to attack it, for if it were not got rid of, it would remain a serious harm to the farmers in the neighbourhood. Yet, to get rid of it, he could not enlist sufficient armed troops. Thereupon he leaned the shaft of a carriage outside the north gate and ordered that anybody able to remove the shaft to the outside of the south gate should be awarded a first-class field and a first-class residence. Yet nobody dared to remove it. As soon as somebody removed it, he was rewarded according to the order All at once Wu Ch'i placed one picul of red beans outside the east gate and ordered that anybody able to remove it to the outside of the west gate should be rewarded similarly. This time men struggled to remove it. Thereupon he issued the order, "On storming the castle to-morrow, the foremost to rush into it shall be appointed High Officer in the State and awarded a first-class field and a first-class residence." Then men as expected struggled for precedence to rush into the castle, so that they stormed it and took it in a forenoon.

When Li K'uei was Governor of the Upper Land under Marquis Wen of Wey, he wanted every man to shoot well. So he issued the order that men involved in any unsettled legal dispute should be ordered to shoot the target, and those who hit the target should win the suit and those who missed it should lose it. As soon as the order was issued, everybody started to practise archery day and night and never stopped. When they came to war with the Ch'ins, they imposed a crushing defeat upon the enemy inasmuch as every one of them was a good archer.

Once a slum-dweller of Ch'ung-men in Sung, by observing funeral rites, injured his health and became very thin. Regarding him as filially pious to his parents, the sovereign raised him and appointed him Master of Official Rites. In the following year more than ten men died of physical injury by observing funeral rites. Now, sons observe funeral rites for their parents because they love them. Even then the sons can be encouraged with rewards. How much more can ordinary people be encouraged by the ruler and superior?

The King of Yueh schemed to attack Wu. As he wanted everybody to make light of death in war, once when he went out and saw an angry frog, he saluted it accordingly. "Why should Your Majesty pay it such respects?" asked his attendants. "Because it possesses a courageous spirit," replied the King. Starting from the following year every year there were more than ten men who begged to offer their heads to the King. From this viewpoint it is clear that honour is sufficient to drive anybody to death.

According to a different source: King Kou-chïen of Yüeh once saw an angry frog and saluted it, when the coachman asked, "Why does Your Majesty salute it?" In reply the King said, "A frog having a courageous spirit as such does deserve my salute!" Hearing this, both gentry and commons said: The spirited frog was saluted by the King, to say nothing of the gentry and commons who are brave." That year there were men who cut off their heads to death and offered their heads to the King. Therefore, the King of Yüeh in order to wage a successful war of revenge against Wu experimented on his instructions. When he set fire to a tower and beat the drum, the people rushed at the fire because reward was due to the fire; when he faced a river and beat the drum, the people rushed at the water because reward was due to the water; and when on the war front, the people had their heads cut off and stomachs chopped open with no frightened mind because reward was due to combat. If so, it goes without saying that to promote the wise in accordance with the law reward would be even more useful than on those occasions.

Marquis Chao of Han once ordered men to store up old trousers. The attendants remarked: "Your Highness is rather unkind, not giving old trousers to servants around but storing them up." "The reason is not what you, gentlemen, know," said Marquis Chao in response. "I have heard that an enlightened sovereign, though fond of frowning and smiling, always frowns because there is something to frown at and smiles because there is something to smile at. Now, trousers are not as simple as sneers and smiles, nay, they are very different from the latter. I must wait for men of merit and therefore store up the trousers and never give them away.

Eels resemble snakes, silkworms resemble moths. When men see snakes, they are frightened; when they see moths, their hair stands up. Nevertheless, women pick up silkworms and fishermen grasp eels. Thus, where there lies profit, people forget their dislike and all become as brave as Meng Pen and Chuan Chu

Annotations to Canon 4:—

The King of Wey once said to the King of Cheng: "In origin Cheng and Liang were one state and later separated from each other. We hope we will recover Cheng and annex it to Liang." Worried over this, the Ruler of Cheng summoned all the ministers and consulted with them about the measures against Wey. "It is very easy to cope with Wey," said a prince of Cheng to the Ruler of Cheng. "May Your Majesty tell the Weys that if Cheng is regarded as a former part of Wey and can now be annexed at all, our humble kingdom would like to annex Liang to Cheng, too." Hearing this, the King of Wey gave up the threatening plan.

King Hsüan of Ch'i ordered men to play the Yü instrument and always had three hundred men in the orchestra. Thereupon private gentlemen from the southern suburbs of the capital asked to play the same music for the King Delighted at them, the King fed several hundreds of them. Upon the death of King Hsüan, King Min ascended the throne and wanted to listen to each one of them. The men went away. One day Marquis Chao of Han remarked, "The Yü players are so numerous that I cannot by any means tell the good ones." In reply Tien Yen said, "By listening to them each by each."

Chao sent men out to ask for reinforcements from Han through the good office of Shen Tzu in order thereby to attack Wey. Shen Tzu wanted to speak to the Ruler of Han but was afraid lest His Highness should suspect him of accepting bribes from foreign authorities. Yet if he did not do so, he feared lest he should incur hatred from Chao. Thereupon he sent Chao Shao and Han Ta to see the moves and looks of His Highness before he started speaking. Thus at home he could foretell the opinion of Marquis Chao and abroad could render meritorious service to Chao.

When the allied forces of the three states arrived at the Armour Gorge, the King of Ch'in said to Lou Yüan, "The allied forces of the three states have entered deep into our line. I, the King, am thinking of ceding the territory east of the Yellow River to them and thereby sue for peace. How is the idea?" In reply the latter said: "Indeed, to cede the territory

east of the River is a great cost, but to rescue our country from a calamity is a great merit. Nevertheless, to make any decision as such is the duty of the royal uncles and brothers. Why does Your Majesty not summon Prince Ch'ih for consultation?" The King, accordingly, sent for Prince Ch'ih and told him the dilemma. In reply the Prince said: "It will involve a regret either to sue for peace or not to sue for peace. Supposing Your Majesty now ceded the territory east of the River and the allies turned homeward, Your Majesty would certainly say, 'The allies from the beginning intended to Why should we have given them three cities purposely?' Supposing Your Majesty refused to sue for peace, then the allies would enter the Armour Gorge and seize our whole country in a panic. Then Your Majesty will certainly regret a great deal, saying, 'That is because we would not cede the three cities to them.' Therefore, thy servant says, 'Your Majesty will regret either suing for peace or not suing for peace." "If I have to regret either way at all," said the King, peace." "If I have to regret either way at all," said the King, "I prefer to lose the three cities and regret therefor. As it will be the greef or name." involve no danger but regret, I decide to sue for peace.

Marquis Ying said to the King of Ch'in: "Your Majesty already conquered the districts of Yüan-yeh, Lan-t'ien, and Yang-hsia, held under control the land within the River boundaries, and dominated the affairs of Liang and Cheng. But because Chao has not yet been subdued, Your Majesty has not yet attained supremacy over All-under-Heaven. Now, to loosen the garrison at Shang-tang is to give up our hold of one district only. But if we thereby march our main column toward Tung-yang, then Han-tan, capital of Chao, will become as precarious as a flea in the mouth while Your Majesty will be able to fold his hands and reign over Allunder-Heaven. Later, subdue the Chaos with troops. However, Shang-tang has peace and joy, and is very wealthy. Thy servant is, therefore, afraid that though he proposes to loosen the garrison there, Your Majesty might not listen. Then what else can be done?" "Certainly, the garrison there shall be loosened," said the King.

Annotations to Canon 5:-

P'ang Ching, a prefect, sent tradesmen out on a mission. Suddenly he recalled the sheriff from among them, stood with him for awhile, gave him no special instruction and sent him off finally. The tradesmen thought the prefect and the sheriff had had some private talk and therefore would not confide in the sheriff. On the way they dared not commit any villainy.

Tai Huan, Premier of Sung, at night sent men out and said to them, "For several nights I have heard somebody riding in a covered wagon going to the residence of Li Shih. Carefully find that out for me?" The servants came back with the report that they had seen no covered wagon but somebody bringing a bamboo chest as present and speaking with Li Shih, and that after a while Li Shih accepted the chest.

The Sovereign of Chou lost jade bodkins and ordered officials to search for them. For three days they could not find them. The Sovereign of Chou then ordered men to look for them and found them inside the room of some private house. "Now I know the officials do not attend to their duties," remarked the Sovereign of Chou. "Searching for the jade bodkins for three days, they could not find them. The men I ordered to look for them found them out within one day, however." Thereafter the officials became very afraid of him, thinking His Maiesty was divine and enlightened.

The Prime Minister of Shang once sent a petty official out, and asked him upon his return what he had seen in the market-place. "Nothing," replied the official. "Yet you must have seen something. What was that?" asked the Premier insistently. "There were outside the south gate of the market-place a number of ox carts, through which one could barely walk," replied the official. Accordingly, the Premier instructed the messenger not to tell anybody else what he had asked about. Then he summoned the mayor, blamed him, and asked him why there was so much ox dung outside the gate of the marketplace. Greatly astonished at the quickness of the Premier's information, the mayor trembled and became afraid of his wide knowledge.

Annotations to Canon 6:-

Marquis Chao of Han once held his nails in his fist, pretending to have lost one of his nails, and was very anxious to find it. One of his attendants purposely cut off one of his nails and presented it to His Highness. Thereby Marquis Chao comprehended the insincerity of the attendant.

Marquis Chao of Han sent horsemen out into the local districts. When the servants came back to report, he asked them what they had seen. "Nothing," replied they. "Yet you must have seen something. What was that?" asked Marquis Chao insistently. "There were outside the south gate yellow calves eating rice plants on the left-hand side of the road." Accordingly, Marquis Chao instructed the servants not to divulge what he had asked about. Then he issued the order to the effect "that while seedlings are growing, oxen and horses be excluded from the rice fields; that since despite the order the magistrates have neglected their duties, till a great

number of oxen and horses have entered the fields of people, the inspectors quickly count the number of them and report to the authorities; and that if they fail in the matter, their punishment be doubled". Thereupon the inspectors counted all the cattle in the rice fields in three directions and reported to the superior authorities. "Not yet finished," remarked Marquis Chao. So they went out again to investigate the case and found the yellow calves outside the south gate. Thereafter the magistrates, thinking Marquis Chao was clear-sighted, all trembled for fear of his sagacity and dared not commit any

The Sovereign of Chou issued an order to look for crooked canes. The officials sought after them for several days but could not find any. The Sovereign of Chou sent men out in secret to look for them and found them within one day. Thereupon he said to the officials: "Now I know the officials do not attend to their duties. It is very easy to find crooked canes, but the officials could not find any. I ordered men to look for them and found them within one day. How can you be called 'loyal'? " The officials all trembled for fear of his sagacity, thinking His Majesty was divine and enlightened.

When Po P'i was a prefect, his coachman was unclean and

When Po P'i was a prefect, his coachman was unclean and had a beloved concubine. So he employed a petty official to pretend to love her in order thereby to detect the secret affairs of the coachman.

Hsi-men Pao, Prefect of Yah, once pretended to have lost the linchpin of his carriage and therefore ordered officials to look for it. As they could not find it, he sent out men to search for it and found it inside the room of some private house.

#### Annotations to Canon 7:-

When the Lord of Shan-yang heard about the King's suspicion of him, he purposely slandered Chiu Shu, a favourite of the King, in order thereby to know the truth through Chiu Shu's reaction.

When Nao Ch'ih heard about the hatred of the King of Ch'i for him, he fabricated an envoy from Ch'in in order thereby to know the truth

Some Ch'is wanted to create disturbances and were afraid the King might know their conspiracy beforehand. So they pretended to drive away their favourites and let the King know of it, and thereby dispensed with all suspicion.

Once Tzu-chih, Premier of Yen, while seated indoors, asked deceptively, "What was it that just ran outdoors? A white horse?" All his attendants said they had seen nothing running outdoors. Meanwhile, someone ran out after it and came back with the report that there had been a white horse. Thereby Tzu-chih came to know the insincerity and unfaithfulness of the attendant.

Once there were litigants. Tzu-ch'an separated them and never allowed them to speak to each other. Then he inverted their words and told each the other's arguments and thereby found the vital facts involved in the case.

Duke Ssu of Wei once sent men out to go through the pass as travellers. There the officers made them serious trouble, wherefore they bribed the officers with gold. The officers, accordingly, released them. Later, Duke Ssu said to the officers, "At a certain time there came certain travellers to go through the pass. Since they gave you gold, you sent them away, did you?" Thereby the officers were frightened and thought Duke Ssu was clear-minded.

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 31. Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Series: Six Minutiae

Of the six minutiae, the first is said to be "authority left in the hands of the inferior"; the second, "difference of ministers in interest from the ruler and their consequent dependence upon foreign support"; the third, "resort to disguise and falsification"; the fourth, "antinomies in matters of advantage and harm"; the fifth, "mutual confusions in position and domestic dissentions for supremacy"; and the sixth, "manipulation of dismissal and appointment of officials by enemy states." These six are what the sovereign ought to consider carefully.

#### 1. On Authority and Position

Authority and position should not be lent to anybody else. If the sovereign loses one, the minister would turn that into one hundred. Thus, if the minister can borrow power and position from the ruler, his strength would multiply. Should his strength multiply, then men in and out of the court would be utilized by him. If men in and out of the court are utilized by him, then the lord of men would be deluded. The saying is based in Lao Tan's discussion on the loss of fish. For further illustration, a man became wealthy simply after one evening's talk with his influential friend, and an attendant gained prestige because his master had given him a hairbrush. Its contrary is found in Hsü T'ong's remonstration with Duke Li, in Chou Hou's unification of the attendants' sayings, and in the Yen man's bathing in dung.

#### 2. On the Difference in Interest

Ruler and minister differ in interest. Therefore, ministers are never loyal. As soon as the minister's interest stands up,

the sovereign's interest goes to ruin. Thus wicked ministers would exterminate their opponents at home by sending for enemy troops and bewilder their lord by enumerating foreign affairs. As long as their private interest is accomplished, they never mind any disaster to the state. An instance is found in the husband's and wife's prayer in Wei. For further illustration, Tai Hsieh discussed the danger of allowing sons and brothers to take up office in the courts of foreign states, the Three Huan families attacked Duke Chao, Kung-shu conspired secretly with the army of Ch'i, Chieh Huang sent for troops from Han, Premier P'i persuaded High Official Chung of his personal interest, Ta-ch'eng Wu taught Shen Pu-hai the way to their mutual advantage, Ssu-ma Hsi divulged secret news to the King of Chao, Lü Ts'ang induced Ch'in and Ch'u to invade his native soil; Sung Shih wrote Wei Chün a personal letter; and Pai Kuei taught Pao Ch'ien the way to their mutual advantage.

#### 3. On Disguise and Falsification

Matters of falsification and disguise make the lord of men miss what he ought to censure and make the ministers accomplish their private interests. Thus, the gate-men poured water but I-she was censured; the Lord of Chi-yang forged the King's order but his two enemies paid for the crime; Ssu-ma Hsi killed Yuan Ch'ien but Chi Hsin was censured; Cheng Hsiu said the new court ladies disliked the bad smell of His Majesty's breath and the newcomers had their noses cut off; Fei Wu-chi told Ch'i Yüan to parade weapons but the magistrate censured the latter; Ch'en Hsü killed Chang Shou but Hsi-shou had to run into exile; and, similarly, when the silo was burned, the King of Central Hills held the innocent prince guilty, and when the old literatus was killed, the Lord of Chi-yang rewarded the assassin.

#### 4. On the Existence of Opposites

If any event happens and has any advantage at all, the sovereign must master it. If it has any disadvantage, he must discern the opposite. For this reason, the enlightened sovereign, in estimating the welfare of the country, would reflect on the advantage when the state has any disadvantage; when the minister has any disadvantage, he would deliberate upon its opposite. The saying is based on the appointment of Ch'en Hsü to premiership upon the arrival of the Ch'u troops, and on the rise of the price of millet seed because of the granary-keeper's dishonesty. Thus, Chao Hsi-hsü arrested the reed-seller; Marquis Chao-hsi blamed the second cook; Duke Wen found hairs around the roast meat; and Marquis Hsiang offered to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'i Eastern Emperor.

#### 5. On Mutual Confusions in Position

The situation of mutual confusions in position causes disturbances. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign takes precautions against it. For this reason, Li-chi of Chin killed Shen-sheng; the Mistress of Cheng used poisonous drugs; Chou Hsü of Wei murdered his Ruler, Yüan; Prince Ken occupied Eastern Chou; Prince Chih enjoyed His Majesty's exceeding favour, wherefore Shang-ch'en actually caused a disturbance; Yen Sui and Han K'uei rivalled each other, wherefore Duke Ai encountered rebels; Tien Ch'ang and Kan Chih, Tai Huan and Huang Hsi, were enemies, wherefore Duke Chien of Ch'i and the Ruler of Sung were respectively murdered. The saying is based on Hu T'u's talk on the two kinds of fondness on the part of the sovereign and on Cheng Chao's reply that the heir apparent was not yet born.

#### 6. On Dismissal and Appointment

What one state works after is to observe secretly the ongoing affairs in its enemy states and take advantage of their weaknesses. If the lord of men is not alert, enemies will dismiss or appoint his men. Thus King Wen financed Fei Chung; the King of Ch'in worried over the envoy from Ch'u; Li Chü got rid of Chung-ni; and Kan Hsiang obstructed Kan Mu. For the same reason, Tzu-hsü spread rumours wherefore Tzu-ch'ang was taken into service; beauties were accepted, wherefore Yü and Kuo went to ruin; a letter was falsified, wherefore Ch'ang Hung was executed; and chicken and pig sacrifices were offered, wherefore all able men of K'uai were exterminated.

Regarding matters of confusion and suspicion and of dismissal and appointment, the enlightened sovereign exterminates them at home but propagates them abroad. Financing the poor and supporting the weak in the enemy states is called "inter-palatial assaults". If the system of three units and basic fives is adopted inside, while observations and informations function outside, then what can the enemy do? The saying is based on the Ch'in clown's secret report to Ruler Hui-wen. For further illustration, Hsiang Tz'u foretold his master the enemies' stratagem to fall upon Yeh, and Duke Ssu bestowed a new mat upon the prefect . . .

So much above for the canons.

# Annotations to Canon 1:-

High authority is the pool of the lord of men. Ministers are the fish swimming in high authority. Just as the fish once lost outside the pool cannot be recovered, so can the high authority of the lord of men once lost to the ministers not be recovered. The ancient found it difficult to say explicitly, and therefore used the metaphor of the fish swimming in the pool. Now, reward and punishment are sharp weapons. By Mow, reward and punishment are sharp weapons. By appropriating them ministers delude the sovereign. Therefore, if the ruler let ministers see any reward before he bestows it upon anybody, ministers would sell it as a personal favour; if the ruler let ministers see any punishment before he inflicts it upon anybody, ministers would use it as a personal threat. Hence the saying: "The weapons of the state should not be shown to anybody."

The Lord of Ching-kuo, Premier of Ch'i, once talked with an old acquaintance in an evening, whereupon the old acquaintance became wealthy. Another time he gave one of his attendants a hairbrush, wherefore the attendant gained prestige. Indeed, having an evening's talk and making a present of a hairbrush constitute very little resources. Nevertheless, they are sufficient to enrich men. How much more can authority and position left in the hands of officials do?

At the time of Duke Li of Chin, the Six Nobles were very powerful. Therefore, Hsü T'ong and Ch'ang Yü-ch'iao remonstrated with him, saying: "When chief vassals are powerful and influential, they rival the sovereign, cause disputes in state affairs, and, by accepting bribes from foreign powers, forming cliques at home, and violating the law of the state, intimidate the sovereign, wherefore the state is always endangered." "Right," said the Duke, and accordingly, wiped out three Nobles. Again, Hsü T'ong and Ch'ang Yü-chiao remonstrated with him, saying: "Indeed, to punish certain and not all of the men guilty of the same crime is to make the survivors resent and watch for a chance." In response the Duke said: "In one morning I exterminated three of the Six Nobles. I cannot bear exterminating all of them." "Your Highness cannot bear exterminating them, but they will bear causing Your Highness harm," said Ch'ang Yü-ch'iao. To this the Duke would not listen. In the course of three months, the remaining Nobles started a rebellion, and finally killed Duke Li and partitioned his territory.

Chou Hou, Premier of Ching, was influential and dictated to all state affairs. Suspecting him, the King of Ching asked the attendants about his rampancy. In reply all of them said "Nothing!" as though the reply came out from one mouth.

A man of Yen was easily bewildered and therefore would bathe in dogs' dung. The wife of the man of Yen was intimate with a bachelor. Once, when her husband came home early from outside, the fellow happened to be going out from the home. "Who is the visitor"? asked the husband. "No visitor at all," replied the wife, Then he asked the servants, who all said "None!" as though the reply came from one mouth. "You certainly became insane." So saying, his wife bathed him in dogs' dung.

According to a different source: A man of Yen, named Li Chi, would go far away. His wife was intimate with a bachelor. One day he suddenly came home while the fellow was in. Over this his wife worried, so her woman servant said to her: "Let the young gentleman go naked and with his hairs dispersed rush straight out through the door. Then all of us will pretend to have been nothing." Thereupon the young fellow followed the plan and ran out fast through the door. "Who is that man?" asked Chi. "Nobody," replied everyone in the house. "Have I seen a ghost?" "Certainly." "What shall I do then?" "Get the dung of the five animals and bathe in it." "All right," said Chi. So he bathed in the dung. According to another different source he bathed in hot orchid water.

#### Annotations to Canon 2:—

Among the Weis, there were a man and his wife who once during their prayer said as benediction, "Give us no misery but one hundred rolls of cloth." "Why is the benediction so simple?" wondered the husband. "What? If it be more elaborate than this, then you might be thinking of buying a concubine thereby," replied the wife.

The King of Ching wanted the various princes to take up office in the courts of the neighbouring states. "It is impracticable," said Tai He. "Why? If I, the King, allow them to take up official posts in the neighbouring states the neighbouring states would certainly treat them well," said the King. "The princes sent out are well received," remarked Tai He, "However, when well treated, they become partisans of the states that treat them well. If so, such a policy is simply to induce the princes to the betrayal of their native land to foreign powers, and therefore is disadvantageous to Your Maiestv."

The clans of Meng Sun, Shu Sun, and Chi Sun, united their strength and molested Duke Chao, till they usurped his state and managed all public affairs at their pleasure. At first, when the Three Huans were bearing down upon the Duke, Duke Chao attacked the Chi Sun Clan. Therefore, the Meng Sun Clan and the Shu Sun Clan consulted with each other as to whether they should rescue the would-be victim. The coachman of the Shu Sun Clan said: "I am just a domestic servant. How can I understand public affairs? Whether Chi

Sun remains in existence or goes into extinction, neither will gain me anything." The rest said: "If Chi Sun is gone, Shu Sun will certainly pass out too. Let us rescue them." So they broke through the north-western corner and went in. When the Meng Sun Clan saw the flag of Shu Sun going in, they also ran to the rescue. The Three Huans thus became one. Duke Chao could not overcome them but sought refuge in Chi'i and died at Chien-hou.

Kung-shu was Premier of Han and, furthermore, was on good terms with Ch'i. Kung-chung was highly trusted by the King. Kung-shu was afraid lest the King should appoint Kung-chung premier. Therefore, he made Ch'i and Han form an alliance for attacking Wey. And, by conspiring secretly with the army of Ch'i inside the city of Cheng, capital of Han, and thereby intimidating his master, he made his own position secure and consolidated the alliance of the two states.

Chieh Huang was minister to the King of Wey but was on good terms with Han. Accordingly, he sent for troops from Han and made them attack Wey. Then he purposely offered to sue for peace on behalf of His Majesty in order thereby to elevate his own position.

elevate his own position.

The King of Yüeh attacked the King of Wu. The King of Wu apologized and offered submission. When the King of Yüeh was thinking of forgiving him, Fan Li and High Official Chung said: "No, it is impracticable. Formerly Heaven presented Yüeh to Wu but Wu refused the present. Now if we let Fu-ch'a go home, we will incur a similar calamity from Heaven. As Heaven is now presenting Wu to Yüeh, we ought to repeat bows and accept the present. Never forgive him." Thereupon Premier P'i of Wu wrote to High Official Chung, saying: "When wild hares are exhausted, tame dogs would be cooked; when enemy states are destroyed, state councillors would be ruined. High Official, why would you not release Wu and keep Yüeh in worry?" When High Official Chung received the letter, he read it, heaved a deep sigh, and said, "Put the messenger to death. The Yüeh State and my life are the same."

Ta-ch'eng Wu served Chao and said to Shen Pu-hai in Han: "Sir, if you would elevate my position in Chao with the influence of Han, I should elevate your position in Han with the influence of Chao. In this way you will extend your sphere of influence twice as large as Han while I will extend mine twice as large as Chao."

Ssu-ma Hsi, minister to the ruler of Central Hills, was on good terms with Chao and therefore always reported in secret to the King of Chao the stratagems of Central Hills.

Lü Ts'ang, minister to the King of Wey, was on good terms with Ch'in and Ching. Once he gave Ch'in and Ching a secret hint and made them attack Wey. Then he offered to sue for peace in order thereby to make his own position secure.

Sung Shih was a general of Wey: Wei Chün, a general of Ching. When the two States took up arms against each other, both were commanders of their respective armies. Then Sung Shih wrote Wei Chün a personal letter, saying: "The two armies are opposing each other. The two flags are facing each other. Let there be no fighting. After fighting both will certainly not remain in coexistence. The present crisis is a personal feud between the two sovereigns. You and I have no private hatred. Being good to each other, we should avoid fighting each other."

Pai Kuei was Premier of Wey; Pao Ch'ien, Premier of Han. The former said to the latter: "If you assist me in Wey with the influence of Han while I support you in Han with the influence of Wey, then I will always remain in power in Wey while you in Han."

#### Annotation to Canon 3:-

One of the Middle Officers of Ch'i, named I-she, once had a drinking feast with the King. Greatly drunk, he went out and leaned on the gate of the lobby. Thereupon the cut-footed gate-man asked, "Has Your Excellency not any intention of giving the remaining drops of wine to thy humble servant?" In reply I-she scolded him, saying, "Get away! How dare a penalized man ask for wine from his superior?" The cut-footed man ran away. As soon as I-she left the cut-footed man purposely poured water below the eaves of the lobby gate in the manner of urination. Next day, when the King went out, he rebuked it and asked, "Who passed water here?" In reply the cut-footed man said: "Thy servant has seen nobody. However, yesterday Middle Officer I-she stood here. The King, therefore, blamed I-she and killed him.

The King of Wey had two ministers who were not on good terms with the Lord of Chi-yang. Once the Lord of Chi-yang purposely made his men falsify the King's order to scheme to attack himself. Thereupon the King sent out men to ask the Lord of Chi-yang, "Who bears you a grudge?" "Thy servant is not at feud with anybody," replied the Lord, "but he has not been on good terms with two of your Majesty's ministers. Still that displeasure should not have come to this!" The King then asked the attendants about it, and all said, "Of course!" The King, accordingly, censured the two ministers.

Chi Hsin and Yuan Ch'ien were at feud with each other. Ssu-ma Hsi came recently to bad terms with Chi Hsin, and so secretly ordered men to assassinate Yuan Ch'ien. The ruler of Central Hills, thinking Chi Hsin was the contriver of the murder, held him guilty.

The King of Ching had a favourite concubine named Cheng Hsiu. As the King newly got a beautiful girl, Cheng Hsiu purposely told her, "The King was very fond of seeing people covering their mouths with hands. Be sure to cover your mouth when you go near to the King." When the beautiful girl went in to have an audience with the King, she, accordingly, covered her mouth. The King asked the reason therefor. "She has already talked about the bad odour of Your Majesty," replied Cheng Hsiu. One day, the King, Cheng Hsiu, and the beautiful girl, all three took seats in a carriage, Hsiu told the coachman to carry out the order definitely and immediately as soon as the King said any word. When the beautiful girl came up very near to the King, she covered her mouth several times. Displeased, the King became very angry, saying, "Cut off her nose!" when the coachman drew out his sword and cut off the beautiful girl's nose.

According to a different source: Once the King of Wey presented the King of Ching a beauty. The King of Ching was greatly pleased by her. His royal concubine, Cheng Hsiu, knowing the King loved her with pleasure, also loved her with pleasure even more than the King did, and among clothes and ornaments selected whatever she wanted and gave them to her. "Madame, knowing I love the new lady, loves her with pleasure even more than I do," remarked the King. "This is the way the dutiful son should support his parents, and loyal subjects should serve the ruler." Knowing the King never thought she was jealous, the royal concubine purposely told the new lady, "The King loves you very much but dislikes your nose. When you see the King, always cover your nose with hands. Then the King will forever love you." Thereafter the new lady followed the advice, and, every time she saw the King, would cover her nose. So the King asked his royal concubine, "Why does the new lady always cover her nose every time she sees me?" "How can I know?" said the royal concubine. The King kept asking her insistently. "Just a while ago," said she in reply, "I heard her saying she disliked to smell the odour of Your Majesty." "Cut off her nose," said the King in anger. As the royal consort had instructed the coachman to carry out any order definitely as soon as the King said any word, the coachman, accordingly drew out his sword and cut off the beauty's nose.

Fei Wu-chi was a courtier of the Magistrate of Ching. Ch'i Yüan newly came to serve the magistrate. The magistrate liked him very much. Therefore, Wu-chi said to the magistrate, "Your Excellency likes Yüan so much. Why does Your Excellency not hold a wine feast at his home sometime?" "Good," said the magistrate, and ordered Wu-chi to prepare a wine feast at the home of Ch'i Yüan. Then Wu-chi told Yüan, "The Magistrate is very militant and fond of weapons. You should be cautious and respectful and quickly parade weapons beneath the hall and in the courtyard." Sod di Yüan accordingly. When the Magistrate arrived, he was greatly surprised, asking, "What is all this about?" "Your Excellency, be sure to leave here," replied Wu-chi, "as we do not know what is going to happen." Enraged thereby, the Magistrate took up arms, censured Ch'i Yüan, and finally put him to death

Hsi Shou and Chang Shou were at feud with each other. Ch'en Hsü newly came on bad terms with Hsi Shou, and so made men assassinate Chang Shou. The King of Wey, thinking Hsi Shou was the contriver of the assassination, censured him.

There was in the Central Hills State a humble prince, whose horse was very skinny and carriage terribly worn-out. Some of the chamberlains who had a private hatred for him made a request on his behalf to the King, saying: "The prince is very poor. His horse is very thin. Why does Your Majesty not increase the food supplies for his horse?" The King did not grant the request. The chamberlain, therefore, secretly set fire to the silo at night. The King, thinking the humble prince was the contriver of the arson, censured him.

There was in Wey an old literatus who was not on good terms with the Lord of Chi-yang. One of the guests of the Lord had private hatred for the old literatus and so purposely assaulted the old literatus and killed him. Considering it a distinguished service to the Lord of Chi-yang, he said: "Thy servant killed him because he had been at feud with Your Excellency." Hearing this, the Lord of Chi-yang, without investigating his motive, rewarded him.

According to a different source: The Lord of Chi-yang had a petty official who was not noticed by his master but wanted to win his special favour. Once upon a time, the Ch'i State sent an old literatus out to dig herbs in the Horse Pear Mountain. In order to render the master some meritorious service, the petty official of Chi-yang went in to see the Lord and said: "Ch'i sent an old literatus out to dig herbs in the Horse Pear Mountain. In name he is digging herbs but in fact he is spying the country of Your Highness. If Your Highness does not kill him, he will implicate the Lord of Chi-yang in the plot against Ch'i. May thy servant then beg to despatch him?" "You may do so," replied the Lord. On the following day the petty official found the old literatus on the shady side of the

city-walls and pierced him. At last the Lord admitted him into his confidence.

Annotations to Canon 4:-

Ch'en Hsü, minister to the King of Wey, was on good terms with the King of Ching. Once he induced Ching to attack Wey. Then he concluded the peace terms on behalf of the King of Wey. He, accordingly, became Premier of Wey through the influence of Ching.

At the time of Marquis Chao of Han seeds of millet continued expensive and farmers scarcely had any of it. Therefore Marquis Chao sent men to inspect the state granary. They found the granary-keeper had been stealing millet seeds and smuggling a big amount to foreign countries.

When Chao Hsi-hsü was in official service in Ching, once someone set fire to the openings of the state storehouses and silos but it was not known who he was. Thereupon Chao Hsi-hsü ordered officials to arrest sellers of reeds and examine them, and found out they were actually the incendiaries.

At the time of Marquis Chao-hsi, one day when the cook brought in the meal, the soup had pieces of raw liver in it. Therefore, the Marquis sent for the second cook, blamed him, and asked, "Why did you put pieces of raw liver in the soup for me?" Bowing his head to the ground, the cook admitted his capital crime and confessed that he had thereby intended to get rid of the chief cook.

Āccording to a different source: Once when Marquis Hsi was going to take a bath, the hot water had pebbles in it. Marquis Hsi then asked the attendants if anybody would take up the vacancy upon the dismissal of the bath-boy. "Certainly," replied the attendants. "Bring him here," said Marquis Hsi. Then he questioned the man why he had put pebbles in the hot water. In reply the man said: "If the bath-boy is dismissed, thy servant will be able to take his place. Therefore, thy servant put pebbles in the hot water."

At the time of Duke Wen, one day when the cook brought in roast meat, it was twisted with hairs. So Duke Wen sent for the cook and asked him: "Do you intend to choke me to death? Why did you twist the roast meat with hairs?" The cook bowed his head to the ground, repeated salutations, begged for pardon, and said: "Thy servant has committed three capital crimes: He held the grindstone and whetted the knife till the knife became as sharp as the Kan-chiang sword. In cutting the meat it tore the meat but the hairs did not tear. This is the first crime of which thy servant is guilty. Then he held the awl and pierced through the meat chop but failed to see the hairs, which is the second crime. Finally, he kept the charcoal burning in the cooking stove so that all the meat became red and was roasted and well done, but the hairs were not burned at all, which is the third crime. Could there be nobody inside the hall who has been jealous of thy servant?" "You are right," the Duke said, and then summoned all the subordinates inside and questioned them. Among them he actually found out the true culprit, whom he put to death.

According to a different source: Once upon a time, when Duke P'ing entertained guests at a wine feast, a petty official brought in roast meat which was twisted with hairs. Duke P'ing sprang to his feet and was going to kill the cook and allowed nobody to disobey his order. The cook cried to heaven and said: "Alas! Thy servant has committed three crimes, and how does he not know the death penalty for them himself?" "What do you mean by saying that?" asked Duke P'ing. In reply the cook said: "The knife of thy servant is so sharp that bones can be cut just as grass is blown down by winds, and yet hairs were not cut, which is the first capital crime thy servant is guilty of. Roasted with mulberry charcoal, the meat became red and then white but the hairs were not burned, which is thy servant's second capital crime. When the meat was roasted and well done, thy servant repeated moving his eyelashes and looked at it carefully, but the hairs twisting the roast meat were not seen, which is thy servant's third capital crime. Does it seem that there is somebody inside the hall who hates thy servant? If so, is it not too early to kill thy servant so abruptly?'

When Marquis Hsiang was Premier of Ch'in, Ch'i was powerful. Marquis Hsiang wanted to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'in emperor, which Ch'i refused to recognize. Then he offered to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'i eastern emperor. Thereby he became able to proclaim the Ruler of Ch'in emperor.

Annotations to Canon 5:—

At the same time of Duke Hsien of Chin, Li-chi enjoyed the same privileges as the real duchess. She wanted her son, Hsich'i, to replace the heir apparent, Shen-sheng, and therefore slandered Shen-sheng before the Ruler and had him put to death. Finally she succeeded in setting up Hsi-ch'i as heir apparent.

The Ruler of Cheng had already installed an heir apparent, whereas his beloved beautiful girl wanted him to take her son for the heir apparent. Fearing this, his wife used poisonous drugs, betrayed the Ruler, and put him to death.

Chou Hsü of Wei was influential in Wei and behaved like the Ruler. The body of officials and the masses of people were

all afraid of his position and influence. Eventually Chou Hsü murdered the Ruler and usurped the reins of government.

Prince Chao was heir apparent of Chou. His younger brother, Prince Ken, was in special favour with the ruler. Upon the death of the royal father, Ken occupied Eastern Chou, rose in rebellion and partitioned the original territory into two states.

King Ch'eng of Ch'u proclaimed Shang-ch'eng heir apparent. Later, he wanted to take Prince Chih. Therefore, Shang-ch'en caused a disturbance, and finally attacked and murdered King Ch'eng.

According to a different source: King Ch'eng proclaimed Shang-ch'en heir apparent. Later, he wanted to set up Prince Chih. Shang-ch'en heard about this but was not yet sure of it. So he said to his tutor, P'an Chung, "How can we be sure of the real situation?" "Invite Chiang Yü to dinner and show him no respect," said Pan Chung. The Crown Prince followed the advice. Provoked thereby, Chiang Yü said: "You brute! No wonder your royal father wants to set you down and set Chih up as heir apparent." "It's true," said Shang-ch'en. "Will you be able to serve Chih?" asked P'an Chung. "No, not able." "Then will you be able to take shelter under the feudal ords?" "No, not able," "Well, then are you able to start a rebellion?" "Certainly able." Thereupon they raised all the armed soldiers in the barracks around his court and attacked King Ch'eng. King Ch'eng asked permission to eat a bear's paw and then die. Refused permission, he finally committed suicide.

Han Kuei was Premier to Marquis Ai of Han. Yen Sui was highly regarded by the Ruler. So the two abhorred each other. One day, Yen Sui ordered men to assassinate Han Kuei at the court. Han Kuei ran towards His Highness and held him in his arms. At last the assassins pierced through Han Kuei and also through Marquis Ai.

Tien Heng was Premier of Chi. Kan Chih was highly regarded by Duke Chien. The two hated each other and were about to kill each other. Tien Heng, by distributing private favours among the masses of people, took over the country, and finally killed Duke Chien and usurped the reins of government.

Tai Huan was Prime Minister of Sung. Huang Hsi was highly regarded by the Ruler. The two disputed in affairs and abhorred each other. In the long run Huang Hsi killed the Ruler of Sung and usurped the reins of government.

Hu Tu once said: "If the ruler of a state has a favourite inside, the heir apparent is jeopardised; if he has a favourite outside, the premier is jeopardized."

The Ruler of Cheng once asked Cheng Chao, "How is the Crown Prince?" "The Crown Prince is not yet born," was the reply. "The Crown Prince has already been set up," said the Ruler, "but you said, 'He is not yet born.' Why?" In reply Cheng Chao said: "Although the Crown Prince has been set up, yet Your Highness loves women and never stops. Supposing any of the beloved gave birth to a son, Your Highness would love him, too. Should Your Highness love him, Your Highness would certainly want to proclaim him heir apparent. Thy servant, therefore, said, "The Crown Prince is not yet born.'"

## Annotations of Canon 6:-

King Wen financed Fei Chung, made him stay around Chow, and told him to admonish Chow and disturb his mind.

The King of Ching once sent an envoy to Ch'in. The King of Ch'in showed him great courtesies. Later, he said: "If any enemy state has worthies it causes us worries. Now that the envoy of the King of Ching is very worthy, I am worried over it." Then the body of officials advised him, saying: "Win the envoy of the King of Ching to our side with the worthiness and saintliness of Your Majesty and with the resources and generosity of our country. Why does Your Majesty not cultivate deep friendship with him and pretend to keep him in Your Majesty's service? Then, if Ching thinks he is rendering service to foreign states, they will infallibly censure him."

When Chung-ni was governing the Lu State, no one would pick up things dropped on the road. Over this Duke Ching of Ch'i worried. Therefore, Li Chü said to Duke Ching: "To get rid of Chung-ni is as easy as to blow off a hair. Why does Your Highness not invite him to office with big emolument and high position and present Duke Ai girl musicians so as to make him self-conceited and bewilder his ideas? When Duke Ai is rejoicing in new pleasures, he will certainly neglect governmental affairs. and Chung-ni will certainly remonstrate with him. If Chung-ni makes any remonstrance at all, he will certainly be slighted in Lu." "Good," said Duke Ching, and then ordered Li Chü to present girl musicians, twice eight in number, to Duke Ai. Enjoying their dance and music, Duke Ai actually neglected governmental affairs. Chung-ni remonstrated with him, but he would not listen. So Chung-ni left him and went to Ch'u.

The King of Ch'u said to Kan Hsiang: "I want to support Kan Mu with Ch'u's influence and make him premier of Ch'i Is this practicable?" "Impracticable," was the reply. "Why impracticable?" asked the King. In reply Kan Hsiang said: "Kan Mu when young studied under Master Shih Chü. Shih

Chü, while gate-man of Shang-ts'ai, neither served his master well nor provided his family well, wherefore he was known throughout All-under-Heaven to be offensive and cruel. Nevertheless, Kan Mu served him with obedience. King Hui is enlightened, Chang Yi is discriminating. Kan Mu has served them and has been appointed to ten successive offices but has committed no fault whatever. This shows Kan Mu's worthiness." Then the King asked, "To find a worthy for the premiership of the enemy state is not practicable. Why?" In reply Kan Hsiang said: "Formerly Your Majesty sent out Shao Hua to Yüeh and in five years could ruin Yüeh. The reason therefore was that Yüeh was then misgoverned while Ch'u was well governed. In the past Your Majesty knew what to do with Yüeh but now forgets what to do with Ch'in. Is he not very quick to forget things?" "Well, if so, then what shall we do about it?" asked the King. "We may as well make Kung Li Premier of Ch'in." "Why is it practicable to make Kung Li Premier?" asked the King. "Kung Li in his youth," replied Hsiang, "was loved and favoured, and grew up to be a noble and an official. Wearing beautiful clothes embroidered with precious stones, holding fragrant grass in his mouth and keeping jade armlets around his hands, he attends to his public duties at the court. Furthermore, he thinks he can gain by a misgovernment of Ch'in."

Wu was invading Ching. Tzu-hsü then sent men out to spread rumours in Ching that if Tzu-ch'i, were taken into service by Ching, Wu would attack Ching, but if Tzu-ch'ang were taken into service, she would leave them free. When the Chings heard about these words, they took Tzu-ch'ang into service and dismissed Tzu-ch'i from his office. The Wus then fell upon them and triumphed over them.

Duke Hsien of Chin wanted to invade Yü and Kuo and therefore made a present of the team of the Chü breed, the jade of Ch'ui-chi, and girl musicians, twice eight in number, in order thereby to bewilder the ideas of their rulers and disturb their governmental affairs.

When Shu Hsiang was slandering Ch'ang Hung, he falsified a letter from Ch'ang Hung in which the latter said to him: "Will you please on my behalf speak to the Ruler of Chin that it is now time to carry out the agreement I made with His Highness and ask him why he has not promptly sent troops here?" Then he pretended to drop the letter at the court of the Ruler of Chou and left immediately. The Ruler of Chou, regarding Ch'ang Hung as a betrayer of Chou, censured him and put him to death.

When Duke Huan of Cheng was about to raid K'uai, he asked about the able men, worthy ministers, eloquent, intelligent scholars, and daring, gallant warriors, recorded all their names, selected the good fields of K'uai as bribes to them, and wrote down the posts and ranks reserved for them. He then constructed an altar compound outside the city-walls, buried the written documents there, and smeared the sacrificial vessels with the blood of chickens and piglings as though there they had taken an oath together. The Ruler of K'uai, regarding this as a civil disturbance, killed all his worthy subjects. Meanwhile, Duke Huan raided K'uai all of a sudden and took it.

A certain clown at the Court of Ch'in was on good terms with the King of Ching. Besides he was secretly on good terms with the attendants of the King of Ching and at home was highly trusted by the Ruler Hui-wen. Whenever Ching had any stratagem, the clown would hear about it before anybody else did and reported it to the Ruler Hui-wen.

Hsiang Tzu, Magistrate of Yeh, was secretly on good terms with the attendants of the King of Chao. Whenever the King of Chao schemed to raid Yeh, Hsiang Tzu always heard about it and forewarned the King of Wey. As the King of Wey always took precautions against any sudden attack, Chao had to stop her expedition every time.

At the time of Duke Ssu of Wei, detectives by his side were ordered to watch the prefect. Once the prefect opened up his mattress and found the mat seriously torn. That day, when Duke Ssu went home, he ordered men to give the prefect a new mat and said: "His Highness has heard you just opened your mattress and found the mat seriously torn. So he is bestowing upon you this new mat." Greatly astonished thereby, the prefect thought the Duke was superhuman.

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 32.

Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Left Series

(1) The enlightened sovereign's way of government is like the remark Yu-jo gave Mi Tzu. The stupid sovereign, in listening to words, admires their eloquence, and, in observing deeds, reveres their unworldliness. In consequence, it becomes the way of the officials, gentry and commoners, to utter roundabout and high-sounding words and attempt in personal conduct to rise above the worldly fact. The saying is based on Tien Chiu's reply to the King of Ching. For further illustration, Mo Tzu constructed the wooden kite and the Singer Kuei built the war palace. Indeed, drugged wine and useful advice are what wise men and enlightened sovereigns ought to appreciate in particular.

(2) If the lord of men, in listening to words, does not take function and utility as objective, dialecticians will present

such absurd discussions as the Stories of the Bramble Thorn and the White Horse. If there is no aim and mark concerned. then every archer will become as skilful as Yi. The lord of men inclined towards theories is always like the King of Yen attempting to learn the way to immortality. Those men proficient in argumentation are all like the Chengs contending for seniority in age. Therefore, words that are too minute to be scrutinized and too ineffable to be carried out are not the need of honour. Thus, for instance, Chi Liang, Hui Shih, Sung Hsing, and Mo Ti, were like the painter of the whip. As their theories, being roundabout, profound, magnificent, and exaggerating, were not practical; Wey Mou and Chan Ho when the former was dealing with the latter, were both like devils and demons inasmuch as their deeds. being frequently unnatural, difficult, stubborn, and angular, were unpractical; and Wu Kuang, Pien Sui, Pao Chiao, Chieh Tzu-t'ui, and T'ien Chung, were all like hard gourds. Moreover, Yü Ch'ing impressed the carpenter with reasons, wherefore the house fell to pieces; Fan Chü brought the bowmaker to his wits' end, wherefore the bows broke to pieces. For this reason, to seek for truth one must trust to practical

(3) Indeed, when two persons work together, they blame each other for losses and hope for gains from each other; when one works for himself, the affair proceeds well. Thus, even father and son sometime blame and scold each other. The employer of workmen, provides them with delicious soup. The saying is based on Duke Wen's declaration of enemies' faults before he opened any attack upon Sung and on Kou-chien's mention of the Ju-huang Tower built by Wu. For further illustration, Duke Huan concealed his anger at Ts'ai and attacked Ch'u. Wu Ch'i wanted his subordinate officer's earliest recovery and so sucked his boil. Moreover, the loose and panegyric poems composed by the early kings as well as the precepts inscribed on bells and tripods are all like the footprint left by the Father Sovereign of Chao on Mountain Fan-wu and the backgammon made by King Chao of Ch'in on the Hua Mountain. However, what the early kings expected was material profit what they employed was physical strength. That Duke Wen quoted the proverb about the shrine-builders was to ascertain his self-excuse. Supposing one listened to the scholars and made glorious and exaggerating quotations from the early kings, might not the whole thing be unsuitable to the present age? Yet conditions as such cannot be reformed! This is just like the man from the Prefecture of Cheng getting a yoke, the man of Wei shooting stringed arrows, the wife of Po Tzu purposely making new trousers like old ones, the youngster attending on the elder men drinking. After all, when the early kings' words are of little use, people of the present world think they are very useful; when they are very useful, people of the present world think they are of little use. They cannot always tell which are really very useful and which are not so. The basis of the saying is found in the Sung man's understanding of an ancient book and in the Liang man's reading of an ancient record. Thus, whenever the early kings wrote down any word as the man of Ying did in his letter to the Premier of Yen, most people of posterity revere it in the way the Premier of Yen interpreted the meaning of the word. Indeed, whoever does not suit means of political control to actual state affairs but takes advice solely from the words of the early kings instead, is like the man going home from the shoe market to get the measurements of his feet.

(4) Wherever lies profit, there people go; wherever fame is offered, there officers die. Therefore, if any meritorious service goes beyond the limits of the law and reward is bestowed therefore, then the superior cannot gain any profit from the inferior; if fame goes beyond the limits of the law and honour accompanies it, then officers will strive after their own fame but never will cultivate any fame for the ruler. For this reason, after Chung-chang and Hsü-i had been appointed to office, the people of Chung-mou deserted their fields and farms and those who pursued the literary studies numbered half the population of the fief. Similarly, because Duke P'ing, in spite of the soreness of his calves and the numbness of his legs, dared not leave his seat when Shu Hsiang was having an audience with him, men of Chin who resigned from official posts and yearned after Shu Hsiang occupied one-third of the size of the country. These three personages, when their words were in accordance with the law, were merely subjects loyal to the government, and, when their deeds were suitable to affairs, were simply people obedient to orders. Yet the tributes paid them by both their Rulers were too great. If their words went beyond the limits of the law and their deeds were far from meritorious, then they were people slipping out of the inked string. In that case why should both their Rulers have paid them any tribute at all? If they did, they missed the point of propriety. Moreover, private scholars pursuing studies, when the state is at peace, never exert their physical strength, and, once an emergency comes, never don armour. If revered, they neglect the work of farming and fighting; if not revered, they injure the law of the sovereign. When the state is in security, they are ennobled and celebrated; when the state is in danger, they are as cowardly as Ch'ü Kung. Such being the case, what can the lord of men gain out of the private scholars pursuing

studies? Therefore, the enlightened sovereign would take into consideration Li Tz'u's report of the Central Hills State.

(5) It is said in the Book of Poetry, "In him, himself inert, the people put no trust." Of this precept a Grand Tutor persuaded a feudal lord to wear no purple clothes. In illustration of it the cases of Duke Chien of Cheng and Duke Hsiang of Sung can be cited. It charges every ruler with the duty of honouring and esteeming, farming and fighting. Indeed, who distinguishes between high and low, does not hold subordinates responsible for successful outcome, but merely makes himself an example to the inferior, does the same as Duke Ching when he left the carriage and ran on foot, King Chao read the code and fell down asleep, and a certain ruler covered with his hands his worn-out plain clothes. Kung Ch'iu, not knowing this, said that the ruler was like a basin. The Ruler of Tsou, not knowing this, humiliated himself before doing anything else. The way of the enlightened sovereign is the same as Shu Hsiang distributing bounties and as Marquis Chao granting nobody any request.

(6) If small faith is well accomplished, great faith will naturally be established. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign accumulates faith. If reward and punishment are of no faith, then prohibitions and orders cannot prevail. The basis of the saying is found in Duke Wen's attack on Yüan and in Chi Cheng's rescue of the starvelings. For the same reason, Wu Ch'i waited for his old friend till he came to dine with him, Marquis Wen met the men of Yü at the appointed time before he started hunting. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign would value faith in the way Tseng Tzu killed a pig. The calamity of breaking faith is illustrated by King Li's beating the alarm drum and by Li Kuei's deceiving the guards of both gates.

So much for the canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:-

Mi Tzu Chien governed San-fu. Once Yu-jo saw him and asked him. "Why have you become so thin?" In reply Mi Tzu said: "His Highness, not knowing my inferiority and unworthiness, appointed me Governor of San-fu. The official duties are urgent. My mind is always worried over them. Therefore I have become thin." Thereupon Yu-jo remarked: "In bygone days Shun played the five-stringed guitar and sang the South Wind Poem but All-underHeaven was well governed. Now that San-fu is so tiny and you have worried about governing it, what can be done with All-under-Heaven? Thus, if you have the right craft to rule the country, then even though you remain seated in the hall of the palace and retain the charming complexion of a girl, there will be no harm to political order. But if you have no tact to rule the country, then even though your body becomes exhausted and skinny, still there will not be help to political order."

The King of Ch'u once said to T'ien Chiu: "Mo Tzu was a celebrity for learning. What he personally practised is agreeable but his sayings are mostly not eloquent. Why?" In reply T'ien Chiu said: "Formerly when the Earl of Ch'in married his daughter to the prince of Chin, he embellished her dowry by adding seventy beautifully dressed maids to it. Upon their arrival in Chin, the Chins loved the concubines but slighted the princess. This may be said to be good in marrying out the concubines but cannot be said to be good in marrying out the daughter. Once upon a time a man of Ch'u was selling pearls in Cheng. For the pearls he made magnolia boxes, which he perfumed with cassia spice, bound with beads, decorated them with red gems, and filled harmoniously with the kingfisher's feather. In the long run people in Cheng bought the caskets but returned the pearls. This may be said to be good in selling caskets but cannot be said to be good in trading pearls. Now, the itinerants of the present world all speak with the words of eloquent persuasiveness and literary phrasing. In consequence the lord of men reads the literature with exceeding interest but forgets its utility. The teachings of Mo Tzu convey the principles of the early kings and theorize the words of the saintly men and thereby propagate ideas among people. If he made his phrasing eloquent, people might, it was feared, harbour the literature but forget the utility, that is to say, he might injure the utility with the literature. That would be doing exactly the same thing as the man of Ch'u trading pearls and the Earl of Ch'in marrying out his daughter. Therefore, the sayings of Mo Tzu were mostly not eloquent.'

Mo Tzu once constructed a wooden kite, which it took him three years to complete. After flying for one day, it broke. His disciples said: "The master's skill is so excellent as to make the wooden kite fly." Mo Tzu said: "I am not as skilful as the maker of the cross-bar for yoking the oxen. He uses a piece of wood eight inches or one foot long and spends less time than one morning while the bar can pull the burden of thirty piculs, has the strength for going a long way, and lasts for a number of years. Now, in constructing a wooden kite, it took me three years to complete it, which broke after one day's flying." Hearing about this, Hui Tzu said, "Mo Tzu was exceedingly skilful, considering the construction of the cross-bar skilful and the construction of the wooden kite clumsy."

The King of Sung was at feud with Ch'i. When he was building the war palace, the Singer Kuei led the chorus of the workmen. As a result, the passers-by stopped to see them while the builders never felt tired. Hearing about this, the King summoned Kuei and rewarded him therefor. Thereupon Kuei said, "Thy servant's master Hsieh Chi, sings better than thy servant does." The King, accordingly, summoned Hsieh Chi and ordered him to sing. As a result, the passers-by never stopped while the builders perceived their own weariness. 'Now that the passers-by do not know what is going on while the builders perceive their own weariness, he sings not as well as Kuei. What is the reason?" asked the King. In reply Kuei said, "Suppose Your Majesty measure the respective results. Kuei by his singing had only four panel boards done while Hsieh Chi had eight. As regards the solidity of the walls, they can pierce five inches through Kuei's work but only two inches through Hsieh Chi's work.'

Indeed, good drugs are bitter to the mouth, but intelligent people are willing to take them because they know the drugs after being taken will cure their diseases. Loyal words are unpleasant to the ears, but the enlightened sovereign listens to them, because he knows they will bring about successful results.

Annotations to Canon 2:-

Once a man of Sung asked permission to engrave a female ape on the edge of a bramble thorn for the King of Yen. According to him, the King must remain purified for three months before he could see it. The King, accordingly, supported him with the emolument of three chariots. Thereupon the smith who attended on the King said to him: 'Thy servant has heard, 'No lord of men can remain purified for ten days without having a drinking feast in the meantime.' Now that the Sung man knows the inability of Your Majesty to remain purified long enough in order to see a useless object, he purposely set three months as the period of purification. As a rule, the instruments of engravers and carvers must always be smaller than their objects. Being a smith himself, thy servant finds no way to make him any instrument for carving. It is an unattainable object. May Your Majesty deliberate on the matter!" Accordingly, the King arrested and questioned the man of Sung, found out his falsehood, and put him to death. The smith again said to the King, "If the state has no weights and measures to regulate things, itinerants would present mostly such absurd discussions as the Bramble Thorn Story.

According to a different source: Once the King of Yen was recruiting skilful artists, when a man of Wei asked permission to engrave a female ape on the edge of a bramble thorn. Delighted, the King of Yen supported him with the emolument of five chariots. Then the King asked "May I, the King, for trial see the ape on the bramble thorn engraved by my honourable guest?" "If the lord of men wants to see it," replied the guest, "he must be absent from his harem and abstain from wine and meat for half a year. Then, when the rain clears up and the sun shines again, he will be able to see the female ape in a dark shady place." In consequence, the King of Yen purposely supported the man of Wei but could not see his female ape. In the meantime a smith famous for making kitchen utensils in Cheng said to the King of Yen: 'Thy servant is a carver. Every tiny object to be carved must have a carving knife, and the carving instrument is always larger than the object to be carved. Now that the edge of the bramble thorn is too small even for the tip of an awl, it must be extraordinarily difficult to handle the edge of the bramble thorn. Suppose Your Majesty try to see the awl of the guest. Then either his ability or inability will be known." "Good," the King said, and then asked the man of Wei, "What kind of an instrument does my honour-able guest use in carving the female ape on the bramble thorn?" "An awl," "I want to see it," said the King. "May thy servant go back to his lodging place and get it?" So saying, the guest ran away.

Ni Yüeh was a skilful dialectician among the Sungs. Maintaining the argument that "the white horse is not the horse," he overcame the debaters beneath the Grain Gate of the capital of Ch'i. Once when he rode a white horse and came to a pass, he had to pay the horse-tax for the white horse. Thus, on playing with empty terms, he could triumph over the whole country, but on investigating facts and examining features he could not deceive anybody.

Indeed, suppose you sharpen an arrow, draw the bow, and shoot the arrow, then though you close your eyes and shoot at random, the pointed head of the arrow is bound to hit the tip of an autumn spikelet. However, unless you can hit the same spot again, you cannot be called a skilful archer. For you have no constant aim and mark. Now if the target were five inches in diameter and the arrow were shot from a distance of one hundred steps, then nobody other than Yi and Feng Meng could with certainty hit the mark every time. For there would then be a constant aim and mark. Therefore, in the presence of a constant aim and mark the straight hit by Hou Yi and Feng Meng at a target five inches in diameter is regarded as skilful; whereas in the absence of a constant aim and mark the wild hit at the tip of an autumn spikelet is regarded as awkward. For

the same reason, if the sovereign has no fixed standard and makes responses to any speaker, then the itinerants will talk too much nonsense; whereas if he establishes a fixed standard and holds any speaker to it, then even intelligent men will be afraid of making mistakes and dare not speak at random. Now, the lord of men, in listening to suggestions, does not consider them under a fixed standard but simply approves of their eloquence, does not measure them with their meritorious services but plainly honours their virtuous deeds, and does not take any concern in a constant aim amd mark. This is the reason why the lord of men is always deceived and the itinerants are for ever supported.

Once a traveller taught the King of Yen the way to immortality. The King then sent men to learn it. Before the men sent to learn completed their study, the traveller died. Enraged thereby, the King chastized the students. Thus, the King did not know that he himself had been deceived by the traveller, but censured the students for their tardiness. Indeed, to believe in an unattainable thing and chastize innocent subjects is the calamity of thoughtlessness. Moreover, what a man cares for is nothing other than his own self. If he could not make himself immortal, how could he make the King live for ever?

Once there were men of Cheng contending for seniority in age. One man said, "My age is the same as Yao's." Another man said, "I am as old as the elder brother of the Yellow Emperor." They brought the dispute to the court, but the judge could not make any decision. Finally he ruled that the one who was the last to stop arguing won the case.

Once a traveller, who painted the whip for the Ruler of Chou, spent three years to complete it. When the Ruler saw it, it looked exactly like a plainly varnished whip. Thereby the Ruler of Chou was enraged. Then the painter of the whip said, "Build a wall twenty feet high and a window eight feet long. Place the whip upon it at sunrise and then look at it." The Ruler of Chou, accordingly, looked at the features of the whip in the way he had been instructed and found them all turning into dragons, serpents, birds, beasts, carriages, and horses, and the forms of myriad other things all present. Thereat he was greatly pleased. The work done to this whip certainly was delicate and difficult. Yet its utility was the same as that of any plainly varnished whip.

Once upon a time there was a traveller drawing for the King of Ch'i. "What is the hardest thing to draw?" asked the King. "Dogs and horses are the hardest." "Then what is the easiest?" "Devils and demons are the easiest. Indeed, dogs and horses are what people know and see at dawn and dusk in front of them. To draw them no distortion is permissible. Therefore they are the hardest. On the contrary, devils and demons have no shapes and are not seen in front of anybody, therefore it is easy to draw them."

In Ch'i there was a retired scholar named T'ien Chung. Once a man of Sung named Ch'ü Ku saw him and said: "Ku has heard about the principle of the respected master not to depend upon people for his food supplies. Now, Ku has a way of planting the gourd, whose fruits are as hard as stones and are solid but not hollow inside. Therefore, he is presenting them to the master." Then Chung said: "Indeed, gourds are valuable because they can serve as vessels. Now that they are solid and not hollow, they cannot serve up anything. If they are as hard as stones, they cannot be split for emptying out. I have no use for these gourds." "If so, Ku will throw them away." Now that Tien Chun not depending upon people for food supplies was also of no use to the country of people, he was like the hard gourds.

Yü Ch'ing was building a house, and said to the carpenter, "This house will be too high." Then the carpenter said: "This is a new house, its plaster being wet and its beams supporting the eaves still unseasoned. Indeed the wet plaster is heavy and the unseasoned beams are curved. With curved beams supporting wet plaster, the house ought to become low enough." "That will not be so," said Yü Ch'ing. "After a number of days, the plaster will be dry and the beams will be seasoned. When dry, the plaster will be light; when seasoned, the beams will be straight. With straight beams supporting dry plaster, the house will be still higher." Thereby the carpenter gave in and did the building in the way Yü Ch'ing wanted, but the house collapsed.

According to a different source: Yū Ch'ing was going to build a house, when the carpenter said: "The wood is unseasoned and the plaster is wet. Indeed, when unseasoned, the wood is curved; when wet, the plaster is heavy. With curved wood supporting heavy plaster, the house, though it may be completed now, will certainly collapse as time goes on." In response to this Yū Ch'ing said: "When dry, the wood will become straight; when dry the plaster will become light. Suppose the wood and the plaster are really dry now. Then they will become lighter and straighter day by day and will never collapse even after a long period of time." Thereby the carpenter gave in and did the building in the way Yū Ch'ing wanted. In the meantime following the completion, the house actually collapsed.

Fan Chü said: "The bow breaks always towards the end and never at the beginning. To be sure, the bow-maker first draws

the bow, leaves it in the stand for thirty days, then puts the string on it, and after one day shoots arrows with it. Thereby he makes it tender at the beginning and tough towards the ending. How can the bow not break? Chü's way of making bows is not the same—namely, to leave the bow in the stand for one day, then put the string on it, and after thirty days shoot arrows with it. Thereby I make it tough at the beginning and tender towards the ending." At his wits' end, the bow-maker made bows in the way Fan Chü wanted. The bows broke to pieces.

The sayings of Fan Chü and Yü Ch'ing are all eloquent in structure and excellent in diction to the realities of things. Yet the lord of men is always delighted at such sayings and never suppresses them. This is the cause of his failure. Indeed, not to seek for the merits in attaining order and strength but to covet the voices in making eloquent speeches and beautiful compositions, is to reject the experts in statecraft and trust to such laymen as would break houses and bows. Therefore, the lord of men in administering state affairs is always not as skilful as the carpenter in building houses and the craftsman in making bows. However, the experts are driven to their wits' end by Fan Chü and Yü Ch'ing. Because of the futility of empty phrases the latter triumph. Because of the immutability of practical things the former are driven at bay. The lord of men makes much of useless eloquent speeches and makes light of immutable propositions. This is the cause of disorder. In the present world there are always men who would imitate Fan Chü and Yü Ch'ing, but the lord of men is uncreasingly delighted with them. This is to revere such types of men as the house- and bow-makers and look at the technical experts as carpenters or craftsmen. As the carpenter and the craftsman could not exert their technical skill, the house collapsed and the bow broke. Likewise, as the experts in statecraft cannot carry out their policy, the state is disorderly and the sovereign is jeopardized.

To be sure, children, when they play together, take soft earth as cooked rice, muddy water as soup, and wood shavings as slices of meat. However, at dusk they would go home for supper because dust rice and mud soup can be played with but cannot be eaten. Indeed, tributes to the legacy of remote antiquity, are appreciative and eloquent but superficial; and admiration of the early kings for their benevolence and righteousness, cannot rectify the course of the state. Therefore, they can be played with but cannot be used as instruments of government, either. Indeed, those who have longed after benevolence and righteousness and become weak and disorderly are the Three Chins. The one who has never longed but has become orderly and strong is Ch'in. However, she has not yet become an empire because her government is not yet perfect.

## Annotations to Canon 3:-

If one receives no good care in his childhood from his parents, when he grows up, as a son he shows resentment at them. Though the son grows to be a big and strong man, his provisions for his parents are rather scanty. Then the parents become angry and reprimand him. Now, father and son are the closest relatives. Yet they either reprimand or show resentment at each other simply because they are driven together by force of circumstances and neither can accomplish his self-seeking purpose.

Indeed, in the case of workmen selling their services in sowing seeds and tilling farms, the master would at the expense of his housekeeping give them delicious food and by appropriating cash and cloth make payments for their services. Not that they love the hired workmen, but that, they say, by so doing they can make the workmen till the land deeper and pick the weed more carefully. The hired workmen, by exerting their physical strength, speedily pick the weed and till the land, and, by using their skill, rectify the boundaries between different tracts of ground and the dykes separating different fields. Not that they love their master, but that, they say, by their so doing the soup will be delicious and both cash and cloth will be paid to them. Thus, the master's provisions and the workmen's services supplement each other as if between them there were the compassion of father and son. However, their minds are well disposed to act for each other because they cherish self-seeking motives respectively. Therefore, when men deal with each other in managing affairs and rendering services, if their motive is hope for gain, then even with a native from Yüeh, it will be easy to remain harmonious. If the motive is fear of harm, then even father and son will become estranged and show resentment toward each other.

Duke Wen attacked Sung but made a declaration beforehand, saying: "I have heard the Ruler of Sung follows no right way of government, insulting seniors and elders, making unfair distribution of alms, and issuing faithless precepts and ordinances. Therefore, I am coming to punish him on behalf of the people."

Yüeh was attacking Wu. The King of Yüeh made a declaration beforehand, saying: "I have heard the King of Wu built the Ju-huang Tower and dug the Deep Spring Pool, wearing out the hundred surnames and wasting the money and resources of the country and thereby exhausting the

strength of the people. Therefore, I am coming to punish him on behalf of the people."

A princess of Ts'ai became a concubine of Duke Huan. One day Duke Huan and she went on a boat. She moved the boat at random. Much frightened, Duke Huan stopped her but she kept on doing it. Enraged, he divorced her. Soon he recalled her. But the Ts'ais replied that they had married her out elsewhere. Thereat Duke Huan became very angry and thought of attacking Ts'ai. Uncle Chung, accordingly, admonished him, saying: "Indeed, the trouble due to the play between sleeping partners makes no sufficient cause for attacking their country. Otherwise, the achievement of Hegemony cannot be expected. Please do not take this as a wise plan." Duke Huan would not listen. So Uncle Chung said: "Suppose Your Highness cannot help attacking Ts'ai. Well. for three years Ch'u has not brought thorny reeds as tribute to the Son of Heaven. Your Highness had better raise an army and attack Ch'u on behalf of the Son of Heaven. After Ch'u is subdued, turn back and raid Ts'ai and say to the world, 'when His Highness was attacking Ch'u on behalf of the Son of Heaven, Ts'ai never followed him with reinforcements. Therefore His Highness is destroying it.' This will be righteous in name and profitable in fact. In consequence, Your Highness will have the name of punishing the disobedient on behalf of the Son of Heaven and the fact of taking revenge."

Wu Ch'i commanded Wey's forces in attacking Central Hills. Among his soldiers someone became sick of boils. Therefore, Wu Ch'i knelt down himself and sucked the pus out of the boil. The mother of the wounded soldier was standing by and crying. People then asked her, "The general is so kind to your son. Why should you keep crying?" In reply she said: "Wu Ch'i sucked the pus out of his father's wound and his father later died fighting. Now the son will die fighting, too. I am, therefore, crying."

The Father Sovereign of Chao once ordered masons to use a scaling ladder, thereby climb Mountain Fan-wu, and on the summit engrave a human footprint three feet wide and five feet long, and inscribe it, "The Father Sovereign once strolled here"

King Chao of Ch'in ordered masons to use a scaling ladder, thereby climb the Hua Mountain, on the summit construct a backgammon board with the kernels of pines and cypresses and arrows eight feet long and chess pieces eight inches long, and inscribe on the board, "King Chao once played backgammon with a heavenly god here."

Duke Wen on the way to his homeland reached the Yellow River where he ordered all bamboo and wooden vessels for food to be thrown into the river, the sheets and mats to be thrown into the river, the men whose hands and feet are thick and chapped and those whose faces and eyes were black or dark to follow from behind. Hearing about this, Uncle Fan wept all night. So Duke Wen asked him, "I have been exiled for twenty years till now when I am barely able to return to my native soil. Hearing about this, Uncle Fan is not delighted but crying all the time. Does it mean that he does not want His Highness to return to his native country?" In reply Fan said: "The bamboo and wooden vessels have been used for serving food but Your Highness is going to throw them away. The sheets and mats have been used for making beddings but Your Highness is going to give them up. The men whose hands and feet are thick and chapped and faces and eyes are black or dark have rendered meritorious services but Your Highness is going to keep them following from behind. Now thy servant happens to be among the group following from behind. Unable to bear the sadness, I am crying. Moreover, thy servant in order to enable Your Highness to return to his native country committed misrepresentations many times. Of this even thy servant never approves. How much less would Your Highness?" So saying, he repeated bowing and took his leave. Stopping him from leaving, Duke Wen said: "There is a proverb saying, 'Builders of the shire take off their clothes when installing the image in it but wear their black hats straight when commemorating the enshrined spirit.' Now, with me you have recovered the country but you are not going to govern the country with me. This is the same as though you installed the image in the shrine with me but would not commernorate the enshrined spirit with me." So saying, he untied the horse attached to the left of the yoke of his carriage and swore by the River to repeal the order.

Once a man of the Prefecture of Cheng, named Po Tzu, asked his wife to make a pair of trousers. "How would you like to have your trousers made this time?" asked the wife. "Like my old trousers," replied the husband. Accordingly the wife tore the new trousers and made them look like the old

Once a man of the Prefecture of Cheng came by a yoke but did not know its name. So he asked somebody else, "What thing is this?" "It is a yoke," was the reply. Suddenly he found a yoke again and asked, "What thing is this?" "It is a yoke," was again the reply. Thereby the man was enraged and said, "You called the former one a yoke and are again calling the present one a yoke. Why so many? Aren't you deceiving me?" So saying, he started quarrelling with the man.

A man of Wei intended to shoot arrows with strings tied to them. When a bird came, he beckoned to the bird with the ball of string. The bird was frightened. He did not shoot.

Once the wife of Po Tzu, a man of the Prefecture of Cheng, went to the market, bought turtles, and was bringing them home. Passing by the Ying Water, she thought the turtles were thirsty, let them go drinking, and lost her turtles.

Once upon a time a youngster was attending an elder man drinking wine. But every time the elder took a drink, he would himself drink, too.

According to a different source: A man of Lu wanted to learn etiquette. He saw elder people drinking wine and spitting it out whenever unable to finish it. So he followed them in spitting wine out.

According to another different source: A youngster of Sung wanted to learn etiquette. Once at a feast he saw elder people drinking a toast and not leaving a single drop. So he started finishing the whole cup though not drinking a toast.

It is said in an ancient book, "Gird yourself, belt yourself!" A man of Sung, who once ran across this passage, doubled his sash and girdled himself with it accordingly. "Why do you do that?" asked someone else. "The ancient book saying so, so must I do," was the reply.

It is said in an ancient record, "Already engraved and already carved, it reverts to its naiveté." A man of Liang, who once ran across this passage, would talk about learning in his daily action and quote facts from the writing in illustration of his theory. Everyday he would do the same, till he lost the genuineness of his nature. Thereupon someone else asked him, "Why do you do that?" "The ancient record saying so, so must I do," was the reply.

A man of Ying once wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of Yen. He wrote the letter at night. When the light was not bright, he, accordingly, said to the candle-holder, "Raise the candle!" So saying he wrote down by mistake the words, "Raise the candle," although raising candles was not the gist of the letter. However, the Prime Minister of Yen on receiving the letter was glad and said: "To raise the candle means to exalt the bright. To exalt the bright means to elevate the worthy and appoint them to office." Therefore, the Premier of Yen spoke to the King about the policy of appointing the worthy to office, which the King was very glad to carry into effect. In consequence, the state became orderly. As regards the problem of political order, they did attain political order. But it was not the gist of the letter! Thus, scholars of the present world mostly resemble the Premier of Yen in interpreting the meaning of words.

Once a man of Cheng wanted to buy a pair of shoes for himself. He measured his feet first and left measurements on his seat. He arrived at the market-place, but had forgotten to take the measurements along. Though he had already found the shoes for himself, he said, "I have forgotten to take the measurements along. Let me go home to get them here." When he came back again, the market was closed, however. He could not get the shoes after all. "Why didn't you try the shoes with your own feet?" asked people. "I have confidence in the measurements but not in my own feet," was the reply.

Annotations to Canon 4:-

Wang Teng, Magistrate of Chung-mou, once in his proposition to Lord Hsiang of Chao said: "Chung-mou has scholars named Chung-chang and Hsü-i, whose personal appearances are very refined and whose learning is very erudite. Why does Your Highness not take them into service?" In reply Lord Hsiang said: "You go to find them. I will appoint them Middle Officials." Thereupon the Premier remonstrated with him, saying, "The post of the Middle Official is an important rank in Chin. Now, appointment of men of no merit to office is not in accordance with the constitution of Chin. Your Highness has only heard about them but not yet seen them, isn't it so?" "When I took Teng into service," replied the Lord, "I saw him after having heard about him. The men he has recommended I will see after I have heard about them, too. This is the way to use others as my own ears and eyes without cease." Thus, Wang Teng in one day recommended two Middle Officials to interview the Lord, who bestowed upon them fields and residences. In consequence, the people of Chung-mou, who stopped tilling fields and mowing grass, sold their houses and farms, and pursued literary studies, numbered half the population of the fief.

Shu Hsiang sat by Duke P'ing and reported to him on different affairs. Though the calves of Duke P'ing became sore and the legs numb, yet he only turned his muscles around but dared not leave his seat. Hearing about this, everybody in the Chin State said: "Shu Hsiang is a worthy. Duke P'ing respected him so much that during the interview he only turned his muscles around but dared not leave his seat." In consequence, men in the Chin State who resigned from official posts and yearned after Shu Hsiang occupied one-third the size of the country.

A man of Cheng, named Ch'ü Kung, whenever he heard enemies were coming, would fear lest he himself should die at their hands and also fear lest he himself should be captured alive by them.

The Father Sovereign of Chao sent Li Tz'u to inspect Central Hills and see whether or not the country could be attacked. Upon his return Tz'u reported that the country could be attacked and that if His Majesty did not strike early enough, he would lag behind Ch'i and Yen. "Why can the country be attacked?" asked the Father Sovereign. In reply Li Tz'u said: "It is because the Ruler is fond of celebrating retired scholars in rocky caves. For tens of times, he pulled down his carriage-cover and offered seats in his carriage when meeting scholars from destitute village gates or narrow alleys. The times that he paid such courtesies to scholars wearing hemp clothes as if they were his equals, numbers hundreds. "According to your description and estimation," remarked the Father Sovereign, "he is a worthy ruler. Why then can the country be attacked?" "That is not so," replied Tz'u, "because if the Ruler is fond of celebrating retired scholars from rocky caves and employs them in the court, then warriors will neglect their duties at the camps; if the superior esteems learned men, condescends to country scholars, and employs them in the court, then farmers will relax their efforts in the fields. If the warriors neglect their duties at the camps, the army becomes weak: if the farmers relax their efforts in the fields, the state becomes poor. With the army weakened by enemies and the state impoverished at home, no country ever evades destruction. Isn't it then practicable to attack such a country?" "Right." So saying, the Father Sovereign raised an army, attacked Central Hills, and finally destroyed the country.

## Annotations to Canon 5:-

Duke Huan of Ch'i was fond of wearing purple clothes, till everybody in the country wore purple clothes, too. At that time, nobody could get one purple thread at the cost of five plain white threads. Worried over this, Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung, "I am fond of wearing purple clothes, but purple clothes are very expensive. The hundred surnames in the country like to wear purple clothes continually. What should I do about that?" "If Your Highness wants to stop them," replied Kuan Chung, "why doesn't he for a time not wear any purple clothes at all, and tell the attendants, 'His Highness dislikes the bad odour of purple clothes'." "All right," said the Duke. Thenceforth, whenever any attendant in purple clothes came in, the Duke would say, "Get away a little! I dislike the bad odour of purple clothes." Accordingly, that day no courtier wore purple clothes; next day nobody in the state capital wore purple clothes; and by the third day nobody within the state boundaries wore purple clothes.

According to a different source: The King of Ch'i was fond of wearing purple clothes. So were the people of Ch'i. As a result, in the Ch'i State with the cost of five plain white threads nobody could buy a purple one. Over the expensiveness of purple clothes, the King of Ch'i worried. Thereupon the Grand Tutor said to the King: "It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'In him, himself inert, the people put no trust.' Now, if Your Majesty wants the people to wear no purple clothes, let Your Majesty take off purple clothes himself and then go to the court, and, when any officials wearing purple clothes come in, tell him, 'Get away farther! I dislike the bad odour!" In consequence, that day no courtier wore purple clothes; and in a year nobody within the state boundaries wore purple clothes.

Duke Chien of Cheng once said to Tzu-ch'an: "Our country is small and pressed between Ching and Chin. Now that the city-walls of the capital are not in good repair and weapons and armour are not well prepared, we cannot provide against eventualities." "Thy servant has already shut the outer foes far off," said Tzu-Ch'an, "and already made the inner defences firm. Though the country is small, yet thy servant does not think it is in danger. May Your Highness not worry over it?" Therefore, Duke Chien had no worry in his life.

According to another source: Tzu-ch'an was Premier of Cheng. Once Duke Chien said to him: "If drinking wine is no joy, sacrifical vessels are not large, and bells, drums, Yü instruments, and se harps do not sound, I must be responsible therefor. If political affairs are not unified, the state is not stabilized, the hundred surnames do not keep order, and farmers and warriors do not live in peace and harmony, you must similarly be responsible therefor. You have your official duties, I have my own, too. Let each of us attend to his duties." Tzu-ch'an withdrew and administered the state affairs for five years, till the country had neither thieves nor robbers. no one would pick up things dropped on the road, peaches and dates hanging over the street were not picked off, and such tiny things as gimlets and knives dropped on the road were promptly returned to their owners within three days. The same continued for three years and the people never suffered starvation

Duke Hsiang of Sung fought with the Ch'us in the Cho River Gorge. When the Sung forces had already formed in line, the Ch'u troops had not yet finished their lines. Thereupon the Right Minister of War, Kou Ch'iang, ran forward and advised the Duke, saying: "As the Ch'us are numerous and the Sungs are few, let us attack them when they are half crossing the

River and not yet in line. They will certainly be defeated." "I have heard," said Duke Hsiang, "the gentleman would not wound the wounded, not capture men having two kinds of hair, not push people into danger, not drive people to bay, and not beat the drum towards enemies not yet in line. Now, the Ch'u troops have not completed their lines. If we attack them, we act against righteousness. Let them finish crossing the River and complete their lines. Then beat the drum and "Your Highness does not love the people of lead the army.' Sung in leaving the confidential supporters in precariousness solely for the sake of righteousness." "If you do not return to your line," said the Duke, "I will enforce the martial law." The Right Minister returned to his line, when the Ch'u troops had already formed in line and established their positions. Then the Duke beat the drum. The Sung forces suffered a crushing defeat. The Duke was wounded in the thigh and died in three days. This is the calamity of yearning after benevolence and righteousness. Indeed, to expect the lord of men to do everything himself as a good example and the people to obey him and follow his example afterwards is to make the lord of men till the land and thereby acquire his food supplies and bear arms and line up with the soldiers before the people are willing to till and fight. If so, is the sovereign not facing too much danger and are the subjects not enjoying too much security?

Once, when Duke Ching of Ch'i travelled to the Small Sea, a courier rushed from inside the capital to have an audience with him, and said, "Premier Yen Yin is very ill and about to die, and is afraid Your Highness might arrive after his death." Duke Ching quickly rose from his seat, when another courier came. "Quickly prepare the carriage of the good horse, Fanchieh," said Duke Ching, "and order Coachman Han Ch'ü to drive it." After setting out a few hundred steps, he thought the coachman was not fast enough, took the reins away from his hands, and drove the carriage in his place. After another few hundred steps, he thought the horse would not go farther, and alighted from the carriage, and ran on foot. Thus, in spite of the speed of Fan-chieh and the skill of Coachman Han Ch'ü Duke Ching thought it the best to get off the carriage and run on foot.

King Chao of Wey wanted to have a hand in the official routine and said to the Lord of Meng-ch'ang, "I, the King, want to have a hand in the official routine." "If Your Majesty wants to go through the official routine," said the Lord, "why does he not for trial learn and read the legal code?" King Chao, accordingly, started reading the code. After reading ten and some bamboo slips, he fell asleep. "I am unable to read this code," said the King. After all, if the ruler does not hold the august position and supreme handles firmly in hand but wants to perform the duties which the ministers ought to perform, is it not reasonable that he falls asleep in so

Confucius said: "The ruler of men is like the basin, the people like water. If the basin is square, the water is square; if the basin is round, the water is round."

The ruler of Tsou was fond of wearing long fringes. So were all his attendants. In consequence, fringes became very expensive. Worried over this, he asked the attendants about it. In reply they said: "As Your Highness is fond of wearing them, most of the hundred surnames wear them too. Therefore, they are expensive!" Accordingly, the Ruler cut off his fringes himself and went out. As a result, nobody in the country would wear long fringes any more. Thus, the Ruler, unable to issue orders to regulate the style of the clothing of the hundred surnames and thereby prohibit them from wearing long fringes, cut off his own fringes and went out to show his example to the people. In this way he exercised his authority over the people through self-humiliation.

Shu Hsiang in distributing emoluments bestowed more for the more meritorious and less for the less meritorious.

Marquis Chao of Han once said to Shen Tzu, "Laws and rules are not easy to enforce." "The law is such a principle," said Shen Tzu, "that men of merit are given rewards and able personages are taken into office. Now, Your Highness establishes laws and rules but grants the attendants' requests. This is the cause of the difficulty in enforcing laws and rules." "From now onward," said Marquis Chao, "I know how to enforce laws, and will not grant anybody any request." One day Shen Tzu begged the Marquis to appoint his elder cousin to an official post. In regard to his request, Marquis Chao said: "This is not what I learned from you. If I grant you such a request, I contradict your teaching. I had better not allow your request." Thereupon Shen Tzu withdrew to his residence and apologized for his fault.

# Annotations to Canon 6:-

Duke Wen of Chin attacked Yüan. As he packed ten days' food supplies, he set the time limit at ten days to his High Officers. When ten days had elapsed, he arrived at Yüan, but in ten days Yüan did not fall. Therefore, he ordered them to cease hostilities and leave for home. Meanwhile, some men coming out from the Yüan capital said: "In three more days Yüan will fall." All the ministers and attendants also remonstrated with him, saying: "The food of Yüan is running

low and her strength is exhausted. May Your Highness wait longer!" In response the Duke said: "I set the time limit to my men at ten days for the expedition. If I do not leave, I will violate faith with my men. Taking Yüan and thereby breaking faith, I can not bear." So saying, he stopped the campaign and left. Hearing about this, the Yüans said: "Such a faithful ruler they have! How can we refuse to turn to him?" So saying, they surrendered themselves to the Duke. The Weis, hearing about the same, said: "Such a faithful ruler they have! How can we refuse to obey him?" So saying, they surrendered, too. Confucius heard about this and recorded: "That Duke Wen attacked Yüan at the beginning but even won the submission of Wei in the end, was because of his faithfulness."

Duke Wen asked Chi Cheng how to rescue the starvelings? "By keeping faith," was the reply. "What shall I keep of faith?" asked the Duke. "Keep titles of faith, keep affairs of faith, and keep righteousness of faith! If you keep titles of faith, all officials will attend to their respective duties; the good and the bad will not override each other; and every kind of work will not be neglected. If you keep affairs of faith, you will not miss the times of heaven and the hundred surnames will not make mistakes in farming. If you keep righteousness of faith, the near and dear will be encouraged thereby and become diligent while the distant will turn to you for government."

Once Wu Ch'i went out, met an old friend, and invited him to dinner. "All right. When I come back, I shall dine with you," said the old friend. "I shall wait for you to come," said Wu Tzu, and "and then eat". The old friend did not come when evening arrived. Wu Ch'i did not eat all evening and waited. Next day he sent men out to invite his friend. When the friend came, he then dined with him.

Marquis Wen of Wey once made an appointment with the Yüs to go hunting. On the following day the weather happened to be very windy. The attendants stopped Marquis Wen, but he would not listen. "Nobody should break faith," said the Marquis, "because it is very windy. I will not break faith!" Finally he drove the carriage himself, went to the hunting ground against the winds, and told the Yüs to stop the hunting.

One day the wife of Tseng Tzu went to the market. His son went along with her and kept crying. "You go home," said the mother, "and when Mother comes home from shopping, Mother will kill a pig for you." When she came home from the market, Tseng Tzu wanted to catch a pig and kill it. His wife stopped him and said, "That was just a joke with the child." "Be surre," said Tseng Tzu, "children are not supposed to be joked with. They do not possess any inborn ideas. They depend upon their parents for learning, and listen to their parents' teachings. Now, if you deceive him, it means you teach him the way of deception. If the mother deceives her son, the son will have no faith in his mother. This is not the way to give teaching to children." At last they killed a pig and cooked the pork for their son.

King Li of Ch'u had an alarm drum. By beating the drum he gave the hundred surnames warnings. One day he took wine and was very drunk and beat the drum. The people were frightened very much. Thereupon the King sent men to stop their fright and said to them, "I was then drunk and playing with the attendants when I struck the drum." The people all gave up the fright. In the course of several months, there was a real alarm. The drum was beaten but the people made no move. Therefore, the King changed his orders and made the signal clear and of faith, so that the people began to have faith in him. Li K'uei warned the guards of the right and left gates of the camp and said: "Be prudent and alert! The enemies might come at dawn or at dusk to attack you." He repeated the same over and over again. Yet the enemies never came. Both groups of guards became tired and neglected their duties and had no faith in Li K'uei. In the course of several months the Ch'ins came to raid them and almost put the whole army to rout. This is the calamity of being faithless.

According to a different source: Li K'uei fought with the Ch'ins and said to the guards of the left gates, "Scale the walls quickly! The guards of the right gate have already gone up." Then he drove to the other flank and said to the guards of the right gate, "The left have already gone up." The left and right guards, accordingly, struggled with each other to scale the walls. In the following year, when they fought with the Ch'ins, the Ch'ins raided them and almost routed the whole army. This was a calamity of being faithless.

Once there were litigants. Tzu-ch'an separated them and never allowed them to speak to each other. Then he inverted their words and told each other's argument and thereby found the vital facts involved in the case.

Duke Ssu of Wei once sent men out to go through the pass. There the officers made them serious troubles, wherefore they bribed the officers with gold. The officers, accordingly, released them. Later, Duke Ssu said to the officers: "At a certain time there came certain travellers to go through the pass. Since they gave you gold, you sent them away." Thereby the officers were frightened very much and thought Duke Ssu was clear-minded.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 33.

Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Left Series

(1) Censured for a crime, nobody feels bitter against the superior. For this reason, the footless gate-keeper saved the life of Tzu-kao. Rewarded for merit, no subject feels grateful to the sovereign. For this reason Chieh Huang held the right half of a tally in hand and rode in the coach of a feudal lord. King Hsiang did not know this principle, wherefore Chao Mao compared the reward of five chariots for his meritorious services to the upstart's wearing hemp sandals. If the principal makes no mistake in appointing subordinates to office and the subordinates do not feign ability, then every subordinate will be as good as Shao Shih-chou.

(2) The sovereign should depend upon his own position and not upon the faithfulness of the ministers. For this reason, Tung-kuo Ya lodged a protest against the appointment of Kuan Chung to premiership. The sovereign should count on its tact and not on the faithfulness of the ministers. For this reason, Hun Hsien disapproved Duke Wen's policy. Therefore the tactful sovereign would make reward of faith so as to exert the abilities of the subjects and make punishment definite so as to forbid wickedness. Though the ministers have mixed deeds, he would always get the benefit out of them. For instance, Lord Chien appointed Yang Hu to premiership; and Duke Ai asked about the one-legged creature.

(3) If the distinction between ruler and minister is lost sight of, the ruler will have to do the same as King Wen, who tied his own sock strings and boasted of his virtue. If no difference between court ceremonies and private etiquette is made, one will have to live in the same way as Chi-sun who maintained his dignity all his life but met assassins in the end.

(4) If the sovereign expects profit from what ought to be prohibited and prohibits what is profitable, be he superhuman, he cannot enforce his policy. If he honours men held guilty and disgraces the rewarded, be he as great as Yao, he cannot attain any political order. Indeed, to open a gate but not to make people go through it, or to promise profit but not to make the people strive for it, is the cause of disorder.

If the Ruler of Ch'i granted his attendants no request and the Sovereign of Wey listened to no honourable recommendation but observed clearly and carefully the body of officials, then Chü could not spend money and Ch'uan could not use jade as a bribe. Hsi-men Pao petitioned for reappointment to the Magistracy of Yeh. Thereby he knew the harm caused by the courtiers of the country. The courtiers would honour or disgrace the people as improperly as the son of the petty thief boasted of his father's fur coat and the son of the legless man prided himself upon his father's specially made clothes. If the ruler listens to the courtiers, he is doing what Tzu-ch'o called "drawing a circle with the left hand and a square with the right hand simultaneously" and the same as a stupid man who tried to get rid of ants with meat and drive flies away with fish. If so, how can he avoid the same worry as Duke Huan had over the number of office-hunters and Viscount Hsüan had over the skinniness of the horses?

(5) If ministers regard humility and frugality as virtues, then ranks are not sufficient to encourage and reward them. If favour and glory are not regulated, ministers will violate and intimidate the ruler. The saying is based on Miao Pen-huang's criticism of Hsien-pai and on Confucius's estimate of Yen Ying. For further illustration, Chung-ni spoke of Kuan Chung and Sun-shu Ao about the former's extreme extravagance and the latter's extreme frugality; Yang Hu said his subordinates' attitude to him at his departure had become different from their attitude to him when he entered Ch'i and recommended them to the Ruler; and Lord Chien's remark on the way of recommending officials missed the right tact of a sovereign. If friends and partisans play into each other's hands and ministers give rein to their ambitions, the lord of men will be left in isolation. If all the officials make upright recommendations and do not play into each other's hands then the lord of men will be clear-sighted and even Yang Hu will become as worthy as Chao Wu and as just as Chieh Hu. However, Lord Chien condemned those officials who were first recommended by their friends and later acted against them as hedge and bramble thorns, which is not the right way to teach the people in the country to become public-spirited.

(6) If the prestige of the royal house is low, then ministers will refrain from uttering upright words. If self-seeking deeds triumph, then meritorious services for the public will become few. The saying is based on Wen-tzu's speaking without reserve, for which his father, Wu-tzu, used a stick to whip him, and on Tzu-ch'an's loyal remonstrations, for which his father, Tzu-kuo, blamed him and was angry at him. Furthermore, Liang Ch'e enforced the law but Marquis Ch'eng recalled the official seal from him. Kuan Chung acted according to public justice, but his countrymen spoke ill of him and resented his action

So much for the Canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:-

Confucius was Premier of Wei. His disciple, Tzu-kao, was the judge of a criminal court and once cut off the feet of a

criminal. The footless man became their gate-keeper. Some people slandered Confucius before the Ruler of Wei, saying that Chung-ni was plotting a disturbance. Therefore, the Ruler of Wei wanted to arrest Confucius. Confucius ran away. All his disciples escaped. Tzu-kao went to the back gate. The footless gate-keeper led the way and sheltered him in the basement beneath the gate. The officials sought for him but could not find him. At midnight, Tzu-kao asked the footless gate-keeper. "I could not bend the legal decree of the sovereign and cut off your feet with my own hands. This is the time for you to take revenge. Why are you willing to shelter me? How can I receive such a kindness from you?" In reply the footless man said: "I had my feet cut off as my crime deserved such punishment. Nothing could be done about it. Nevertheless, when Your Excellency was about to decide on the case against thy servant, Your Excellency interpreted the ordinance in all possible ways and supplied words either before or after thy servant's pleas, being so anxious to hold thy servant innocent, which thy servant understood very well. When the case was settled and the sentence was passed, Your Excellency in excess of pity felt unpleasant as expressed in the facial colour, which thy servant saw and also understood. That was not because of Your Excellency's private favour to thy servant but because of his inborn nature and benevolent heart. This is the reason why I have felt pleased and grateful to Your Excellency."

T'ien Tzu-fang went to Wey from Ch'i. He saw from a distance Chieh Huang riding in the coach of a feudal lord with cavaliers around and marching out in full dignity. Fang at first thought Marquis Wen was going out, and therefore moved his carriage to a side-track in order to avoid the procession. Later, he found Chieh Huang alone in the coach. "Why are you riding in this coach?" asked Fang. In reply Huang said: "When His Highness was scheming to attack Central Hills, thy servant recommended Chieh Chioh to him and a proper scheme was devised. When His Highness was actually going to attack Central Hills, thy servant recommended Yo Yang to him and Central Hills was taken. After the conquest of Central Hills, His Highness worried over the governorship of the country, when thy servant recommended Li K'o to him, and as a result Central Hills became orderly. For this reason, His Highness awarded thy servant this coach." Thereupon Fang said: "To such a merit the reward is still too small to be equivalent."

When Ch'in and Han were attacking Wey, Chao Mao went westward on an itinerant tour and Ch'in and Han stopped the campaign. When Ch'i and Ching were attacking Wey, Mao went eastward on an itinerant tour and Ch'i and Ching stopped the campaign. Accordingly, King Hsiang of Wey supported him with the emolument of five chariots. Complaining of the meagreness of the emolument, Mao said: "Formerly, when Po-i was buried with the dignity of a general at the foot of the Shou-yang Mountain, All-under-Heaven said, 'Indeed, in view of the worthiness of Po-i and his reputation for benevolence, to bury him with the dignity of a general is hardly sufficient—not even enough to cover his hands and feet underground.' Now thy servant stopped the invading forces of four states. And for meritorious services Your Majesty granted thy servant five chariots. To reward for such meritorious services in this way is to do the same as an upstart in spite of his wealth wearing hemp sandals.

Confucius said: "Who knows how to be an official, plants gratitude in the mind of the people; who does not know how to be an official plants resentment in the mind of the people. The strickle is for adjusting the measure. The official is for adjusting the law. Who governs a state should not lose sight of the means of adjustment."

Shao Shih-chou was a faithful, honest, clean, and earnest man of antiquity. He served Lord Hsiang of Chao as bodyguard. Once he contested in strength with Hsü Tzu from Chung-mou and found himself not as strong as Hsü Tzu. Hehen went into the court and told Lord Hsiang to replace himself with Hsü Tzu. "Your post," said Lord Hsiang, "is coveted by everybody else. Why do you want Hsü Tzu to replace you?" "Thy servant serves Your Highness," replied Shao Shih-chou, "with his physical strength. Now, Hsü Tzu's strength is greater than mine. Unless thy servant offers to be replaced by him, thy servant is afraid others might recommend him to Your Highness and thy servant might be guilty of suppressing an able man."

According to a different source: Shao Shih-chou served as aide-de-camp to Lord Hsiang. Upon their arrival at Chinyang, a wrestler named Niu Tzu contested with him in strength, but he could not win. Thereupon Chou spoke to the Lord: "Your Highness made thy servant an aide-decamp because Your Highness thought thy servant had great strength. Now that there is somebody having greater strength than thy servant may thy servant beg to present him to Your Highness?"

Annotations to Canon 2:-

When Duke Huan of Ch'i was going to make Kuan Chung Uncle Chung, he ordered the officials to the effect that as His Highness was going to make Chung Kuan Uncle Chung, those

in favour of the measure, after entering the gate, keep to the left, and those against it, after entering the gate, keep to the right. Tung-kou Ya kept standing in the centre of the gate. Thereupon Duke Huan asked: "I am making Kuan Chung Uncle Chung and have ordered those in favour of the measure to keep to the left and those against it to keep to the right. Now why do you keep standing in the centre of the gate?' 'Does Your Highness regard the wisdom of Kuan Chung as able to devise schemes for coping with Allunder-Heaven?" asked Ya in return. "Certainly able," replied the Duke. "Does Your Highness think his decisions daring to carry out great plans?" "Certainly daring." "If his wisdom is able to scheme for All-under-Heaven and his decisions dare to carry out any great plan wherefore Your Highness trusts him with the grips of the state, then how can the Ch'i State, as governed by Kuan Chung with his own wisdom and the advantage of Your Highness's position, be without danger?" "Right," said the Duke, and, accordingly, ordered Hsi P'eng to administer home affairs and Kuan Chung to administer foreign affairs so as to make them watch each other.

When Duke Wen went out into exile, Ch'i Cheng carried bowls of food along and followed him. One day he lost his way and went astray from the Duke. Hungry, he wept by the road. Sleeping off his starvation, he dared not eat the food. After Duke Wen returned to his country, raised an army to attack Yüan, vanquished it, and took it, Duke Wen said: "Who could easily endure the hardship of hunger and would by all means keep the bowls of food perfect, is certainly not going to rebel in Yüan." So saving he raised Cheng and appointed him Governor of Yüan. Hearing about this, High Officer Hun Hsien disapproved the policy and said: "Is it not tactless to expect Cheng not to rebel in Yüan because he did not touch the bowls of food? Thus the enlightened sovereign would not count on people's non-violation of him, but on his own inviolability by them; not on people's nondeception of him, but on his own undeceivability by them.

Yang Hu, in discussing the attitude of minister towards ruler said: "If the sovereign is worthy and enlightened, then exert all your mental energy to serve him; if he is unworthy, then devise crooked artifices to test him." Banished by Lu and suspected by Ch'i, he came to Chao, where Lord Chien of Chao welcomed him and appointed him premier. With wonder the attendants asked: "Hu is skilful in usurping the reins of government from the ruler. Why did Your Highness make him premier?" In reply Lord Chien said: "Yang Hu strives to usurp the power. I strive to maintain the power." So saying, he held right tact in hand and thereby controlled him. As a result, Yang Hu dared not do any wrong, but served Lord Chien well and promoted the strength of the Lord till he nearly became Hegemonic Ruler.

Duke Ai of Lu once asked Confucius: "I have heard that there was a one-legged creature called Kuei. Was it really one-legged?" "No," replied Confucius, "Kuei was not one-legged. Kuei was irritable and ill-tempered. Most people did not like him. However, he was not hurt by anybody because of his faithfulness. Therefore, people used to say, 'Only one good quality like this is sufficient'. Thus, Kuei was not a one-legged creature, but his only one good point was sufficient." "Certainly, if he possessed such a good quality, that was sufficient," said Duke Ai.

According to a different source: Duke Ai asked Confucius, "I have heard that Kuei was one-legged. Was it true?" In reply Confucius said: "Kuei was a man. Why was he one-legged? He was not different from anybody else except in his proficiency in music. Therefore, Yao said, 'Kuei has one talent and that is sufficient,' and made him Master of Music. Thenceforth, gentlemen would say, 'Kuei has one sufficiency.' He was not one-legged."

Annotations of Canon 3:—

King Wen was attacking Ch'ung. When he arrived at the Yellow Phoenix Mound, the strings of his socks became loosened. Accordingly, he tied them up himself. "Why did you do that?" asked T'ai-kung Wang. "Of the people whom the ruler deals with," replied the King, "on the top all are the ruler's teachers, in the middle all are his friends, and on the bottom all are his employees. Now, everybody here was a minister to the late King. Therefore, I found nobody to tie my strings."

According to a different source: Duke Wen was at war with the Chiu men. When he arrived at the Yellow Phoenix Hill, his shoe strings became loosened. Accordingly, he tied them up himself. "Could you not find anybody to do it for you?" asked the attendants. In reply the Duke said: "I have heard, 'Everybody around the superior is respected by him; everybody around the ordinary ruler is loved by him; and everybody around the inferior ruler is despised by him.' Although Your Highness is unworthy, the late ruler's men are all here. So it is hard to have anybody tie my shoe strings."

Chi-sun was fond of entertaining scholars. All his life he lived in a dignified manner. In his private dwelling and clothing he always kept the same formality as in the court. Once he happened to neglect the formality and commit some faults, and could not keep up the same dignity. In consequence

his guests thought he disliked and despised them, and altogether developed resentment at him, till they killed him. Hence the saying: "The gentleman shuns excess and shuns

According to a different source: Nan-kung Ching-tzu asked Yen Cho-chü: "Chi-sun supported Confucius's disciples. Those who wore court costumes and sat with him in the court. numbered tens. But he met assassins. Why?" In reply Yen said: "Formerly King Ch'eng of Chou kept actors and clowns around in order to amuse himself as he wanted, but consulted with gentlemen when he decided on state affairs. That was the reason why he could realize his ambition in All-under-Heaven On the contrary, Chi-sun supported Confucius's disciples, and those who wore court costumes and sat with him in the court, numbered tens, but when deciding on state affairs, he consulted with actors and clowns. That was the reason why he met assassins. Hence the saying: 'Success or failure rests not with room-mates but with councillors.''

Confucius was attending on Duke Ai of Lu, when Duke Ai gave him peaches and grains of glutinous millet. "Please help yourself," said Duke Ai. Confucius ate the millet first and then the peaches. Thereat the attendants all, covered their mouths with their hands, and laughed. "The grains are not for eating," remarked Duke Ai, "but for wiping off the skin of the peaches." In reply Chung-ni said: "Ch'iu knew it from the beginning. Indeed, glutinous millet is the head of the five cereals. On commemorating the early kings it is used as the best offering. There are six kinds of tree and grass fruits, among which the peach is the lowest in rank and cannot enter the shrine on commemorating the early kings. Ch'iu has heard, 'The gentlemen cleans the noble with the humble,' but never heard that he cleans the humble with the noble. Now, to clean the lowest among fruits with the highest among the cereals is to clean the worst with the best. Ch'iu regards such an act as contrary to righteousness and therefore dare not eat the peaches before eating the best offering in the shrine of the royal ancestors.

Viscount Chien of Chao once said to the Chamberlains: "The sheet inside the carriage is too beautiful. Indeed, the crown, however simple, is always put on the head; the shoes, however good, are always put on the feet. Now, the sheet inside the carriage is very beautiful. What shoes shall I wear? Indeed, to wear beautiful things below and simple things above is the origin of the violation of righteousness.

Fei Chung spoke to Chow: "The Earl of the West, Ch'ang. is worthy. The hundred surnames like him. The feudal lords turn to him. He must be censured. If not ousted, he will be a menace to the Yin Dynasty." "You are speaking," said Chow, "of a righteous lord. Why should he be censured?" In reply Fei Chung said: "The crown, however worn-out, is always put on the head; the shoes, though decorated with five colours, are trodden upon the ground. Now the Earl of the West, Ch'ang, is subordinate to Your Majesty. He has practised righteousness, wherefore people turn to him. Surely, it must be Ch'ang who will eventually become a trouble to All-under-Heaven. Any minister who does not serve his master with his worthiness must be censured. Moreover, being the ruler, Your Majesty censures a guilty minister. How can there be any fault in so doing?" "Indeed, with benevolence and righteousness the ruler encourages the subjects. Now that Ch'ang is fond of benevolence and righteousness, it is impracticable to censure him." Though persuaded for three times, he never listened. Hence followed the fall of Yin.

King Hsüan of Ch'i asked K'uang Ching: "Do the literati gamble?" "No, they don't." "Why?" asked the King. In reply K'uang Ching said: "The gamblers make much of the owl dice. The winner of the owl dice, however, has to kill it. Thus, to kill the owl dice is to kill the object of esteem. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from gambling." "Do the literati shoot birds with stringed arrows?" asked the King further. "No, they don't. To shoot "Do the literati shoot birds with stringed birds with stringed arrows is to shoot above from below. This is the same as the subjects who injure the ruler. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from shooting with stringed arrows." "Do the literati play the shooting with stringed arrows." instrument Se?" asked the King furthermore. "No, they don't. Indeed, that kind of harp gets large sounds from small strings and small sounds from large strings. This is the same as the large and the small reversing their order and high and low exchanging status. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from playing the Se instrument." "Good," said King Hsüan.

Chung-ni said, "Better let the people flatter the superior

than let them flatter the inferior".

# Annotations to Canon 4:-

Chü was a retired scholar in Ch'i; Ch'uan in Wey. The Rulers of Ch'i and Wey were not enlightened and not able to penetrate into the actual conditions within the boundaries and both followed the words of the attendants. Therefore, the two men used gold and jade and sought to join governmental

Hsi-men, while Magistrate of Yeh, was clean and honest and had no self-interest even as small as the tip of an autumn

spikelet. He was, however, very indifferent towards the courtiers. Therefore the courtiers joined one another and together did him an ill turn. After one yeat of his term, he handed in his report on local finance; then the Ruler took back his official seal. Thereupon he presented to the Ruler his own petition saying: "Formerly thy servant did not know how to be Magistrate of Yeh. Now that thy servant has the right way, may he petition for the seal in order to govern Yeh again? If his work is again not equal to the official duty, may Your Highness sentence him to capital punishment with axe and anvil." Marquis Wen, unable to bear dismissing him, gave him the post again. Pao, accordingly, imposed heavy taxes upon the hundred surnames and began to bribe the courtiers as promptly as possible. After one year he handed in his report. This time Marquis Wen went out to welcome him and even made bows to him. In response Pao said: "During the preceding year thy servant governed Yeh for Your Highness's Your Highness took away the official seal of thy servant. This year thy servant governed Yeh for the courtiers' sake, but Your Highness makes bows to thy servant. Thy servant is no longer able to govern the place." So saying he returned the seal and took his leave. Marquis Wen, refusing to accept the seal, said: "Formerly I did not know you but now know you well. Please do now well govern the place for my So saying he did not accept the resignation.

In Ch'i once the son of a dog-like thief and the son of a legless man played together and boasted before each other. The thief's son said: "My father's fur-coat alone has a tail." 'My father alone never falls short of trousers even in cold winter," said the other boy.

Tzu-ch'o said: "Nobody is able to draw a square with the left hand and a circle with the right hand at the same time.

Expel ants with meat! Then ants will multiply. Drive flies away with fish! Then flies will come nearer and nearer.

Once Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung: "Official posts are few, but office-hunters are many. Over this I am worried." "If Your Highness grants the attendants no request but awards men with emoluments only in accordance with their abilities and gives men official posts only in correspondence to their merits, then nobody dare hunt any office. What will Your Highness be worried about then?'

Viscount Hsüan of Han said: "My horses have had an abundance of madder and grain. But why are they so skinny? I am worried over it." In reply Chou Shih said: "If the stableman feeds them with all the beans and grain, then they are bound to become fat. But suppose he give them much in the name but little in fact. Then they are bound to become skinny. If Your Highness does not investigate the causes of the fact but remains seated and worried over it, the horses never will become fat."

Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung about the appointment of officials to different posts. Kuan Chung said: "With reference to eloquence and penetration in wording, honesty and integrity in money, and knowledge of human affairs, thy servant is not as good as Hsien Shang. May Your Highness appoint him Supreme Judge! With reference to the manners in ascending and descending steps and courtesies shown to guests, thy servant is not as good as Hsi P'eng. May Your Highness appoint him Supreme Usher. In matters of cultivating grass lands, collecting taxes from towns, opening up wildernesses, and growing grain, thy servant is not as good as Ning Wu. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of Agriculture. Regarding the ability to make the warriors look upon death as going home when the three armies have already formed in line, thy servant is not as good as Prince Ch'eng-fu. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of War. In moving against the facial expression of the ruler and making utmost remonstrations, I am not as good as Tung-kuo Ya. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of Censorship. To govern the Ch'i State, these five gentlemen are sufficient. If our Highness wants to become Hegemonic Ruler, I-wu is here at his

Annotations to Canon 5:-

Yü Hsien-pai was Premier of Chin. Beneath his reception hall there grew beans and weeds and outside his gate thorns and brambles. He never had two courses at a meal nor two sheets on the chair. None of his concubines wore silk. At home he gave no grain to his horses. When out, he never took his carriage. Hearing this, Shu Hsiang told Miao Peng-huang about it. Peng-huang, disapproving such a life, said: "This is to win the hearts of the subordinate people with the rank and emolument bestowed by the sovereign.'

According to a different source: Yü Hsien-pai of Chin was newly appointed High Noble. Shu Hsiang went to congratulate him. By the gate there were a coachman and a carriage, but the horse was not eating fodder. Therefore, Hsiang asked, "Why don't you have two horses and two carriages?" In reply Hsien-pai said: "Our fellow countrymen seem still hungry to me. Therefore, I do not give fodder to my horses. Most of the grey-haired men walk on foot. Therefore, I do not have two carriages." "At first I came," said Hsiang, "to congratulate you upon your appointment to High Nobility, but now I congratulate you upon your frugality.

Then Hsiang went out and told Miao Peng-huang, "Join me in congratulating Hsien-pai on his frugality." "Congratulations on what?" remarked Miao Tzu. "Indeed, to bestow ranks and emoluments, flags and badges, is to differentiate the various kinds of merits as well as to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy. Thus, according to the law of the Chin State, a Senior High Officer is entitled to two carriages and two teams of horses, a Middle High Officer, to two carriages and one team: and a Junior High Officer, to one team only. This is to make grade and ranks clear. Moreover, every noble must attend to military duties, and therefore must keep his carriages and horses in good condition, form his soldiers and chariots in lines, and thereby prepare for military action, so that in case of emergency they can provide against all eventualities and in time of peace they can serve in the court affairs. Now, he has been disturbing the state affairs of Chin and loosening the provisions against eventualities simply on purpose to perfect his private virtue and exalt his personal reputation. Is the frugality of Hsien-pai commendable at all? If not, then congratulations on what?

Kuan Chung, on becoming Premier of Ch'i, said to Duke Huan, "Thy servant is noble but poor." "You shall have the same wealth as the Building of Three Returns," said Duke Huan. "Then thy servant is wealthy but still low in rank." Duke Huan, accordingly, raised him above the Kaos and the Kuos. "Thy servant is now high in rank but very remote in relation from the ruling family." Thereupon the Duke made him Uncle Chung. Hearing this, Confucius disapproved of him and said, "Having become too extravagant he came to embarrass his superior.

According to a different source: Uncle Kuan Chung on going out would put red covers on his carriages and blue costumes on his attendants, and on coming home would have drum music played. In his yard stood tripods. His household has as much wealth as the Building of Three Returns. Therefore, Confucius said: "A good official, indeed! But his extravagance is sufficient to embarrass his superior. Sun-shu Ao, Premier of Ch'u, used a wooden cart pulled by a mare and took coarse rice with vegetable soup and dried fish for his meal. In winter he wore a lamb-skin coat and linen clothes in summer. His face always had the look of hunger. A good official, indeed. But in this case his frugality is sufficient to oppress his inferiors.

Yang Hu left Ch'i and found shelter in Chao. There Lord Chien asked him, "I have heard that you are good in raising able men." "While in Lu," said Hu, "thy servant raised three men, all of whom became magistrates. After Hu was found guilty in Lu, all of them searched after Hu. While living in Ch'i, thy servant recommended three men: One became an attendant on the King; one became a prefect; and the third became an official receiver of public guests. After I was found guilty, the attendant refused to see me; the prefect intended to arrest me on receiving me; and the official receiver pursued me up to the frontier, could not catch me, and stopped. Really I am not good in raising men." The Lord turned his face downwards with a smile and said: "Indeed, the planter of mandarin orange and pomelo trees, on eating fruits, gets the sweet taste; the planter of hedgerows and brambles finds them prickly when they grow up. Hence the gentleman is cautious in raising men.'

Chung-mou had no magistrate. Therefore Duke Ping of Chin asked Chao Wu: "Chung-mou is a place strategically important to three countries. It is the key to the city of Hantan. I want a good magistrate for it. Who will be the right man?" "Hsing Pai-tzu will be the right man," replied Wu. "Isn't he your enemy?" asked the Duke. "No private feud should go through public gates," was the reply. Then the Duke asked, "For the magistracy of Chung-fu, who is the right man?" "My son is the right one" "was the real." If the saying: "Recommend the right man from outsiders even if your enemy; recommend the right man among your relatives even if your son." Upon Chao Wu's death, all the forty-six men whom he had recommended to the Ruler, took their seats among the guests at his funeral service. To such an extent he had shown no personal favour to anybody all his life!

Duke P'ing once asked Shu Hsiang, "Among the ministers, who is the worthiest?" "Chao Wu," was the reply. "You side with your senior official," remarked the Duke. "No," said Hsiang, "Chao Wu, when standing up, looks undignified even in his full dress, and, when speaking, seems unable to utter his sentiments. Nevertheless, the officials he recommended number several tens, all of whom he enabled to exert their respective abilities, and in whom the public authorities put great trust, not to mention the fact that in his life Wu never utilized them to benefit his own family and upon his death never committed orphans to their charge. Therefore, thy servant dares to consider him the worthiest.

Chieh Hu recommended his enemy to Lord Chien for premiership. The enemy thought he had by good luck forgiven him, and so went purposely to thank him. Thereupon Hu drew his bow, and, on receiving him, aimed at him, saying: "To be sure, I recommended you because I regarded your ability equal to the post. To have hatred for you is my private

feud with you. I never on account of my feud with you kept you from my master." Hence the saying: "No private feud should go through public gates."

According to a different source: Chieh Hu recommended Hsing Pai-liu to the governorship of Shang-tang. Liu went to thank him and said: "You have forgiven me my fault. How dare I not repeat bows to you?" In reply Hu said: "To raise you is a public matter; to hate you is a private affair. You had better go. My hatred for you remains the same as before."

One day a man from the Prefecture of Cheng was selling pigs. When somebody asked him about the price, he said, "The way is still so long. The sun is setting. How can I have time to talk with you?"

### Annotations to Canon 6:-

Fan Wen-tzu was fond of speaking without reserve. His father, Wu-tzu, whipped him with a stick and said: "Who makes discussions without reserve is not tolerated by people. If tolerated by nobody, he is in danger. He endangers not only himself but also his father."

Tzu-ch'an was son of Tzu-kuo. Tzu-ch'an was loyal to the Ruler of Cheng. Thereat Tzu-kuo was angry and reprimanded him, saying: "To be sure, when you act sharply different from the rest of the ministers and remain loyal to the sovereign by yourself, if the sovereign is worthy and enlightened, he will listen to you; if he is not enlightened, he will not listen to you. You cannot always foretell whether or not he is going to listen to you. Yet you have estranged yourself from the rest of ministers. If estranged from them, you certainly endanger yourself—not only yourself, but your father too."

Liang Ch'e was Magistrate of Yeh. One day his elder sister went to see him. At dusk she arrived too late for the office hour. The gate was shut. So she went over the wall and entered the city. Ch'e cut off her feet, accordingly. Regarding this as not compassionate, Marquis Ch'eng of Chao took the official seal away from him and dismissed him from the magistracy.

Kuan Chung was arrested and brought from Lu to Ch'i. On the way he was hungry and thirsty. When passing through I-wu, he begged the frontier guard for food. The guard knelt down and presented the food to him with great reverence. Then in private the guard said to Chung: "If by any lucky chance you are not killed after you reach Ch'i but are taken into service instead, with what are you going to requite me?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "If my fate turns out as you have just said, I will take the worthy into service, give the able employment, and commend the serviceable. With what shall I requite you?" Accordingly the guard resented such an ungrateful saying.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 34.

Outer Songeries of Sayings, The Upper Right Series
The ways whereby the sovereign rules over the ministers are
three:—

(1) If the sovereign finds his influence insufficient to transform the ministers, then he should remove them. Musician K'uang in his reply and Yen Tzu in his persuasion both discarded the easy policy of position and advocated the difficult measure of virtue. This is the same as to run on foot after animals while not yet aware how to remove an impending disaster. The possibility of removing disasters is revealed in Tzu-hsia's explanation of the Spring and Autumn Annals, "Who is skilful in maintaining his position would nip an evil in the bud early enough." Thus, even Chi-sun reprimanded Chung-ni for obstructing his position. How much more should a sovereign blame rampant ministers? For the same reason, T'ai-kung Wang killed K'uang-yü; and the bondmen and bondwomen refused to ride the noble steed. Duke Ssu knew this reason, wherefore he refused to voke any deer. Hsüeh Kung knew this reason, wherefore he gambled with the twins. Both these statesmen knew the opposition between identity and difference. Thus, the way the enlightened sovereign raises ministers is illustrated by the story of domesticating crows.

(2) The lord of men is an attractive target of benefit and injury, which numerous persons would aim to shoot. Therefore, the lord of men is surrounded in common by a number of people. For this reason, if his like and hate are revealed, the inferiors will find opportunity to take, till the lord of men falls into delusion. Should the sovereign communicate the word and opinion of one minister to another then every minister will hesitate to speak to him while he will lose his dignity. The saying is based on Shen Tzu's enumeration of six prudences and on T'ang I-chü's discussion of the archer with stringed arrows. The calamity of the ruler's revealing like and hate is instanced by Kuo Yang's petition for self-reformation and King Hsüan's heaving deep sighs. The attempt to detect the opinion of the ruler is instanced by Lord Ching-kuo's presenting ten ear-beads and Kan Mu's overhearing Hsi-shou's affairs. T'ang-ch'i Kung knew the tact, wherefore he asked about the jade cups. Marquis Chao was skilful in applying the tact, wherefore after listening to any advice, he would sleep by himself. The way of the enlightened

sovereign lies in making decisions by himself as encouraged by Shen Tzu.

(3) If tact does not work, there are always reasons for it. If the wine merchant does not kill his fierce dog, his wine will become sour. Similarly, the state has dogs. Moreover, all the attendants are like the rats gnawing the shrine. Now, the lords of men are not as decisive as Yao in punishing both the first and the second remonstrants or as King Chuang in responding to the Crown Prince, but all are like the mother of Po Yi who would always ask the old woman of Ts'ai to give a decision. They may be anxious to know how to rule over the state, but unable to make rules beforehand in the way the teachers of singing have melodies composed beforehand. Wu Ch'i who divorced his beloved wife and Duke Wen who executed Tien Chieh, both acted contrary to personal feelings. Thus, who can cut open the boils of people must be able to endure the same pain himself.

So much above for the canons

Annotations to Canon 1:-

Not encouraged after being rewarded and honoured and not afraid after being punished and disgraced—in other words, not transformed after the four methods are applied then such ministers must be removed.

Duke Ching of Ch'i went to Chin and was invited by Duke P'ing to a carousal. Musician K'uang was in company with them. At the opening of the feast, Duke Ching asked Musician K'uang about government, "What will Grand Tutor teach Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," replied Musician K'uang. At the height of the feast, when half-seas-over and about to leave, he again asked Musician K'uang about government. "What will Grand Tutor teach me?" "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," replied K'uang. When Duke Ching was leaving for his lodge and Musician K'uang was seeing him off, he again asked Musician K'uang about government. "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," was again the reply. Upon his return Duke Ching kept thinking about the meaning of the precept and comprehended the saying of Musician K'uang before he awoke fully from the intoxication. Prince Wei and Prince Hsia were two younger brothers of Duke Ching. They won the hearts of the people of Ch'i very well. Their families were noble and wealthy while the people liked them. Thus, their influences rivalled that of the royal house. "This must be endangering my throne," thought Duke Ching. "Now that he told me to confer favours upon the people, does it mean that I must fight with my two younger brothers for winning the hearts of the people? Accordingly, after his return to his country he opened the granary for distributing alms among all the poor and took money out of the treasury for giving help to orphans and widows, till the granary had no old grain and the treasury had no money left. Those court ladies who did not wait on his bed were given out in marriage. People above the age of seventy were granted pensions of rice. Thus, by displaying beneficence and distributing favours, he fought with his two younger brothers for the people. In the course of two years, the two younger brothers ran out of the country, Prince Hsia finding shelter in Ch'u and Prince Wei running to Chin.

Once Duke Ching and Yen Tzu travelled to the district of Small Sea. They went up the Cypress-Bed Terrace. Turning homeward to survey his country, Duke Ching exclaimed, What a beautiful country! Woven with blue winding and deep rolling rivers and dotted with stately and dignified mountains! Who will possess it in the future?" "Will that be the family of T'ien Ch'eng?" said Yen Tzu. "I am in possession of this country. Why do you say, 'The family of T'ien Ch'eng will have it'?" asked the Duke. In reply Yen Tzu said: "Indeed, the family of T'ien Ch'eng have won the hearts of the people of Ch'i very well. On the one hand, he asks for ranks and emoluments, which he distributes among the chief vassals. On the other, he enlarges the measures on lending grain out to poor people and contracts the measures on taking the grain back from them. Whenever he kills an ox, he takes only one plate of the beef and with the rest feeds scholars and warriors. All the year round he takes only thirty-six feet of cloth for his own use and gives the rest to scholars and warriors for clothing. Woods at the market-place are not more expensive than in the mountains. Fish, salt, tortoises, turtles, conches, and mussels, from swamps are not more expensive than from the sea. While the Ruler is increasing taxes, T'ien Ch'eng enlarges his alms. Once there was a famine in Ch'i, Those who starved to death by the wayside were innumerable. It was never heard that father and son who led each other and turned to T'ien Ch'eng for help were not saved from death. Therefore, even the peoples of Chou and Ch'in have been in groups singing the song:

Shall we sing his praises, now, Or shall we stop for fear? Shall we starve to death? Or turn to Tien Ch'eng, the dear? It is said in The Book of Poetry, And though to you no virtue I can add, Yet we will sing and dance, in spirit glad. Now that for the virtue of T'ien Ch'eng the people sing and dance, they consider it a virtuous act to turn to him for government. Therefore, thy servant has said, 'Will that be the family of T'ien Ch'eng?' "Melting bitterly into tears, the Duke said, "Isn't it sad? I have the country now, but the family of T'ien Ch'eng will have it in the future. Now, what can be done about it?" In reply Yen Tzu said: "What does Your Highness have to worry about? If Your Highness wants to rob him of the reins of government, the best is to keep the worthy near by and the unworthy far off, put the chaos in order, loosen penalties, relieve the poor and destitute, give alms to orphans and widows, distribute favours among the masses and support the needy with supplies. Then the people will turn to Your Highness, and even ten T'ien Ch'engs will not be able to do anything against Your Highness."

Somebody said: "Duke Ching did not know how to make use of his position while Musician K'uang and Yen Tzu did not know how to get rid of troubles. To be sure if the hunter relies on the security of the carriage, utilises the legs of the six horses, and makes Wang Liang hold their reins, then he will not tire himself and will find it easy to overtake swift animals. Now supposing he discarded the advantage of the carriage. gave up the useful legs of the horses and the skill of Wang Liang, and alighted to run after the animals, then even though his legs were as quick as Lou Chi's, he would not be in time to overtake the animals. In fact, if good horses and strong carriages are taken into use, then mere bondmen and bondwomen will be good enough to catch the animals. Now, the state is the ruler's carriage while position is his horse. Indeed, not to utilize the position and thereby interdict favour-selling ministers, but to make favours and kindnesses definite and confer them upon All-under-Heaven and do the same as crooked ministers would do in order thereby to fight with them for winning the hearts of the people, is always the same as not to ride the ruler's carriage and not to take advantage of the speed of horses, but to leave the carriage and alight to run after the animals. Hence the saying: 'Duke Ching was a sovereign not knowing how to utilize his position while Musician K'uang and Yen Tzu were ministers not knowing how to get rid of troubles."

Tzu-Isia said: "Regicides and parricides as recorded in the Spring and Autumn Annals number tens. Nine of them was an outcome of one day's fermentation. It always grew from a bud and developed into maturity. On the whole the wicked deeds, repeatedly committed, become a pile. When the pile is mature, the urge to commit further villainy becomes strong. When the urge is strong, it is liable to extend to murder. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign uproots them early. Now the attempt of Tien Ch'eng to launch a rebellion could be seen budding, but the ruler never censured him. Yen Tzu never made his ruler suppress offensive ministers but advised him to confer favours. In consequence, Duke Chien suffered the calamity in posterity. Therefore, Tzu-hsia says, 'Who is skilful in maintaining his position would nip an evil in the bud.'"

Chi-sun was Premier of Lu. Tzu-lu was Magistrate of Hou. In the fifth month of the year the Lu State requisitioned a number of able-bodied men to dig a long ditch. During the period of time Tzu-lu made rice gruel with the grain out of his private emolument and fed the workmen at the quarters of Wu-fu. Hearing about this, Confucius sent Tzu-kung there to overturn the food, break the vessels, and tell him, "The Ruler of Lu rules over the people. Why should you feed them? Thereby, Tzu-lu, changing his colour from anger bared his arms, went in, and said, "Master, do you dislike Yu practising benevolence and righteousness? What Yu has learned from the Master is benevolence and righteousness. To be benevolent and righteous is to give All-under-Heaven one's own possessions and let them share one's own profits. Why do you consider it wrong for Yu to feed the people with the grain out of his private emolument?" In reply Confucius said: "How crude Yu is! I thought you would know as much as this. Yet really you have not come to that. Thus you do not know the rules of propriety. Now, by feeding them you think you love them. To be sure, according to the rules of propriety, the Son of Heaven loves All-under-Heaven, the feudal lords love people within their respective domains. High Officials love their official duties, and scholars and warriors love their families. Who goes beyond the sphere of his love is called 'offensive'. Now that the Ruler of Lu rules over the people while you attempt to love them at your pleasure, it means you are offensive. Aren't you absurd?"

Before Confucius had finished his speech, the messenger of Chi-sun arrived, blamed Confucius, and said, "Fei requisitioned the men and set them to work, whereas Master sent a disciple to stop them and feed them. Would you mean to rob Fei of the people?" Thereupon Confucius took his carriage and left Lu. Thus, despite the worthiness of Confucius, even Chi-sun, not being the Ruler of Lu but merely applying the tact of the lord of men from the position of a minister, would nip an evil in the bud, shows that Tzu-lu was not allowed to confer private favours and no calamity could grow. How much more should the lord of men? Should the offensiveness of Tien Ch'eng have been stopped with the

position of Duke Ching, there would be no calamity of intimidation and regicide.

T'ai-kung Wang was enfeoffed eastward in Ch'i. By the eastern sea of Ch'i there were retired scholars named K'uangyü and Hua-shih. Being two brothers, both set up the principle: "Neither of us would minister to the Son of Heaven and make friends with the feudal lords, but would till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water. We would not ask anybody for help and accept neither title from any superior nor emolument from any ruler. We attend not to any official post but to our own physical strength.' When T'ai-kung Wang arrived at Camp Hill, he sent men to arrest them and kill them at the first execution. Hearing about this, Duke Tan of Chou, sent out an urgent message from Lu and asked: "Indeed, the two gentlemen were worthies Why did you kill worthies on receiving the rule over the country?" In reply T'ai-kung Wang said: "These two brothers had set up the principle: 'Neither of us would minister to the Son of Heaven and make friends with the feudal lords. We would till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water. We would not ask anybody for help and receive neither title from any superior nor emolument from any ruler. We attend not to any official post but to our own physical strength.' Their refusal to minister to the Son of Heaven forecast Wang's inability to rule them as subjects. Their refusal to make friends with the feudal lords forecast Wang's inability to set them to work. Their pledge to till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water and thereby ask nobody for help forecast Wang's inability to encourage them with reward and prohibit them with punishment. Moreover, their decision to accept no title from any superior implied their refusal to work for Wang however intelligent they might be. Their expectation of no emolument from the ruler implied their refusal to render Wang any meritorious service however worthy they might be. Should they refuse any appointment to office, they would choose anarchy; should they attend to no official duties, they would be disloyal. Furthermore, the means whereby the early kings employed their ministers and subjects were either rank and emolument or censure and punishment. Now, if these four means be not sufficient to employ them, over whom shall Wang rule? To let them become celebrated without bearing arms and wearing armour and become famous without tilling the land and weeding the farm is not the way to give teaching to the country. Now suppose there is a horse here which looks like a noble steed and is the best in All-under-Heaven. However, if it would not advance when driven forward nor would it stop when pulled back; and, if pulled to the left, it would not go to the left, and, pulled to the right, it would not go to the right; then even bondmen and bondwomen, humble as they are, would not rely on its legs. Bondmen and bondwomen want to rely on the legs of the steed because thereby they can seek gain and avoid harm. Now that it would not work for anybody, the slaves, humble as they are, would not rely on its legs. Similarly, the two brothers proclaimed themselves worthy personages of the world but would not work for any sovereign. However worthy their deeds might be, if they would not work for the ruler, they were not what the enlightened sovereign ought to take as subjects. They were like the steed that cannot be pulled to the left or right. This was the reason why they were executed."

According to a different source: Tai-kung Wang was enfeoffed eastward in Ch'i. By the sea there was a worthy named K'uang-yü. Hearing of him, T'ai-kung Wang went to ask for an interview with him. Thrice in front of the gate he left his horse and walked on foot, but K'uang-yü never granted him an interview. Therefore, T'ai-kung Wang censured him. At that time, Duke Tan of Chou was in Lu and went on horseback to stop the execution. Upon his arrival the execution had already been accomplished. "K'uang-yü was a worthy man," said Duke Tan of Chou, "of All-under-Heaven Why did you punish him, indeed?" In reply T'ai-kung Wang said: "K'uang-yü considered it righteous not to minister to the Son of Heaven nor to make friends with the feudal lords. I was afraid he might disturb the law and alter the morals. Therefore, I took him for the first execution. Now suppose there is a horse here which looks like a noble steed. However, if it would not advance when driven forward, then even bondmen and bondwomen would not rely on its legs for turning the wheels of their carriage."

Ju-erh once persuaded Duke Ssu of Wei of the way of government. Duke Ssu was pleased with his persuasion but heaved deep sighs. "Why does Your Highness not appoint him prime minister?" asked the chamberlains. "Indeed, any horse that looks like a deer," replied the Duke, "can be quoted at one thousand pieces of gold. However, there are horses each worth one thousand pieces of gold but no deer worth one thousand pieces of gold but no deer worth one thousand pieces of gold Why? It is because horses would work for men but no deer would work for men. Now, Ju-erh deserves the premiership in a state of ten thousand chariots, and, besides, has an intention to serve a big state. His mind is not in Wei. Though eloquent and intelligent, he will not work for me. That is the reason why I do not appoint him premier."

When Hsüeh Kung was premier to Marquis Chao of Wey, there were twin brothers among the chamberlains, named Yang-hu and Pan-ch'i. Both were highly regarded by the sovereign but would not do Hsüeh Kung any good. Over this Hsüeh Kung was worried. Therefore, he invited them to a gambling party. He gave each one hundred pieces of gold and let the brothers gamble. Of a sudden, he gave each two hundred pieces more. After they had gambled for a while, the usher came in and said, "The son of Chang Chi is waiting at the gate." Changing colour from anger, Kung took a weapon and passed it to the usher and said, "Kill him with this! I have heard Chi would never do Wen any good." The usher kept standing for a while. Then Chi Yü by the side of them said, That is not so. In secret I have heard Chi has been doing Your Excellency much good. It seems that nobody else has let Your Excellency know." Thereupon he rejected killing the visitor, and welcomed him as a guest, paid him great courtesies, and said: "Formerly I heard Chi would not do me any good. So I thought of killing him. Now I know he has been sincerely doing me good. How can I forget his kindness?" So saying, he told the granary-keeper to prepare one thousand piculs of grain, the treasurer to prepare five hundred pieces of gold, the stableman to prepare two teams of good horses and strong carriages out of his own stable, and besides ordered the eunuch to get ready twenty beautiful maids from among the court ladies. Of all these he made Chi a present. Accordingly, the twin brothers said to each other: Who does Kung good, always gains everything; who does not do him good, always loses everything. Why should we choose not to do him good?" Thenceforth they personally encouraged each other to do him good. Thus, even Hsüeh Kung from the position of a minister, by applying the tact of the lord of men, could prevent an evil growing. How much more could the lord of men by doing the same?

To be sure the crow-tamer cuts off the lower feathers. Then the bird must depend upon him for food. How can it go wild? Indeed, the same is true when the enlightened sovereign wants to keep ministers under control. He must make the ministers always profit by the emoluments bestowed by the ruler and submit to the titles conferred by the superior. If they profit by the emoluments bestowed by the ruler and submit to the titles conferred by the superior, how can they remain disobedient?

Annotations to Canon 2:-

Shen Tzu said: "If the superior's cleverness is visible, people will guard against it; if his stupidity is visible, people will bewilder him; if his knowledge is visible, people will disguise themselves; if his ignorance is visible, people will hide their faults; if his freedom from avarice is visible, people will watch for unguarded moments; if his possession of avarice is visible, people will allure him. Hence the saying: 'I find no way to know them. Only by not doing anything I can watch them.' "

According to a different source: Shen Tzu said: "Be prudent in your speech, or people will accord with you. Be prudent in your action, or people will follow after you. When you can see, people will hide their defects from you. When your ignorance is visible, people will deceive you. When you have knowledge, people will keep you off. When you have no knowledge, people will trespass against you. Hence the saying 'Only by not doing anything the ruler can watch the ministers.'

T'ien Tzu-fang asked T'ang I-chü, "Of what must the archer with stringed arrows be cautious?" In reply I-chü said: "The bird sees you with several hundred eyes, whereas you aim at it with two eyes. You had better be careful about your hiding-place." "Good," said T'ien Tzu-fang, "You apply this principle to shooting with stringed arrows; I will apply it to the state." Hearing this, an elder of Cheng said: "T'ien Tzu-fang knows the need of making a hiding-place but has not yet found how to make it. To be sure, nihilism and invisibility make the hiding-place."

According to a different source: King Hsüan of Ch'i asked T'ang I Tzu about the art of shooting with stringed arrows, "What is most essential to the art of shooting with stringed arrows?" "Carefulness about the hiding-place," replied T'ang I Tzu. "What do you mean by 'carefulness about the hiding-place?" asked the King. In reply I Tzu said: "The bird sees man with tens of eyes, whereas man sees it with two eyes. How can man not be careful about his hiding-place? Therefore, I say, The essence of the art lies in carefulness about the hiding place.' "How is the rule over All-under-Heaven," remarked the King, "different from this? Now, with two eyes the lord of men sees the whole country, whereas the country sees the lord of men with a myriad eyes. Then how can he make himself a hiding-place?" In reply I Tzu said: "An elder of Cheng had the saying, 'Indeed, the ruler, being empty and tranquil and doing nothing, is invisible.' Is this the way to make the hiding-place?"

Kuo Yang was highly regarded by the ruler of Cheng. When he heard the Ruler disliked him, he accompanied him at a carousal and purposely said beforehand to the Ruler: "If thy servant happens to be so unlucky as to have committed certain faults, may Your Highness kindly permit thy servant to know them. Then thy servant will ask permission to reform himself in hope that he may evade capital punishment."

Once an itinerant spoke to King Hsüan of Han about the way of government. King Hsüan was pleased with his theory and heaved deep sighs. On the same day the courtiers reported the King's pleasure promptly to the itinerant in order to place him under an obligation.

When Lord Ching-kuo was Premier of Ch'i, the Queen died. As nobody had yet known who would be installed as the new Queen, he presented ear-beads to the King and thereby knew

According to a different source: Hsüeh Kung was Premier under King Wei of Ch'i, when the royal consort died. There were then ten ladies admired by the King. Among these Hsüeh Kung wanted to know the one whom the King wanted in particular, so that he would ask the King to install that one as the new consort. However, should the King listen to him. then his suggestion would prevail upon the King and he would be highly regarded by the new consort; should the King not listen to him, his persuasion must have been ineffective and he would be slighted by the new consort. Thus, he wanted to know beforehand the one whom the King wanted in order to encourage the King to install that one. Thereupon he ordered ten ear-beads and specially beautified one of them. Then he presented them to the King. The King distributed them among the ten ladies. Next day, when he went to court, he saw the lady who had the most beautiful bead and so encouraged the King to install her as the new consort

When Kan Mu was premier to King Hui of Ch'in, King Hui liked Kung-sun Yen. One day he spoke in private to him, "I am going to appoint you prime minister." This was overheard through a hole in the wall by a subordinate official of Kan Mu, and was reported to him. Meanwhile, Kan Mu went in to have audience with the King and said, "As Your Majesty has found a worthy premier, thy servant dares to repeat bows and offer his congratulations." "I have committed the state," said the King, "to your hands. Why should I find another worthy premier?" "Your Majesty is going to make Hsi-shou premier," was the reply. "Where did you hear that?" asked the King. "Hsi-shou told thy servant." Angry at Hsi-shou's letting out the news, the King banished him.

According to a different source: Hsi-shou was a good general in All-under-Heaven serving under the King of Liang-Wey. The King of Ch'in wanted to get him and entrust him with the rule over All-under-Heaven. "Yen is a minister, replied Hsi-shou, "and therefore dare not leave the country of his ruler at any time." In the course of one year Hsi-shou displeased the King of Liang-Wey and sought refuge in Ch'in. The King of Ch'in accorded him a very cordial reception. Chu Li-chi, the then Commander of Ch'in's forces, fearing lest Hsishou should replace him, bored a hole through the wall of the room where the King would have confidential conversations. Suddenly, the King actually consulted with Hsi-shou and said, "I want to attack Han. What will be the best way?" "The coming autumn will be the right time," replied Hsi-shou. "I want to entrust you," said the King, "with the state affairs then. You must not let out this secret." Running backward and repeating his bows, Hsi-shou said, "At your service." By that time Chu Li-chi had already heard the conversation. He told every courtier he met, "An army will be raised in autumn to attack Han with Hsi-shou as Commander." Thus, in a day all the courtiers knew this. In a month everybody within the boundary knew it. The King, accordingly, summoned Chu Lichi and said, "Why is everybody panic-stricken? Whence did the rumour come out?" "It seems," replied Chu Li-chi, "that Hsi-shou declared the news." "I never spoke to Hsi-shou," said the King, "about the expedition. Why did he create such a rumour?" In reply Chu Li-chi said: "Hsi-shou is a refugee finding shelter in this country. As he trespassed against his former ruler recently, he is still feeling helpless in a new place. Therefore, he has created such a rumour in order to exercise his influence among the masses of people." "Right," the King said and sent men to summon Hsi-shou, but Hsi-shou had already made his escape to some other feudal lord.

T'ang-ch'i Kung said to Marquis Chao, "Suppose there is a jade cup worth one thousand pieces of gold, but it has no bottom. Can it be used in serving water?" "No," replied Marquis Chao. "Then suppose there is an earthen pot which does not leak. Can it be used in serving wine?" "Yes," replied Marquis Chao. Thereupon Chi Kung said: "Indeed, the earthen pot is the cheapest vessel, but, not leaking, can be used in serving wine. The jade cup, worth one thousand pieces of gold, is the most expensive vessel, but without a bottom it leaks and cannot be used in serving water. If so, who will ever pour any kind of liquid into it? Now, the lord of men who lets out the words of ministers is similar to the jade cup without a bottom. Though possessed of holiness and intelligence, he cannot exercise his tact to the utmost, for he divulges secrets."
"Right," said the Marquis. Ever after Marquis Chao had heard these words from T'ang-chi Kung, whenever he wanted to launch any drastic measure in Allunder-Heaven, he would always sleep by himself for fear lest he should talk in his sleep and let anybody else know his scheme.

According to a different source: T'ang-chi Kung had an interview with Marquis Chao and said: "Suppose there are a

white jade cup with no bottom and a pottery one with a bottom. When thirsty, which will Your Highness use for drinking?" "The pottery one of course," replied the Marquis. "The white jade cup is beautiful," said Tang chi-kung, "but Your Highness will not drink from it. Is it because it has no bottom?" "Yes," replied the Ruler. Then Tang Chi-kung said: "The lord of men who divulges the words of ministers, is comparable to the jade cup with no bottom." Thenceforth, every time after Tang Chi-kung had an audience and went out, Marquis Chao would always lie by himself simply for fear lest he should talk in his sleep and divulge the conversation to his consorts.

Shen Tzu said: "Who sees things by himself, is called clearsighted; who hears things by himself is called acute; and who can make decision by himself, is fit to rule over All-under-Heaven.

Annotations to Canon 3:-

Once there was a Sung man selling wine. His measures were very fair. His reception of customers was very courteous. The wine he made was excellent. He hoisted his hanner in an imposing manner. Yet he had no business and the wine would become sour. Wondering at the cause, he asked his acquaintance, an elder of the village, named Yang Ching. "It is because your dog is fierce," replied Ching. "If my dog is fierce, why does my wine not sell well?" "Because customers are afraid of it. When people send out children with money and pots or jars to buy wine from you, your dog would jump at them and sometimes bite them. This is the reason why your wine does not sell well and becomes sour." Indeed, the state has dogs, too. Thus experts in statecraft, bearing the right tact in mind, want to enlighten the sovereign of ten thousand chariots, whereas ministers like the fierce dog of the wine merchant would jump at them and bite them. This is the reason why the lord of men is deluded and experts in statecraft are not taken into service.

Similarly, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung what was the greatest menace to the government of a state. "The greatest menace is the shrine rats," was the reply. "Why should we worry so much about the shrine rats?" asked the Duke. Then Kuan Chung replied: "Your Highness must have seen people building a shrine. They set up the beams and then plaster them. Yet rats gnaw holes through the plaster and shelter themselves inside. Then, if you smoke them out, you are afraid you might burn the wood; if you pour water over them, you are afraid the plaster might crumble. This is the reason why the shrine rats cannot be caught. Now the courtiers of the ruler of men, when out, are influential in position and thereby exploit the people; when in, they join one another in hiding their faults from the ruler. From inside they spy out the ruler's secrets and report them to foreign authorities, till they become influential both at home and abroad and all ministers and magistrates regard them as helpful. If the authorities do not censure them, they continue disturbing laws; if they censure them, then the ruler will shield them from blame, shelter them from punishment, and still keep them around. They are the shrine rats in the state. Similarly, ministers who have the grip on state affairs and issue prohibitions at their pleasure, always giving advantages to those doing them good and causing injuries to those not doing them any good, are the same as fierce dogs.

Indeed, when chief vassals have become fierce dogs and would bite upholders of the true path, and when the courtiers have turned into shrine rats and would spy out the ruler's secrets, if the lord of men takes no notice of the impending danger, how can he avoid delusion and how can the state evade ruin?

According to a different source: Among the wine merchants in Sung there was a certain Chuang family. Their wine was always excellent. One day somebody sent a servant to buy the wine of the Chuangs. As their dog would bite customers, the servant dared not go to them and bought wine from another family. When he was asked why he did not buy the wine of the Chuangs, he replied, "The wine of the Chuangs is to-day sour." Hence the saying: "If the wine merchant does not kill his dog, his wine will become sour."

According to another different source: Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung, "What was the chief menace to the government of a state?" "The greatest distress is caused by the shrine rats," was the reply. "Indeed, after the shrine had its beams set up and had them plastered, rats would hide themselves inside. If you attempt to smoke them out, the wood will be burned; if you pour water over them, the plaster will crumble. This is the way you are distressed by the shrine rats. Now, the courtiers of the ruler of men, when out, are influential in position and thereby exploit the people; when in, they join one another in slandering their enemies and in covering their own faults, and thereby deceive the ruler. If not censured, they keep disturbing laws; if censured the lord of men will shield them from blame, shelter them from punishment, and still keep them around. They are shrine rats, too."

Similarly, ministers who have the grip on state affairs and issue prohibitions at their pleasure, always giving advantages to those doing them good and causing injuries to those not

doing them any good, are fierce dogs, too. Therefore, if the courtiers become shrine rats and the administrators of state affairs turn into fierce dogs, the right type of statecraft will not function

When Yao wanted to transfer the rule over AllunderHeaven to Shun, against such a measure K'un remonstrated with him saying: "How inauspicious! Who would transfer the rule of All-under-Heaven to a commoner? Yao never listened to him but raised an army and killed him in the vicinity of the Feather Mountains. Likewise, the Minister of Public Works remonstrated with him, saying, "Nobody should transfer the rule over All-under-Heaven to a commoner." Yao never listened to him but also raised an army and banished the Minister of Public Works to the city of Thenceforth, All-under-Heaven dared not Yu-chou. disapprove the transfer of the rule over All-under-Heaven to Shun. Hearing this, Chung-ni said: "It is not difficult for Yao to know the worthiness of Shun. Indeed, to punish the remonstrants and thereby effect the transfer of the throne to Shun was his difficulty.

According to a different source: Chung-ni said, "Not to ruin the result of observation with the object of suspicion is difficult."

King Chuang of Ching once issued the law of the inner gate to the effect that "When any Ministers, High Officers, and Princes enter the court, if the hoofs of anybody's horse walk upon the 'eavesdrops', the court guard should cut down the shaft of his carriage and execute his coachman." In the meantime, the Crown Prince entered the court. As soon as his horse trod on the "eavesdrops", the guard cut down the shaft of his carriage and executed his coachman. Angry at this, the Crown Prince went in to see the King and with tears in his eyes said, "May Your Majesty punish the guard for me!" In response the King said: "The law is the means whereby the ancestral shrine and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain are revered. Therefore, who can live up to the law, carry out orders, and thereby revere the Shrine of the Spirits of Land and Grain, is a loyal subject to the community. Why should such a man be punished then? To be sure, who violates the law, discards orders, and thereby shows no respect to the Shrine of the Spirits of Land and Grain, is a subject offending his ruler and an inferior disobeying his superior. If the subject offends his ruler, then the sovereign will lose his authority; if the inferior disobeys his superior, then the superior's status will be endangered. With my authority lost and my status endangered and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain not safeguarded what can I bequeath to my descendants?" Thereupon the Crown Prince ran backward kept away from his residence, staved outdoors for three days, faced the north, repeated his bows, and apologised for the capital crime.

According to a different source: Once upon a time the King of Ch'u sent urgently for the Crown Prince. The law of the Ch'u State allowed no carriage to reach the inner gate of the palace. It was raining. There were puddles in the courtyard. Therefore, the Crown Prince had to take his carriage as far as the inner gate. "No carriage is allowed," shouted the court guard, "to reach the inner gate. To take any carriage as far as the inner gate is against the law." "His majesty's summon is so urgent," said the Crown Prince, "that I cannot wait till the puddles dry up." So saying, he drove onward. Raising his halberd, the guard hit the horse and broke the yoke. The Crown Prince then went in to see the King and with tears in his eyes said: "There were in the courtyard so many puddles that I had to take the carriage as far as the inner gate. The guard, however, said it was against the law, raised his halberd, hit thy servant's horse and broke the yoke of thy servant's carriage. May Your Majesty be sure to punish him!" "With the aged sovereign in the front," remarked the King, "he never neglected the law; with the future ruler in the rear he never showed any favour. How worthy he must be! He is truly my law-abiding subject." Thereupon the King raised the rank of the guard by two grades, sent out the Crown Prince through the back gate, and prevented him from going through the inner gate again.

Duke Ssu of Wei said to Po Yi: "You regard my state as small and therefore not worth serving. Yet I have ability to take you into service. Shall I raise your rank and appoint you High Noble?" So saying, he added one million mou of fields to his emolument. In response to this Po Tzu said: "Yi's mother loves Yi and thinks Yi is even able to serve as prime minister to a ruler of ten thousand chariots with no insufficiency. However, Yi's family witch, Old Woman Ts'ai. is very much liked and believed by Yi's mother and is entrusted with all domestic affairs. Now, Yi is intelligent enough to be told about the domestic affairs and his mother should always listen to him. However, whatever she had agreed with Yi, she would always refer to Old Woman Ts'ai for decision. Thus, for instance, after discussing Yi's wisdom and ability with the old woman, she came to consider Yi able to serve as prime minister to a ruler of ten thousand chariots. As regards the relationship, it lies between mother and son. Nevertheless, she could not help consulting Old Woman Ts'ai. Now, the relationship between Yi and the lord of men is not as intimate as that between mother and son while the lord of

men always has witches like Old Woman Ts'ai. The witches of the lord of men are, no doubt, his powerful vassals, who are able to practise selfishness. Indeed, to practise selfishness is contrary to the inked string, whereas what Yi speaks about is always in accordance with the law. Who acts contrary to the inked string and who stands in accordance with the law are enemies and never tolerate each other."

According to a different source: The Ruler of Wei was going to Chin and said to Po Yi: "I want you to go along with me." "Mother is at home. May I go home and consult with her about the matter?" Thereupon the Ruler of Wei went himself to ask permission. "Yi is a subject," said Mother Po, "to Your Highness. It is very kind of you to take him along. Then the Ruler said to Po Yi: "I already asked Mother. She gave me permission." When Po Yi went home, he asked his Who loves Yi better, His Highness or Mother?" "He mother, does not love my son so much as I do," replied the mother. 'Who recognizes Yi's worthiness more, His Highness or Mother?" "He does not recognize my son's worthiness so much as I do." Finally Yi said: "Every time after Mother and Yi discussed domestic affairs and decided on a certain planshe would refer it to the Old Woman of Ts'ai, a fortune-teller, for the second decision. Now the ruler of Wei is going to take Yi along. Though he will decide with Yi on his plans, yet he will certainly consult some other Old Woman Ts'ai and break the plans. If such be the case, Yi will not be able to serve him long as Minister."

Indeed, the teacher of singing first teaches the pupil vocal gestures and different pitches. After the pupil becomes able to express the clear lingual sounds, then the teacher begins to teach him real singing.

According to a different source: The teacher of singing, first of all, conforms the pupil's voice to certain rules. When singing staccato, the pupil must set his tone with guttural sounds; when singing legato, he must set his tone with lingual sounds. If his staccato is not set with guttural sounds and his legato not with lingual sounds, then he is not teachable.

Wu Ch'i was a native of Tso-shih in Wei. Once he asked his wife to weave a silk band. When finished, the band was too narrow for the regular width. So he asked her to weave a new one. "All right," said his wife. When finished, it was measured as before but fell short of the regular width, too. At this Wu Ch'i was very angry. In response his wife said: "After I had set in the warp, I could not change the width any more." Wu Ch'i divorced her. Then his wife asked her elder brother to send her back. Her elder brother said: "Wu Ch'i is a law-abiding man. In abiding by the law, he wants to apply legalism to his wife first and then to his son in order that some day he will be in a position to render a ruler of ten thousand chariots meritorious services. Give up your hope for reinstatement as his wife." Her younger brother had influence on the Ruler of Wei. Therefore, through the influence of the Ruler of Wei he asked Wu Ch'i to take her back, but Wu Ch'i never listened to him and finally left Wei for Ching.

According to a different source: Wu Ch'i showed his wife a silk band and said to her: "Will you weave for me a silk band exactly like this one?" When the band was woven, he tried it and found it extraordinarily well done. "I told you," said Wu Ch'i, "to weave for me a silk band exactly like this one, but now it is extraordinarily well done. Why?" In reply his wife said: "The material was the same, but I added a great deal of effort to make it better than the sample." "That was not what I told you to do." So saying, Wu Ch'i let his wife wear it and sent her home. Her father went to ask him to take her back. However, Wu Ch'i said, "Ch'i's house admits no empty word."

Duke Wen of Chin once asked Hu Yen: "If your Highness fills the reception hall with sweet tastes and fat meat, leaves a few cups of wine and a few plates of meat in the inner court, and lets the wine in the jar have no time to become clear and the raw meat have no time to be laid out, and if on killing an ox he would distribute the beef among the people in the country and clothe the officers and soldiers with the whole year's products of the weavers, will this be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Insufficient," replied Hu Tzu. 'Suppose I reduce the custom duties and business taxes and loosen censure and punishment, will that be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Insufficient," replied Hu Tzu. "Suppose I personally send a courtier to look after the matter when anybody needs money for a funeral rite, give pardons to criminals and bestow favours upon the poor and the needy. Will this be sufficient to make the people go to war?" In reply Hu Tzu said: "All these methods are ways of earning one's livelihood. To make the people go to war, however, is to put them to death. Now that the people obey Your Highness on purpose to earn their livelihood, if Your Highness thereby drives them to their death, then they will lose the cause to obey Your Highness." "If so," asked the Duke, "what will be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Make them unable to do anything but fighting," was the reply. "How to make them unable to do anything but fighting?" asked the Duke. 'By making reward of faith and punishment definite," replied Hu Tzu. "This will be sufficient to make them go to war." "How far must the extremity of censure and punishment extend?" asked the Duke. "As far as any relative or noble held

guilty. The law must prevail among the most beloved," replied Hu Tzu. "Good," remarked the Duke.

On the following day Duke Wen issued an order: A field-hunt is to be held at the Gardening Land; the time is fixed at noon sharp; whoever arrives late shall be court-martialled. There arrived late a favourite of Duke Wen, named Tien Chieh. The criminal judge asked the Duke to pass a sentence on him. Shedding tears, the Duke worried over it. But the judge said, "May Your Highness carry out the order!" Finally he cut Tien Chieh in two at the back in order to warn the hundred surnames and to prove the faith of the law. Thenceforth all the hundred surnames were afraid of punishment and said: "His Highness made so much of Tien Chieh. Still he applied the law to the case. How much less can we hope for pardon?"

Perceiving his ability to make the people go to war, Duke Wen raised an army, attacked Yüan, and took it. Attacking Wei, he made their field-ridges run eastward and thereby facilitate his military operations. He took Five Deer, attacked Yang, and defeated Kuo. Then he attacked Ts'ao and marched southward to besiege Cheng and upset the city walls. Then he raised the siege of Sung and fought with the Chings at Ch'eng-p'u and put them to rout. Turning homeward, he took an oath at Foot-Earth, and finally accomplished at Heng-yung the righteousness of honouring the House of Chou. Thus, in an expedition he completed eight achievements. As to why he was so successful, there was no other reason than this, that he followed the counsel of Hu Yen and made use of the back of Tien Chieb.

Indeed the pain of the boil, unless the bone and marrow are pierced, the worried mind will no longer be able to bear. If the bone and marrow are not pierced, nobody can use the half-inch stone-needle to cut the boil open. The same is true with the lord of men in government. Unless he knows hardship, he cannot have peace. If he wants to govern his country, unless he experiences the pain, he will not be able to listen to the holy and the intelligent and remove the rebellious ministers. Rebellious ministers are always powerful men. Powerful men are always very near and dear to the lord of men. The relationship between the sovereign and his favourites is as inseparable as that between "Hard and White". Indeed, if any wearer of hemp clothes attempts from such a humble position to remove the favourites of the lord of men who are as inseparable from him as hard from white, it will be as dangerous as to cut off the left thigh and speak to the right one. This is the reason why his body will be put to death and his theory never will prevail.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 35.

Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Right Series

- (1). If the Ruler enforces reward and punishment with the minister, then prohibitions and ordinances will take no effect. How can I make this clear? With the cases of Tsao-fu and Yüch'i as illustration. Tzu-han acted like the jumping pig; Tien Heng made benevolence and kindness as attractive as the garden pool. In consequence, the Ruler of Sung and Duke Chien were murdered. The calamity of its practice is also illustrated by Wang Liang and Tsao-fu driving the same chariot and Tien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao playing the same lute
- (2). Order and strength are due to the law; weakness and disorder, to its crookedness. If the ruler understands this principle, he must rectify reward and punishment but never assume humanity towards his inferiors. Rank and emolument are due to meritorious services; censure and punishment, to criminal offences. If the minister understands this, he must exert his strength even at the risk of his life but never assume loyalty to the ruler. Thus, with the ruler well versed in the practice of inhumanity and the minister in that of disloyalty, it is possible to rule over All-under-Heaven. For illustration, King Chao-hsiang, knowing the gist of the sovereign, stopped giving the starvelings fruits and vegetables from the Five Parks; and Tien Yu, knowing the gist of the minister, gave instructions to his son, Tien Chang. Kung Yi refused the present of fish.
- (3). If the lord of men takes no interest in foreign affairs, then itinerants from abroad are bound to be successful. For instance, Su Tai reproved the King of Ch'i before the King of Yen. If the lord of men takes interest in ancient precepts, then private scholars are certain to become celebrated. For instance, P'an Shou extolled the acts of King Yü. It was because the lord of men in so doing perceived no fault of his own. Knowing this principle, Fang Wu was afraid of sharing anything with any kin. How much more should the ruler of men be afraid of letting any minister exercise his authority? Knowing this principle, Wu Chang spoke about the futility of anybody showing pretentious love or hatred. How much more futile must it be to show true love or true hatred? The King of Chao disliked the tiger's eyes and thereby incurred delusion. The way of the enlightened sovereign is very often like the way of the official usher of the court of Chou refusing the Ruler of Wei admission.
- (4). The lord of men abides by the law and calls actual results to account in order thereby to perform his great

achievement. We hear about people who behave well by themselves despite the dissipation of the magistrate; but we never hear about any magistrate who governs himself well but has rebellious people. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign governs the magistrates but never directly governs the people. The basis of this argument is found in shaking the tree by its root and drawing the net by its rope. Therefor, take for further illustration the fire brigade. On suppressing the fire, if the captain takes one iar of water and runs to the fire with it. it means that he performs the function of only one man; whereas if he takes a whip in hand and drives other men to work then he can make a myriad men work. Therefore, upholders of tact can accomplish the result as easily as Tsao-fu handling a frightened horse. When Tsao-fu led the horse and pulled the carriage, he could not advance them. When he replaced the coachman, held the reins in hand and took the whip along, then the horses would all start galloping. the principle can be illustrated with the iron hammer flattening metallic plates and the wooden stand straightening bows. Action contrary to the principle is instanced by Cho Ch'ih serving Ch'i and murdering King Min and in the case of Li Tai serving Chao and starving the Father Sovereign to death.

(5). If you follow the right course of a task, you will accomplish it without hard work. For this reason, Tzu Cheng sat on the shaft and sang and thereby went across the arch of a bridge. The contrary is instanced by the tax collector asking Lord Chien of Chao about the increase and decrease in taxation and by Po Yi speaking about the satiation of the stomach of the country. In this remark Lord Chien rejoiced, but the public treasury was running empty; the hundred surnames were starving, but the officials were wealthy. For further illustration, Duke Huan inspected the real situation of the people, so that Kuan Chung used up the surplus money in the treasury and sent away the resentful girls from the court. Action contrary to the principle is instanced by Cho Tzu of Yen-ling who could not advance his carriage while driving the horses and by whom Tsao-fu passed and for whom he wept. So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon 1:-

Tsao-fu managed four horses, drove them as fast as possible. turned them around everywhere, and thus moved in any direction as he pleased. He could manage the horses in the way he pleased, because he handled the reins and the whip at his will. However, when horses were frightened by the jumping pig, Tsao-fu lost control of them, not because the severity of the reins and the whip became insufficient, but because his authority over the horses was shaken by the jumping pig. Prince Yü-Ch'i harnessed extra horses alongside his chariot, and, without holding the reins and any whip, managed the horses at his pleasure. This was on account of the attractiveness of the fodder and water he was giving them. However, when the horses passed by the garden pool, the extra horses broke away not because the benefit of his fodder and water became insufficient, but because his kindness was shaken by the garden pool.

For the same reason, though Wang Liang and Tsao-fu were skilful drivers in All-under-Heaven, if you let Wang Liang hold the left rein and thunder the horse onward and let Tsaifu hold the right rein and whip it on, the horse will not be able to go even ten li, because they held the reins of the same horse together. Likewise, though T'ien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao were skilful players of the lute in Allunder-Heaven, yet if T'ien Lien played the upper notes and Ch'eng Chiao played the lower notes, the result could not be any tune at all, because they handled the same lute. Indeed, even Wang Liang and Tsao-fu, despite their skill could not put the horse to use when they held the reins and the horse together. How much less could the lord of men succeed in government by sharing his power with his ministers? Even T'ien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao, despite their skill, could not make a tune when they played the same lute together. How much less could the lord of men accomplish any achievement by sharing his august position with his ministers?

According to a different source: Tsao-fu served as assistant charioteer to the King of Ch'i. Once, when he thought his work in training the horses to bear thirst was complete he drove the chariot to the garden. As soon as the thirsty horses saw the garden pool they broke away from the chariot and ran to the pool, so that the harness was broken to pieces.

As regards Prince Yü-ch'i, he on behalf of Lord Chien of Chao shaped his course to race for a goal one thousand li away. When he started, a pig hid itself in a ditch. As he got the reins and the whip ready and began to make a rush for the goal, the pig all of a sudden jumped out from the ditch. Thereby the horse was frightened, and the harness was broken to pieces.

Tzu-han, Garrison Commander of the Capital, said to the Ruler of Sung: "Reward and bestowal are welcomed by the people. May Your Highness confer them! Execution and punishment are disliked by the people. May thy servant beg to perform them?" "All right," replied the Ruler of Sung. Thenceforth, on issuing important ordinances and on

censuring chief vassals, he always said: "Ask Tzu-han to give a decision!" Thereupon, chief vassals became afraid of Tzu-han while the masses of people turned to him. In the course of one year, Tzu-han murdered the Ruler of Sung and usurped the reins of government. Thus, Tzu-han acted like a jumping pig and thereby usurped the state from his ruler.

Duke Chien from his supreme status inflicted heavy punishment, carried severe censure, increased taxes, and executed culprits. On the contrary, T'en Heng always created compassion and favour and displayed generosity and kindness. Thus, Duke Chien turned the people into thirsty horses and conferred no favour upon them; whereas T'ien Heng made benevolence and kindness as attractive to the people as the garden pool to the thirsty horses.

According to a different source: Tsao-fu served as assistant charioteer to the King of Ch'i and trained the horses to bear thirst. In one hundred days the training was complete. Then he asked the King of Ch'i to try harnessing the team. "Try them in the garden," ordered the King. When Tsao-fu drove the chariot into the garden, the horses, seeing the garden pool ran wild, and Tsao-fu could not stop them. For a long time Tsao-fu trained the horses to bear thirst. Yet in the presence of a pool the horses all at once ran wild, when even Tsao-fu could not restrain them. Now, for a long period the law of Duke Chien restrained the people; whereas Tien Heng gave all kinds of profits to them. In other words, Tien Heng emptied the water of the garden pool and showed it to the thirsty people.

According to a different source: Prince Yü-ch'i on behalf of the Ruler of Sung was running a race of one thousand li. After he had harnessed the horses to the chariot, he rubbed the mane and touched the line of the bridle-bit. Then he started, drove on, and advanced the horses. The rings of the yokes hit the leather-ropes, which he immediately stretched and pulled. The horses then bent their knees, straightened their bodies, and started galloping. All of a sudden a pig jumped out from a ditch. The horses moved back and retreated. Even by whipping them he could not drive them forward. They ran wild. He could not stop them by holding the reins.

According to a different source: Ssu-ch'eng Tzu-han said to the Ruler of Sung: "Reward and bestowal are welcomed by the people. May Your Highness confer them personally! Punishment and execution are disliked by them. May thy servant beg to take charge of them?" Thenceforth, on executing crooked people or on censuring chief vassals, the Ruler always said, "Ask Tzu-han to give decision!" In the course of one year, the people knew the order to kill was issued by Tzu-han. In consequence, the whole country turned to him. In the long run, Tzu-han intimidated the Ruler of Sung and usurped his reins of government. Hence the saying: "Tzu-han acted like the jumping pig; T'ien Heng made benevolence and kindness as attractive as the garden pool." Suppose Wang Liang and Tsao-fu drove the same chariot, each holding the rein on one side, and went out of the village gate. Then the harness would break, and the destination would never be reached. Suppose T'ien Lien and Ch'eng Chiao had the same lute, each handling one string, and started playing it. Then the notes would become disharmonious and no tune could be performed.

Annotations to Canon 2:-

King Chao of Ch'in was ill. The hundred surnames in every hamlet bought an ox and every family prayed for the King's earliest recovery. When Kung-sun Shu went out, he saw it. Therefore, he went in to congratulate the King and said, "The hundred surnames in every village bought an ox to pray for Your Majesty's earliest recovery." The King, accordingly, sent men out to inquire into the matter, and found it true. Therefore, the King said: "Make the people of every village pay a fine of two suits of armour. To be sure, who with no order offers prayers at his pleasure, loves me, the King. Indeed, when the people love me, I will have to alter the law and bend my will to comply with their requests. In this manner the law will not stand. If the law does not stand, it leads to chaos and ruin. Thus, the best measure is to fine the people of every village two suits of armour and restore them to order."

According to a different source: King Hsiang of Ch'in was ill. The hundred surnames prayed for his earliest recovery. When he was perfectly recovered from illness, they killed oxen as sacrifices to thank the gods. When courtier Yen O and Kung-sun Yen went out, they saw it and said, "This is not the time of any festival. Why do the people kill oxen and sacrifice them at the shrines?" Out of curiosity they put the question to the people. In reply they said: "When His Majesty was ill, we prayed for his recovery. As he is perfectly recovered from the illness, we kill oxen as sacrifice to thank the gods." Glad to hear this, Yen O and Kung-sun Yen interviewed the King and offered bows and congratulations, saying, "Your Majesty has surpassed Yao and Shun!" "What do you mean?" asked the King in wonder. In reply they said: "During the reigns of Yao and Shun the people never came to pray for the ruler's recovery from his illness. Now, when Your Majesty was ill, the people in the prayers for his earliest recovery promised the gods oxen sacrifices. When Your Majesty had perfectly

recovered from the illness, they killed the oxen to fulfil their promise. Therefore, thy servants personally think that Your Majesty surpasses Yao and Shun." The King, accordingly, sent men out to inquire into the matter, found out those villages which had held prayers, and fined every village headman and every leader of five families two suits of armour each. Ashamed of their thoughtlessness, Yen O and Kung-sun Yen dared not speak about it. Several months afterwards, one day, when the King was half-seas-over and happy at a carousal, they both said to the King: "Formerly thy servants said Your Majesty surpassed Yao and Shun, and thereby dared not mean to flatter you. When Yao and Shun were ill, the people never came to pray for the ruler's recovery. Now, when Your Majesty was ill, the people in their prayers for his earliest recovery pledged themselves to sacrifice oxen. When Your Majesty was perfectly recovered from the illness, they killed the oxen to fulfil their pledge. Unexpectedly, however, Your Majesty fined every village headman and every leader of five families two suits of armour each. At such a measure thy servants have been wondering personally." In response the King said: "Why don't you gentlemen know such a reason as this? As to why the people work for me, it is not because of my love that they work for me, it is because of my position. Suppose I discard my position and attempt to win the hearts of the people with love. Then, as soon as I happen to slacken my love, they will no longer work for me. Therefore, I extirpate the policy of love.'

Once, when Ch'in had a great famine, Marquis Ying petitioned His Majesty and said: "The grass, vegetables, acorns, dates, and chestnuts in the Five Parks are sufficient to save the people. May Your Majesty give them out?" In reply King Chao-hsien said: "In accordance with the law of our country the people shall be rewarded for merits and punished for crimes. Now, if I give out the vegetables and fruits of the Five Parks, I will in so doing reward men of merit and no merit equally. To be sure, to reward men of merit and no merit equally, leads to disorder. Indeed, instead of giving out the products of the Five Parks and thereby inviting confusion, we may as well discard the fruits and vegetables and thereby maintain order."

According to a different source, the King said: "If I order the fruits of grass, vegetables, dates, and chestnuts in the Five Parks to be given out to the people, these may be sufficient to save them. The measure, however, is to make men of merit and no merit struggle with each other for my gifts. To be sure, instead of giving life to them and thereby inviting confusion, we may as well let them die and thereby keep order. High Officer, leave the matter out!"

T'ien Yu taught his son, T'ien Chang, and said: "If you want to benefit yourself, benefit your ruler first; if you want to benefit your family, benefit your country first."

According to a different source: T'ien Yu taught his son, T'ien Chang, and said: "The sovereign offers ranks and offices; the minister offers wisdom and strength. Hence the saying 'Rely on nobody but yourself!' "

Kung-yi Hsiu, Premier of Lu, was fond of fish. Therefore, people in the whole country contentiously bought fish, which they presented to him. However, Kung-yi Tzu would not accept the presents. Against such a step his younger brother remonstrated with him and said: "You like fish, indeed. Why don't you accept the present of fish?" In reply he said: "It is solely because I like fish that I would not accept the fish they gave me. Indeed, if I accept the fish, I will be placed under an obligation to them. Once placed under an obligation to them, I will sometime have to bend the law. If I bend the law, I will be dismissed from the premiership, I might not be able to supply myself with fish. On the contrary, if I do not accept the fish from them and am ott dismissed the premiership, however fond of fish, I can always supply myself with fish." Thus, he understood the principle that self-reliance is better than reliance on others and also the principle that self-help is better than help by others

## Annotations to Canon 3:-

Tzu-chih, Premier of Yen, was influential and in charge of all governmental decisions. Once Su Tai representing Ch'i went to Yen, where the King asked him, "What kind of a ruler is the King of Ch'i?" "He will never attain Hegemony," was the reply. "For what reason?" asked the King of Yen. "When Duke Huan was Hegemonic Ruler," replied Tai, "he entrusted Pao Shu with home affairs and Kuan Chung with foreign affairs while he himself left his hair uncombed, enjoyed drives with women, and every day strolled downtown. The present King of Ch'i, however, put no trust in his chief vassals." Thereafter, the King of Yen increased his confidence in Tzu-chih accordingly. Hearing about this, Tzu-chih sent men to present Su Tai one hundred ih of gold and let him use it at his pleasure.

According to a different source: Su Tai went to Yen as envoy from Ch'in. Perceiving that unless he could benefit Tzu-chih, he would have to go homeward without accomplishing his mission and would be given no bestowal upon his return to Ch'in, therefore, when he was having an audience with the

King of Yen, he purposely praised the King of Ch'i. "If the King of Ch'i is so worthy," asked the King of Yen, "will he become ruler over All-underHeaven?" "If he is hardly able to save his country from ruin," replied Tai, "how can he become ruler over Allunder-Heaven?" "Why?" asked the King of Yen. 'Because he does not put his whole confidence in his beloved ministers," replied Tai. "Why will the country go to ruin?" asked the King of Yen. In reply Tai said: "Formerly Duke Huan of Ch'i loved Kuan Chung, made him Uncle, and let him administer home affairs and give decision on foreign affairs, till the whole country turned to him for government. As a result, Duke Huan brought All-under-Heaven under one rule and called nine conferences of the feudal lords. The present King of Ch'i, however, does not put his whole confidence in his beloved ministers. Therefore, thy servant knows his country will go to ruin." "All-under-Heaven have not yet heard," said the King of Yen, "that I have put my whole confidence in Tzu-chih." On the following day, he, accordingly, called an assembly of officials in the court and entrusted Tzu-chih with all state affairs.

P'an Shou said to the King of Yen: "Your Majesty had better transfer the state to Tzu-chih. People have called Yao worthy because he transferred the rule over All-underHeaven to Hsü Yu. As Hsü Yu never would accept the throne, Yao gained the fame for abdicating in favour of Hsü Yu while in fact he never lost his rule over All-under-Heaven. Now, if Your Majesty alienate the state to Tzu-chih, Tzu-chih never will accept it. Yet in that case Your Majesty will gain fame for abdicating in favour of Tzu-chih and do the same as Yao." The King of Yen, accordingly, committed the whole state affairs to the hands of Tzu-chih, wherefore Tzu-chih became very powerful.

According to a different source: P'an Shou was a retired scholar. Yen sent out men to engage him in public service. When P'an Shou had an audience with the King of Yen, he "Thy servant is afraid Tzu-chih will be like Ih." "Why will he be like Ih?" asked the King. In reply Shou said: "In antiquity, when Yü was dying and about to transfer the rule over All-under-Heaven to Ih, the followers of Ch'i joined one another in attacking Ih and set up Ch'i on the throne. Now, Your Majesty trusts and loves Tzu-chih and is going to alienate the state to him. Yet all the followers of the Crown Prince are holding official seals, whereas there is none of Tzuchih's men in the court. Should by any unlucky chance Your Majesty pass away from the body of officials, Tzu-chih would suffer like Ih." Accordingly, the King recalled all the seals from the officials whose bounties were above three hundred piculs and left them in the hands of Tzu-chih whereupon Tzu-chih became very powerful. Indeed, the means whereby the lord of men looks at himself as in a mirror, are envoys from other feudal lords, but now all those envoys are partisans of private families. Again, the means whereby the lord of men spreads his own powers are scholars from rocky caves, but now all those envoys are henchmen of private families. What is the reason for this? This is because the power of life and death is held by such influential men as Tzu-chih. Therefore, Wu Chang said: "The lord of men should not pretentiously hate or love anybody. Should he pretentiously love anybody, he would be unable to hate the person again; should he pretentiously hate anybody, he would not be able to love the person again."

According to another different source: When the King of Yen wanted to alienate the state to Tzu-chih, he asked P'an Shou about the measure. In reply P'an Shou said: "Yü loved Ih and entrusted him with All-under-Heaven. Later, he appointed followers of Ch'i officials. In his old age, he considered Ch'i unfit to rule over All-under-Heaven and therefore alienated All-under-Heaven from Ih: while all posts and powers were held in the hands of Ch'i, Later, Ch'i and his partisans attacked Ih and robbed him of the rule over Allunder-Heaven. Thus, in name Yü transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Ih, but in fact he let Ch'i take the throne. Clearly enough from this viewpoint, Yü was not as great as Yao and Shun. Now, Your Majesty wants to abdicate in favour of Tzu-chih while every official is a follower of the Crown Prince. This is to abdicate in favour of him in name but let the Crown Prince take the throne in fact." Thereupon the King of Yen recalled all seals from the officials whose bounties were above three hundred piculs, and left all of them in the hands of Tzu-chih. After all, Tzu-chih became powerful.

Fang Wu Tzu said: "I have heard that according to the

Fang Wu Tzu said: "I have heard that according to the etiquette of antiquity no ruler should take the same carriage with any wearer of the same kind of clothes or share the same house with any kin. How much less should he allow any minister to exercise his ruling authority and dislocate his august position?"

Wu Chang said to King Hsüan of Han: "The lord of men should not pretentiously love anybody; for, if he does one day, he will not be able to hate him again. Nor should he pretentiously hate anybody; or, if he does one day, he will not be able to love him again. Therefore, if the signs of pretentious hatred and pretentious love are visible, then flatterers will take advantage of the opportunities either to disgrace their enemies or to honour their friends. Even then

the enlightened sovereign cannot save the situation. How much less could he restore the status of affairs if he showed anybody true love or true hatred?"

One day the King of Chao took a walk in the Royal Garden. When the attendants were going to give rabbits to the tiger, he stopped to look at the tiger. The tiger angrily strained its eyes round and round. "How awful the tiger's eyes are!" remarked the King. "The eyes of Lord P'ingyang," said some attendant, "are even more awful than these. When people see the tiger's eyes, they do not always get hurt; but when they see the eyes of Lord P'ing-yang strained in this way, they are sure to die." On the following day, Lord P'ing-yang heard about this remark and sent men to kill the speaker, but the King never censured them.

Once the Ruler of Wei was paying a visit to the court of Chou. The official usher of Chou asked his pen-name. "The Feudal Lord of Wei, Land-Extender," was the reply. The usher, refusing him admission, said, "No feudal lord is supposed to have the same name as the Son of Heaven." Thereupon the Ruler of Wei changed his pen-name and said, "The Feudal Lord of Wei, Hui." Thereafter he was ushered into the court. Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How extensive the prohibition of intimidation is! Even an empty name would not be lent to others, to say nothing of a real fact."

### Annotations to Canon 4:-

If someone wants to move a tree and pulls each leaf, he works hard but cannot shake the whole tree. If he holds the root from the right and the left, then all the leaves will be shaken. If you shake the tree by the pool, then the birds will be scared and fly up and the fish will be frightened and swim down. Who is skilful in hauling in a net, draws in the rope and never pulls the knots, one after another, till he gets the whole net. If he pulls the knots, one after another, so as to get the whole net, he works hard and meets difficulties. If he draws in the net by the rope, the fish will have been trapped. For the same reason, magistrates are the roots and ropes of the people. Therefore, the sage governs the magistrates but never directly governs the people.

In the case of the fire brigade, if the captain carries water in jars and pots and runs to the fire, he will perform the function of only one man; whereas if he takes a whip in hand and thereby gives directions to the workmen, then he will rule over a myriad of men. For this reason, the sage does not look after the trifles of the people and the enlightened sovereign does not attend to small affairs.

One day, when Tsao-fu was picking weeds in the field, there passed by him father and son riding in a carriage. The horses were frightened and refused to go any farther. The son alighted from the carriage and pulled the horses. The father pushed the carriage. Then they asked Tsao-fu, "Will you help us move the carriage?" Tsao-fu, accordingly put the implements together, stopped working, and left them on the carriage. Then he helped the son get into the carriage. Finally, he held the reins in hand and took the whip along. Before he started moving the reins and the whip, the horses all began galloping of a sudden. Were Tsao-fu unable to drive the carriage, then even though he exerted his strength and exhausted his body to help them move the carriage, the horses would still be unwilling to go forward. Because he knew how to drive, he took his ease, had a ride, and placed strangers under an obligation. Likewise, the state is the carriage of the Ruler; the august position is his horse. If the Ruler does not know how to drive the carriage, then even though he exhausts himself, he cannot avoid chaos. If he knows how to drive, he will remain in the place of ease and joy and accomplish the achievement of the emperor and the king.

Iron hammers are for flattening metallic plates. Wooden stands are for collecting crooked arrows. The sage makes laws in order thereby to flatten the indented and correct the crooked.

When Cho Ch'ih was serving Ch'i he pulled the sinews out of King Min's body. When Li Tai was serving Chao, he starved the Father Sovereign to death. These two rulers were both unable to use their iron hammers and wooden stands with the result that they were put to death and became the laughing-stock of All-under-Heaven.

According to a different source: After entering Ch'i one would hear of Cho Ch'ih only and never hear of the King of Ch'i; after entering Chao one would hear of Li Tai only and never hear of the King of Chao. Hence the saying: "If the lord of men does not apply tact, his prestige and position will become insignificant and ministers will celebrate themselves at leisure."

According to another different source: When Tien Ying was Premier of Ch'i, somebody said to the King of Ch'i: "If Your Majesty does not spend a few days in listening to the annual financial reports personally, then Your Majesty will have no other way to know the officials' wickednesses and corruptions." "Right," said the King. Hearing about this T'ien Ying immediately went to ask the King to listen to his reports. When the King was about to listen to the reports, T'ien Ying ordered his subordinate officials to get ready the

officially signed documents and the accounts of measures of grain. To these the King listened personally, till he could no longer listen to any more reports. After his lunch, he sat down again. At dusk he had no more time left for his supper. Then Tien Ying said: "These reports involve such duties as the officials night and day all year around dare not neglect. If Your Majesty spends an evening in listening to them, the officials will be encouraged." "All right," said the King. All of a sudden the King fell asleep. In the meantime the officials pulled knives out and whittled the remaining documents and accounts of measures. Thus, as the King listened to the reports personally, disorder began.

According to a different source: King Wu-ling entrusted King Hui-wen with the state affairs, and appointed Li Tai premier. As King Wu-ling did not hold the power of life and death over the people himself, he was eventually intimidated by Li Tai.

Annotations to Canon 5:-

Tzu Cheng was pulling a push-cart to go across the arch of a bridge, but was unable to bear the weight. So he sat on the shaft and started singing. Meanwhile the passers-by from the front stopped and those from the rear ran forward to help him, till the push-cart went up the arch. Suppose Tzu Cheng had no technique to attract people. Then even though he exhausted himself to death, the cart would not be able to go across the bridge. Now that he did not exhaust himself while the cart went up the arch of the bridge, was because he had the technique to make use of people.

When Lord Chien of Chao was sending tax-collectors out, they asked him about the rate of taxation. Thereupon Lord Chien said: "Neither too high nor too low. If too high, it will profit the superior. If too low, it will profit the people. The magistrates who seek no private profit, are honest..."

Once Po Yi said to Lord Chien of Chao: "The stomach of the country of your Highness is well satiated." Rejoicing in such a remark, Lord Chien gladly asked, "In what way?" In reply Yi said: "On the top the treasury and the granary are empty and running low; at the bottom the hundred surnames are poor and starving; whereas in the centre the crooked officials are wealthy."

Once Duke Huan went out in disguise and inspected the domestic conditions of the people. There was an aged man in a house supporting himself. So Duke Huan asked him why he was left alone. In reply the man said: "Thy servant has three sons. The whole family being poor, I have been unable to find wives for them. They are in the employ of other people and have not yet come back." Upon his return to the court, Duke Huan related this situation to Kuan Chung. Kuan Chung said. "If the public treasury has a surplus amount of money, the people must be suffering hunger and starvation. If the court has discontented girls, many men must be having no wives." "Right," the Duke said, and then instructed the court to give women in marriage and issued an order among the people to the effect that "men must start housekeeping at twenty, and women must get married at fifteen."

According to a different source: Once Duke Huan went out in disguise among the people. There was an old man named Lu Men-chi. He had lived seventy years and had no wife. Therefore, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung, "Is there anyone among the people who has lived up to old age and had no wife?" "There is a man," replied Kuan Chung, "named Lu Men-chi who has lived seventy years and had no wife." "Then how can we make every man have a wife?" asked Duke Huan. "Thy servant has heard," replied Kuan Chung, "if the sovereign has money saved, the subjects must be suffering destitution. If the court has discontented girls, there must be men who live up to old age and have no wives." "Right," said Duke Huan. Then he ordered the court to give in marriage those girls who had never attended on the Ruler, and also ordered men to start housekeeping at twenty and women to get married at fifteen. In consequence, there were no discontented girls inside the court and no wifeless men outside.

Cho Tzu of Yen-ling rode in a carriage pulled by a team of blue-haired horses with the herring-bone design. The horses were equipped with spur-reins in the front and with hoes plated with gold in the back. Thus, on going forward, they were stopped by the spur-ornaments; on going backward, the plated hoes struck them. Finally the horses began to jump sideways. Thereby Tsao-fu passed and with tears running down said: "Exactly in the same way the ancients governed the people. Indeed, reward is for encouraging people, but disgrace goes with it. Punishment is for prohibiting people, but to it is added honour. The people, then standing on the middle line, do not know which way to follow. For this reason the sage wept for them."

According to a different source: Cho Tzu of Yen-ling rode in a carriage pulled by a team of blue-haired horses with the herring-bone design. They were equipped with spurornaments in the front and sharp hoes at the back. On going forward, he pulled the spurs; on going backward, he moved the hoes. The horses could not go either forward or backward, till they avoided either way and jumped sideways. Therefore, he pulled his knife and cut off the horses' legs. Seeing this, Tsao-fu shed

tears and stopped eating all day long. Looking up to heaven, he sighed and said: "By whipping the horses he wanted to advance them, but the spur-ornaments were in the front. By pulling them he wanted to withdraw them, but the sharp hoes were in the back. Now, the lord of men promotes men on account of their purity and honesty, but degrades them because they do not suit the courtiers. He honours men on account of their justice and fairness, but removes them because they do not blindly obey him. In consequence, the people, feeling uneasy, keep standing on the middle line and do not know which way to follow. For this reason, the sage weeps for them."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 36.

Criticisms of The Ancients, Series One

When Duke Wen of Chin was about to fight the Ch'u forces, he summoned Uncle Fan and asked him: "We are about to fight the Ch'us. They are many. We are few. What shall we do?" In reply Uncle Fan said: "Thy servant has heard, in observing the rules of strict etiquette, gentlemen never become weary of loyalty and faithfulness: in engaging enemies at the battlefield, they never disapprove the measures of deception and falsification. May Your Highness deceive them by all means!" After sending out Uncle Fan, Duke Wen summoned Yung Chi and asked him: "We are about to fight the Ch'us. They are many. We are few. What shall we do?" In reply Yung Chi said: "If you burn the forest and go hunting, you will temporarily have much game, but there will be no more animals left afterwards. If you adopt the measure of deception in dealing with people, you may have the advantage for a time, but the same measure can never be repeated "Right," said Duke Wen. Then he sent Yung Chi out. However, by applying Uncle Fan's stratagem, he engaged the Ch'us and defeated them. After his victorious return, when he conferred ranks, he ranked Yung Chi first and Uncle Fan next. Thereupon the body of officials said: "The victory at Ch'eng-po was due to Uncle Fan's stratagem. Is it right to take his advice and put him in the second place?" In response Duke Wen said: "This is not what you, gentlemen, understand. To be sure, what Uncle Fan suggested was a temporary expediency; whereas what Yung Chi advised was an everlasting advantage." Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How reasonable it must be that Duke Wen became Hegemonic Ruler! He knew both the temporary expediency and the everlasting advantage."

Some critic says: Yung Chi's reply did not suit Duke Wen's question. As a rule, who replies to a question must make out the objective, and give his reply according to whether the object of the question is either big or small, urgent or lenient. If the objective of the question is high and big but the reply is low and narrow, the enlightened sovereign will not accept it. Now Duke Wen asked Yung Chi how to face the many with the few, but Yung Chi replied, "The same measure can never be repeated afterwards." Thereby the reply was not to the point of the question. On the other hand, Duke Wen himself did not understand either a temporary expediency or an everlasting advantage. If he won the war at all, he could safeguard his country and stabilize his position while his army would become strong and his prestige would be enhanced. Therefore, even though there might be another war much greater than this, why should he worry that he would not gain another everlasting advantage? If he lost the war, the country would decline and the army would become weak while he would die broken-hearted and lose his fame. Thus, if he could hardly evade the impending death of the present, how could he have time to wait for an everlasting advantage? The everlasting advantage rested with the present victory. The present victory depended upon deception of the enemies. In short, the deception of enemies implied an everlasting advantage. Hence the saying: "Yung Chi's reply did not suit Duke Wen's question." Furthermore, Duke Wen did not understand Uncle Fan's suggestion. By saying, "Gentlemen never disapprove the measure of deception and falsification, Uncle Fan did not mean that they approved the deception of their own people, but meant that they approved the deception of their enemies. After all, enemies belonged to the country they were attacking. Even though the same could not be repeated, what harm would there be in adopting the measure of deception? Did Duke Wen rank Yung Chi first for Yung Chi's meritorious service? The victory over Ch'u and the defeat of the enemies were due to Uncle Fan's stratagem. however. Did he do that for Yung Chi's virtuous advice? Yung Chi only said, "The same measure could never be repeated," which involved no virtuous word at all. As regards Uncle Fan's saying, it involved both a merit and a virtue. Uncle Fan said: "In observing the rules of strict etiquette, gentlemen never become weary of loyalty and faithfulness." By remaining loyal they love their subordinates; by remaining faithful they do not deceive their people. Thus, he advocated the measure of love and nondeception. What saying could be more virtuous than this? However, he had to suggest the measure of deception and falsification because it was based on strategical consideration. Thus, Uncle Fan uttered a virtuous saying at the beginning and waged a victorious war in the end. Accordingly, he had two merits, but was ranked second. Yung Chi had none but was rewarded first. "How reasonable it must be that Duke Wen became Hegemonic Ruler!" Chung-ni, when making such a remark, did not know the right way to reward people.

Once upon a time, farmers of the Li Mountains trespassed on each other's fields. Thereupon Shun went there and tilled among them. In the course of one year, all the boundary ridges of the fields became correct. Another time fishermen living by the Yellow River disputed about small shoals. Thereupon Shun went there and fished among them. In the course of one year they came to make concessions to elders. The potters in the Eastern Barbaric Land made very poor earthenware. Thereupon Shun went there and made earthenware among them. In the course of one year, the earthenware they made became substantial. With admiration Chung-ni said: "Neither tillage nor fishing nor earthen industry was Shun's official duty. Yet he went to pursue such kinds of work in order thereby to save the fallen. How benevolent a man Shun was! He experienced all hardships himself, till the people followed his example. Hence the saving 'Great is, indeed, the moral influence of the sage!'

Somebody asked the literati, "At that time where was Yao?" "Yao was then the Son of Heaven," they replied. "If so, why did Chung-ni regard Yao as saintly? The saintly man, being clear-sighted and seated on the throne, was supposed to burge All-under-Heaven from wickedness, make the tillers and fishermen stop disputing, and allow no poor earthenware to be made. In that case, how could Shun exercise his moral influence at all? If Shun had to save the fallen, Yao must have had faults. Therefore, if one considers Shun worthy, he disproves the clear-sightedness of Yao; if he considers Yao saintly, he disproves the moral influence of Shun. He can not praise both of them."

Once there was a man of Ch'u selling shields and halberds. In praising his shields he said, "My shields are so solid that nothing can penetrate them." Again, in praising his halberds, he said, "My halberds are so sharp that they can penetrate anything." In response to his words somebody asked, "How about using your halberds to pierce through your shields?" To this the man could not give any reply. Indeed, impenetrable shields and absolutely penetrative halberds cannot stand together at the same time. Now both Yao and Shun cannot be praised at the same time just as the halberds and the shields are mutually incompatible.

Moreover, in saving the fallen, Shun stopped one fault in a year and three faults in three years. The length of Shun's life was limited but the faults in All-under-Heaven were unlimited in number, If he attempted to remove the unlimited number of faults in the limited length of his life, what he could stop in his life would be very little. Contrary to this, reward and punishment make laws enforcible throughout Allunder-Heaven. Suppose there is issued an order to the effect that who conforms to the law shall be rewarded and who does not conform to the law shall be punished. Then, if the order arrives in the morning, the people will change by the evening; if it arrives in the evening, they will change by the morning. In the course of ten days everybody within the seas will change. Why should the ruler wait a year then? However, Shun, instead of persuading Yao of this idea to make the people follow his orders, experienced all hardships himself. Was he not tactless?

Furthermore, to experience hardships personally and thereby transform the people afterwards was difficult even for Yao and Shun; whereas to make use of one's august position and thereby correct the people is easy even for an average sovereign. When about to govern All-under-Heaven, if the ruler discards what is easy to the average sovereign and extols what was difficult to Yao and Shun, it is still practicable to assist him in political administration.

When Kuan Chung was ill, Duke Huan called on him and asked, "Uncle Chung is now ill. Should he unfortunately pass away by the decree of fate, what advice will he bequeath to me?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "Without Your Highness's asking, thy servant intended to address a memorial. Will Your Highness dismiss Shu Tiao, remove Yi Ya, and alienate the Wei Prince K'ai-fang. When Yi Ya was the chef of Your Highness, because Your Highness had never tasted human flesh, he purposely steamed his son's head and served it. Indeed, it is human nature that everybody loves his own son. Now that he did not love his son, how could he love his master? Similarly, as Your Highness was jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself in order thereby to manage the harem. It is human nature that everyone loves his body. If he did not love his body, how could he love his master? K'ai-fang has served Your Highness for fifteen years. The distance between Ch'i and Wei takes only a few days' walk. Yet he left his mother at home and has never been home to see her during his long-term service. If he does not love his mother, how can he love his master? Thy servant has heard, 'Forced hypocrisy never lasts long; covered falsehood is soon uncovered.' May Your Highness remove these three men!" After the death of Kuan Chung, Duke Huan never carried his advice into

practice. In consequence, when Duke Huan died, he was left unburied, till worms crawled outdoors.

Some critic says: What Kuan Chung suggested to Duke Huan was not what an upholder of legal standards ought to have said. His reason for suggesting the removal of Shu Tiao and Yi Ya was that in order to meet the demands of their master they stopped loving themselves. "If they did not love themselves," said he, "how could they love their master?" If so, then ministers who exert their strength to death for the sake of their sovereign, Kuan Chung would never take into service, saying, "If they did not love their lives and physical forces, how could they love their master?" This means that he wanted the ruler to remove loyal ministers. Moreover, if you infer their not loving their master from their not loving themselves, you will also infer Kuan Chung's inability to die for the sake of Duke Huan from his inability to die for the sake of Prince Chiu. This means that Kuan Chung himself also fell under the rule of removal.

The way of the enlightened sovereign is not the same, however. He establishes what the people want and thereby gets meritorious services from them, wherefore he bestows ranks and emoluments to encourage them. Similarly, he establishes what the people dislike and thereby prohibits them from committing villainy, wherefore he inflicts censure and punishment to overawe them. As bestowal and reward are sure and censure and punishment are definite, the ruler can raise ministers of merit and no crook can join governmental service. Then, even though there are crooks like Shu Tiao and Yi Ya, what can they do against the ruler? Moreover, ministers exert their strength to death to comply with the ruler's need; the ruler confers ranks and emoluments to comply with the minister's want. Thus, the relationship of ruler and minister is not as intimate as the bond of father and son; It is an outcome of mutual calculations. If the ruler follows the right way, ministers will exert their strength and no crook will appear. If he misses the right way, ministers will delude the sovereign on the one hand and accomplish their selfish designs on the other. Now, Kuan Chung did not explain these rules to Duke Huan. Supposing he successfully made him remove one Shu Tiao, another Shu Tiao would certainly appear. It was not the way to exterminate crooks.

Furthermore, that Duke Huan died and worms crawled outdoors while the corpse lay unburied, was because his ministers were too powerful. The ministers being overpowerful resulted in their manipulation of the sovereign. Were there sovereign-manipulating ministers, then the ruler's decrees could not take effect downward among the inferiors and the true information about the ministers would not travel upward to the superior. Thus, one man's power could block the communication between ruler and minister, and make success and failure unknown to the ruler and good and bad news not transmitted to him. Hence followed the calamity of leaving the corpse unburied.

According to the way of the enlightened sovereign, nobody can hold any additional office; no office involves any extra duty; the low and humble do not have to depend upon the favour of the high and noble for distinction; chief vassals do not have to count on the courtiers in order to interview the sovereign; all officials can communicate their ideas to the throne; all ministers concentrate upon the interest of the country: the ruler sees the meritorious service rendered by the rewarded and knows the criminal offence committed by the punished; in seeing and knowing he is not mistaken; and in matters of reward and punishment he is not unjust. Were this the case, how could there arise the calamity of leaving his corpse unburied? Instead of explaining this principle to Duke Huan, however, Kuan Chung advised him to remove the three men. Hence the saying: "Kuan Chung upheld no legal standard.'

Viscount Hsiang stood a long siege in Chin-yang. After the siege was raised he rewarded five men for their distinguished services, among whom Kao Ho was ranked at the top. Thereupon Chang Meng-t'an said: "During the siege at Chin-yang, Ho rendered no great meritorious service. Why does Your Highness now confer the first reward upon him?" In reply Viscount Hsiang said: "During the crisis at Chin-yang my country and family were in peril and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain was jeopardised. All my officials showed a contemptuous attitude to me, but Ho alone never broke the etiquette between ruler and minister. This is the reason why I rank him at the top." Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How well he rewarded people! Because Viscount Hsiang conferred the first reward upon one man, all ministers in All-under-Heaven dared not break etiquette."

Some critic says: Chung-ni did not know the right way of rewarding people. Indeed, if the superior knows the right way of rewarding and punishing people, all officials dare not override their commissions; no minister dares to break etiquette; the superior enacts the law; and the subjects have no crooked mind. Were this the case, he could be considered skilful in rewarding and punishing people. Suppose while Viscount Hsiang was in Chin-yang his orders took no effect and his prohibitions stopped nothing. This would mean that Viscount Hsiang had no country and Chin-yang had no ruler.

Then with whom could he defend the city? Now, while Viscount Hsiang was besieged in Chin-yang, though the Chih Clan inundated the city till frogs made their nests inside the mortars and ovens, yet the people had no rebellious mind. Thus were ruler and minister attached to each other. Notwithstanding that Viscount Hsiang enjoyed the intimate relationship between ruler and minister and that he had the legal authority of issuing effective orders and enforcible prohibitions, if there still remained arrogant ministers, it must have been because he missed the right way of punishing people. If ministers render meritorious services in the hour of need, they deserve reward. Now that solely because Ho had never been arrogant, Viscount Hsiang rewarded him, he certainly missed the right way of rewarding people. The enlightened sovereign neither bestows reward upon men of no merit nor inflicts punishment upon innocent people. Now that Viscount Hsiang did not punish arrogant ministers but rewarded Ho for no meritorious service, where could be found his right way of rewarding people? Hence the saying: "Chungni did not know the right way of rewarding people.

Once Duke P'ing of Chin held a carousal with the body of officials. When half-seas-over, he heaved a sigh and said, "Nothing is more pleasant to the ruler of men than the obedience of his lords." In response to this, Musician K'uang, seated in the front, raised the harp and threw it at the Duke. Immediately the Duke spread out the lapel in front of his coat and avoided it. The harp made a hole in the wall. Then the Duke said, "Whom did the Grand Tutor intend to strike?" "Just now," replied the Musician K'uang, "some small man by my side played upon words. Therefore, I threw the harp at him." "It was I," said the Duke. "Alas!" exclaimed Musician K'uang. "It was not what the ruler of men should have said." The attendants asked permission to plaster the broken wall. The Duke said, "Leave it there as a constant admonition to me."

Some critic says: Duke P'ing missed the way of the ruler: Musician K'uang broke the ministerial etiquette. Indeed, to censure the person when disapproving his action is the ruler's measure against the minister. To address a memorial when disapproving the ruler's action and withdraw from the government if the remonstration is not followed, is the minister's attitude to the ruler. Now that Musician K'uang disapproved Duke P'ing's action but did not address any ministerial remonstration against it, and, instead, performed the censure as the lord of men would do by raising the harp to strike the Duke's body, he reversed high and low positions and broke the ministerial etiquette. Indeed, who is minister, if the ruler has any fault, should remonstrate against it, and, if the remonstration is not followed, should make light of his title and emolument and leave him. This is the ministerial etiquette. Now, Musician K'uang, on disapproving Duke P'ing's fault, raised the harp to strike his body. Even a severe father would not inflict such punishment upon his son, but Musician K'uang inflicted it upon his master. This was an act of high treason. When the minister committed high treason. Duke P'ing was glad to listen to him. Thereby he missed the way of the ruler. Thus the step taken by Duke Ping was unjustifiable, for it would make the lord of men listen too much to ministers but never realise their faults. Likewise the action taken by Musician K'uang was unjustifiable, for it would make wicked ministers abuse exorbitant remonstration and justify the art of regicide. They cannot both be reasonable. They constitute two faults. Hence the saying: "Duke P'ing missed the way of the ruler; Musician Ku'ang broke the ministerial etiquette."

At the time of Duke Huan of Ch'i there was a private scholar named Hsiao-ch'en Chi. Duke Huan paid him three visits but could not see him. Then Duke Huan said: "I have heard, 'The commoner, unless he makes light of rank and emolument, has no way to keep off the sovereign of ten thousand chariots; the sovereign of ten thousand chariots, unless he is fond of benevolence and righteousness, has no way to condescend to associate with the commoner.'" Accordingly, he went five times and was finally able to see him.

Some critic says: Duke Huan did not know benevolence and righteousness. Indeed, who is benevolent and righteous worries about the evil of All-under-Heaven and rushes at the calamity of the whole country regardless of his personal humility and disgrace, is called benevolent and righteous. For example Yi Yin regarded the Central States as disorderly and therefore became a cook in order thereby to ingratiate himself with King T'ang; and Pai-li Hsi regarded Ch'in as disorderly and therefore became a captive in order thereby to ingratiate himself with Duke Mu. Both worried about the evil of Allunder-Heaven and rushed at the calamity of the whole country regardless of their personal humility and disgrace. Hence they have been called benevolent and righteous. Now, Duke Huan from the position of a ruler of ten thousand chariots condescended to associate with a commoner and thereby intended to eradicate the worry of the Ch'i state, but Hsiao-ch'en refused him an interview. This meant that Hsiaoch'en took no notice of the welfare of the people. Who takes no notice of the welfare of the masses, cannot be called benevolent and righteous. A benevolent and righteous person

would neither break the ministerial etiquette nor confuse the positions of ruler and minister. For this reason, within the four boundaries those who bring birds to visit the court are called vassals." When vassals and officials differentiate their duties and attend to their respective posts, then they are called "subjects." Now, Hsiao-ch'en, mingling among the mass of subjects, acted contrary to the wish of the ruler and therefore could not be called benevolent and righteous. While benevolence and righteousness were not found in him. Duke Huan condescended to pay him his respects. Suppose Hsiaoch'en had wisdom and talent and purposely avoided Duke Huan. Then his action meant retirement from useful life, wherefore he ought to be punished. If he had neither wisdom nor talent but made all kinds of pretences and behaved arrogantly toward Duke Huan, it meant fraud, for which he should be executed. Thus, Hsiao-ch'en for his action should have been either penalized or executed. However, Duke Huan, unable to grasp the principle governing the relations between sovereign and subject, paid his repects to a man deserving penalty and execution. Thereby Duke Huan inculcated upon the people in the Ch'i State the habit of slighting the superior and insulting the ruler. It is not the way to political order. Hence the saying: "Duke Huan did not know benevolence and righteousness.

At the battle of Mt. Mi-chi, when Han Hsien-Tzu was about to execute a man, Ch'i Hsien-tzu went in a carriage to save the man. Upon his arrival the man had already been executed. Ch'i Tzu, accordingly, said, "Why is the execution not used as a warning to the masses?" Then his servants said, "Didn't you intend to save the man?" In response Ch'i Tzu said, "How dare I not share the fault for executing an innocent man?"

Some critic says: Ch'i Tzu's saying must be carefully scrutinised. Were the man executed by Han Tzu guilty, then he could not be saved. Saving the criminal would break the law. Should the law be broken, the country would fall into confusion. If the victim was not guilty, then Ch'i Tzu should not have advised Han Tzu to use the unjust execution as a warning to the masses. To use the unjust execution as a warning would double the injustice. Doubling the injustice would arouse popular resentment. Should the people become resentful, the country would be endangered. Thus the saying of Han Tzu would cause the country either danger or confusion. It must be carefully scrutinized. Moreover, were the man executed by Han Tzu not guilty, then what blame could Ch'i Tzu share? Suppose the victim was not guilty. Then since Ch'i Tzu arrived after the execution, it meant that after the fault of Han Tzu had been completed, Ch'i Tzu arrived on the scene. Indeed, Ch'i Tzu said, "Use the execution as a popular warning!" Because he could not share the fault of executing an innocent man, he brought about the fault of using the unjust execution as a popular warning. In this way the saying of Ch'i Tzu was not to share the original fault but to bring about a new fault. Of old, when Chow inflicted the punishment of climbing a roasting pillar, Chung Hou and Wu Lai said, "Cut the shins of waders!" How could these two men share the fault of Chow then? Moreover, the hope of the masses for justice from the authorities was very urgent. If they could not get it from Han Tzu, they would hope to get it from Ch'i Tzu. Now that they could not get it from Ch'i Tzu, either, they would give up their hope in the authorities. Hence the saying: "The saying of Ch'i Tzu was not to share the original fault but to bring about a new fault." Furthermore, Ch'i Tzu went to save the man because he thought Han Tzu was not right. Yet instead of telling Han Tzu that he was wrong, he advised him to use the unjust execution as a popular warning, whereby he made Han Tzu not realize his fault. Verily he made the people give up hope in the authorities and, besides, made Han Tzu not realize his fault. Thus, I have not yet found the way Ch'i Tzu could share the fault of Han Tzu.

After Duke Huan had untied the bonds of Kuan Chung and appointed him premier, Kuan Chung said: "Thy servant has enough favour, but is low in rank." "I will raise you above the Kaos and Kuos," said the Duke. Meanwhile, Kuan Chung said, "Thy servant is noble but poor." "You shall have the wealth of the Building of Three Returns," said the Duke.
"Thy servant is now wealthy," said Kuan Chung, "but still very distant in relation to the ruling family." Thereupon the Duke made him Uncle Chung. Commenting on this, Hsiao Lüeh said: "Kung Chung, considering a humble man unable to govern the noble asked the ruler to raise him above the Kaos and Kuos. Considering a poor man unable to govern the wealthy, he asked for the wealth of the Building of Three Returns. Finally, considering a man distant in relation to the ruling family unable to govern the close relatives of the ruler, he asked for the title of Uncle Chung. In so doing, Kuan Chung was not greedy, but wanted to provide his government with facilities.

Some critic says: Now suppose bondmen and bondwomen by the ruler's order summon nobles and ministers. Then nobody dares to disobey them. Not that the nobles and ministers are low in rank and the bondmen and bondwomen are high, but that nobody dares to disobey the sovereign's decree. Now, suppose Kuan Chung's government did not rely on Duke Huan's authority. Then it would have no sovereign.

Without a sovereign, no country could by any means be governed. If he acted under Duke Huan's authority and issued decrees in his name, he could be trusted as the bondmen and bondwomen were. Why was it necessary for him to have the rank of the Kaos and the Kuos and the title of Uncle Chung before he enforced his rule over the country? The petty officials and local magistrates of the present age, on enforcing the orders of their superiors, neither except the high and noble nor apply them to the low and humble only. As long as the enforcement is legal, even business eunuchs in the court would be trusted by nobles and ministers. If the enforcement is illegal, even high officials would have to give way to ignorant people. Now that Kuan Chung, instead of striving to elevate the prestige of the sovereign and clarify the law, simply attended to the increase of personal favour and the promotion of his rank, if he was not covetous of wealth and nobility he must have been stupid and ignorant of the right tact. Hence the saying: "Kuan Chung had misbehaved himself; Hsiao Lüeh overestimated him."

King Hsüan of Han asked Chiu Liu, "I want to employ both Kung-chung and Kung-shu simultaneously. Is it practicable?" In reply Chiu Liu said: "Formerly Wey employed both Lou Yüan and Chieh Huang and, as a result, lost the Western River. Likewise, Ch'u employed both the Chaos and the Chings and, as a result, lost the districts of Yen and Ying. Now, if Your Majesty employs both Kung-chung and Kungshu, both will certainly dispute about affairs and cultivate private friendships with foreign countries. Then the state will, doubtless, have worries."

Some critic says: Of old, Duke Huan of Ch'i employed both Kuan Chung and Pao Shu while King T'ang, the successful, employed both Yi Yin and Chung Hui. If the simultaneous employment of two able men would cause the state worries at all, then Duke Huan could not become Hegemonic Ruler and T'ang, the Successful, could not become King. Contrary to this, King Min entrusted Cho Ch'ih alone with all state affairs and, in consequence, had himself murdered in the Easter Shrine. Likewise, the Father Sovereign entrusted Li Tai with all state affairs and, in consequence, had his food reduced till he starved to death. If the sovereign is tactful at all, the simultaneous employment of two able men will beget no worry. If he is tactless, the simultaneous employment of two able men will create disputes about affairs and private frienships with foreign countries and the employment of only one man will result in autocracy, intimidation, and regicide Now, Liu had no tact to rectify the policy of the sovereign. Instead, he advised him not to employ two men at the same time but to entrust one alone with the state affairs. As a result if the sovereign had no worry about territorial losses such as the losses of the Western River and the Yen and Ying districts, he would certainly suffer such disasters as regicide and starvation to death. Thus, Liu was not yet skilful in giving advice to his master.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 37.

Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Two

Duke Ching passed by the house of Yen Tzu and said, "Your residence is small and close by the market. Pray move your home to the Garden of Yü-chang." Repeating his bows, Yen Tzu declined the offer, saying, "The home of thy servant, Ying, is poor and dependent on the market for daily supplies. As every morning and evening we have to run to the market, we cannot live too far away from the place." Duke Ching laughed and said, "If your family is used to shopping at the market, do you know the prices of goods?" At that time Duke Ching was busy inflicting many punishments. Therefore, Yen Tzu replied, "The shoes of the footless men are dear; the ordinary shoes cheap." "Why?" asked the Duke. "Because there are many punishments of foot-cutting," replied Yen Tzu. Astonished thereat, Duke Ching changed his colour and said, "Am I as cruel as that?" Meanwhile he abolished five articles under the criminal law.

Some critic says: Yen Tzu's making dear the shoes of footless men was not sincere. He simply wanted to utilize the words to eliminate the number of punishments. This was the calamity of his ignorance of the bases of political order. Indeed, punishments equivalent to crimes are never too many; punishments not equivalent to crimes are never too few. Instead of informing the ruler about the punishments that were not equivalent to crimes, Yen Tzu persuaded him that the punishments were too many. This was the calamity of his tactlessness. When defeated troops are censured, though the punishments number hundreds and thousands, yet they still keep running away. When penalties for settling order out of confusion are inflicted, though the punishments seem innumerable, yet the culprits are still not exterminated. Now that Yen Tzu never considered whether or not the punishments were equivalent to the crimes but took their extraordinary number as the basis of his remark, was his counsel not absurd? Verily, who spares weeds and reeds, hurts the ears of the rice-plants; who tolerates thieves and robbers, injures good citizens. Similarly, to loosen censure and punishment and give pardons and favours, is to benefit the

crooks and injure the good. It is not the way to attain political order.

Once Duke Huan of Ch'i was drunk and dropped his crown. Feeling disgraced thereby, he did not hold court for three days. Kuan Chung said, "This is not what the ruler of a state should feel disgraced by. Why does Your Highness not wipe away such disgrace by means of good government?" "Right," replied the Duke, and, accordingly, opened the granaries and gave aid to the poor, and made a thorough investigation of the convicts and let out the misdemeanants. In the course of three days, the people began to sing his praises, saying:

Duke, Duke, Duke! We have asked in vain, Why does he not drop his crown again?

Some critic says: Kuan Chung wiped away Duke Huan's disgrace among small men but displayed his disgrace before superior men. To make Duke Huan open the granaries, give aid to the poor, investigate the convicts, and let out the misdemeanants, was not righteous and not able to wipe away the disgrace. Granting it to be a righteous act, Duke Huan and neglected such righteousness that he dropped his crown, and then began to act righteously. If so, the righteous act was done because Duke Huan had neglected righteousness rather

the disgrace. Granting it to be a righteous act, Duke Huan and neglected such righteousness that he dropped his crown, and then began to act righteously. If so, the righteous act was done because Duke Huan had neglected righteousness rather than because he had dropped his crown. Thus, though he might have wiped away the disgrace of dropping the crown among small men, yet he had already left the disgrace of neglecting righteousness before gentlemen. Moreover, to open the granaries and give aid to the poor was to reward men of no merit; to investigate the convicts and let out the misdemeanants was to inflict no punishment upon offenders. Indeed, if men of no merit are rewarded, then the people will enjoy the godsends and hope for the same from the sovereign; if offenders are not punished, then the people will take no warning and become liable to misconduct. This is the root of confusion. How could it wipe away any disgrace at all?

In bygone days, King Wen invaded Yü, defeated Chü, and took Feng. After he had waged these three campaigns, King Chow came to dislike him. Afraid thereof, he offered to present the King with the land to the west of the Lo River and the country of the Red Soil, altogether one thousand li square in area, and asked him to abolish the punishment of climbing the roasting pillar. Thereat All-under-Heaven were delighted. Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How benevolent King Wen was! By making light of a country of one thousand li square, he asked for the abolishment of the punishment of climbing the roasting pillar. How wise King Wen was! By offering the land of one thousand li square, he won the hearts of All-under-Heaven."

Some critic says: Chung-ni thought King Wen was wise. Was he not mistaken? Indeed, the wise man knows the unlucky and dangerous zone and can avoid it, so that he never suffers the calamity himself. Suppose the reason why King Wen was disliked by Chow was his inability to win the hearts of the people. Then though he might seek to win the hearts of the people in order thereby to dispel Chow's dislike, yet Chow would dislike him the more because he made a great success in winning the hearts of the people. Besides, he made light of his territory and thereby won the hearts of the people, which would double Chow's suspicion of him. No wonder, he was fettered in jail at Yu-li. The saying of the elder of Cheng, "Have personal experience of the Way of Nature, do not do anything, and reveal nothing," would be the most suitable warning to King Wen. It is the way to incur nobody's suspicion. Thus, Chung-ni in regarding King Wen as wise fell short of this saying.

Duke P'ing of Chin asked Shu Hsiang, saying: "Formerly Duke Huan of Ch'i called nine conferences of the feudal lords and brought All-under-Heaven under one rule. Was that due to the abilities of the ministers or the ability of the ruler?" In reply Shu Hsiang said, "Kuan Chung was skilful in cutting the shape of the dress; Pin Hsü-wu was skilful in sewing the seams of the dress; and Hsi Peng was skilful in decorating the dress with plaits and bindings. When the dress was ready, the ruler took it and wore it. The dress-making was thus due to the minister's abilities. What ability did the Ruler have?' Thereat Musician K'uang lay down upon the harp and laughed. "Grand Tutor, why are you laughing?" asked the "Thy servant," replied the Musician K'uang, "is laughing at the reply Shu Hsiang has given to Your Highness. As a rule, who ministers to a ruler is like a cook synthesizing the five tastes and serving the food to the master. If the master refuses to eat it, who dare force him? May thy servant compare the ruler to farming soil and ministers to grass and trees. The soil must be fertile before grass and trees grow big. Similarly, the Hegemony of Duke Huan was due to the ruler's ability. What abilities did the ministers have?'

Some critic says: The replies of both Shu Hsiang and Musician K'uang were equally eccentric views. Verily, to bring All-under-Heaven under one rule and call nine conferences of the feudal lords was a brilliant achievement. However, it was neither entirely due to the ability of the ruler nor entirely due to the abilities of the ministers. Formerly, Kung Chi-ch'i served Yü, Hsi Fu-ch'i served Ts'ao. Both ministers were so wise that their words always hit the truth of affairs and the execution of the counsels could always harvest

successful results. Yet why did Yü and Ts'ao go to ruin? It was because they had able ministers but no able rulers. Likewise, Ch'ien Shu served Yü, but Yü went to ruin; then he served Ch'in, which attained Hegemony. Not that Ch'ien Shu was stupid in Yü and wise in Ch'in, but that serving under an able ruler was different from serving under an unable ruler. Therefore, Hsiang's saying that the success was due to the abilities of the ministers was not true.

Formerly, Duke Huan built two markets inside the palace and two hundred gates of harems between them. Everyday he wore no hat and took drives with women. After he got Kuan Chung, he became the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers. After he lost Kuan Chung, he got Shu Tiao with the result that following his death worms crawled outdoors while the corpse still lay unburied. If success was not due to the ability of the minister, Duke Huan would not have attained Hegemony because of Kuan Chung. Were it entirely due to the ability of the ruler, he would not have suffered any disturbance because of Shu Tiao. Formerly, Duke Wen was so much in love with his Ch'i wife that he forgot the necessity to return to his native country. Therefore, Uncle Fan made a forceful remonstration with him and thereby enabled him to go back to the Chin State. Thus, Duke Huan brought Allunder-Heaven under one rule because of Kuan Chung while Duke Wen attained Hegemony because of Uncle Fan. Therefore, Musician K'uang's saying that the success was due to the ability of the ruler was also not true. On the whole, the Five Hegemonic Rulers could accomplish their achievements and reputations in All-underHeaven because in every case both ruler and minister had abilities. Hence the saying: ' replies of both Shu Hsiang and Musician K'uang were equally eccentric views.

At the time of Duke Huan of Ch'i, once an envoy from Chin arrived. When the chief usher asked about the kind of treatment he should be accorded, Duke Huan thrice said, "Ask Uncle Chung about it." Therefore the clown laughed, saying, "How easy it is to be a ruler! First Your Highness says, 'Ask Uncle Chung! and next also says, 'Ask Uncle Chung! "In response Duke Huan said: "I have heard that the ruler of men has a hard time to find right men for office but has an easy time when making use of them. I already had a hard time to find Uncle Chung. After having found him, why should I not have an easy time?"

Some critic says: The reply of Duke Huan to the clown was not what the ruler of men ought to have made. Duke Huan thought the ruler of men must undergo the hardship of finding right men for office. Why should finding men be a hardship at all? Yi Yin became a cook and thereby ingratiated himself with King T'ang: Pai-li Hsi became a war prisoner and thereby ingratiated himself with Duke Mu. To become a war prisoner is a humiliation; to become a cook is a disgrace. Yet because the worthy's worry about the world is urgent, he would go through humiliation and disgrace and thereby approach the ruler. If so, the rulers of men should cause only the worthies no obstacle. Verily, to find right men for office does not constitute any difficulty to the lord of men. Moreover, to offices and commissions worthies are appointed; with titles and bounties men of merit are rewarded. Once offices and commissions are established and titles and bounties are paraded, talented men will appear of themselves. Then why should the ruler of men have any hardship at all?

Likewise, personnel administration is not an easy thing. The lord of men, while using men, must regulate them with rules and measures, and compare their deeds with their words in the way forms are compared with names. If any project is lawful, it should be carried out; if unlawful, it should be stopped. If the result is equivalent to the proposal, the proposer should be rewarded; if not, he should be punished. Rectify the ministers with forms and names, regulate the subordinates with rules and measures. This principle should not be neglected. Then what ease does the ruler of men have?

Thus finding men is not a hardship; using men is not easy. Consequently, Duke Huan's saying, "The ruler has a hard time to find men but has an easy time when using them," was not true. Moreover, Duke Huan went through no hardship to find Kuan Chung. Kuan Chung did not die in the cause of loyalty to his first master, but surrendered himself to Duke Huan. Besides, Pao Shu made light of his own official position, gave way to the able man, and recommended him for the post of premiership. Clearly enough, Duke Huan's finding Kuan Chung was not any hardship at all.

After having found Kuan Chung, how could he have an easy time all at once? Kuan Chung was not like Duke T'an of Chou. Duke T'an of Chou acted for the Son of Heaven for seven years till King Ch'eng reached full age, when he returned the reins of government to him. This was not because he thought of the welfare of All-under-Heaven, but because he wanted to perform his duty. Indeed, who does not usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven, never will desert the dead ruler and serve the enemy; who deserts the dead ruler and serves the enemy, will not always hesitate to usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven; and who does not hesitate to usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven, will not

hesitate to usurp the ruler's state. Now Kuan Chung was originally a minister under Prince Chiu. Once he even schemed to assassinate Duke Huan, but in vain. Following the death of his old master, he served Duke Huan. Clearly enough, in matters of submission and desertion Kuan Chung was not as great as Duke T'an of Chou. Nobody could tell whether or not he would remain worthy. Supposing he would remain worthy, then he might do the same as King T'ang and King Wu. T'ang and Wu were originally ministers under Chieh and Chow respectively. Chieh and Chow caused confusion, wherefore Tang and Wu deprived them of the throne. Now that Duke Huan easily stood above Kuan Chung, he was doing the same as Chieh and Chow did standing above T'ang and Wu. Duke Huan was in danger then. Supposing Kuan Chung should become an unworthy man, then he might do the same as T'ien Ch'ang. T'ien Ch'ang was a minister to Duke Chien but murdered his master. Now that Duke Huan stood easily above Kuan Chung, he was doing the same as Duke Chien standing easily above T'ien Ch'ang. Again Duke Huan was in danger

Thus clearly enough, Kuan Chung was not as great as Duke T'an of Chou. However, nobody could tell whether he would do the same as T'ang and Wu or as T'ieh Ch'ang. Should he do the same as T'ang and Wu, there would be the danger of Chieh and Chow; should he do the same as T'ien Ch'ang, there would be the catastrophe of Duke Chien. After having found Uncle Chung, how could he have an easy time all at once? Supposing Duke Huan took Kuan Chung into service because he was sure he would never deceive him, then he could direct ministers who were not deceitful. However, though at one time he could direct ministers who were not deceitful, yet as he later entrusted Shu Tiao and I Ya with the same affairs which he had committed to the hands of Kuan Chung with the result that worms crawled outdoors while his corpse lay unburied, it goes without saying that Duke Huan could not tell between ministers who would deceive the ruler and those who would not deceive the ruler. Nevertheless, so exclusively he put his trust in ministers when he took them into service! Hence the saying: "Duke Huan was a stupid sovereign."

Li K'o governed Central Hills. The magistrate of Hard Paths presented his fiscal report, in which the annual revenue appeared enormous in amount. Therefore, Li K'o said: "Speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear but in discord with the cause of righteousness, are called 'entrancing words.' The revenue, enormous in amount but not due to the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys, is called 'an attractive income.' The gentleman never listens to attractive words nor accepts any attractive income. You had better leave your office."

Some critic says: Li Tzu proclaimed the theory, "Speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear but in discord with the cause of righteousness, are called 'attractive words'." To be sure, the eloquence of speeches depends upon the speaker while their delight rests with the listener. Thus, the speaker is not the listener. What he called "discord with the cause of righteousness" is not concerned with the listener. It must be concerned with what is heard. The listener must be either a rascal or a gentleman. The rascal, having no cause of righteousness, must be unable to estimate the speeches from the standpoint of righteousness; whereas the gentleman, estimating them from the standpoint of righteousness, is certainly not delighted at them. Verily, the argument that speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear, are in discord with the cause of righteousness must be an absurd saying.

The argument that a revenue enormous in amount is an attractive income is not applicable to many cases. Li Tzu did not stop corruptions early enough and let them creep into the fiscal report. In this way he allowed criminal offences to be accomplished. He had no way of knowing why the revenue was enormous. If the enormous revenue was due to a bountiful harvest, then though the amount was doubled, what could be done about it? If in doing any kind of work people look after the harmony of the positive and negative factors; if in planting trees they follow the suitable periods of the four seasons; and if at dawn and at dusk there is no suffering from cold or heat: then revenue will be enormous. If important duties are not obstructed by small profits; if public welfare is not injured by private interest; if men exert their strength to tillage; and if women devote their energies to weaving; then revenue will be enormous. If the methods of animal husbandry are improved, the qualities of the soil are examined, the six animals flourish, and the five cereals abound, then revenue will be enormous. If weights and measures are made clear; if topographical features are carefully surveyed; and if through the utilization of boats, carts, and other mechanical devices. the minimum amount of energy is used to produce the maximum amount of efficiency; then revenue will be enormous. If traffic on markets, cities, passes, and bridges is facilitated. so that needy places are supplied with sufficient commodities: if merchants from abroad flock to the country and foreign goods and money come in; if any unnecessary expenditure is cut down, extravagant clothing and food are saved, houses and furniture are all limited to necessities, and amusements and recreations are never over-emphasized; then revenue will

be enormous. In these cases, the increase in revenue is due to human effort. Granted that natural events, winds, rain, seasons, cold, and heat are normal and the territory remains the same, then if the people can reap the fruits of the abundant year, then revenue will be enormous too. Thus, human effort and heavenly support both are the main factors of increases in revenue, but the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys are not. Verily, to call the enormous revenue not due to the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys "an attractive income," is a tactless saying.

When Viscount Chien of Chao was laying siege to the outer walls of the capital of Wei, he covered himself with a shield and a turret both made of rhinoceros-hide and stood at a spot beyond the reach of arrow-heads. Therefrom he beat the drum. but the warriors made no progress. Throwing down the drumsticks, Duke Chien said, "Alas! My men are already exhausted." In response a herald named Chu Kuo took off his helmet and said: "Thy servant has heard, 'The ruler may be incapable, but no warrior is ever exhausted.' In bygone days, our former ruler, Duke Hsien, annexed seventeen states, subdued thirty-eight states, and won twelve wars, which altogether was due to his way of making use of the people. Following the death of Duke Hsien, Duke Hui ascended the throne. As he continued lewd, flighty, cruel, and violent, and pleasured himself in beautiful women, the Ch'ins invaded the country at their pleasure and came within the distance of seventeen li from the city of Chiang, which also was due to his way of using the people. Following the death of Duke Hui, Duke Wen accepted the reins of government, besieged Wei, took Yeh, and at the battle of Ch'eng-p'u defeated the Chings five times, till he attained the highest fame in All-under-Heaven, which also was due to his way of using men. Thus, the ruler may be incapable, but no warrior is ever exhausted.' Accordingly, Duke Chien discarded the shield and the turret and stood on a spot within the reach of arrow-heads. Therefrom he beat the drum, under whose influence the warriors fought and won a great victory. Thereupon Duke Chien said, "One thousand armoured chariots given to me would not be as effective as one counsel heard from Chu Kuo.'

Some critic says: The herald did not speak to the point. He simply reminded his master that Duke Hui on account of his personnel administration failed while Duke Wen on account of his personnel administration attained hegemony, but did not yet explain to him the right technique of personnel administration. Therefore, Duke Chien should not have discarded the shield and the turret so soon. When the father is besieged, to slight personal safety and venture the arrowheads is the way the dutiful son loves his father. However, among one hundred there may be one dutiful son loving his father to such an extent. Now that the herald thought the people could fight even in the face of personal dangers, he presumed that all the sons of the hundred clans would serve the superior in the same way as the dutiful son loves his father. Such was the absurd idea of the herald. To love profit and dislike injury is the tendency everybody has. Therefore, if reward is big and trusted, everybody will rush at enemies with ease. If punishment is heavy and definite, nobody will run away from enemies. Among one hundred men there is not even one who would practise high virtue and die in the cause of loyalty to the superior, yet everybody is equally fond of profit and afraid of punishment. Therefore, in advising the leader of the masses not to go on the way which they would follow by necessity but to count on such virtue as none out of a hundred would practise, the herald was certainly not yet aware of the right method of making use of the people.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 38.

Criticism of the Ancients, Series Three

Duke Mu of Lu once asked Tzu-ssu, saying, "I have heard that the son of the Chien family in the village of P'ang is not dutiful. How is his conduct?" In reply Tzu-ssu said, "The superior man esteems the worthy and thereby exalts the virtuous. He promotes the good and thereby encourages the people. In the case of misconduct, it is recognized by small men. Thy servant does not know anything about his conduct at all." After Tzu-ssu had gone out, Tzu-fu and Li-pai went in to interview the Duke. Then Duke Mu again asked about the conduct of the son of the Chien family in the village of P'ang. In reply Tzu-fu and Li-pai said, "He has three defects, all of which your Highness has never heard about." Thenceforth, the ruler respected Tzu-ssu but despised Tzu-fu and Li-pai.

Some critic says: Was it unreasonable that the ruling family of Lu was menaced by the Chi Clan successively for three generations? The enlightened ruler searches for good men and rewards them. He searches for wicked men and punishes them. He search is one. Therefore, who reports of good men agrees with the superior on the approval of good deeds; who reports of wicked men agrees with the superior on the dislike of bad deeds. Both equally deserve reward and honour. Who does not report of wicked men, is an opponent of the superior and a partisan of the wicked men. He deserves disgrace and punishment. Now, Tzu-ssu did not report of any defect of the son, whereas Duke Mu respected him. Li-pai reported of the wickedness of the son, whereas Duke Mu despised him. It is

human nature, however, that everybody loves respect and dislikes being despised. Naturally, even when the rebellious plot of the Chi Clan was mature, nobody reported of it to the superior. This was the reason for which the Ruler of Lu was eventually molested. Verily, it is the beaten track of the sovereigns of declining states, which was appreciated by the men of Tsou and Lu. Was it absurd that Duke Mu esteemed it in particular?

When Duke Wen fled into exile, Duke Hsien sent eunuch, P'i, to assault him at Rush City. P'i only succeeded in cutting a sleeve off his coat. Then Duke Wen escaped to Chieh. When Duke Hui ascended the throne, he also sent P'i to assault Duke Wen by the side of the Wei River. But he could not get at the Duke. After the return of Duke Wen to his native country. P'i petitioned for an audience with the Duke. Thereupon, the Duke said, "Before the assault at Rush City, His Highness had ordered you to stay one night on the way, but you went straight there. Before the catastrophe by the side of the Wei River, His Highness had ordered you to stay three nights on the way, but you spent one night only. Why were you so quick?" In reply P'i said, "The ruler's order must not be disobeyed. To eliminate the ruler's enemy I was afraid of my inability. At that time Your Highness was merely a man of Rush or a man of Chieh, with whom I had no relationship whatever. Now that Your Highness has ascended the throne, would there be no memory of the events at Rush and in Chieh? Indeed, Duke Huan even forgot the shooting of the ribbonhook of his crown and appointed Kuan Chung premier.' Hearing this, the Duke granted him an audience.

Some critic says: That festivals to the memory of the ancestors of the Ch'is and the Chins were finally stopped, was perfectly reasonable. Duke Huan could make use of Kuan Chung's meritorious services and forgot the grudge against the shooting of the ribbon-hook. Duke Wen could listen to the eunuch's saying and ignored the crime of cutting off his sleeve. Thus, Dukes Huan and Wen could tolerate the two men. Rulers of subsequent generations, however, were not as enlightened as these two Dukes while ministers of subsequent generations were not as worthy as these two men. When disloyal ministers were serving unintelligent rulers, if the rulers did not notice their disloyalty, then there would appear such traitors as Ts'ao of Yen, Tzu-han, and T'ien Ch'ang; if they noticed their disloyalty, then the ministers would justify their misconduct with the actions of Kuan Chung and the eunuch as precedents, so that the rulers would not censure them and assumed themselves to be as virtuous as Dukes Huan and Wen. In this manner, the ministers owed the rulers grudges in secret, but the rulers were not intelligent enough to eliminate the dark matters. If the rulers vested the ministers with more powers while pretending to worthiness themselves and taking no precaution against any eventuality, was it not reasonable that their posterity was exterminated? Moreover, the saying of the eunuch was too ostentatious. Who does not disobev the ruler's order, is said to be faithful to the ruler. However, unless the minister never feels ashamed of his conduct even when the dead ruler comes to life again, he is not truly faithful. Now that Duke Hui died at dawn, the eunuch turned to serve Duke Wen at dusk, how about his principle of nondisobedience?

Once somebody put a riddle to Duke Huan, saying, "The first difficulty, the second difficulty, and the third difficulty. What are they?" Unable to solve the riddle, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung to do it. In reply Kuan Chung said, "The first difficulty is due to the ruler's intimacy with actors and remoteness from scholars and warriors; the second, due to his absence from the state capital and frequent visit to the seaside; and the third, due to the choice of the Crown Prince late in the ruler's old age." "Right," remarked Duke Huan. Without choosing a lucky day, he celebrated in the ancestral shrine the installation of the Crown Prince.

Some critic says: Kuan Chung's solution of the riddle was not to the point. The serviceability of the scholars and warriors does not rest with their distance from the ruler. Actors and clowns are from the beginning supposed to accompany the lord of men at every feast. If so, then to keep actors near and the scholars and warriors far and thereby maintain political order would not be any difficulty at all. Again, who is in the position and not able to make the best use of his authorities but counts on his constant presence at the state capital, means to suppress wickedness throughout the whole country with one person's strength. If the ruler attempts to suppress wickedness throughout the whole country with his own strength only, then he can hardly succeed. If his intelligence is able to illuminate distant crooks and disclose vicious secrets, and if he is certain to apply decrees to such cases, then though he travels far away to the seaside, there will be no disorder at home. If so, then to leave the state capital for the seaside and thereby invite neither menace nor murder would constitute no difficulty at all. As regards the third difficulty, King Ch'eng of Ch'u first made Shang-ch'eng Crown Prince, and later thought of making Prince Chih Crown Prince, wherefore Shang-ch'eng caused a disturbance and finally murdered King Ch'eng. Similarly, Prince Tsai was the Crown Prince of Chou, but Prince Ken

won the ruler's favour, caused a rebellion in the eastern part of Chou, and split the country into two. In these cases the calamity was not due to the late installation of the crown prince. If the ruler is not double-dealing in matters of distinction and position, keeps bastards in low status, and grants his favourites no special request, then though he waits till an old age, the late installation of the crown prince is practicable. If so, then to install the crown prince late and thereby incur no turmoil from bastards, would constitute no difficulty at all. The so-called difficulties are: to let people accumulate their influences and not to let them trespass against the ruler, which constitutes the first difficulty; to favour concubines but not let them rival the wife, which constitutes the second difficulty; and, to love bastards but not to let them ieopardize the heir apparent, and to trust one minister exclusively and see that he dare not rank with the ruler himself, which can be called the third difficulty.

When the Duke of Sheh, Tzu-kao, asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to content the near and attract the distant." When Duke Ai asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to select worthies for office." When Duke Ching of Ch'i asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to economize expenditure." After the three Dukes had gone out, Tzu-kung asked, "The question raised to Master by the three Dukes about government was the same one, but why did Master reply to them differently?" Chung-ni said, "In Sheh the capital is too big for the country while the people have the rebellious mind. Therefore, I said, 'The way of good government is to content the near and attract the distant'. Duke Ai of Lu has three chief vassals, who spurn envoys from other feudal lords and the neighbouring countries and join one another in befooling their master. It must be these three ministers who will stop the festivals of the ancestral shrine and remove the sacrifices from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. Therefore I said, 'The way of good government is to select worthy men for office.' Duke Ching of Ch'i constructed the Yung Gate, built the Roadbed Tower, and in one morning rewarded three officials each with a fief of one hundred chariots. Therefore, I said, 'The way of good government is to economize expenditure.'

Some critic says: The reply of Chung-ni was a state-ruining saying. Notwithstanding that the Sheh people had the rebellious mind, he advised the ruler to content the near and attract the distant, whereby he encouraged the people to cherish gratitude to the ruler for his favours. To be sure, the government by favour rewards men of no merit and absolves criminals of guilt. This is the reason why the law is broken. If the law is broken, government will fall into confusion. To govern a spoilt people with confused regulations is never practicable. Moreover, if the people have the rebellious mind, it is because the ruler's insight has fallen short of certain objects. Now, instead of persuading the Duke of Sheh to extend his insight, Chung-ni advised him to content the near and attract the distant. In this way he advised the ruler to discard what his position is able to prohibit and struggle with his subordinates to win the hearts of the people by conferring favours. Thereby he will not be able to maintain his influence Indeed, in worthiness Yao was the first one of the six rulers, but wherever Shun went, people flocked around him, till Yao had no more influence in All-under-Heaven. Suppose there is a ruler who has no way of preventing his subordinates from misbehaving but counts on their imitation of Shun and expects not to lose the hearts of the people. Is he not tactless? The enlightened ruler sees an evil in the bud, wherefore the people cannot plot any large-scale rebellion. As he inflicts small punishments for minor offences, the people cannot cause any serious disturbance. This means "to contemplate a difficulty when it is easy and manage a great thing when it is small." Now, if men of merit are always rewarded, the rewarded do not feel grateful to the ruler, because the reward is due to their effort. If men guilty of offences are always punished, the punished bear no grudge against the authorities, because the punishment is due to their misconduct. As the people understand that both punishment and reward are due to their own deeds, they will strive to harvest merits and profits in their daily work and will not hope for undue gifts from the ruler. "Of the greatest ruler, the people simply know the existence." This means that under the greatest ruler the people have no undue joy. Then where can be found people bearing gratitude to the ruler? The subjects of the greatest ruler receive neither undue profit nor undue injury. Therefore, the persuasion to content the near and attract the distant should be set at nought.

As Duke Ai had ministers who spurned visitors from outside and formed juntas at home in deceiving the ruler, Chung-ni persuaded him to select worthies for office. By worthies he meant not men who would exert their strength and render meritorious services, but those whom the ruler judged to be worthy. Now, supposing Duke Ai knew that the three ministers spurned visitors from outside and formed juntas at home, then the three men could not continue misbehaving one day longer. It was because Duke Ai did not

know how to select worthies for office but simply selected those men he judged to be worthy that the three men could have charge of state affairs. However, Tzu-k'uai of Yen considered Tzu-chih worthy and disapproved the character of Sun Ch'ing with the result that he was murdered and became a laughing-stock of the world. Likewise, Fu-ch'a regarded Chancellor P'i as wise and Tzu-hsii as stupid with the result that he was extinguished by Yüeh. Thus, the Ruler of Lu did not necessarily know worthy men, but Chung-ni persuaded him to select worthy men, whereby he would drive him to the disaster of Fu-ch'a and K'uai of Yen. Verily, the enlightened ruler does not have to promote ministers himself, for they advance according to their meritorious services. He does not have to select worthies himself, for they make their appearances according to their meritorious services. He appoints them to various posts, examines them in their works, and judges them according to their results. Therefore, all officials have to be fair and just and never self-seeking. Neither obscuring the worthy nor promoting the unworthy, what worry does the lord of men have about the selection of worthy men?

As Duke Ching rewarded officials each with a fief of one hundred chariots, Chung-ni persuaded him to economize expenditure, whereby he advised him to have no way of enjoying pleasures and luxuries but remain personally frugal. In consequence, the country would fall into poverty. Suppose there is a ruler who supports himself with the income from the area of one thousand li square. Then even Chieh and Chow could not be more extravagant than he. Now, the Ch'i State covers an area of three thousand li square. With half of its income Duke Huan supported himself. In this manner he was more extravagant than Chieh and Chow. Yet he could become the first one of the Five Hegemonic Rulers because he knew the respective spheres of frugality and extravagance. To be a ruler of men who cannot restrain his subjects but has to restrain himself instead, is called "suffering"; to be unable to reform his subjects and have to reform himself instead, is called "confusion"; and, not to economize in the expenditure of his subjects but to economize in his own expenditure, is called "poverty". The enlightened ruler makes people publicspirited, stops men who earn their livelihood by means of deception, and always hears about those who exert their strength in public enterprises and contribute profits to the authorities. Whenever heard about, the men of merit are rewarded. Likewise, he always knows those who are corrupt and self-seeking. Whenever known, the wicked men are punished. If so, then loyal ministers will exert their spirits of loyalty for public causes, gentry and commoners will apply their strength to the welfare of their families, and all officials will be assiduous and deny themselves in serving the superior. Therefore, the extravagance of the enlightened ruler, be it twice as much as that of Duke Ching, will constitute no menace to the state. If so, the persuasion to economize expenditure was not an urgent need of Duke Ching.

Indeed, a single reply to the three Dukes that would enable them to get rid of all worries should be "Know your inferiors". If the ruler knows the inferiors well, then he can nip an evil in the bud. If evils are nipped in the bud, no villainy will be accumulated. If no villainy is accumulated, no junta will be formed. If no junta is formed, public welfare and private interest will be distinguished from each other. If public welfare and private interest are distinguished from each other, all partisans will disperse. If the partisans disperse, there will be no trouble-makers spurning visitors from outside and forming wicked juntas inside. Moreover, when the ruler knows his inferiors well, he will discover all their minute details. When all their minute details are disclosed, censure and reward will be clarified. When censure and reward are clarified, the country will not be poor. Hence the saying: "A single reply that would enable the three Dukes to get rid of all worries should be 'Know your inferiors'."

One morning when Tzu-ch'an of Cheng went out and passed through the quarters of eastern craftsmen, he heard a woman crying. Therefore, he held the coachman's hand still and listened to the crying. Meanwhile, he sent out an official to arrest her. After examining her, he found out that she had strangled her husband with her own hands. Another day the coachman asked, "Master, how could you tell that she had killed her husband?" "Her voice was fearful," said Tzu-ch'an. "As a rule, people react to their beloved in the following ways: When the beloved has just fallen ill, they are worried about the illness; when he or she is dying, they feel fearful; after the death, they feel sad. Now that the woman crying over her dead husband was not sad but fearful, I could tell there was villainy behind it."

Some critic says: Was Tzu-ch'an's way of government not burdensome? The culprit was found out only after she had fallen within the reaches of the premier's ears and eyes. If so, very few culprits could be found out in the Cheng State. Not employing judicial officials, not carefully observing the system of three units and basic fives, and not clarifying rules and measures, but solely depending on the exertion of his auditory and visual sagacity and the exhaustion of his wisdom and reason for detecting culprits, was he not tactless? Verily,

things are many; wise men, few. As the few are no match for the many, the wise are not sufficient to know all the things. Therefore, regulate things with things. The inferior are many; the superior, few. As the few are no match for the many, the ruler alone is not sufficient to know all the officials. Therefore, govern men with men. In this way, without damaging his features and his body, the ruler administers state affairs successfully; without making use of his wisdom and reason, he can find out culprits. Hence follows the proberb of the Sungs. saying "Yi would be unreasonable if he claimed his ability to shoot down every sparrow passing by him. Supposing Allunder-Heaven became a net, then no sparrow would be missed". To comb the culprits, the ruler must have a large net, so that none of them will be missed. Not studying these principles but using his own guess-work as bows and arrows, Tzu-ch'an was unreasonable. Thus, Lao Tzu said, "Who attempts to govern the state with wisdom, will eventually betray the country." How applicable this was to Tzu-ch'an's

King Chao of Ch'in asked the chamberlains, saying, "How is the present strength of Han and Wey compared with their former strength?" In reply they said, "They are now weaker "How are Ju erh and Wey Ch'i at present than before. compared with Meng Ch'ang and Mang Mao in the past?" "The former are not as great as the latter," replied the chamberlains. Then the King said, "Meng Ch'ang and Mang Mao led the strong forces of Han and Wey, but could do nothing against me. Now, they put such unable men as Ju erh and Wey Ch'i in command of the weak forces of Han and Wey to attack Ch'in. Clearly enough, they will not be able to do anything against me." In response they said, "That is very true." However, Musician Chung Ch'i put his lute aside and said in reply: "Your Majesty is mistaken in estimating the situation of All-under-Heaven. Indeed, at the time of the Six Chins, the Chih Clan was the strongest among all. After destroying the Fan and the Chung-hang Clans, they took the troops of Han and Wey along to attack Chao. They inundated the capital of Chao with the water from the Chin River, till only six feet square of land inside the city was not flooded. One day, Earl Chih went out with Viscount Hsüan of Wey as the charioteer and Viscount K'ang of Han in charge of the extra team. On the way, Earl Chih said, 'Never before have I known that water can destroy enemies' states. I have just come to know it. The water of the Feng River can inundate the city of An-i; and the water of the Chiang River can inundate the city of P'ing-yang. Hearing this remark, Viscount Hsüan of Wey pushed the elbow of Viscount K'ang of Han while Viscount K'ang stepped on Viscount Hsüan's foot. Soon after the elbow was pushed and the foot was stepped on in the carriage, the possessions of the Chih Clan were divided beneath the walls of Chin-yang. Now, Your Majesty, though strong, is not yet as powerful as the Chih Clan. Han and Wey, though weak, are not yet as helpless as the people besieged at Chin-yang. To-day is the very moment when All-under-Heaven push their elbows and step on their feet. May Your Majesty, therefore, not look down upon them!

Some critic says: King Chao's question was mistaken; the replies by the chamberlains and Chung-ch'i were wrong. As a rule, the enlightened sovereign in governing the state holds fast to his position. As long as his position is not injured, even though the forces of All-under-Heaven combine against him, they could do nothing against him. Then how much less could Meng Ch'ang, Mang Mao, Han, and Wey do against Ch'in? However, if the position can be injured, then even unworthy men like Ju erh and Wey Ch'i and the weak forces of Han and Wey can be detrimental to it. Such being the case, violability and inviolability both rest on nothing but the reliability of one's own position. Why did he raise the question then? If the sovereign relies on the inviolability of his own position, he minds no enemy whether strong or weak. If he cannot rely on his own position but keeps asking about the strength of his enemies, suffering no invasion will be a godsend to him. Shen Tzu said, "Who loses sight of calculations and looks to people's words for bases of belief, will for ever be in doubt." which was applicable to King Chao's case.

Earl Chih had no rules of self-restraint. Thus, while taking Viscounts K'ang of Han and Hsüan of Wey along, he thought of flooding and ruining their countries with water. This was the reason why Earl Chih had his country destroyed, himself killed, and his skull made into a drinking cup. Now, when King Chao asked if enemies were stronger than they had been before, there was no worry about his flooding lands. Though he had the chamberlains around, they were not the same as the Viscounts of Han and Wey. Then how could there be any elbow-pushing and foot-stepping intrigues? Nevertheless, Chung-ch'i said, "Do not look down upon them!" This was an empty saying. Moreover, what Chung-ch'i took charge of was harps and lutes. Were the strings not harmonious and the notes not clear it would be his duty to fix them. In this post Chung-ch'i served King Chao. He was willing to enter upon the duties of that post. Yet before he as yet proved satisfactory in his official capacity to King Chao, he spoke on what he did not know. Was he not thoughtless? The chamberlains' replies, "Both are weaker now than before," and, "The former are not

as great as the latter," were fair, but their last reply, "That is very true," was certainly flattery. Shen Tzu said, "The way to order is not to overstep the duties of one's post and not to speak about people's business though aware of it." Now, Chung-ch'i did not know politics but spoke on it. Hence the saying: "King Chao's question was mistaken: the replies by the chamberlains and Chung-ch'i were wrong."

Kuan Tzu said, "When the ruler approves the minister's conduct, he manifests evidences of liking him; when he disapproves the minister's conduct, he produces facts of disliking him. If reward and punishment accord with what is seen, the minister will dare do no wrong even in unseen places. Suppose when the ruler sees the minister's conduct approvable, of liking him he manifests no evidence; when he sees the minister's conduct not approvable, of disliking him he produces no fact. Then if reward and punishment do not accord with what is seen, it is impossible to expect the minister to do good at unseen places."

Some critic says: Public grounds and sublime shrines are places where all behave with respect; dark rooms and solitary quarters are places where even Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'in become undisciplined. To observe people when they behave respectfully is not to be able to get at the realities of them. Moreover, in the presence of the ruler and superior every minister and inferior is forced to polish his manners. If both approval and disapproval rest on what is seen, it is certain that ministers and inferiors will disguise wicked things and thereby befool their masters. If the ruler's own insight cannot illuminate distant crooks and discern hidden secrets and thereby guard against them, to fix reward and punishment by observing disguised deeds is certainly harmful.

Kuan Tzu said, "Whose words said inside the private room prevail upon everybody in the room, and whose words said inside the public hall prevail upon everybody in the hall, he can be called ruler of All-under-Heaven."

Some critic says: What Kuan Chung meant by the so-called words which were said inside the room and prevailed upon everybody in the room and those which were said inside the hall and prevailed upon everybody in the hall, was not restricted to talks given in sport and play or after drinking and eating, but inclusive of serious discussions of important business. The important business of the lord of men is either law or tact. The law is codified in books, kept in governmental offices, and promulgated among the hundred surnames. The tact is hidden in the bosom and useful in comparing diverse motivating factors of human conduct and in manipulating the body of officials secretly. Therefore, law wants nothing more than publicity; tact abhors visibility. For this reason, when the enlightened sovereign speaks on law, high and low within the boundaries will hear and know it. Thus, the speech prevails not only upon everybody in the hall. When he applies his tact, none of his favourites and courtiers will notice it at all. Thus, it cannot display itself all over the room. Nevertheless, Kuan Tzu insisted on saying, "The words said in the private room prevail upon everybody in the room: the words said in the public hall prevail upon everybody in the hall," which is not an utterance of the spirit of law and

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 39.

Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Four

Once Sun Wen-tzu of Wei visited the court of Lu. When the Duke was going up a flight of steps, he also went up at the same time. Thereupon Shu-sun Mu-tzu rushed forward and said, "At every conference of the feudal lords, His Highness never walks behind the Ruler of Wei. Now, you are not walking one step behind our Ruler while our Ruler does not notice the fault. Will you go a little bit more slowly?" Yet Sun Tzu neither had any word to say nor showed any sign of reform. When Mu-tzu withdrew from the party, he said to people, "Sun Tzu will go to ruin. Being a failing minister, he would not walk behind a ruler. Committing a fault, he would not reform himself. This is the basic factor of ruin."

Some critic says: When Sons of Heaven lost the way of government, feudal lords replaced them. For example, T'ang and Wu replaced Chieh and Chow. When feudal lords lost the way of government, high officers replaced them. For example, high officers in Ch'i and Chin replaced their rulers. Were the minister replacing the ruler doomed to ruin, then Tang and Wu could not become rulers and the new ruling dynasties in Ch'i and Chin could not be established. Now, Sun Tzu in Wei rivalled his ruler in power but never became a minister in Lu. If any minister turns ruler, it is because the original ruler has lost the reins of government. Therefore, notwithstanding that Sun Tzu had gained the reins of government, Mu-tzu warned the minister having the gain, of ruin instead of warning the ruler suffering the loss, of ruin. Thus, Mu-tzu was not clearsighted at all. Indeed, Lu could not punish the envoy from Wei while the Ruler of Wei was not enlightened enough to know the unreformable minister. Though Mu-tzu had found these two faults, how could he foretell Sun Tzu's ruin? The way he ruined his status as minister was the way he broke the ministerial etiquette and thereby acquired the power of the

Some other critic says: Minister and ruler have their respective duties. If the minister can rob the ruler of the throne, it is because they have over-ridden each other's duties. Therefore, if the ruler takes what is not his due, the masses will take it away from him. If the minister declines his due and takes it afterwards, the people will give it back to him. For this reason, Chieh sought after the girls of Min-shan and Chow made request for Pi Kan's heart with the immediate result that All-under-Heaven were thereby estranged from them. Likewise, T'ang had to change his personal name and Wu received punishment, wherefore everybody within the seas obeyed them. Similarly, Viscount Hsüan of Chao fled to the mountains and Viscount T'ien Ch'eng took refuge abroad. In consequence, however, the peoples of Ch'i and Chin followed them. Such being the case, T'ang and Wu could become kings and the new ruling dynasties of Ch'i and Chin could be established, not because they usurped the throne first and then took what was their due, but because they first took what was their due and later proceeded to the throne. Now that Sun Wen-tzu never took what was his due but behaved himself like a ruler, he opposed the principle of justice and violated the doctrine of propriety. To oppose the principle of justice causes the failure of affairs; to violate the doctrine of propriety causes the accumulation of the people's grudge. Why did the critic take no notice of the impending calamity of failure and destruction?

Yang Hu of Lu schemed to attack the Three Huans, failed in the campaign, and fled to Ch'i. There Duke Ching paid him great respects. Against such a measure Pao Wen-tzu remonstrated with him, saying, "It is not practicable. Yang Hu had been in favour with the Chi Clan but attempted to attack Chi-sun because he was covetous of their wealth. Now that Your Highness is wealthier than Chi-sun and Ch'i is larger than Lu, Yang Hu will exert all his deceifful tricks." Duke Ching, accordingly, imprisoned Yang Hu.

Some critic says: If the millionaire's son is not benevolent, it is because everybody is by nature anxious to gain profit. Duke Huan was the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers, but in struggling for the throne, he killed his elder brother because the profit was great. The relationship between minister and ruler is not even as intimate as that between brothers. If through the accomplishment of intimidation and murder one can rule over the state of ten thousand chariots and enjoy the great profit, then who among the body of officials will not do the same as Yang Hu? To be sure, every plan, if delicately and skilfully carried out, will succeed, and, if crudely and clumsily carried out, is bound to fail. The ministers do not cause any disturbance because they are not vet well prepared. If the ministers all have the mind of Yang Hu which the ruler does not notice, their plan must be delicate and skilful. Contrasted with them, Yang Hu was known to be covetous of the rule over All-under-Heaven and schemed to attack his superior, wherefore his plan must have been crude and clumsy. Instead of advising Duke Ching to censure the astute ministers of Ch'i, Pao Wen-tzu advised him to censure clumsy Hu. Thus his persuasion was unreasonable. Whether the ministers are loyal or deceitful, it all depends upon the ruler's action. If the ruler is enlightened and strict, all the ministers will be loyal to him. If the ruler is weak and stupid, then all ministers will be deceitful. To be well informed of secrets is called "enlightened"; to grant no pardon is called "strict". Pao Wen-tzu did not know the astute ministers of Ch'i but wanted to censure the plotter of a disturbance in Lu. Was this not

Some other critic says: Benevolence and covetousness do not inhere in the same mind. For instance, Prince Mu-i declined the throne of Sung offered by his brother, whereas Shangch'en of Ch'u murdered his royal father in order to get the throne. Ch'ü-chih of Cheng passed the reins of government over to his younger brother, whereas Duke Huan of Lu murdered his elder brother, Duke Yin. The Five Hegemonic Rulers practised the policy of annexing weaker states with Duke Huan, as example. If so, all of them observed no code of fidelity and integrity. Moreover, if the ruler is enlightened, all the officials will be loyal. Now, Yang Hu plotted a disturbance in Lu, failed, and fled to Ch'i. If the authorities of Ch'i did not censure him, they would be doing the same as taking over an unsuccessful trouble-maker from Lu. If the were enlightened, he would know that by censuring Yang Hu an impending civil disturbance could be prevented. This is the right way of disclosing an evil in the bud. According to an old saying, "Every feudal lord must consider his friendship with other states as more important than with any private individual." If the Ruler of Ch'i was strict at all, he would never overlook the guilt of Yang Hu. This is the practice of giving no pardon. If so, to censure Yang Hu would be the way to make the body of officials loyal. Who took no notice of the astute ministers of Ch'i but neglected the punishment of a culprit already guilty of treason in Lu, blamed a person before he as yet committed any offence but refused to censure a man evidently convicted of felony, was thoughtless, indeed. Therefore, to punish the criminal guilty of treason in Lu and thereby both over-awe the crookedminded ministers of Ch'i and cultivate terms of friendship

with the Clans of Chi-sun, Meng-sun, and Shu-sun, Pao Wen's persuasion was by no means absurd as alleged by the preceding critic.

When Cheng Pai was about to appoint Kao Chü-mi high officer, Duke Chao, then the heir apparent, disliked him and remonstrated firmly with his father. His father, however, would not listen. After Duke Chao's accession to the throne, Kao Chü-mi, afraid of being killed by the new ruler, murdered Duke Chao on the day of the Golden Rabbit and established his younger brother, Prince Wei, on the throne. Gentlemen of that time gave comment on the events, saying, "Duke Chao knew the right man to dislike." Prince Yü said, "How murderous Kao Pai must be! His revenge for a dislike was too much."

Some critic says: Prince Yü's remark was absurd. Duke Chao met the disaster because he was too late in revenging himself on his enemy. If so, Kao Pai died late because his revenge for a dislike was too serious. Indeed, the enlightened ruler does not manifest his indignation. For, if he manifests his indignation at any minister, then the guilty minister will rashly scheme to carry out his plot. If so, the lord of men will fall into danger. For instance, during the carousal at the Spiritual Tower, the Ruler of Wei was angry at Ch'u Shih but did not censure him. In consequence, Ch'u Shih caused a disturbance. Again, when Prince Tzu-kung tasted the turtle soup, the Ruler of Cheng was angry at him but did not punish him. In consequence, Tzu-kung murdered him.

The gentleman's remark on Duke Chao's knowledge of the right man to dislike did not mean that the dislike was too serious, but that in spite of his clear knowledge as such he never inflicted punishment upon the man till finally he died at the hands of the man. Therefore, the saying, "He knew the right man to dislike," exposed the powerlessness of Duke Chao. As a ruler of men, he not only failed to foresee an impending danger, but also failed to prevent and suppress it. Now, Duke Chao displayed his dislike for Kao Chü-mi but suspended the conviction of his crime and did not censure him. Thereby he made Chü-mi bear him a grudge, fear capital punishment, and risk his own fortune. In consequence, the Duke could not evade murder. Thus, Kao Pai's revenge for dislike was natural and never too serious.

Some other critic says: Who over-compensates for an evil. would inflict a big punishment for a small offence. To inflict a big punishment for a small offence is an eccentric action by the criminal court. It constitutes a worry to the court. The menace arises not from the criminals already punished but from the number of enemies thereby made. For instance, Duke Li of Chin destroyed three Ch'is, wherefore the Luans and the Chung-hangs caused a disturbance: Tzu-tu of Cheng executed Pai-hsüan, wherefore Shih-ting started a trouble; and the King of Wu chastised Tzu-hsü, wherefore Kou-chien of Yüeh became Hegemonic Ruler. Such being the case, that the Ruler of Wei was banished and the Duke of Cheng was murdered, was not because Ch'u Shih had not been executed and Tzukung had not been punished, but because the rulers had the angry colour when they should not have expressed their indignation, and they had the mind to punish them when they were not in the position to punish them. In fact, when they were angry at the two crooks, if the punishment of them would not go against public opinion, there would be no harm in manifesting their indignation. Indeed, to blame a minister before the accession and wait to punish him for the previous offence after the accession was the reason why Duke Hu of Ch'i was destroyed by Tsou Ma-hsü. Thus, even the ruler's manifestation of his anger at the minister has evil afterconsequences; how much more so should be the minister's manifestation of his anger at the ruler? If it was not right to censure the minister, then to strive to realize his wish would be the same as to make enemies with All-under-Heaven. If so, was it unreasonable that he was murdered?

At the time of Duke Ling of Wei, Mi Tzu-hsia was in favour with him in the Wei State. One day, a certain clown, when seeing the Duke, said, "The dream of thy servant has materialized, indeed." "What did you dream?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant dreamt of a cooking stove," replied the clown, "on seeing your Highness." "What? As I understand," said the Duke in anger, "who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams of the sun. Why did you see a cooking stove in your dream of me?" The clown then said, "Indeed, the sun shines upon everything under heaven while nothing can cover it. Accordingly, who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams the sun. In the case of a cooking stove, however, if one person stands before it, then nobody from behind can see. Supposing someone were standing before Your Highness, would it not be possible for thy servant to dream of a cooking stove?" "Right" said the Duke and, accordingly, removed Yung Ch'u, dismissed Mi Tzu-hsia, and employed Ssu-k'ung Kou.

Some critic says: The clown did very well in making a pretext of dreaming of a cooking stove and thereby rectifying the way of the sovereign, whereas Duke Ling did not fully understand the clown's saying. For to remove Yung Ch'u, dismiss Mi Tzu-hsia, and employ Ssu-k'ung Kou, was to remove his favourites and employ a man he regarded as worthy. For the same reason, Tzu-tu of Cheng regarded Ch'in

Chien as worthy, he was deluded; Tzu-k'uai regarded Tzuchih as worthy, he was deluded. Indeed, who dismisses his favourites and employs men he considers worthy, cannot help allowing the "worthies" to stand before him. If an unworthy man stands before the sovereign, he is not sufficient to hurt the sovereign's sight. Now, if the Duke in no wise increased his wisdom but allowed an astute man to stand before him, he would certainly endanger himself.

Some other critic says: Ch'ü Tao tasted water-chestnuts, King Wen tasted calamus pickles. The two worthies did taste them, though both were not delicious tastes. Thus, what man tastes is not necessarily delicious. Duke Ling of Chin liked Shan Wu-hsü, K'uai of Yen regarded Tzu-chih as worthy. The two rulers did esteem them, though neither was an honest man. Thus, who is regarded by the ruler as worthy, is not necessarily worthy. To regard an unworthy man as worthy and take him into service, is the same as to employ a favourite. However, to regard a real worthy as worthy and raise him, is not the same as to employ a favourite. For this reason, King Chuang of Ch'u raised Sun-shu Ao, wherefore he became Hegemonic Ruler; Hsing of Ying employed Fei Chung, wherefore he went to ruin. Both these Kings employed men they considered worthy but harvested entirely opposite results. K'uai of Yen, though he raised a man he considered worthy, did the same as employing a favourite. Whether or not the Ruler of Wei was making the same mistake, who could be sure? Before the clown saw Duke Ling, the Duke, though deluded, did not know he was being deluded. It was only after the clown had interviewed him that he came to know the deception. Therefore, to dismiss the deluding ministers was to increase his wisdom. The preceding critic said: "If the ruler, without increasing his wisdom, allows any astute man to stand before him, he will fall into danger." Now that the Duke had increased his wisdom by dismissing two deceitful men, though the new man he employed might stand before him, he never would be jeopardized.

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 40.

A Critique of the Doctrine of Position

Shen Tzu said:-

"The flying dragon rides on the clouds and the rising serpent strolls through the mists; but as soon as the clouds disperse and the mists clear up, the dragon and the serpent become the same as the earthworm and the large-winged black ant, because they have then lost what they rested on. If worthies are subjected by unworthy men, it is because their power is weak and their status is low; whereas if the unworthy men can be subjected by the worthies, it is because the power of the latter is strong and their status is high. Yao, while a commoner, could not govern three people, whereas Chieh, being the Son of Heaven, could throw All-underHeaven into

"From this I know that position and status are sufficient to rely on, and that virtue and wisdom are not worth yearning after. Indeed, if the bow is weak and the arrow flies high, it is because it is driven up by the wind; if the orders of an unworthy man take effect, it is because he is supported by the masses. When Yao was teaching in an inferior status, the people did not listen to him; but, as soon as he faced the south, and became Ruler of All-under-Heaven, whatever he ordered took effect and whatever he forbade stopped. From such a viewpoint I see that virtue and wisdom are not sufficient to subdue the masses, and that position and status may well subject even worthies."

In response to Shen Tzu some critic says:—

"True, the flying dragon rides on the clouds and the rising serpent strolls through the mists. The dependence of the dragon and the serpent on the circumstances of the clouds and the mists I never deny. However, if you cast worthiness aside and trust to position entirely, is it sufficient to attain political order? No such instance have I ever been able to witness. Indeed, if the dragon and the serpent, when having the circumstances of clouds and mists, can ride on and stroll through them, it is because their talents are excellent. Now, though the clouds are thick, the earthworm cannot ride on them; though the mists are deep, the ant cannot stroll through them. Indeed, if the earthworm and the ant, when having the circumstances of thick clouds and deep mists, cannot ride on and stroll through them, it is because their talents are feeble. Now, while Chieh and Chow were facing the south and ruling All-under-Heaven with the authority of the Son of Heaven as the circumstances of clouds and mists. Allunder-Heaven could not evade chaos, although the talents of Chieh and Chow were feeble. Again, if All-under-Heaven was governed by Yao with his position, then how could that position differ from Chieh's position with which he threw Allunder-Heaven into chaos? After all, position cannot always make worthies realize their good-will and unworthy persons realize their malice. If worthies use it, the world becomes orderly; if unworthy persons use it, the world becomes chaotic.

"As regards human nature, worthies are few and worthless persons many. Because the unworthy men who disturb the world are supplied with the advantage of authority and position, those who by means of their position disturb the world are many and those who by means of their position govern the world well are few. Indeed, position is both an advantage to order and a facility to chaos. Hence the History of Chou says: 'Do not add wings to tigers. Otherwise, they will fly into the village, catch people, and devour them.'

"Indeed, to place unworthy men in advantageous positions is the same as to add wings to tigers. Thus, Chieh and Chow built high terraces and deep pools to exhaust people's strength and made roasting pillars to injure people's lives. Chieh and Chow could abuse their position and give themselves over to all vices because the south-facing authority worked as their wings. Were Chieh and Chow commoners, then before they as yet committed a single vice, their bodies would have suffered the death penalty. Thus, position can rear in man the heart of the tiger and the wolf and thereby foster outrageous and violent events. In this respect it is a great menace to Allunder-Heaven. Thus, concerning the relation of position to order and chaos, there is from the outset no settled view. Nevertheless, if anyone devotes his whole discourse to the sufficiency of the doctrine of position to govern All-under-Heaven, the limits of his wisdom must be very narrow.

"For instance, a swift horse and a solid carriage, if you make bondmen and bondwomen drive them, will be ridiculed by people, but, if driven by Wang Liang, will make one thousand li a day. The horse and the carriage are not different. Yet, if they sometimes make one thousand li a day and are sometimes ridiculed by people, it is because the skilful coachman is so different from the unskilful ones. Now, compare the state to the carriage, position to the horse, commands and orders to the reins and the bridle, and punishments to the whip and the cord, and then let Yao and Shun drive them. Be sure All-under-Heaven would fall into chaos. It is because the worthy and the unworthy are very different from each other. Indeed, if anybody wants to drive fast and far but does not know to employ Wang Liang, or if one wants to increase advantages and remove dangers but does not know to employ worthy and talented men, it is the calamity of the ignorance of analogy. After all, Yao and Shun are the Wang Liangs in governing the people."

In response to the foregoing criticism some other critic

"The philosopher considered position sufficiently reliable for governing officials and people. The critic said that you had to depend on worthies for political order. As a matter of truth, neither side is reasonable enough. Indeed, the term shih is a generic name. Its species cover innumerable varieties. If the term shih is always restricted to that variety entirely due to nature, then there will be no use in disputing on the subject. What is meant by shih on which I am talking is the shih created by man. Now, the critic said, 'When Yao and Shun had shih, order obtained; when Chieh and Chow had shih, chaos prevailed.' Though I do not deny the success of Yao and Shun, yet I do assert that shih is not what one man alone can create.

"Indeed, if Yao and Shun were born in the superior status and even ten Chiehs and Chows could not create any commotion, the political order would then be due to the force of circumstances. If Chieh and Chow were born in the superior status and even ten Yaos and Shuns could not attain order, the political chaos would then be due to the force of circumstances. Hence the saying: 'Where there is order by force of circumstances, there can be no chaos; where there is chaos by force of circumstances, there can be no order.' Such is the shih due to nature; it cannot be created by man.

"By shih the critic meant what man can create. By shih I mean only the kind of shih as acquired by man. Worthiness has nothing to do with it. How to clarify this point?

"Somebody said: Once there was a man selling halberds and shields. He praised his shields for their solidity as such that nothing could penetrate them. All at once he also praised his halberds, saying, 'My halberds are so sharp that they can penetrate anything.' In response to his words people asked, 'How about using your halberds to pierce through your shields?' To this the man could not give any reply.

"In fact, the shields advertised to be 'impenetrable' and the halberds advertised to be 'absolutely penetrative' cannot stand together. Similarly, worthiness employed as a form of shin cannot forbid anything, but shih employed as a way of government forbids everything. Now, to bring together worthiness that cannot forbid anything and shih that forbids everything is a 'halberd-and-shield' fallacy. Clearly enough, worthiness and circumstances are incompatible with each other

"Moreover, Yao and Shun as well as Chieh and Chow appear once in a thousand generations; whereas the opposite types of men are born shoulder to shoulder and on the heels of one another. As a matter of fact, most rulers in the world form a continuous line of average men. It is for the average rulers that I speak about shih. The average rulers neither come up to the worthiness of Yao and Shun nor reach down to the wickedness of Chieh and Chow. If they uphold the law and make use of their august position, order obtains; if they discard the law and desert their august position, chaos prevails. Now suppose you discard the position and act

contrary to the law and wait for Yao and Shun to appear and suppose order obtains after the arrival of Yao and Shun, then order will obtain in one out of one thousand generations of continuous chaos. Suppose you uphold the law and make use use the august position and wait for Chieh and Chow to appear and suppose chaos prevails after the arrival of Chieh and Chow, then chaos will prevail in one out of one thousand generations of continuous order. To be sure, one generation of chaos out of one thousand generations of order and one generation of order out of one thousand generations of chaos are as different from each other as steed-riders driving in opposite directions are far apart from each other.

"Indeed, when you abandon the tools of stretching and bending and give up the scales of weights and measures, then though you try to make Hsi Chung construct a carriage, he would not be able to finish even a single wheel. Similarly, without the promise of reward and the threat of penalty, and casting the position out of use and giving up the law, then even if Yao and Shun preached from door to door and explained to everybody the gospel of political order, they could not even govern three families. Verily, that shih is worth employing, is evident. To say that it is necessary to depend upon worthiness is not true.

"Besides, if you let anyone eat nothing for one hundred days while waiting for good rice and meat to come, the starveling will not live. Now, to depend upon the worthiness of Yao and Shun for governing the people of the present world is as

fallacious as to wait for good rice and meat to save the starveling's life.

"Indeed, I do not consider it right to say that a swift horse and a solid carriage, when driven by bondmen and bondwomen, will be ridiculed by people, but, when driven by Wang Liang, will make a thousand li a day. For illustration, if you wait for a good swimmer from Yüeh to rescue a drowning man in a Central State, however well the Yüeh swimmer may do, the drowning person will not be rescued. In the same way, waiting for the Wang Liang of old to drive the horse of to-day is as fallacious as waiting for the man from Yüeh to rescue that drowning person. The impracticability is evident enough. But, if teams of swift horses and solid carriages are placed in readiness in relays fifty li apart and then you make an average coachman drive them, he will be able to drive them fast and far and cover one thousand li a day. Why should it then be necessary to wait for the Wang Liang of old?

"Further, in matters of driving, the critic chose Wang Liang for a case of success and took bondmen and bondwomen for a case of failure; in matters of government, he selected Yao and Shun for attaining order and Chieh and Chow for creating chaos. To run from one extreme to another is as fallacious as to consider taste as sweet as wheat-gluten and honey or else as bitter as parti-coloured lettuce and bitter parsley.

"In short, the criticism, composed of flippant contentions and wordy repetitions, is absurd and tactless. It is a dilemma involving two extremes as the only alternatives. If so, how can it be used to criticize a reasonable and consistent doctrine? The argument of the critic, however, is not as sound as the doctrine under consideration."

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 41.

Inquiring into the Origin of Dialectic

Somebody asked: "How does dialectic originate?"

The reply was: "It originates from the superior's lack of enlightenment."

The inquirer asked: "How can the superior's lack of enlightenment produce dialectic?"

The reply was: "In the state of an enlightened sovereign, his orders are the most precious among the words of men and his laws are the most appropriate rules to affairs. Two different words cannot be equally precious nor can two different laws be equally appropriate. Therefore, words and deeds not conforming to laws and decrees must be forbidden. If anybody, not authorized by laws and orders, attempts to cope with foreign intrigues, guard against civil disturbances, produce public benefit, or manage state affairs, his superior should heed his word and hold it accountable for an equivalent fact. If the word turns out true, he should receive a big reward: if not true, he should suffer a heavy penalty. Therefore, stupid persons fear punishment and dare not speak, and intelligent persons find nothing to dispute. Such is the reason why in the state of an enlightened sovereign there is neither dispute nor controversy.

"The same is not true in a chaotic age. The sovereign issues orders, but the subjects by means of their cultural learning derogate them; official bureaux promulgate laws, but the people through their conduct alter them. The lord of men, while seeing the violation of his laws and orders, honours the wisdom and conduct of the learned men. Such is the reason why the world has so many men of letters.

"Indeed, words and deeds should take function and utility as mark and target. To be sure, if someone sharpens an arrow and shoots it at random, then though its pointed head may by chance hit the tip of an autumn spikelet, he cannot be called a

skilful archer. For he has no constant aim and mark. Now, if the target were five inches in diameter and the arrow were shot from a distance of one hundred steps, then nobody other than Hou Yi and P'ang Meng could with certainty hit the mark every time. For there would then be a constant aim and mark. Therefore, in the presence of a constant aim and mark the straight hit by Hou Yi and P'ang Meng at a target five inches in diameter is regarded as skilful; whereas in the absence of a constant aim and mark the wild hit at the tip of an autumn spikelet is regarded as awkward. Now, when adopting words and observing deeds, if someone does not take function and utility for mark and target, he will be doing the same as wild shooting, however profound the words may be and however thorough the deeds may be.

"For this reason, in a chaotic age, people, when listening to speeches, regard unintelligible wordings as profound and farfetched discussions as eloquent; and, when observing deeds, regard deviations from group creeds as worthy and offences against superiors as noble. Even the lord of men likes eloquent and profound speeches, and honours worthy and noble deeds. In consequence, though upholders of law and craft establish the standards of acceptance and rejection and differentiate between the principles of diction and contention, neither ruler nor people are thereby rectified. For this reason, men wearing the robes of the literati and girding the swords of the cavaliers are many, but men devoted to tilling and fighting are few; discussions on "Hard and White" and "The Merciless" prevail but mandates and decrees come to a standstill. Hence the saying: 'Wherever the sovereign lacks enlightenment, there originates dialectic.

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 42.

Asking T'ien: Two Dialogues

Hsü Chü once asked T'ien Chiu, saying: "Thy servant has heard that wise men do not have to start from a low post before they win the ruler's confidence, nor do sages have to manifest their merits before they approach the superior. Now Yang-ch'eng Ih-chü was a famous general, but he rose from a mere camp master; Kung-sun T'an-hui was a great minister, but he started as a district-magistrate. Why?'

In reply T'ien Chiu said: "It is for no other reason than this: The sovereign has rules and the superior has tacts. Moreover, have you never heard that Sung Ku, a general of Ch'u, disordered the government, and Feng Li, Premier of Wey, ruined that state? It was because both their rulers, as misled by their high-sounding phrases and bewildered by their eloquent speeches, never tested their abilities as camp master and district-magistrate that the miseries of misgovernment and state-ruin ensued. From this viewpoint it is clear that without making the trial at the camp and the test in the district the intelligent sovereign cannot provide against eventualities.'

T'ang-ch'i Kung once said to Han Tzu: "Thy servant has heard that observing rules of propriety and performing deeds of humility is the art of safeguarding one's own life and that improving one's conduct and concealing one's wisdom is the way to accomplish one's own career. Now, you, my venerable master, propounded principles of law and tact and established standards of regulations and statistics, thy servant in private presumes that this will jeopardize your life and endanger your body. How can thy servant prove this? As I have heard, Master in his discussion on tact says: 'Ch'u, not employing Wu Ch'i, was dismembered and disturbed; Ch'in, practising the Law of Lord Shang, became rich and strong.' The words of the two philosophers were equally true, yet Wu Ch'i was dismembered and Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots because they had the misfortune to miss both the right age and the right master. Nobody can be certain of meeting the right age and the right master, nor can anybody repulse misery and disaster. Indeed, to discard the way of security and accomplishment and indulge in a precarious living thy servant personally does not consider it worth Master's while.

In response to the remark Han Tzu said: "Thy servant understands your honourable counsels very well. Indeed, the exercise of the ruling authority of All-under-Heaven and the unification of the regulation of the masses is not an easy task. Nevertheless, the reason why thy servant has given up your honourable teachings and is practising his own creeds is that thy servant personally regards the formulation of the principles of law and tact and the establishment of the standards of regulations and measures as the right way to benefit the masses of people. Therefore, not to fear the threat and outrage of the violent sovereign and stupid superior but to scheme definitely for the advantages of unifying the people, is an act of benevolence and wisdom; whereas to fear the threat and outrage of the violent sovereign and stupid superior and thereby evade the calamity of death, is a clear understanding of personal advantages, and to ignore the public benefit of the masses, is an act of greed and meanness. Since thy servant cannot bear entertaining the act of greed and meanness and dare not destroy the act of benevolence and wisdom, though Master has the kind intention to make thy servant happy, yet in fact it will be detrimental to thy servant

HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 43.

Deciding Between Two Legalistic Doctrines Some inquirer asked: "Of the teachings of the two authorities, Shen Pu-hai and Kung-sun Yang, which is more urgently needful to the state?"

In reply I said: "It is impossible to compare them. Man, not eating for ten days, would die, and, wearing no clothes in the midst of great cold, would also die. As to which is more urgently needful to man, clothing or eating, it goes without saying that neither can be dispensed with, for both are means to nourish life. Now Shen Pu-hai spoke about the need of tact and Kung-sun Yang insisted on the use of law. Tact is the means whereby to create posts according to responsibilities, hold actual services accountable according to official titles, exercise the power over life and death, and examine the officials' abilities. It is what the lord of men has in his grip. Law includes mandates and ordinances that are manifest in the official bureaux, penalties that are definite in the mind of the people, rewards that are due to the careful observers of laws, and punishments that are inflicted on the offenders against orders. It is what the subjects and ministers take as model. If the ruler is tactless, delusion will come to the superior; if the subjects and ministers are lawless, disorder will appear among the inferiors. Thus, neither can be dispensed with: both are implements of emperors and kings."

The inquirer next asked: "Why is it that tact without law or law without tact is useless?"

In reply I said: "Shen Pu-hai was assistant to Marquis Chao of Han. Han was one of the states into which Chin had been divided. Before the old laws of Chin had been repealed, the new laws of Han appeared; before the orders of the earlier rulers had been removed, the orders of the later rulers were issued. As Shen Pu-hai neither enforced the laws nor unified the mandates and ordinances, there were many culprits. Thus, whenever old laws and earlier orders produced advantages, they were followed: whenever new laws and later orders produced advantages, they were followed, too. So long as old and new counteracted each other and the earlier and later orders contradicted each other, even though Shen Pu-hai advised Marquis Chao ten times to use tact, yet the wicked ministers still had excuses to twist their words. Therefore, though he counted on Han's strength of ten thousand chariots. Han failed to attain Hegemony in the course of seventeen years, which was the calamity of the neglect of law by the officials despite the use of tact by the superior.

"Kung-sun Yang, while governing Ch'in, established the system of denunciation and implication and called the real culprit to account; he organized groups of ten and five families and made members of the same group share one another's crime. Rewards were made liberal and certain; punishments were made severe and definite. Consequently, the people exerted their forces laboriously but never stopped, pursued the enemy perilously but never retreated. Therefore, the state became rich and the army strong. However, if he had no tact whereby to detect villainy, by enriching the state and strengthening the army he benefited nobody other than the subsequent ministers. Following the death of Duke Hsiao and Lord Shang and the accession of King Hui to the throne, the law of Ch'in had as yet fallen to the ground, when Chang Yi at the cost of Ch'in's interest complied with the demands of Han and Wey. Following the death of King Hui and the accession of King Wu to the throne, Kan Mu at the cost of Ch'in's interest complied with the request of Chou. Following the death of King Wu and the accession of King Chao Hsiang to the throne, Marquis Jang crossed Han and Wey and marched eastward to attack Ch'i, whereas the five years' campaign gained Ch'in not even one foot of territory but merely secured for him the Fief of T'ao. Again, Marquis Ying attacked Han for eight years only to secure for himself the Fief of Ju-nan. Thenceforward, those who have served Ch'in, have been the same types of men as Ying and Jang. Therefore, whenever the army wins a war, chief vassals are honoured; whenever the state expands its territory, private feuds are created. So long as the sovereign had no tact whereby to detect villainy, even though Lord Shang improved his laws ten times, the ministers in turn utilized the advantages. Therefore, though he made use of the resources of strong Ch'in, Ch'in failed to attain the status of an empire in the course of several decades, which was the calamity of the sovereign's tactlessness despite the officials' strict observance of law.'

The inquirer again asked: "Suppose the ruler applies the tact of Shen Tzu and the officials observe the law of Lord Shang. Would everything work out right?"

In reply I said: "Shen Tzu was not thorough in the doctrine of tact, Lord Shang was not thorough in the doctrine of law.

"According to Shen Tzu, no official should override his commission and utter uncalled-for sentiments despite his extra knowledge. Not to override one's commission means to keep to his duty. To utter uncalled-for sentiments despite one's extra knowledge, is called a fault. After all, it is only when the lord of men sees things with the aid of everybody's eyes in the country that in visual power he is surpassed by none; it is only when he hears things with the aid of everybody's ears in the country that in auditory power he is surpassed by none. Now that those who know do not speak, where is the lord of men going to find aid?

'According to the Law of Lord Shang, 'who cuts off one head in war is promoted by one grade in rank, and, if he wants to become an official, is given an office worth fifty piculs; who cuts off two heads in war is promoted by two grades in rank, and, if he wants to become an official, is given an office worth one hundred piculs'. Thus, promotion in office and rank is equivalent to the merit in head-cutting. Now supposing there were a law requesting those who cut off heads in war to become physicians and carpenters, then neither houses would be built nor would diseases be cured. Indeed, carpenters have manual skill; physicians know how to prepare drugs; but, if men are ordered to take up these professions on account of their merits in beheading, then they do not have the required abilities. Now, governmental service requires wisdom and talent in particular; beheading in war is a matter or courage and strength. To fill governmental offices which require wisdom and talent with possessors of courage and strength, is the same as to order men of merit in beheading to become physicians and carpenters.'

Hence my saying: "The two philosophers in the doctrines of law and tact were not thoroughly perfect.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 44.

On Assumer:

In general, the principal way of government does not solely mean the justice of reward and punishment. Much less does it mean to reward men of no merit and punish innocent people. However, to reward men of merit, punish men of demerit, and make no mistake in so doing but affect such persons only, can neither increase men of merit nor eliminate men of demerit. For this reason, among the methods of suppressing villainy the best is to curb the mind, the next, the word, and the last, the work.

Modern people all say, "Who honours the sovereign and safeguards the country, always resorts to benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, and ability"; while they ignore the fact that those who actually humble the sovereign and endanger the country, always appeal to benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, and ability. Therefore, the sovereign pursuing the true path would estrange upholders of benevolence and righteousness, discard possessors of wisdom and ability, and subdue the people by means of law. That being so, his fame spreads far and wide, his name becomes awe-inspiring, his subjects are orderly, and his country is safe, because he knows how to employ the people. As a rule, tact is what the sovereign holds in hand: law is what the officials take as models. If so, it will not be difficult to make the courtiers get news everyday from outside and see the law prevail from the neighbourhood of the court to the state-

In bygone days, the Yu-hu Clan had Shih Tu; the Huan-tou Clan had Ku Nan; the Three Miaos had Ch'eng Chü; Chieh had Hu Ch'i; Chow had Marquis Ch'ung; and Chin had Actor Shih. These six men were "state-ruining ministers". They spoke of right as if it were wrong, and of wrong as if it were right. Being crafty in mind, they acted contrary to their outward looks; pretending to a little prudence, they testified to their goodness. They praised remote ancients to hinder present enterprises. Skilful in manipulating their sovereigns, they gathered detailed secrets and perturbed them with their likes and dislikes. They were the same types of men as most courtiers and attendants.

Of the former sovereigns, some got men through whom they became safe and their states were preserved, and some got men through whom they were jeopardized and their states went to ruin. The getting of men was one and the same but the differences between gains and losses are hundreds of thousands. Therefore, the lord of men must not fail to take precautions against his attendants. If the lord of men clearly understands the words of the ministers, he can differentiate the worthy from the unworthy as black from white.

Hsü Yu, Shu Ya, Pai Yang, Tien Chieh of Ch'in, Ch'iao Ju of Lu, Hu Pu-chi, Chung Ming, Tung Pu-shih, Pien Sui, Wu Kuang, Po-i, and Shu-ch'i, all twelve men were neither delighted at evident profits nor afraid of impending disasters. Some of them, when given the rule over All-under-Heaven, never took it. Some of them, afraid of incurring humility and disgrace, never welcomed the privilege of receiving bounties. Indeed, not delighted at evident profits, they could never be encouraged, though the superior made rewards big: not afraid of impending disasters, they could never be terrified, though the superior made penalties severe. They were the socalled "disobedient people". Of these twelve men, some be dead in caves and holes, some died of exhaustion among grass and trees, some starved to death in mountains and ravines, and some drowned themselves in streams and fountains. If there were people like these, even sage-kings of antiquity could not subject them. How much less would rulers of the present age be able to employ them?

Kuan Lung-p'eng, Prince Pi Kan, Chi Liang of Sui, Hsieh Yeh of Ch'en, Pao Shen of Ch'u, and Tzu-hsü of Wu, these six men disputed straightly and expostulated bitterly with their

masters in order to overcome them. When their words were listened to and their projects were carried out, then they would assume the attitude of tutor towards pupil; when even a word was not listened to and but one project was not carried out, then they would humiliate their sovereigns with offensive phraseology and threatening gestures. Even in the face of death, the break-up of their families, the severing of their waists and necks, and the separation of their hands and feet, they had no hesitation in so doing. If ministers like these could not be tolerated by the sage-kings of antiquity, how could they be employed by rulers of the present age?

As regards T'ien Heng of Ch'i, Tzu-han of Sung, Chi-sun I-ju, Ch'iao Ju of Lu, Tzu Nan Ching of Wei, Chancellor Hsin of Cheng, Duke White of Ch'u, San Tu of Chou, and Tzu-chin of Yen, these nine men, while ministers, all formed juntas for self-seeking purposes in serving their rulers. In obscuring the right way and thereby practising private crookedness, in intimidating the rulers above and thereby disturbing the government below, in securing foreign support to bend the policy of internal administration, and in making friends with the inferiors so as to plot against the superiors, they had no hesitation. Ministers like these could be suppressed only by sage-kings and wise sovereigns. Would it be possible for stupid and outrageous rulers to discover them?

Hou Chi, Kao Yao, Yi Yin, Duke Tan of Chou, T'ai-kung Wang, Kuan Chung, Hsi P'eng, Pai Li-hsi, Chien Shu, Uncle Fan, Chao Shuai, Fan Li, High Official Chung, Feng Tung, Hua Teng, these fifteen men, while ministers, all got up early in the morning and went to bed late at night, humbled themselves and debased their bodies; they were, cautious in mind and frank in intention, and clarified penal actions and attended to official duties in serving their rulers. When they presented good counsels to the Throne and convinced their masters thoroughly of right laws, they dared not boast of their own goodness. When they had achieved merits and accomplished tasks, they dared not show off their services. They made no hesitation in sacrificing their family interests to benefit their countries and no hesitation in sacrificing their lives to safeguard the sovereigns, holding their sovereigns in as high esteem as high heaven and the T'ai Mountain and regarding themselves as low as the deep ravines and the Fu-yu Stream. Though their sovereigns had a distinguished name and a widespread fame in the states, they had no hesitation in keeping themselves as low as the deep ravines and the Fu-yu Stream. Ministers like these, even under stupid and outrageous masters, could still achieve meritorious service. How much more could they do under brilliant sovereigns? Such are called "Assistants to Hegemonic Rulers".

Hua Chih of Chou, Kung-sun Shen of Cheng, Kung-sun Ning and Yi Hsing-fu of Ch'en, Yü Yin Shen Hai of Ching, Shao Shih of Sui, Chung Kan of Yüeh, Wang-sun O of Wu, Yang-ch'eng Hsieh of Chin, Shu Tiao and Yi Ya of Ch'i, these twelve man, while ministers, all thought about small profits and forgot legal justice. In public they kept worthy and good personages in obscurity in order to delude and befool their sovereigns; in private they disturbed all the officials and caused them disasters and difficulties. When serving their masters, they partook of the same tastes with them to such an extent that if they could give one pleasure to the sovereigns, they would have no hesitation in plunging the states into ruin and putting the masses to death. Were there ministers like these, even sage-kings would fear lest they should be dismayed. How much less could stupid and outrageous rulers avoid losses?

Whoever had ministers like these men, always was put to death and his state driven to ruin, and has been ridiculed by All-under-Heaven. Thus, Duke Wei of Chou was killed and his state divided into two; Tzu-yang of Cheng was killed and his state divided into three; Duke Ling of Ch'en was killed by Hsia Cheng-shu; King Ling of Ching died by the Dry Brook; Sui was ruined by Ching; Wu was annexed by Yüeh; Earl Chih was extinguished in the vicinity of Chin-yang; while Duke Huan lay dead and unburied for sixty-seven days. Hence the saying: "Adulatory ministers are known only by sage-kings." Outrageous sovereigns welcome them. In consequence, they are killed and their states go to ruin.

The same is not true of sage-kings and enlightened rulers. When selecting able men for office, they mind neither relatives nor enemies. Whoever is right is raised, whoever is wrong is punished. Therefore, the worthy and good are advanced; the vicious and wicked are dismissed. Naturally they can at one effort bring all the feudal lords under submission. Thus in ancient Records there is the saying: "Yao had Tan-chu, Shun had Shang-chün, Ch'i had Five Princes, Shang had T'ai-chia, and King Wu had Kuan and Ts'ai." Now, all these men censured by the five rulers were related to them as father and son, uncle and nephew, cousins, or brothers. But why were their bodies broken and their families ruined? It was because they were state-ruining, people-harming, and lawbreaking men. Suppose we look at the personages the five rulers appointed to office. They were found amidst mountains, forests, jungles, swamps, rocks, and caves, or in jails, chains, and bonds, or in the status of a cook, a cattle-breeder, and a cowherd. Nevertheless, the intelligent sovereigns, not

ashamed of their low and humble origins, considered them able to illustrate the law, benefit the state, and prosper the people, and, accordingly, appointed them to office. In consequence, they gained personal safety and honourable reputation.

The ignoble sovereigns would act differently. Not aware of the motives and actions of their ministers, they entrusted them with state affairs. In consequence, their names are debased and their territories dismembered; or, what is worse, their states are ruined and they themselves are killed. For they do not know how to employ ministers.

Rulers who have no measures to estimate their ministers, always judge them on the basis of the sayings of the masses. Whoever is praised by the masses, is liked. Therefore, those who minister to rulers would even disrupt their families and ruin their property to form factions inside and keep contact with influential clans and thereby become known. When they form secret promises and alliances and thereby strengthen their positions, and when they deceptively reward people with ranks and bounties as encouragements, each of them would say: "Whoever sides with me shall be benefited and whoever does not side with me shall be damaged." The masses, greedy of the gain and afraid of the threat, believe that when really happy, they will benefit them, and when really angry, they will damage them, wherefore all turn and stick to them. As a result, their fame spreads all over the country and reaches the ear of the sovereigns. Unable to understand the real situation, the sovereigns regard them as worthies.

They also disguise deceitful men as favourite envoys from the feudal lords and equip them with coaches and horses, provide them with jade and bamboo tablets, dignify them with writs of appointment, and supply them with money and silk. Thus, they make the false envoys from the feudal lords beguile their sovereigns. With self-seeking motives in mind the false envoys discuss public affairs. They pretend to represent the sovereigns of other states, but in reality they speak for the men around the sovereigns they are visiting. Delighted at their words and convinced by their phraseology, they regard these men as worthies in All-under Heaven, the more so as everybody, whether in or out, right or left, makes only one kind of reputation for them and repeats the same conversation about them. In consequence, the sovereigns have no hesitation in lowering themselves and their supreme status and thereby condescending to them or at least benefiting them with high rank and big bounties.

Indeed, if the ranks and bounties of wicked men are influential and their partisans and adherents are many, and if besides they have vicious and wicked motives their wicked subordinates will persuade them time and time again, saving: "The so-called sage-rulers and enlightened kings of antiquity succeeded their predecessors not as juniors succeeding seniors in the natural order, but because they had formed parties and gathered influential clans and then molested their superiors, murdered the rulers, and thereby sought after advantage. "How do you know that?" they ask. In reply the subordinates "Shun intimidated Yao, Yü intimidated Shun, T'ang banished Chieh, and King Wu censured Chow. These four rulers were ministers who murdered their rulers, but Allunder-Heaven have extolled them. The inner hearts of these four rulers, if observed carefully, displayed nothing but the motive of greediness and gain; their actions, if estimated closely, were simply weapons of violence and outrage. Nevertheless, while the four rulers were extending their powers at their pleasure, All-under-Heaven made much of them; while they were noising their names abroad, All-under-Heaven regarded them as intelligent. In consequence, their authority became sufficient to face Allunder-Heaven and their advantages became sufficient to challenge their age. Naturally All-under-Heaven followed them."
"As witnessed by recent times," continue the crooks further,

"As witnessed by recent times," continue the crooks further, "Viscount Tien Cheng took Ch'i, Ssu-ch'eng Tzu-han took Sung, Chancellor Hsin took Cheng, the San Clan took Chou, Yi Ya took Wei, and the three Viscounts of Han, Chao, and Wey partitioned Chin. These eight men were ministers who murdered their rulers." Hearing this, the wicked ministers would spring to their feet, prick up their ears, and regard it as right. Accordingly, they will form parties at home, develop friendly contact with influential clans outside, watch for the right moment to launch the turn of affairs, and take the state at one stroke.

Again, those who intimidate and murder the rulers with partisans and adherents at home and reform or alter their states through the influences of the feudal lords outside, thus concealing the right way and upholding private crookedness so as to restrain the ruler above and obstruct the government below, are innumerable. Why? It is because the ruler does not know how to select ministers. The ancient Records says: "Since the time of King Hsüan of Chou ruined states number several tens and ministers who murdered their rulers and took their states are many." If so, the calamities which originated inside and those which developed from outside were half and half. Those who had exerted the forces of the masses, broke up the states, and sacrificed their lives, were all worthy sovereigns; whereas those who overexerted themselves,

changed their positions, saved the masses but estranged the states, were the most pitiful sovereigns.

If the lord of men really penetrates the ministers' speeches, then even though he spends all his time in hunting with nets and stringed arrows, driving and riding around, playing bell music, and, seeing girl dancers, his state will remain in existence; whereas, if he does not penetrate the ministers' speeches, then even though he is frugal and industrious, wears hemp clothes, and eats poor food, the state will go to ruin of itself

For example, Marquis Ching, an early Ruler of Chao, never cultivated his virtuous conduct, but would give rein to the satisfaction of desires and enjoy physical comforts and auditory and visual pleasures. He spent winter days in hunting with nets and stringed arrows and summer time in boating and fishing. He would sometimes drink all night long, sometimes even hold his wine cup for several days, pour wine with bamboo ladles into the mouths of those who could not drink, and behead anybody not prudent in advance and retreat or not reverent in response and reply. Though his way of living, acting, drinking, and eating, was so unscrupulous and his way of censure and execution was so reckless, yet he enjoyed ruling his state for more than ten years, during which period of time his soldiers were never crushed by enemy states, nor was his land ever invaded by any surrounding neighbour, nor was there any disorder between ruler and minister or among the officials at home, nor was there any worry about the feudal lords and the neighbouring states, for he knew how to appoint ministers to office.

Contrary to this, Tzu-k'uai, Ruler of Yen, a descendant of Duke Shih of Chao, ruled over a territory several thousand li square and had spear-carriers several hundred thousands in number, and neither indulged in the pleasures of pretty girls, nor listened to the music of bells and stones, nor cared for the reflecting pool and the raised kiosk inside the palace, nor went hunting with nets and stringed arrows in the fields outside. Furthermore, he personally handled ploughs and hoes to rectify the dikes and tracts of farms and fields. So extremely did Tzu-k'uai distress himself in grieving at the people's sorrows that even the so-called sage-kings and enlightened rulers of antiquity who had themselves worked and grieved at the sorrows of the world could not be compared with him. However, Tzu-k'uai was killed; his state was lost to and usurped by Tzu-chih; and he has become a laughing-stock of All-under-Heaven. What was the reason for this? It was because he did not know how to appoint ministers to office.

Hence the saying: "Ministers have five wickednesses, which the sovereign does not know." Some would make extravagant use of cash and goods as bribes for acquiring honours; some would endeavour to bestow rewards and favours for winning the hearts of the masses; some would endeavour to form cliques, exert their wisdom, and honour scholars, and thereby abuse their authority; some would endeavour to pardon criminals and thereby increase their influence; and some would follow the inferiors in praising the straight and blaming the crooked and bewilder the people's ears and eyes by virtue of strange phraseology, queer clothing, and novel action. These five kinds of action are what the intelligent rulers punish and the sage-sovereigns forbid. With these five kinds of action forbidden, deceitful men dare not face the north and stand and talk: and talkative but impractical and law-breaking men dare not falsify facts and thereby embellish their discussions. For this reason, the officials in daily life will cultivate their personalities and in action will exert their abilities. But for the superior's orders, they will not dare to do anything as they please, utter irresponsible words, and fabricate affairs. That is the way the sage-kings superintend the ministers and the inferiors.

Indeed, if the sage-sovereigns and enlightened rulers do not make use of camouflage to watch their ministers, most of their ministers will become double-faced at the sight of camouflage. Hence the saying: "Among bastards some children presume to be legitimate sons; among consorts some concubines presume to be wives; in the court some officials presume to be premiers; and among ministers the favourites presume to be sovereigns." These four are dangers to the state. Hence the saying: "The inner favourites compatible with the queen, the outer favourites dividing the ruling prerogative, the bastards rivalling the legitimate son, and the chief vassals assuming the air of the sovereign, all lead to confusion." Hence the Record of Chou says: "Do not exalt the concubine and humble the wife. Do not debase the legitimate son and exalt the bastard. Do not exalt any favourite subordinate as rival to high officials. Do not exalt any chief vassal to assume the majesty of his sovereign." If the four assumers collapse, the superior will have no worry and the inferiors will have no surprise. If the four assumers do not collapse, the sovereign will lose his life and ruin his state

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 45.

Absurd Encouragements

Means the sage employs to lead to political order are three. The first is said to be profit; the second, authority; and the

third, fame. Profit is the means whereby the people's hearts are won; authority is the means whereby to enforce orders; fame is the common way linking superior and inferior. Nothing other than these three is so needful to government.

In these days, there is no lack of profit, but the people are not won over to the superior's wishes; there is no absence of authority, but the inferiors do not obey decrees; and there is no absence of laws among the officials, but government does not correspond to fame. In short, though the three means are not out of existence, yet order and chaos in the world follow on each other's heels. Why is this?

Indeed, what the superior values is often contrary to the purpose of government. For instance, to institute names and titles is to embody honours; but those who look down upon fame and make light of facts, the world calls advanced. Again, to institute ranks and grades is to establish the basal scale of high and low; but those who slight the superior and never petition for audience, the world calls worthy. Again, authority and profit are means to enforce orders; but those who desire no profit and disregard all authority, the world calls dignified. Again, laws and decrees are means to attain political order: but those who obey neither laws nor decrees but pursue their own good, the world calls loyal. Again, office and rank are means to encourage people; but those who like fame but want no office, the world calls heroic patriots. Finally, punishments are means to solidify authority; but those who make light of law, and award neither penalty nor slaughter, the world calls fearless. If the people seek fame more urgently than they look for profit, small wonder scholars who are starving and destitute would even dwell in rocky caves and torture themselves purposely to fight for a name in the world.

Therefore, the cause of disorder in the world is not the inferior's fault but the superior's loss of Tao. As the superior always values the way to chaos and despises the way to order, the ideal of the inferiors is always contrary to the purpose of the superior's government.

Now, the inferiors' obedience to the superior is what the superior urgently needs. However, those who are generous, sincere, genuine, and faithful, and active in mind but timid in speech, are called spiritless; those who follow laws firmly and obey orders fully, are called stupid; those who revere the superior and fear punishment, are called cowardly; those who speak on the right occasions and act in the proper manner are called unworthy; and those who are not double-faced and engaged in private studies but listen to magistrates and conform to public instructions, are called vulgar. Those who are hard to employ, are called righteous; those who are hard to reward, are called clean-handed; and those who are hard to rule, are called heroic; those who do not obey decrees, are called courageous; those who render no profit to the superior, are called straightforward; and those who extend kindnesses and bestow favours, are called benevolent. Those who are selfassertive and arrogant, are called elders; those who pursue private studies and form juntas, are called tutors and pupils: those who lead a tranquil and complacent life, are called considerate; those who betray their fellow men and grab advantages, are called smart; those who are crafty, deceitful, and fickle, are called wise; those who act for others first and for themselves later, coin terms and invent words, and assume to love All-under-Heaven, are called sages; those who speak on big subjects and talk about fundamental but impracticable principles, and act contrary to the beaten track of the world, are called great men; and those who despise ranks and bounties and do not yield to the superior's opinions are called

The inferiors, acting in such wicked ways, would disturb the people in private and do no good when in office. The superior, who ought to suppress their desires and constantly uproot their motives, lets them go and honours their deeds. This is to attain political order by teaching the inferiors how to violate the superior.

In general, what the superior administers, is penal infliction, but people doing favours in private are honoured. The Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain can stand because of national safety and tranquillity, but deceitful, crafty, slanderous, and flattering people are appointed to office. Everybody under the jurisdiction of the state obeys orders because of trust and justice, but people exerting their wisdom to upset the present regime are employed. Orders prevail widely and authority stands well because of the inferiors' prudence and alertness to obey the superior, but men living in rocky caves and cursing the world are celebrated. Public storehouses and granaries are full because of the people's devotion to the primary duties of tilling and farming, but men engaged in such secondary callings as weaving twilled cloth, embroidering and knitting clothes in gold and silver, and engraving and drawing, are enriched. Reputation is accomplished and territory is extended because of the warrior's services, but in these days war orphans go hungry, starving, and begging in the streets, while relatives of actors, harlots, and drinkers, ride in carriages and wear silk. Rewards and bounties are meant to exert the people's forces and risk their lives, but in these days warriors winning in warfare and taking in attack, work hard

but are not properly rewarded, while diviners, palmists, and swindlers, playing with compliant words before the Throne, receive gifts every day.

The superior holds scales and measures in his hands in order to have the power over everybody's life in his grip, but nowadays men who obey scales and observe measures, though anxious to exert the spirit of loyalty to serve the superior, cannot have an audience, while those who utter artful words and flattering phrases, play villainous tricks, and by lucky chance rise in the world, frequently attend on the Throne. To abide by law, talk straight, keep fame equal to norm, and censure the culprit according to the inked string, is to promote order on behalf of the superior, but people so doing are estranged while adulatory and heretical men, obeying the opinions and following the desires of the superior and thereby endangering the world, become courtiers. To exact taxes and revenues and concentrate the people's forces is to provide against eventualities and fill up the public storehouses and the state treasury, but officers and soldiers who desert their posts, hide themselves, find shelter in the residences of powerful men, and thereby evade taxation and military service, but whom the superior fails to catch, number tens of thousands.

Indeed, to parade good fields and pretty residences is to encourage warriors to fight, but men resolved to have their heads cut off, abdomens torn open, and bones exposed in wildernesses, though they may lose their lives this way, have neither shelter nor estates, while persons whose daughters and sisters are attractive and chief vassals and attendants who render the country no distinguished services, receive residences of their own choice and live on fields selected by themselves. Rewards and profits issue solely from the superior purposely to control the inferiors with success, but warriors and armed officers get no post while men idling their time away are honoured and celebrated. Now that the superior takes these practices for the ways of civic education, how can his name escape degradation and how can his position escape dangers?

Indeed, when the superior's name is degraded and his position endangered, it is always because the inferiors are not obedient to laws and orders, double-faced, pursuing private studies, and acting against the world. Yet if their actions are not forbidden, their gangs are not dissolved, and their partisans are not thereby dispersed, but they are honoured instead, it is the fault of the authorities in charge of state affairs.

The superior sets up the principles of integrity and bashfulness for the purpose of encouraging the inferiors, whereas gentry and officials of to-day are not ashamed of dirty mud and ugly insults, but under the influence of daughters and sisters married to powerful men and of private friends they take up office with no need of following the proper order.

Prizes and gifts are meant to exalt men of merit, but men having given distinguished service in warfare remain poor and humble while flatterers and actors rise above their due grades, names, and titles. Sincerity and faith are meant to manifest authority, but the sovereign is deluded by courtiers; ladies and interviewers proceed in parallel; officials administer the bestowal of ranks and change the personnel as they please. This is the fault of the authorities in charge of state affairs. If chief vassals appoint people to office by intriguing with the subordinates beforehand and then play into each other's hands, and, though against the law, they extend their influence and benefits among their subordinates, then the sovereign will become powerless and the chief vassals will become influential.

Indeed, the purpose of enacting laws and decrees is to abolish selfishness. Once laws and decrees prevail, the way of selfishness collapses. Selfishness disturbs the law. Nevertheless, scholars, who, being double-faced, pursue private studies, dwell in rocky caves, hide themselves by the roadside, and pretend to profound thought, denounce the world in general and beguile the inferiors in particular. Instead of suppressing them, the superior honours them with titles and provides them with actual support. Thereby men of no merit are celebrated and men doing no service are enriched. If so, scholars who are double-faced and are pursuing private studies, will pretend to profound thought, endeavour to learn intrigues, denounce laws and decrees, and thereby elaborate opposite views to the course of the age.

In general, whoever disturbs the superior and acts contrary to the age, is always a scholar having a double-face and pursuing private studies. Therefore, in my main discourse I say: "The cause of order is law, the cause of chaos is selfishness. Once law is enacted, no selfish act can be done." Hence the saying: "Whoever tolerates selfishness finds chaos, whoever upholds law finds order." If the superior misses the right way, astute men will use selfish phraseology and worthies will cherish selfish motives, principals will bestow selfish favours, and subordinates will pursue selfish desires. When worthy and astute men form juntas, coin terms, manipulate phrases, and thereby denounce laws and decrees before the superior, if the superior, instead of stopping and debarring them, honours them, it is to teach the inferiors neither to follow the superior nor to obey the law. For this reason, worthies cultivate their

fame and live comfortably and wicked men count on rewards and accumulate wealth. Because the worthies live comfortably by cultivating their fame and wicked men accumulate wealth by counting on rewards, the superior is unable to subdue the inferiors.

### HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 46.

Six Contrarieties

Who fears death and shuns difficulty, is the type of citizen who would surrender or retreat, but the world reveres him by calling him "a life-valuing gentleman". Who studies the ways of the early kings and propounds theories of his own, is the type of citizen that would neglect the law, but the world reveres him by calling him "a cultured and learned gentleman". Who idles his time away and obtains big awards, is the type of citizen who would live on charities, but the world reveres him by calling him "a talented gentleman". Who twists his speeches and pretends to erudition, is the fraudulent and deceitful type of citizen, but the world reveres him by calling him "an eloquent and intelligent gentleman". Who brandishes his sword and attacks and kills is the violent and savage type of citizen, but the world reveres him by calling him "a hardy and courageous gentleman". Who saves thieves and hides culprits, is the type of citizen that deserves the death penalty, but the world reveres him by calling him "a chivalrous and honourable gentleman". These six types of citizens are what the world praises.

Who would venture risks and die in the cause of loyalty, is the type of citizen that chooses death before infidelity, but the world despises him by calling him "a planless subject". Who learns little but obeys orders, is the law-abiding type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a naive and rustic subject". Who works hard and earns his livelihood, is the productive type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a small-talented subject". Who is frank, generous, pure, and genuine, is the right and good type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a foolish and silly subject". Who esteems commands and reveres public affairs, is the superior-respecting type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a cowardly and fainthearted subject". Who suppresses thieves and oppresses culprits, is the superiorobeying type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a flattering and slanderous subject". These six types of citizens are what the world blames.

Thus, the wicked, fraudulent, and useless citizens include six types, but the world praises them in those manners; so do the tilling, fighting, and useful citizens include six types, but the world blames them in these manners. These are called "six contrarieties".

If the hemp-clothed commoners in accordance with their private interests praise people, and if the lord of this age believing in bubble reputations respects them, then whoever is respected, will be accorded profits. If the hundred surnames on account of private feud with them slander them, and if the lord of this age, as misled by the beaten track of men, despises them, then whoever is despised, will suffer damage. Therefore, fame and rewards will go to selfish, vicious citizens deserving punishment; while blame and damages will befall public-spirited, upright gentlemen deserving reward. If so, then to strive for the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

The ancients had a proverb saying: "To govern the people is like washing one's head. Though there are falling hairs, the washing must needs be done." Whoever regrets the waste of the falling hairs and forgets the gain of the growing hairs, does not know the doctrine of expediency.

Indeed, opening boils causes pain; taking drugs causes bitter taste. Yet, if boils are not opened on account of pain and drugs not taken on account of bitterness, the person will not live and the disease will not stop.

not live and the disease will not stop.

Now the relationship between superior and inferior involves no affection of father and son, if anyone wishes to rule the inferiors by practising righteousness, the relationship will certainly have cracks. Besides, parents in relation to children, when males are born, congratulate each other, and, when females are born, lessen the care of them. Equally coming out from the bosoms and lapels of the parents, why should boys receive congratulations while girls are ill-treated? Because parents consider their future conveniences and calculate their permanent benefits. Thus, even parents in relation to children use the calculating mind in treating them, how much more should those who have no affection of parent and child?

The learned men of to-day, on counselling the lord of men, all persuade him to discard the profit-seeking mind and follow the way of mutual love. Thereby they demand more from the lord of men than from parents. Such is an immature view of human relationships: it is both deceitful and fallacious. Naturally the enlightened sovereign would not accept it. The sage, in governing the people, deliberates upon laws and prohibitions. When laws and prohibitions are clear and manifest, all officials will be in good order. He makes reward and punishment definite. When reward and punishment are never unjust, the people will attend to public duties. If the people attend to public duties and officials are in good order,

then the state will become rich; if the state is rich, then the army will become strong. In consequence, hegemony will be attained. The enterprise of the Hegemonic Ruler is the highest goal of the lord of men. With this highest goal in view the lord of men attends to governmental affairs. Therefore, the officials he appoints to office must have the required abilities, and the rewards and punishments he enforces must involve no selfishness but manifest public justice to gentry and commoners. Whoever exerts his strength and risks his life, will be able to accomplish merits and attain rank and bounty. When rank and bounty have been attained, the enterprise of wealth and nobility will be accomplished. Now, wealth and nobility constitute the highest goal of the ministers. With this highest goal in view the ministers attend to their official duties. Therefore, they will work hard at the peril of their lives and never resent even the exhaustion of their energy. This amounts to the saying that if the ruler is not benevolent and the ministers are not loyal, hegemony cannot be attained.

Indeed, the culprits, if infallibly detected, would take precautions; if definitely censured, they would stop. If not detected, they would become dissolute; if not censured, they would become active. For illustration, when cheap articles are left at a deserted spot, even Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'in can be suspected of stealing them; whereas when a hundred pieces of gold hang at the market-place, even the greatest robber dare not take them. Even Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'in are liable to suspicion at a deserted spot if detection is unlikely; if sure to be found out, the greatest robber dare not touch the gold hanging at the market-place.

Therefore, the enlightened sovereign in governing the state would increase custodians and intensify penalties and make the people stop vices according to law but not owing to their own sense of integrity. For illustration, mothers love children twice as much as fathers do, but a father enforces orders among children ten times better than a mother does. Similarly, officials have no love for the people, but they enforce orders among the people ten thousand times better than their parents do. Parents heap up their love but their orders come to naught; whereas officials exercise force and the people obey them. Thus, you can easily make the choice between severity and affection.

Furthermore, what parents desire of children is safety and prosperity in livelihood and innocence in conduct. What the ruler requires of his subjects, however, is to demand their lives in case of emergency and exhaust their energy in time of peace. Now, parents, who love their children and wish them safety and prosperity, are not listened to; whereas the ruler, who neither loves nor benefits his subjects but demands their death and toil, can enforce his orders. As the enlightened sovereign knows this principle, he does not cultivate the feeling of favour and love, but extends his influence of authority and severity. Mothers love sons with deep love, but most of the sons are spoilt, for their love is over-extended; fathers show their sons less love and teach them with light bamboos, but most of the sons turn out well, for severity is applied.

If any family of to-day, in making property, share hunger and cold together and endure toil and pain with one another, it would be such a family that can enjoy warm clothes and nice food in time of warfare and famine. On the contrary, those who help one another with clothing and food and amuse one another with entertainments, would become such families that give wives in marriage and set children for sale in time of famine and during the year of drought. Thus, law as the way to order may cause gain at first, but will give gain in the long run; whereas benevolence as the way to order may give pleasure for the moment, but will become fruitless in the end. Measuring their relative weights and choosing the one for the greatest good, the sage would adopt the legal way of mutual perseverance and discard the benevolent way of mutual pity. The teachings of the learned men all say, "Mitigate penalties". This is the means of inviting turmoil and ruin. In general, the definiteness of reward and punishment is encouragement and prohibition. If rewards are liberal, it is easy to get what the superior wants; if punishments are heavy, it is easy to forbid what the superior hates. Indeed, whoever wants benefit, hates injury, which is the opposite of benefit. Then how can there be no hatred for the opposite of the wanted? Similarly, whoever wants order, hates chaos, which is the opposite of order. For this reason, who wants order urgently, his rewards must be liberal; who hates chaos badly, his punishments must be heavy. Now, those who apply light penalties are neither serious in hating chaos nor serious in wanting order. Such people are both tactless and helpless. Therefore, the distinction between the worthy and the unworthy, between the stupid and the intelligent, depends on whether reward and punishment are light or heavy.

Moreover, heavy penalties are not for the sole purpose of punishing criminals. The law of the intelligent sovereign, in suppressing rebels, is not disciplining only those who are being suppressed, for to discipline only the suppressed is the same as to discipline dead men only; in penalizing robbers, it is not disciplining only those who are being penalized, for to discipline only the penalized is the same as to discipline convicts only. Hence the saying: "Take seriously one culprit's

crime and suppress all wickednesses within the boundaries." This is the way to attain order. For the heavily punished are robbers, but the terrified and trembling are good people. Therefore, why should those who want order doubt the efficacy of heavy penalties?

Indeed, liberal rewards are meant not only to reward men of merit but also to encourage the whole state. The rewarded enjoy the benefits; those not as yet rewarded look forward to their future accomplishment. This is to requite one man for his merit and to encourage the whole populace within the boundaries. Therefore, why should those who want order doubt the efficacy of liberal rewards?

Now, those who do not know the right way to order all say: "Heavy penalties injure the people. Light penalties can suppress villainy. Then why should heavy penalties be necessary?" Such speakers are really not well versed in the principles of order. To be sure, what is stopped by heavy penalties is not necessarily stopped by light penalties; but what is stopped by light penalties; but what is stopped by light penalties is always stopped by heavy penalties. For this reason, where the superior sets up heavy penalties, there all culprits disappear. If all culprits disappear, how can the application of heavy penalties be detrimental to the people?

In the light of the so-called "heavy penalties", what the culprits can gain, is slight, but what the superior inflicts, is great. As the people never venture a big penalty for the sake of a small gain, malefactions will eventually disappear. In the face of the so-called "light penalties", however, what the culprits gain, is great, but what the superior inflicts, is slight. As the people long for the profit and ignore the slight punishment, malefactions never will disappear. Thus, the early sages had a proverb, saying: "Nobody stumbles against a mountain, but everybody trips over an ant-hill." mountain being large, everyone takes notice of it; the ant-hill being small, everyone disregards it. Now supposing penalties were light, people would disregard them. To let criminals go unpunished is to drive the whole state to the neglect of all penalties; to censure criminals properly is to set traps for the people. Thus, light punishment is an ant-hill to the people. For this reason, the policy of light punishment would either plunge the state into confusion or set traps for the people. Such a policy may thus be said to be detrimental to the people.

The learned men of to-day, one and all, cite the panegyrics in the classics, and, without observing closely the real facts, of the present age, say: "If the superior does not love the people and always levies exactions and taxations, then living expenses will become insufficient and the inferiors will hate the superior. Hence the chaos in the world." This means that if the superior lets the people have enough money to spend and loves them besides, then notwithstanding light punishment order can be attained. Such a saying is not true. Generally speaking, men incur heavy punishment only after they have had enough money. Therefore, though you let them have enough money to spend and love them dearly, yet light penalties cannot get them out of disorder.

Take, for example, the beloved sons of wealthy families, who are given sufficient money to spend. Having sufficient money to spend, they spend it freely. Spending money freely, they indulge in extravagance. The parents, loving them so much, cannot bear to restrict them. Not restricted, they become self-willed. Being extravagant, they impoverish their families. Being self-willed, they practise violence. Such is the calamity of deep love and light penalty, even though there is enough money to spend.

Men as a whole, while living, if they have enough money to spend, do not use energy; if the superior's rule is weak, they indulge in doing wrong. He who has enough money to spend and yet still exerts himself strenuously, can be nobody but Shen-nung. Those who cultivate their conduct though the superior's rule is weak, can be nobody but Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu. Clearly enough, indeed, the masses of people cannot live up to the levels of Shen-nung, Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu.

Lao Tan said: "Who knows how to be content, gets no humiliation, who knows where to stop, risks no vitiation. Indeed, who on account of vitiation and humiliation seeks nothing other than contentment, can be nobody but Lao Tan. Now, to think that by contenting the people order can be attained is to assume everybody to be like Lao Tan. For illustration, Chieh, having the dignity of the Son of Heaven, was not content with the honour; and, having the riches within the four seas, was not content with the treasures. The ruler of men, though able to content the people, cannot content all of them with the dignity of the Son of Heaven while men like Chieh would not necessarily be content with the dignity of the Son of Heaven. If so, even though the ruler might attempt to content the people, how could order be attained? Therefore, the intelligent sovereign, when governing the state, suits his policy to the time and the affairs so as to increase his financial resources, calculates taxes and tributes so as to equalise the poor and the rich, extends ranks and bounties for the people so as to exert their wisdom and ability, enlarges penal implements so as to forbid villainy and wickedness, and makes the people secure riches by virtue of

their own efforts, receive punishments owing to their criminal offences, get rewards by performing meritorious services, and never think of any gift by beneficence and favour. Such is the course of imperial and kingly government.

If all men are asleep, no blind man will be noticed; if all men remain silent, no mute will be detected. Awake them and ask each one to see, or question them and ask each one to reply. Then both the blind and the mute will be at a loss. Likewise. unless their speeches be heeded, the tactless will not be known: unless appointed to office, the unworthy will not be known. Heed their speeches and seek their truth; appoint them to office and hold them responsible for the results of their work. Then both the tactless and the unworthy would be at a loss. Indeed, when you want to get wrestlers but merely listen to their own words, then you cannot distinguish between a mediocre man and Wu Huo. Given tripods and bowls, then both the weak and the strong come to the fore. Similarly, official posts are the tripods and bowls to able men. Entrusted with affairs, the stupid and the intelligent will be differentiated. As a result, the tactless will not be used; the unworthy will not be appointed to office.

Nowadays, those who find their words not adopted, pretend to eloquence by twisting their sentences; those who are not appointed to office, pretend to refinement by disguising themselves. Beguiled by their eloquence and deceived by their refinement, the sovereigns of this age honour and esteem them. This is to tell the bright without finding their sight and to tell the eloquent without finding their replies, wherefore the blind and the mute never will be detected. Contrary to this, the intelligent sovereign, whenever he listens to any speech, would hold it accountable for its utility, and when he observes any deed, would seek for its merit. If so, empty and obsolete learning cannot be discussed and praised and fraudulent action cannot be disguised.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 47.

**Eight Fallacies** 

Who does private favours to old acquaintances, is called a kind-hearted alter ego. Who distributes alms with public money, is called a benevolent man. Who makes light of bounties but thinks much of himself, is called a superior man. Who strains the law to shield his relatives, is called a virtuous man. Who deserts official posts for cultivating personal friendships, is called a chivalrous man. Who keeps aloof from the world and avoids all superiors, is called lofty. Who quarrels with people and disobeys orders, is called an unyielding hero. Who bestows favours and attracts the masses of people, is called a popular idol.

However, the presence of kind-hearted men implies the existence of culprits among the magistrates; the presence of benevolent men, the losses of public funds; the presence of superior men, the difficulty in employing the people; the presence of virtuous men, the violation of laws and statutes; the appearance of chivalrous men, vacancies of official posts; the appearance of lofty men, the people's neglect of their proper duties; the emergence of unyielding heroes, the inefficacy of orders; and the appearance of popular idols, the isolation of the sovereign from the subjects.

These eight involve private honours to ruffians but great damage to the lord of men. The opposite of these eight involve private damage to ruffians but public benefits to the lord of men. If the lord of men does not consider the benefits and damage to the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but promotes the private honours of ruffians, to find neither danger nor chaos in the state will be impossible.

To entrust men with state affairs is the pivot between life and death, between order and chaos. If the superior has no tact to appoint men to office, every appointment to office will end in failure. Now, those who are taken into office by the ruler of men are either eloquent and astute or refined and polished. To entrust men is to let them have influence. Yet astute men are not necessarily trustworthy. Inasmuch as the ruler makes much of their wisdom, he is thereby misled to trust them. If such astute men, with their calculating mind, take advantage of their official influence and work after their own private needs, the ruler will, no doubt, be deceived. For astute men are not trustworthy. For the same reason, to appoint refined gentlemen to office is to let them decide on state affairs. Yet the refined gentlemen are not necessarily wise. Inasmuch as the ruler makes much of their polished manners, he is thereby misled to regard them as wise. If such stupid men, despite their mental confusion, take advantage of their administrative posts and do as they please, the state affairs will fall into turmoil. Thus, if the ruler has no tact to use men, when astute men are taken into service, he will be deceived; when refined men are appointed to office, the state affairs will fall into turmoil. Such is the calamity of tactlessness.

According to the Tao of the enlightened ruler, the humble can criticize the faults of the noble; the inferiors must denounce the crimes of the superiors; sincerity is judged by the comparison of diverse opinions; and information has no biased channel. Consequently, wise men can not practise fraud and deceit; rewards are bestowed according to meritorious services; men are assigned different duties according to their

respective talents; and failures are determined in the light of original purposes. Whoever commits an offence, is convicted; whoever has a special talent, is given a post. Therefore, stupid men can not be entrusted with state affairs. If astute men dare not deceive the superior and stupid men can not decide on any state affair, then nothing will fail.

What can be understood only by clear-sighted scholars should not be made an order, because the people are not all clear-sighted. What can be practised only by wise men should not be made a law, because the people are not all wise. Yang Chu and Mo Ti were regarded as clear-sighted by Allunder-Heaven. Though their teachings have alleviated the chaos of the world, yet they have not brought the world into order. However enlightened, the creeds should not be promulgated as decrees by any governmental organ. Pao Chiao and Hua Chioh were regarded as wise by All-underHeaven. Yet Pao Chiao dried up to death like a tree while Hua Chioh drowned himself in a river. However wise, they could not be turned into farmers and warriors. Therefore, whoever is regarded by the lord of men as clear-sighted, must be a wise man who would exert his eloquence; whoever is regarded by the lord of men as honourable, must be an able man who would do his best. Now that sovereigns of this age give ear to useless eloquence and uphold fruitless conduct, to strive after the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

Erudite, learned, eloquent, and wise, as Confucius and Mo Tzu were, if Confucius and Mo Tzu would never till and weed farming land, what could they contribute to the state? Cultivating the spirit of filial piety and eliminating desires as Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu did, if Tseng Shan and Shih Ch'iu would never fight and attack, how could they benefit the state? The ruffians have their private advantages, the lord of men has his public benefits. Acquiring enough provisions without hard work and cultivating fame without holding office, are private advantages. Clarifying laws and statutes by forbidding literary learning and concentrating on meritorious services by suppressing private advantages, are public benefits. To enact the law is to lead the people, whereas if the superior esteems literary learning, the people will become sceptical in following the law. To reward for merit is to encourage the people, whereas if the superior honours the cultivation of virtuous conduct, the people will become lazy in producing profits. If the superior holds literary learning in high esteem and thereby causes doubt in the law, and if he honours the cultivation of virtuous conduct and thereby causes disbelief in meritorious work, to strive after the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

Neither the official tablet inserted in the girdle nor the dancer's shield and small axe can rival the real halberd and the iron harpoon. The manners of ascending and descending the steps and standing and turning in the court can not be compared with the march of one hundred li a day. Shooting the feigned badger's head is not equivalent to discharging swift arrows from the wide-drawn cross-bow. Shield and walls as well as huge war chariots are not as good defence works as earthen forts, trenches, and under-ground bellows.

Men of antiquity strove to be known as virtuous; those of the middle age struggled to be known as wise; and now men fight for the reputation of being powerful. In antiquity, events were few; measures were simple, naïve, crude, and incomplete. Therefore there were men using spears made of mother-of-pearl, and those pushing carts. In antiquity, again people were few and therefore kind to one another; things being few, they made light of profits and made alienations easy. Hence followed alienations of the throne by courtesy and transfer of the rule over All-under-Heaven. That being so, to do courteous alienations, promote compassion and beneficence, and follow benevolence and favour, was to run the government in the primitive way. In the age of numerous affairs, to employ the instruments of the management of affairs that were few, is not the wise man's measure. Again, in the age of great struggles, to follow the track of courteous alienations, is not the sage's policy. For this reason, wise men do not personally push carts and sages do not run any government in the primitive way.

Laws are means of controlling affairs. Affairs are means of celebrating merits. When laws are made and found to involve difficulties, then the ruler must estimate the difficulties. If he finds the tasks can be accomplished, then he must enact them. If he finds the accomplishment of the tasks involves losses, then he must estimate the losses. If he finds gains will exceed losses, then he must transact them. For there are in Allunder-Heaven neither laws without difficulties nor gains without losses. For this reason, whoever takes a city whose walls are ten thousand feet long and defeats any army of one hundred thousand troops, though he has to lose at least one third of his men and see his arms and weapons either crushed or broken and his officers and soldiers either killed or injured. vet he celebrates his victory in the war and his gain of new territory because by calculation he has harvested great gains at the cost of small losses. Indeed, the washer of the head has falling hair, the curer of boils hurts blood and flesh. Who governs men, encounters difficulties in the way, and therefore gives up the work, is a tactless man. The early sages said:

"When compasses have aberrations, or when water has waves, though I want to correct them, nothing can be done." This is a dictum well used in the doctrine of expediency. For this reason, there are theories that are plausible but far from practical and there are speeches that have poor wording but are urgently useful. The sages, accordingly, never looked for any harmless word but attended to difficult tasks.

Men make no fuss about balance and weight. This is not because they are upright and honest and would ward off profits, but because the weight can not change the quantities of things according to human wants nor can the balance make things lighter or heavier according to human wishes. Acquiescing in the inability to get what they want, people make no fuss. In the state of an intelligent sovereign, officials dare not bend the law, magistrates dare not practise selfishness, and bribery does not prevail. It is because all tasks within the boundary work like weight and balance, wherefore any wicked minister is always found out and anybody known for wickedness is always censured. For this reason, the sovereign upholding the true path, instead of seeking magistrates who are pure and honest, strives after omniscience.

The compassionate mother, in loving her little child, is surpassed by none. Yet, when the child has mischievous actions, she sends him to follow the teacher; when he is badly ill, she sends him to see the physician. For without following the teacher he is liable to penalty; without seeing the physician he is susceptible to death. Thus, though the compassionate mother loves the child, she is helpless in saving him from penalty and from death. If so, what preserves the child is not love.

The bond of mother and child is love, the relationship of ruler and minister is expediency. If the mother can not preserve the family by virtue of love, how can the ruler maintain order in the state by means of love? The intelligent sovereign, if well versed in the principles of wealth and strength, can get what he wants. Thus, prudence in heeding memorials and managing affairs is the royal road to wealth and strength. He makes his laws and prohibitions clear and considers his schemes and plans carefully. If laws are clear, at home there will be no worry about any emergency or disturbance; if plans are right, there will be no disaster of either death or captivity abroad. Therefore, what preserves the state is not benevolence and righteousness. Who is benevolent, is tender-hearted and beneficent and makes light of money; who is violent, has a stubborn mind and censures people easily. If tender-hearted and beneficent, he will be unable to bear executions; if easy in money, he will like to bestow favours. If he has a stubborn mind, he will reveal his ill will to the inferiors; if he censures people easily, he will inflict the death penalty upon anybody. Unable to bear executions, one would remit most punishments; fond of bestowing favours, one would mostly reward men of no merit. When ill will is revealed, the inferiors will hate the superiors; when arbitrary censure prevails, the people will rebel. Therefore, when a benevolent man is on the throne, the inferiors are wild, easily violate laws and prohibitions, expect undue gifts, and hope for personal favours from the superior. When a violent man is on the throne, laws and decrees are arbitrary; ruler and minister oppose each other; the people grumble and beget the spirit of disorder. Hence the saying: "Both benevolence and violence drive the state to ruin "

Who can not prepare good food but invites starvelings to diet, can not save their lives. Who can not mow grass and grow rice but promotes the distribution of loans, alms, prizes, and gifts, can not enrich the people. The learned men of today, in their speeches, do not emphasize the need of primary callings but are fond of advocating secondary works and preach the gospel of emptiness and saintliness so as to delight the people. To do this is as fallacious as to invite people to poor diet. Any persuasion of the "invitation-to-poor-diet" type the intelligent sovereign never accepts.

When writings are too sketchy, pupils debate; when laws are too vague, vagabonds dispute. For this reason, the writings of the sages always illustrate their discussions, the laws of the intelligent ruler always penetrate the minute details of fact. To exert thought and consideration and forecast gains and losses, is hard even to wise men; to hold the antecedent word accountable for the consequent result, is easy even to fools. The intelligent sovereign accepts what is easy to stupid men but rejects what is difficult to wise men. Therefore, without resorting to wisdom and thought, the state is in good order.

If the taste, whether sour or sweet, salty or insipid, is not judged by the mouth of the sovereign but determined by the chef, then all the cooks will slight the ruler and revere the chef. If the note, whether high or low, clear or mixed, is not judged by the ear of the sovereign but by the head musician, then the blind players will slight the ruler and revere the head musician. Similarly, if the government of the state, whether right or wrong, is not judged by the sovereign's own tact but determined by his favourites, then the ministers and inferiors will slight the ruler and revere the favourites. The lord of men, who does not personally observe deeds and examine words but merely entrusts the inferiors with all matters of restriction

and judgement, is nobody other than a lodger and boarder in the state.

Suppose people have neither clothes nor food and suffer neither hunger nor cold and, moreover, do not fear death, then they will have no intention to serve the superior. If they intend not to be ruled by the ruler, the ruler can not employ them. Now, if the power over life and death is vested in the chief vassals, then no decree of the sovereign can ever prevail. Should tigers and leopards make no use of their claws and fangs, in influence they would become the same as rats and mice; should families worth ten thousand pieces of gold make no use of their riches, in status they would become the same as gate-keepers. If the ruler of a country could neither benefit men he approves nor injure men he disapproves, to make men fear and revere him would be impossible.

Ministers who act at random and give rein to their wants, are said to be chivalrous; the lord of men who acts at random and gives rein to his wants, is said to be outrageous. Ministers who slight the superior, are said to be brave; the lord of men who slights the inferiors is said to be violent. While the principles of conduct follow the same track, the inferiors thereby receive praises and the superior thereby incurs blame. If the ministers gain so much, the lord of men will lose so much. In the state of an intelligent sovereign, however, there are noble ministers but no powerful ministers. By noble ministers are meant those whose ranks are high and whose posts are big; by powerful ministers are meant those whose counsels are adopted and whose influences are enormous. In the state of the intelligent sovereign, again, officials are raised and ranks are granted according to their respective merits, wherefore there are noble ministers; words always turn into deeds and any fraud is always censured, wherefore there are no powerful ministers.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 48.

**Eight Canons** 

1. Accordance with Human Feelings: Accumulation of Wisdom

Generally speaking, the order of All-under-Heaven must accord with human feelings. Human feelings have likes and dislikes, wherefore reward and punishment can be applied. If reward and punishment are applicable, prohibitions and orders will prevail and the course of government will be accomplished. As the ruler has the handles in his grip and thereby upholds his august position, what is ordered works and what is prohibited stops. The handles are regulators of life and death; the position is the means of overcoming the masses.

If dismissal and appointment have no constant rule, the sovereign's prerogative will be profaned; if matters of reward and punishment are administered in common by the sovereign and the inferiors, the sovereign's authority will be shaken. For this reason, the intelligent sovereign does not listen with the attitude of love nor does he scheme with the sense of delight. For, if he does not compare the words he heeds, his prerogative will be shaken by rapacious ministers; if he does not make use of the ministers' wisdom and strength, he will be harassed by the ministers. Therefore, the sovereign, when enforcing regulations, is as magnificent as heaven, and, when using men, is as mysterious as the spirit. For heaven cannot be confuted and the spirit cannot be harassed by human beings. When the position functions and the training is strict, though the ruler acts contrary to the world, nobody dares to disobey. Once blame and praise prevail under a unified system, nobody dares to dispute. Therefore, to reward the wise and punish the violent is the best way to exalt good people; to reward the outrageous and punish the wise is the extremity to exalt bad people, which is said to be rewarding participants in wickedness and punishing opponents to it.

Now, rewards should not be otherwise than liberal, so that the people will consider them profitable; honours should not be otherwise than attractive, so that the people will consider them glorious; censures should not be otherwise than strict, so that the people will consider them severe; and blame should not be otherwise than odious, so that the people will consider it disgraceful. Thereafter, the ruler will universally enforce his laws. When prohibitions and censures of private families mean no harm to the people, and when men of merit deserving reward and culprits deserving punishment are always known, the system of intelligent service is accomplished.

## 2. The Tao of the Sovereign: Organizing the Wise

As one man in physical strength can not rival a multitude of people and in wisdom can not comprehend everything, using one man's strength and wisdom can not be compared with using the strength and wisdom of the whole state. Therefore, who with his own strength and wisdom defies people, will be overcome in all things. If he by chance hits the object, he will have already over-worked himself; if he misses the object, he will be held responsible for the mistake.

The inferior ruler exerts his own ability; the average ruler exerts people's physical strength; and the superior ruler exerts people's wisdom. For this reason, in case of emergency he gathers the wise men, listens to each one, and calls a

conference. If he does not listen to each one, consequent results will be contrary to antecedent words. If consequent results are contrary to antecedent words, there will be no distinction between the stupid and the wise. If the ruler does not call a conference, there will be hesitation and no decision. Without decision, everything will come to a standstill. If the ruler adopts one of the counsels himself, he will have no fear of falling into the trap of rapacious people. Therefore, he should let everybody utter his opinions. After opinions are settled, he should hold them responsible for equivalent results. For this purpose, on the day that opinions are uttered, he should make written memoranda. Thus, the organiser of wise men verifies their words after starting the tasks; the organiser of able men estimates their merits after seeing their works. Success and failure leave evidence, which reward and punishment follow respectively. If tasks are successfully accomplished, the ruler harvests their fruits; if they fail, the ministers face criminal charges.

Who rules over men, never busies himself with the identification of tallies, not to mention laborious work. Nor does he busy himself in case of emergency at hand, still less with distant affairs. Therefore, self-exhaustion is not the right policy in personnel administration. The ruler does not take advice from the same source. If ministers unify their words, the ruler will reprimand them. If he makes people exert their respective abilities, he will become godlike. If he is godlike, the inferiors will exert their wisdom. If every inferior exerts his wisdom the ministers will not take advantage of the ruler and the Tao of the sovereign will be accomplished.

## 3. Preventing the Rise of Commotions

Who knows ruler and minister differ in interest, will become supreme. Who regards the difference as identity, will be intimidated. Who administers the state affairs in common with his ministers, will be killed. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign will scrutinize the distinctions between public and private interests and the relative positions of benefit and harm, so that wicked men will find no chance to act.

There are six kinds of creators of commotions, namely, dowagers, concubines, bastards, brothers, chief vassals, and celebrities for wisdom. If magistrates are appointed and ministers bear responsibilities in accordance with law, the sovereign's mother will not dare any kind of rampancy. If propriety and bestowal have different grades, concubines can not speculate whether their sons might replace the heir apparent. If the supreme position tolerates no rivalry, bastards cannot dispute with legitimate sons. If authority and position are not shaken, royal brothers cannot trespass on the ruler's power. If subordinate officials are not from the same clan, chief vassals can not delude the ruler. If prohibitions and rewards are always enforced, celebrities for wisdom cannot create any commotion. . . .

Ministers have two resorts, called outer and inner. The outer is said to be "the feared"; the inner, "the loved". What is requested by the feared is granted; what is suggested by the loved, is followed. Thus, the feared and the loved are what the rapacious ministers appeal to. If officials recommended by foreign states are cross-examined and censured for their continuous development of personal friendships and acceptance of bribes from abroad, they will not count on the outer resort. If ranks and bounties follow meritorious services and if those who make request on behalf of their friends and relatives are equally implicated in the practice of favouritism, nobody will count on the inner resort. If both the outer and the inner resorts are not relied on, culprits outside and inside the court will be suppressed.

Officials who advance according to the regular order till they reach posts of great responsibilities, are wise. Those whose posts are high and responsibilities are great, should be held under surveillance by three means of control, namely, "taking hostages", "holding securities", and "finding sureties". Relatives, wives and sons can be taken as hostages; ranks and bounties can be held as securities; and the "three units and basic fives" that are implicated in any of the members' illegal acts, can be found as sureties. Worthies refrain from evils for fear of "hostage-taking"; greedy people are transformed by the measure of "security-holding" culprits are harassed by the measure of "surety-using". If the superior does not exercise these means of control, the inferiors will dare to infringe upon his authority. If small culprits are not eliminated, he will have to censure great culprits. When censuring culprits, if name and fact correspond to each other, he should immediately enforce the censure. If their life is detrimental to the state affairs and their death penalty is harmful to the ruler's name, then he should poison them through drinking or eating, otherwise send them into the hands of their enemies. This is said to "eliminate invisible culprits". Harbouring culprits is due to the practice of misrepresentation. The practice of misrepresentation is due to the contempt for the law. If visible merits are always rewarded and disclosed crimes are punished, the practice of misrepresentation will stop. Him who gives no opinion of right or wrong, presents unreasonable persuasions and

remonstrations, and shows contempt for the law, the ruler should not take into service.

Uncles, cousins, or worthy and excellent ministers, living in exile, are said to be "roaming calamities". Their menace comes from their provision of neighbouring enemies with numerous opportunities. Eunuchs and courtiers are said to be "profligate rebels". 28 Their menace comes from their ill will caused by irritation and suspicion. To conceal anger, shelter criminals, and harbour them, is said to "increase commotions". The menace lies in the rise of men expecting godsends and making arbitrary promotions. To delegate equal authority to two chief vassals and maintain the balance of power between them without partiality, is said to "nourish calamities". The menace lies in the precipitation of family quarrels, intimidations, and regicides. To be careless and not to keep oneself godlike, is called to "lose prestige". Its menace lies in the rise of such treason as regicide by poisoning. These five are menaces, which, if the lord of men ignores them, will eventually precipitate such disasters as intimidation and regicide. If matters of dismissal and appointment originate from inside, then there will be order; if from outside, then chaos. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign would estimate meritorious services inside the court and harvest profits from abroad. Consequently, his state is always orderly; his enemies, always chaotic. The reason for chaos is that unduly hated ministers would create such outer commotions by means of delusion, and unduly loved vassals would create such inner commotions by means of poisoning.

## 4. Enforcing the System of Three Units and Basic Fives

The system of "three units and basic fives" means to choose the plan held by the majority when different opinions are subsumed under three categories, and to organize basic groups of five families and implicate all the members of each group in any member's misconduct. Thus, the comparison of different opinions always differentiates the majority and the minority from each other; the organization of groups of five families always holds members of the same group jointly responsible. If not differentiated, they would profane the superior's authority; if not held responsible, they would cooperate in evil doings. Therefore, the ruler should differentiate them when their number is still small and can be easily known. When angry, he should censure only the culprits but not their relatives. His position of observing deeds and heeding speeches is demonstrated by his punishing all clique members, rewarding non-partisans, censuring women interviewers, and convicting their adherents. Regarding the diverse opinions uttered simultaneously, he should estimate them in the light of their backgrounds, scrutinize them with the principles of heaven, verify them by the course of affairs, and compare them with the sentiments of mankind. If these four demonstrations coincide with one another, then the ruler may proceed to observe deeds.

Compare different words and thereby know the true one. Change the perspectives and thereby detect the choice abode. Stick to your own view and thereby hold your extraordinary standpoint. Unify the system of personnel administration and thereby warn the courtiers. Dignify your words and thereby scare distant officials. Cite the past facts and thereby check the antecedent words. Keep detectives near by the officials and thereby know their inner conditions. Send detectives afar and thereby know outer affairs. Hold to your clear knowledge and thereby inquire into obscure objects. Give ministers false encouragements and thereby extirpate their attempts to infringe on the ruler's rights. Invert your words and thereby try out the suspects. Use contradictory arguments and thereby find out the invisible culprits. Establish the system of espionage and thereby rectify the fraudulent people. Make appointments and dismissals and thereby observe the reactions of wicked officials. Speak explicitly and thereby persuade people to avoid faults. Humbly follow others speeches and thereby discriminate between earnest men and flatterers. Get information from everybody and know things you have not yet seen. Create quarrels among adherents and partisans and thereby disperse them. Explore the depths of one culprit and thereby warn the mind of the many. Divulge false ideas and thereby make the inferiors think matters over.

In the case of similarities and resemblances, identify their common points. When stating anybody's faults, grasp the causes, know the due penalties, and thereby justify the exercise of your authority. Send out spies in secret to inspect the enemy states from time to time and thereby find their signs of decay. Gradually change envoys sent abroad and thereby break up their secret communications and private friendships with foreign states. Put every subordinate under surveillance by his immediate principal. Thus, ministers discipline their vassals; vassals discipline their dependents; soldiers and officials discipline their troops; envoys discipline their deputies; prefects discipline their subordinates; courtiers discipline their attendants; and queens and concubines discipline their court maids. Such is said to be "the systematic thorough way".

If words are divulged and affairs leak out, then no statecraft will function at all.

5. Devotion to Secrecy

The lord of men has the duty of devoting his attention to secrecy. For this reason, when his delight is revealed, his conduct will be slighted; when his anger is revealed, his prestige will fall to the ground. The words of the intelligent sovereign, therefore, are blockaded in such wise that they are not communicable outwards and are kept in such secrecy that they are unknowable. Therefore, to find ten culprits with the wisdom of one person is an inferior way, to find one culprit through the mutual watch of ten persons is a superior way. As the intelligent sovereign takes both the superior and the inferior ways, no culprit is ever missed. Members of the same group of five families, of the same village, and of the same county, all live like close neighbours. Who denounces anybody else's fault, is rewarded; who misses anybody else's fault, is censured. The same is true of the superior towards the inferior and of the inferior towards the superior. Accordingly, superior and inferior, high and low, warn each other to obey the law, and teach each other to secure profits. By nature everybody wants to live in fact and in reputation. So does the ruler want both the name of being worthy and intelligent and the fact of rewarding and punishing people. When fame and fact are equally complete, he will certainly be known as lucky

## 6. Comparing Different Speeches

If speeches heard from inferiors are not compared, the superior will find no reason to call the inferiors to account. If speeches are not held responsible for their utility, heretical theories will be wilder the superior. A word is such that people believe in it because its upholders are numerous. An unreal thing, if its existence is asserted by ten men, is still subject to doubt; if its existence is asserted by one hundred men, its reality becomes probable; and if its existence is asserted by one thousand men, it becomes undoubtable. Again, if spoken about by stammerers, it is susceptible to doubt; if spoken about by eloquent persons, it becomes believable. Wicked men, when violating their superior, rely on the support of the many for their background, display their eloquence by quoting forced analogies so as to embellish their selfish acts. If the lord of men shows no anger at them but expects to compare and identify their deeds with their words, by force of circumstances his inferiors will be benefited.

The sovereign upholding the true path, when heeding words, holds them accountable for their utility, and charges them with their functions. From the requirement of successful functions there issue matters of reward and punishment. Therefore, whoever displays useless eloquence, is never kept in the court; whoever is appointed to office, if known to be unable to perform his duties, is removed from his post; and whoever talks big and exaggerates everything, is driven to his wits' end by the disappointing outcome. In consequence, there will be disclosed wickednesses, wherefore the superior will be in a position to reprimand the culprits. Any word that does not truly materialize with no extraneous hindrance is a fraud Of fraud the speaker should then be convicted. In other words, every word has its retribution; every theory has its responsibility for utility. Consequently, the words of rapacious ministers' adherents and partisans will not go into the superior's ear.

According to the right way of heeding suggestions in general, the ruler requires the minister to speak loyally to him about any culprit, and to cite wide illustrations of every suggestion presented to him for adoption. If the sovereign is not wise, culprits will gain the advantage. Yet according to the intelligent sovereign's way, the ruler, when pleased by any counsellor, would examine the accepted counsel in detail; when angered by any counsellor, he would reconsider the whole contentions for the argument, and profane his judgement till his feelings have become normal in order that he may thereby find sufficient reason to award the counsellor honour or disgrace and determine whether his motive is public justice or private greediness.

Ministers usually present as many counsels as possible to display their wisdom and let the ruler choose one out of them, so that they can avoid responsibilities. Therefore, when numerous counsels appear simultaneously, only the fallen ruler would heed them. As for the intelligent sovereign, he would admit no alternative word in addition to the original, but enact the system of future testimony by making the consequent result testify the antecedent project so as to ascertain the falsity or sincerity of the counsellor. The way of the intelligent sovereign never tolerates two different counsels by one minister, but restricts one person to one counsel at one time, allows nobody to act at random, and always synthesizes the results of comparison. Therefore, the culprits find no way to advance.

## 7. Confiding in the Law

Officials are over-powerful because there are no effective laws. Laws stop functioning because the superior is stupid. If the superior is stupid and upholds no rule, the officials will act at random. As the officials act at random, their salaries will be surpassed by no precedent. If their salaries are

surpassed by no predecessor, taxes will be increased. As taxes are increased, they will become wealthy. The wealth and powerfulness of the officials eventually breed chaos.

Under the intelligent sovereign's Tao, only trustworthy men are taken into service, only dutiful officials are praised, and only men of merit are rewarded. When anybody recommends anybody else to the sovereign, if his word materialises truly and thereby delights the ruler, then both he and the official should be equally benefited; if his word does not truly materialise and thereby angers the ruler, then both he and that official should be equally punished. If so, ministers will not dare grant their uncles and cousins personal favours, but will recommend their enemies who have the required abilities. Their influences are sufficient to enforce the law, their allowances are sufficient to perform their duties, and their self-seeking activities find no room to grow in. In consequence, the people will work hard and lessen the officials' burden.

Whoever is entrusted with public affairs, should not be over-powerful. Only to his rank should the ruler ascribe his honour. Whoever holds office should not be self-seeking. Only to his bounty should the ruler limit his income. In consequence, the people will honour ranks and esteem bounties. Thus, rank and bounty will become means of reward. When the people esteem these means of reward, the state will be in good order.

If norms are intricate, it is because terms are mistaken. If prizes and praises are not adequate, the people will hang in suspense. Now that the people hold both fame and prizes in equal esteem, if the rewarded are slandered, reward will not be fit to encourage people; if the punished are admired, then punishment will not be fit to suppress culprits. It is the intelligent sovereign's way that rewards always result from contributions to public benefit and that fame always originates in services to the superior. If reward and fame follow the same track and slander and censure proceed in parallel, the people will find nothing more glorious than to be rewarded and the receivers of heavy penalties will always incur bad names. In consequence, the people will fear punishment, that is, means of prohibition. If the people fear means of prohibition, the state will be in good order.

## 8. Upholding the Sovereign's Dignity

If the sovereign manifests chivalrous conduct, his dignity will be shaken. If he follows theories of compassion and benevolence, legal institutions will crumble. On account of such institutions the people revere the superior; by virtue of his position the superior holds down the inferior. Therefore. if inferiors act at random, unscrupulously violate the law, and honour the custom of slighting the ruler, then the sovereign's dignity will be shaken. The people on account of the law hesitate to violate the superior; the superior on account of the law suppresses the sentiments of compassion and benevolence. Thus, the inferiors appreciate favours and charities and strive for a government with bribes and pay. For this reason, laws and orders are failing in their aim. Private actions are honoured, whereby the sovereign's dignity is shaken. Bribes and pay are used, whereby the efficacy of laws and orders is doubted. If such vices are tolerated, the government will be disturbed; if not, the sovereign will be slandered. In the long run, the ruler's status will be despised and the regulations for the officials will be confused. Such is called "a state without constant authority'

Under the Tao of the intelligent sovereign, no minister is allowed to practise chivalry and give honours nor is he allowed to accomplish any merit for his family's sake. Achievement and reputation are always based on the initiative of the regulations of the officials. What is against law, though it may involve difficulties, cannot be celebrated. In consequence, the people will find no reason to make their reputation. Now, to establish laws and regulations is to unify the people; to make reward and punishment faithful is to exert their abilities; and to make slander and honours clear is to encourage good and discourage evil. Fame and titles, rewards and punishments, laws and orders, are three pairs of statecraft. . . . Therefore, any action by the chief vassals will aim to honour the ruler; any service by the hundred surnames will aim to benefit the superior. Such is called "a state on the true path"

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 49.

Five Vermin: A Pathological Analysis of Politics

In the age of remote antiquity, human beings were few while birds and beasts were many. Mankind being unable to overcome birds, beasts, insects, and serpents, there appeared a sage who made nests by putting pieces of wood together to shelter people from harm. Thereat the people were so delighted that they made him ruler of All-under-Heaven and called him the Nest-Dweller. In those days the people lived on the fruits of trees and seeds of grass as well as mussels and clams, which smelt rank and fetid and hurt the digestive organs. As many of them were affected with diseases, there appeared a sage who twisted a drill to make fire which

changed the fetid and musty smell. Thereat the people were so delighted that they made him ruler of All-under-Heaven.

In the age of middle antiquity, there was a great deluge in All-under-Heaven, wherefore Kung and Yü opened channels for the water. In the age of recent antiquity, Chieh and Chow were violent and turbulent, wherefore T'ang and Wu overthrew them.

Now, if somebody fastened the trees or turned a drill in the age of the Hsia-hou Clan, he would certainly be ridiculed by Kung and Yü. Again, if somebody opened channels for water in the age of the Yin and Chou Dynasties, he would certainly be ridiculed by T'ang and Wu. That being so, if somebody in the present age praises the ways of Yao, Shun, Kung, Yü, T'ang, and Wu, he would, no doubt, be ridiculed by contemporary sages.

That is the reason why the sage neither seeks to follow the ways of the ancients nor establishes any fixed standard for all times but examines the things of his age and then prepares to deal with them.

There was in Sung a man, who tilled a field in which there stood the trunk of a tree. Once a hare, while running fast, rushed against the trunk, broke its neck, and died. Thereupon the man cast his plough aside and watched that tree, hoping that he would get another hare. Yet he never caught another hare and was himself ridiculed by the people of Sung. Now supposing somebody wanted to govern the people of the present age with the policies of the early kings, he would be doing exactly the same thing as that man who watched the tree.

In olden times, men did not need to till, for the seeds of grass and the fruits of trees were sufficient to feed them; nor did women have to weave, for the skins of birds and beasts were sufficient to clothe them. Thus, without working hard, they had an abundance of supply. As the people were few, their possessions were more than sufficient. Therefore the people never quarrelled. As a result, neither large rewards were bestowed nor were heavy punishments employed, but the people governed themselves. Nowadays, however, people do not regard five children as many. Each child may in his or her turn beget five offspring, so that before the death of the grandfather there may be twenty-five grand-children. As a result, people have become numerous and supplies scanty; toil has become hard and provisions meager. Therefore people quarrel so much that, though rewards are doubled and punishments repeated, disorder is inevitable.

When Yao was ruling All-under-Heaven, his thatched roof was untrimmed and his beam unplaned. He ate unpolished grain and made soup of coarse greens and wore deerskin garments in winter and rough fibre-cloth in summer. Even the clothes and provisions of a gate-keeper were not more scanty than his. When Yü was ruling All-under-Heaven, he led the people with plough and spade in hands, till his thighs had no down and his shins grew no hair. Even the toil of a prisoner of war was not more distressful than his. Speaking from this viewpoint, indeed, he who abdicated the throne of the Son of Heaven in favour of others in olden times, was simply foresaking the living of a gate-keeper and the toil of a prisoner of war. Therefore the inheritance of AllunderHeaven in olden days was not very great. Yet the prefect of today, upon the day of his death, hands down luxurious chariots to his descendants from generation to generation. Accordingly people think much of his position.

Thus, in the matter of leaving office, men make light of resigning from the ancient dignity of the Son of Heaven and consider it hard to quit the present post of a prefect. Really it is the difference between meagerness and abundance.

Indeed, those who dwell in the mountains and draw water from the valleys, give water to each other on the occasion of festivals; those who live in swamps hire men to open channels for the water. Likewise, in the spring of famine years men do not even feed their infant brothers, while in the autumn of abundant years even strange visitors are always well fed. Not that men cut off their blood-relations and love passers-by, but that the feelings are different in abundance and in scarcity. For the same reason, men of yore made light of goods, not because they were benevolent, but because goods were abundant; while men of today quarrel and pillage, not because they are brutish, but because goods are scarce. Again, men of yore made light of resigning from the dignity of the Son of Heaven, not because their personalities were noble, but because the power of the Son of Heaven was scanty; while men of today make much of fighting for office in government, not because their personalities are mean, but because the powers of the posts are great. Therefore the sage, considering quantity and deliberating upon scarcity and abundance, governs accordingly. So it is no charity to inflict light punishments nor is it any cruelty to enforce severe penalties: the practice is simply in accordance with the custom of the age. Thus, circumstances change with the age and measures change according to circumstances.

Of old, King Wen, located between Feng and Kao, in a territory of one hundred square li, practised benevolence and righteousness and won the affection of the Western Barbarians, till he finally became ruler of All-under-Heaven. King Yen of Hsii, located to the east of the Han River in a territory of five hundred square li, practised benevolence and righteousness, till the states that ceded their territories and paid tributary visits to his court numbered thirty-six. King Wen of Ching, fearing lest King Yen should do him harm, raised armies, attacked Hsü, and finally destroyed it. Thus, King Wen practising benevolence and righteousness became ruler of All-under-Heaven, while King Yen practising benevolence and righteousness lost his state. Evidently benevolence and righteousness once serviceable in olden times are not so at present. Hence the saying: "There are as many situations as there are generations." In the time of Shun the Miao tribes disobeyed. When Yü moved to send an expedition against them, Shun said: "By no means. As our Teh is not great, any resort to arms is not in accord with the Tao.' Thenceforth for three years he cultivated the ways of civic training and then he made a parade of shields and battle-axes, whereupon the Miao tribes submitted. In a subsequent age, during the war with the Kung-kung tribes men using short iron weapons hardly reached their enemies while those whose armour was not strong suffered bodily injuries. It means that mere parade with shields and battle-axes once effective in olden times is not so at present. Hence the saying: "Situations differ, so measures change."

Men of remote antiquity strove to be known as moral and virtuous; those of the middle age struggled to be known as wise and resourceful; and now men fight for the reputation of being vigorous and powerful. When Ch'i was about to attack Lu, Lu sent Tzu-kung to dissuade Ch'i. To the peace envoy the spokesman of Ch'i said: "Your speech is not ineloquent. But what we want is territory, and that is not what you are talking about." In the end Ch'i raised armies, invaded Lu, and settled the inter-state boundary at ten li from the city-gate of the capital of Lu.

Thus, although King Yen was benevolent and righteous, Hsü went to ruin; although Tzu-kung was benevolent and righteous, Lu was dismembered. From such a viewpoint, indeed, benevolence, righteousness, eloquence, and intelligence, are not instruments to maintain the state. If the benevolence of King Yen were put aside and the intelligence of Tzu-kung extinguished, and if the forces of Hsü and Lu were exerted, they could resist the powers of ten thousand chariots. Then the ambitions of Ch'i and Ching could never be accomplished in those two states.

Thus, we see that ancients and moderns have different customs, new and old have different measures. To govern with generous and leinent regulations a people in imminent danger is the same as to drive wild horses without reins or slips. This is a calamity of ignorance.

In these days, the Literati and the Mohists all praise the early kings for practising impartial love for which the people revered them as parents. How do they know that was so? They say: "We know that was so because whenever the Minister of Punishment inflicted any penalty, the ruler would stop having music, and at the news of any capital punishment he would shed tears. This is the reason why we praise the early kings."

Indeed, from the proposition that if ruler and minister act like father and son, there is always order, there can be inferred the judgement that there are no disorderly fathers and sons. It is human nature, however, that nobody is more affectionate than parents. If both parents reveal love to their children, and yet order is not always found in a family, then how could there be no disorder in a state even though the ruler deepens his love for the ministers? Since the early kings loved the people not more than parents love their children, and children do not always refrain from causing disturbance, how could the people so easily keep order?

Moreover, when a penalty was inflicted in accordance with the law, the ruler shed tears therefor. By so doing he intended to show his benevolence but not to do any good to political order. To shed bitter tears and to dislike penalties, is benevolence; to see the necessity of inflicting penalties, is law. Since the early kings held to the law and never listened to weeping, it is clear enough that benevolence cannot be applied to the attainment of political order.

Still further, the people are such as would be firmly obedient to authority, but are rarely able to appreciate righteousness. For illustration, Chung-ni, who was a sage of All-under-Heaven, cultivated virtuous conduct, exemplified the right way, and travelled about within the seas; but those within the seas who talked about his benevolence and praised his righteousness and avowed discipleship to him, were only seventy. For to honour benevolence was rare and to practise righteousness was hard. Notwithstanding the vastness of Allunder-Heaven, those who could become his avowed disciples, were only seventy, and there was only one person really benevolent and righteous-Chung-ni himself! Contrary to this. Duke Ai of Lu, inferior ruler as he was, when he faced the south and ruled the state, found nobody among the people within the boundary daring disobedience. This was because the people are by nature obedient to authority. As by exercising authority it is easy to lord it over people, Chung-ni remained minister while Duke Ai continued on the throne. Not that Chung-ni appreciated the righteousness of Duke Ai

but that he submitted to his authority. Therefore, on the basis of righteousness Chung-ni would not have yielded to Duke Ai, but by virtue of authority Duke Ai did lord it over Chung-ni! Now, the learned men of today, when they counsel the Lord of Men, assert that if His Majesty applied himself to the practice of benevolence and righteousness instead of making use of victory-ensuring authority, he would certainly become ruler of All-under-Heaven. This is simply to require every lord of men to come up to the level of Chung-ni and all the common people of the world to act like his disciples. It is surely an ineffectual measure.

Now suppose there is a boy who has a bad character. His parents are angry at him, but he never makes any change. The villagers in the neighbourhood reprove him, but he is never thereby moved. His masters teach him, but he never reforms. Thus with all the three excellent disciplines, the love of his parents, the conduct of the villagers, and the wisdom of the masters, applied to him, he makes no change, not even a hair on his shins is altered. It is, however, only after the district-magistrate sends out soldiers in accordance with the law to search for wicked men that he becomes afraid and changes his ways and alters his deeds. So the love of parents is not sufficient to educate children. But if it is necessary to have the severe penalties of the district-magistrate come at all, it is because people are naturally spoiled by love and obedient to authority.

Thus, over a city-wall forty feet high, even Lou-chi could not pass, for it is steep; but on a mountain four thousand feet high even crippled she-goats can easily graze, for it is flattopped. For the same reason the intelligent king makes his laws strict and his punishments severe. Again, where there is a piece of cloth eight or sixteen feet long, common people would not give it up, but where there is molten gold two thousand pounds in weight, even Robber Shih would not pick it up. Thus, if no harm at all should come to them, people would not give up eight or sixteen feet of cloth; but if their hands would always be hurt, they would never dare to pick up even two hundred pounds of molten gold. Therefore, the intelligent ruler makes his punishments definite.

That being so, rewards should not be other than great and certain, thus making the people regard them as profitable; punishments should not be other than severe and definite, thus making the people fear them; and laws should not be other than uniform and steadfast, thus making the people comprehend them. Consequently, if the ruler in bestowing rewards makes no change and in carrying out punishments grants no pardon, but adds honour to rewards and disgrace to punishments, then both the worthy and the unworthy will exert their efforts.

That is not true at present. On the one hand, ranks are conferred for meritorious services; but on the other, official careers are scorned. Rewards are bestowed for diligent tillage, but hereditary occupations are slighted. Whoever declines appointment to office is shunned, but his contempt for worldly affairs is esteemed. Whoever transgresses prohibitions is convicted, but his boldness is admired. Thus there are nowadays opposed to each other the objectives of honour and disgrace as well as of reward and punishment. Small wonder laws and interdicts are ruined and the people are becoming more and more violent.

Now, he who would always fall on the enemy when his brother is attacked, is called upright; he who would always resent an insult to his good friend, is called pure. Yet once these deeds of uprightness and purity are done, the law of the ruler is violated. In case the lord of men esteems such deeds of uprightness and purity and forgets the crime violating his prohibitions, the people will be honoured according to their boldness and the magistrates will be unable to control them. Again, he who gets clothes and food without working hard, is called capable; he who gets honours without rendering any meritorious service in war, is called worthy. Yet once the deeds of capability and worthiness are done, the army will become weak and the land will be waste. If the Lord of Men is delighted at such deeds of worthiness and capability and forgets the calamities of the army in decline and the land in waste, then private advantage will prevail and public welfare will come to naught.

The literati by means of letters disturbed laws, the cavaliers by means of weapons transgressed prohibitions. Yet the lord of men respects them both. That is the reason why disorder prevails. Indeed, every departure from laws ought to be condemned, but all the professors are taken into office on account of their literary learning. Again, every transgression of prohibitions ought to be punished, but all cavaliers are accorded patronage because of their private swords. Thus, what the law prohibits is what the ruler himself recognizes; what the magistrate punishes is what the sovereign himself maintains. Thus legal standard and personal inclination are in conflict Without any fixed standard however even ten Yellow Emperors would not be able to rule. Therefore, those who practise benevolence and righteousness, should not be praised; for, if praised, they would damage meritorious achievements. Again, those who specialize in refinement and

learning, should not be employed; for, if employed, they would confuse the law of the state.

Of old, there was in the Ch'u State a man named Chi-kung. Once his father stole a sheep, wherefore he reported to the authorities. Thereupon the prefect said, "Put him to death", as he thought the man was loyal to the ruler but undutiful to his father. So that man was tried and executed. From this it can be seen that the honest subject of the ruler was an outrageous son of his father.

Again, there was a man of Lu, who followed the ruler to war, fought three battles, and ran away thrice. When Chungni asked him his reason, he replied: "I have an old father. Should I die, nobody would take care of him." So Chung-ni regarded him as a man of filial piety, praised him, and exalted him. From this it can be seen that the dutiful son of the father was a rebellious subject of the ruler. Naturally, following the punishment of the honest man by the prefect, no other culprit in Ch'u was ever reported to the authorities and after the reward of the runaway by Chung-ni, the people of Lu were apt to surrender and run away. The interests of superior and inferior are thus so different that it is certainly impossible to expect the Lord of Men both to praise the deed of the common man and to promote the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain.

In olden times, when Ts'ang Chieh invented the system of writing, he assigned the element "self-centered" to the character "private"; and combined the elements, "opposite to" and "private", to form the character "public". The contradiction between "public" and "private" was thus from the beginning well understood by Ts'ang Chieh. To regard them both as having identical interest at the present time, is a calamity of thoughtlessness.

That being so, speaking of the common man, there comes first the cultivation of benevolence and righteousness and then the practice of refinement and learning. Having cultivated benevolence and righteousness, he will get office. Having practised refinement and learning, he will become an erudite teacher. Having become an erudite teacher, he will become celebrated for his honours. This is the ideal career of the common man. However, it may be that with no merit one gets office, with no rank one becomes celebrated for one's honours. If there be any government like this, the state will certainly be in chaos and the lord in peril.

Therefore, incompatible things do not coexist. For instance, to reward those who kill their enemies in battle, and at the same time to esteem deeds of mercy and generosity; to reward with ranks and bounties those who capture enemy cities, and at the same time to believe in the theory of impartial love: to improve armour and encourage warriors as provisions against emergencies, and at the same time to admire the ornaments of the robes and girdles of the civil gentry; to depend upon the farmers for enriching the state and upon the warriors for resisting the enemies, and at the same time to honour the men of letters; and to neglect the men who respect the superior and revere the law, and at the same time to maintain gangs of wandering cavaliers and self-seeking swordsmen: out of such incompatible acts, how can a state attain order and strength? When the state is at peace, literati and cavaliers are supported; once an emergency arises, armed officers are taken into service. Thus, the privileged are not used; the used are not privileged. For this reason, men who ought to attend to public affairs neglect their duties, while wandering scholars daily increase in numbers. This is the reason why the age is full of chaos.

Moreover, what the age calls "worthy" consists of merciful and faithful deeds; what it calls "wise" consists of subtle and mysterious words. Such subtle and mysterious words are hard even for the wisest men to understand. Now, of you set up laws for the masses in such terms as are hard for the wisest men to understand, then the people will find no way to comprehend them. Just as men who find not even coarse rice to fill them would not think of wine and meat, and just as those who have not even rags to wear would not think of silk and embroidered garments, in governing the world, if one is not able to settle affairs of the most urgent need, one should pay no attention to things short of great urgency. Now most of the affairs to be administered are ordinary civil cases. Yet not to use standards that ordinary men and women plainly understand, but to long for those theories which even the wisest do not comprehend; that certainly is the negation of government. Therefore subtle and mysterious words are no business of the people.

Indeed, men who regard deeds of mercy and faithfulness as worthy will naturally honour gentlemen who are not deceitful, but those that honour gentlemen who are not deceitful might have no means to escape deception. The commoners, in cultivating friendships, have neither wealth to benefit each other nor influence to terrify each other. Naturally they seek for gentlemen who are not deceitful. Now the Lord of Men avails himself of his position to control men and possesses the wealth of a state. If he makes rewards large and punishments severe and thereby succeeds in holding his handles to improve points illuminated by his brilliant policies, then ministers like Tien Ch'ang and Tzu-han, wicked as they were, would not dare to deceive him, not to mention gentlemen who are not

deceitful. Now there are not more than ten truly merciful and faithful men in this country, whereas there are hundreds of official posts. So if only merciful and faithful men are selected for public service, the candidates will not be sufficient for filling all the official posts. In that case, those who maintain order would be few while disturbers would abound. Therefore, the way of the enlightened lord is to unify laws instead of seeking for wise men, to solidify policies instead of yearning after faithful persons. In consequence, as long as laws do not fail to function, the body of officials will practise neither villainy nor deception.

In these days, the lord of men, as regards speeches, is delighted at their eloquence but does not seek for their consequences, and, as regards the utility of deeds, admires their fame but does not strictly check over their accomplishments. For this reason, the people of All-under-Heaven, when making speeches, strive for eloquence but do not care for actual usefulness. As a result, men who quote the early kings and preach benevolence and righteousness, fill up the court, wherefore the government can not be freed from disorder. Men who devote themselves to practical deeds struggle for eminence, but do not bring about any meritorious service. Small wonder wise men retire to dwell in rocky caves, decline all bounties, and refuse to accept any offer; while soldiers are not immune from degeneration and the government is not freed from chaos. What is the reason for this? It is this: in what the people revere and what the sovereign respects, lies the cause of disturbing the state.

Now the people within the boundary all talk about political order, and, though in every family there are men who preserve copies of the Laws of Shang Yang and Kuan Chung, yet the state is becoming poorer and poorer. This is because many talk about tillage but few take up the plough. Again, everybody within the boundary talks about strategy, and, though in every family there are men who preserve copies of the Books of Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i, yet the army is becoming weaker and weaker. This is because many talk about warfare but few put on armour.

Therefore, the enlightened sovereign uses his men's strength but does not listen to their words, rewards them for their meritorious services but always eliminates the useless. The people, accordingly, exert themselves to the point of death in obeying the sovereign.

Indeed, tillage requires physical force, and is toil. But the people who perform it say, "Through it we can become wealthy." Again, warfare, as a matter of fact, involves risks. But the people who wage it say, "Through it we can become noble." Now, if those who cultivate refinement and learning and practise persuasion and eloquence get the fruits of wealth without the toil of tillage, and gain the honour of nobility with no risk in warfare, then who will not do the same? Naturally, one hundred men will attend to "wisdom" while only one man will exert physical energy. If men who attend to "wisdom" are many, the law will go for naught; if men who exert physical energy are few, the state will fall into poverty. That is the reason why the world is in chaos.

Therefore, in the state of the enlightened sovereign there is no literature written on bamboo slips, but the law is the only teaching; there are no quoted sayings of the early kings, but the magistrates are the only instructors; there is no valour through private swords, but slaughter of the enemy is the only courageous deed. As a result, the people, within the boundary, when practising persuasion and eloquence, always conform to the law; when up and doing, they always aim at meritorious services; and when pretending to valour, they always exert themselves in the army. Therefore, in time of peace the state is rich; in time of emergency the army is strong. Such is what they call the resources of the ruler. Having stored up the resources of the ruler, the sovereign waits for the enemy state to reach an unguarded moment. Those who have surpassed the Five Emperors and have rivalled the Three Kings, have always followed this method.

The same is not true in these days, however. Inside, the gentry and the commoners do as they please; outside, eloquent speakers create their own favourable circumstances. If both foreign and home affairs alike are bad, is it not dangerous for the ruler to confront strong enemies? It is so particularly because the ministers who speak on foreign affairs either side with the advocates of the Perpendicular Union or the Horizontal Alliance, or have personal hatred for foreign states and want to utilize the forces of the native state. Now, neither the Perpendicular Union aiming to attack a single strong state by uniting all the weak ones, nor the Horizontal Alliance aiming to attack the weak ones by serving a single strong state, is a policy to maintain the existence and prosperity of a state.

Now, ministers who speak about the Horizontal Alliance, all say: "If we do not serve a big power, we will have enemies and suffer disasters." To serve a big power, however, always requires material concessions. Wherefore they must entrust their whole territory to the strong state and put their own state seal in pawn for military help. If territorial concessions are offered, the land will be cut off; if the state seal is handed over, the prestige will be impaired. When the land is cut off,

the state will be dismembered; when the prestige is impaired, the government will fall into chaos. Thus, before actualizing the benefit from serving a big power forming the Horizontal Alliance, the land is already dismembered and the government disordered.

Again, ministers who speak about the Perpendicular Union, all say: "If we do not save small states and attack big powers, we will lose the favour of All-under-Heaven. If we lose the favour of All-under-Heaven, our state will fall into peril. If our state falls into peril, our lord will fall into contempt." To save small states, however, always requires material sacrifices, wherefore you must mobilize armies and oppose big powers. Yet when you start to save a small state, you are not always able to preserve it; when you oppose a big power, you can not always be sure that there is no discord between you and your allies. If there is any such discord at all, you will be dominated by the big power. As soon as you send out reinforcements, the whole army will be defeated. Before you turn back to assume the defensive, the city will have fallen into the hands of the enemies. Thus, before you get the benefit of saving the small state and thereby form the Perpendicular Union, your land is already occupied and your troops defeated.

For this reason, he who insists on serving the strong state really means to hold his office through foreign influence; he who insists on saving the small state, really means to seek advantage abroad by virtue of his prestige at home. Before the state is benefited, the ministers have got estates and high emoluments. Thus, though the sovereign falls into contempt, the ministers are honoured; though the land of the state is cut off, their own families have become wealthy. If their projects succeed, they will become mighty in authority; if their projects fail, they will retire from active life with riches in their pockets.

However, such is the usual way the Lord of Men listens to the proposals of his ministers that before their projects are successful, their ranks and bounties are already exalted. And, if they are not punished when their projects fail, who can be sure that the itinerant gentlemen are not going to display their irresponsible sophistries elsewhere and count on unexpected good fortune? Nevertheless, why is heed paid to such frivolous ideas of the persuasive politicians as would break the state and ruin the lord? That is because the Lord of Men never distinguishes between public and private benefits, never scrutinizes whether the ideas are true or false, and never definitely enforces censure and punishment.

The itinerants all say, "Success in foreign relations at its best can help the prince become ruler of All-under-Heaven or, at least, can make the state secure." Indeed, the ruler of All-under-Heaven must be able to attack others. If secure, he can not be attacked by others. If strong, he is able to attack others. If in order, he can not be attacked by others. Accordingly, order and strength should not be dependent upon external factors: both depend upon internal administration. Now, if the sovereign does not carry out his laws and policies at home but counts on the wise men's services abroad, order and strength will not be attained.

There is a common saying: "Wearers of long sleeves are skilful in dancing; possessors of much money are skilful in trading." It means that people who are resourceful acquire skill very easily. Accordingly, in the state that is orderly and strong it is easy to devise schemes, but in the state that is weak and chaotic it is hard to make any plan at all. For illustration, the schemes adopted by Ch'in, though changed ten times, rarely fail; whereas any plan adopted by Yen, once changed, rarely succeeds. Not that whatever Ch'in adopts is always clever and whatever Yen adopts is always stupid, but that the factors of order and chaos are different.

Thus, Chou quit Ch'in and joined the Perpendicular Union only to be taken within a year; and Wei left Wey for the Horizontal Alliance only to be ruined in half a year. This means that Chou was destroyed by the Perpendicular Union while Wei was ruined by the Horizontal Alliance. Supposing Chou and Wei postponed their plans to join the Perpendicular Union and the Horizontal Alliance and strictly improved the political order within their boundaries, made their laws and interdicts clear, made their rewards and punishments definite, utilized their natural resources to increase provisions, and constrained their peoples even to the point of death in strengthening the defensive preparations of the city-walls; then All-under-Heaven would find little gain in occupying their lands and great harm in attacking their states, so that even a state of ten thousand chariots would not dare to come to camp beneath their well-fortified city-walls and expose its weaknesses to the attack of strong enemies. This is the way to escape destruction. To abandon this way of escaping destruction and to follow the road to inevitable ruin is the fault of the governor of the state. With wisdom exhausted abroad and politics disordered at home, 36 no state can be saved from ruin

The plan of the people for themselves is to seek only for security and profit and to avoid danger and poverty. Now, if you force them to attack and fight, they face death at the hands of enemies at the front, and death through official punishment at the rear. That is peril, indeed! Again, they have

to abandon their own domestic affairs and undergo the toil of military service. In the long run their households are reduced to poverty. Yet the ruler takes no notice of it. That is destitution, indeed! Wherever lie destitution and danger, how can the people do other than shun them? Naturally they would frequent the gates of the private residences of influential men so as to exempt themselves from military service. If exempted from military service, they keep aloof from warfare. If aloof from warfare, they can remain in safety. Again, if they can by virtue of bribes approach the authorities concerned, they get what they want. If they get what they want, they have profit and security. Wherever lie security and profit, how can the people do other than crowd in? Hence, citizens in public service are few but private protégés are numerous.

Indeed, the enlightened king so administers his state as to diminish the number of tradesmen, craftsmen, and idlers, and to lower their names in order to incline their minds to primary callings and to lessen their interest in secondary occupations. In the present age, if the requests of the courtiers prevail at all, then office and rank can be purchased. If office and rank are purchasable, tradesmen and craftsmen, as they have money, will no longer be low in status. If forged money and faked articles can circulate at the market-place, traders will no longer fall short of demands and supplies. If the profits they make thereby are twice as much as by farming and the honours they get thereby surpass those of tillers and warriors, men of firm integrity and strong character will become few while merchants and tradesmen will increase in number.

For such reasons, it is a common trait of the disorderly state that its learned men adore the ways of the early kings by pretending to benevolence and righteousness and adorn their manners and clothes and gild their eloquent speeches so as to cast doubts on the law of the present age and thereby beguile the mind of the lord of men; that its itinerant speakers advocate deceptive theories and utilize foreign influence to accomplish their self-seeking purposes at the expense of their Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain; that wearers of private swords gather pupils and dependents and set up standards of self-discipline and fidelity with a view to cultivating their fame but thereby violate the interdicts of the Five Ministries: that the courtiers assemble inside the gates of private residences, use all kinds of bribes, and rely on influential men's access to the sovereign in order to escape the burden of military service; and that the tradesmen and craftsmen disguise worthless, broken articles as proper goods, collect useless luxuries, accumulate riches, wait for good opportunities, and exploit the farmers. These five types of men are the vermin of the state. Should the Lord of Men fail to get rid of such people as the five vermin and should he not patronise men of firm integrity and strong character, it would be no wonder at all if within the seas there should be states breaking up in ruin and dynasties waning and perishing.

# HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 50.

Learned Celebrities: A Critical Estimate of Confucians and Mohists

In the present age, the celebrities for learning are the Literati and the Mohists. The highest figure of the Literati was K'ung Ch'iu; the highest figure of the Mohists was Mo Ti. Since the death of Confucius, there have appeared the School of Tzu-chang, the School of Tzu-ssu, the School of the Yen Clan, the School of the Meng Clan, the School of the Ch'i-tiao Clan, the School of the Chung Liang Clan, the School of the Sun Clan, and the School of the Yo-cheng Clan. Since the death of Mo Tzu, there have appeared the Mohists of the Hsiang-li Clan, the Mohists of the Hsiang-fu Clan, and the Mohists of Teng Ling's School. Thus, after Confucius and Mo Tzu, the Literati have divided into eight schools and the Mohists into three. In what they accept and what they reject they are contrary to and different from one another but each claims to be orthodox Confucian or Mohist. Now that Confucius and Mo Tzu cannot come to life again, who can determine the orthodoxy of learned men?

Confucius and Mo Tzu both followed Yao and Shun: they differed in matters of acceptance and rejection, yet each claimed to be the true Yao and Shun. Now that Yao and Shun cannot come to life again, who is going to determine genuineness as between the Literati and the Mohists? For our people, who have passed through the time of Yü and Hsia upwards of seven hundred years, and through the Yin and Chou Dynasties upwards of two thousand years, it is impossible to determine whether the Literati or the Mohists are right. Now, if anybody wants to scrutinize the ways of Yao and Shun that appeared three thousand years ago, it seems far from possible merely to imagine that! To be sure of anything that has no corroborating evidence, is stupid; to abide by anything that one can not be sure of, is self-deceptive. Therefore, those who openly quote the early kings and dogmatically uphold Yao and Shun, must be deceitful, if not stupid. Such stupid and deceptive learning and heretical and contradictory conduct, the intelligent sovereign never

The Mohists, for funeral rites wear winter clothes in winter days and summer clothes in summer days, make coffins three inches thick of Paulownia wood, and observe only three months' mourning. Regarding this as restraint, sovereigns of this age respect them. The Literati, on the contrary, for funeral rites break up the household property and give sons in pawn to compensate for the losses, observe three years' mourning till they break down in health and have to walk with the aid of canes. Regarding this as an act of filial piety, sovereigns of this age respect them. But, in fact, to approve the restraint of Mo Tzu one has to reprove Confucius for his extravagance; to approve the filial piety of Confucius one has to reprove Mo Tzu for his impiety. Now, piety and impiety, restraint and extravagance, all are found among the Literati and the Mohists, and the superiors respect them equally.

According to the theory of Ch'i-tiao, a man should not change his facial colour in front of others nor should he blink even in the face of danger; if he acts wrongly, he should give way to bondmen and bondwomen; and if he acts aright, he should assert himself even before the feudal lords. Regarding this as an act of integrity, sovereigns of this age respect him. Again, according to the teaching of Sung Yung Tzu, a man should delight in a non-combatant attitude towards opponents and approve of non-retaliatory actions against enemies; if cast into prison, he should not be ashamed; and, if insulted, he should not feel humiliated. Regarding this as an attitude of generosity, sovereigns of this age respect him. But, in fact, to approve the integrity of Ch'i-tiao one has to reprove Sung Yung for his forgiveness: to approve the generosity of Sung Yung one has to reprove Ch'i-tiao for his fierceness. Now, generosity and integrity, forgiveness and fierceness, all are found in these two philosophers, and the lords of men respect them equally.

Inasmuch as stupid and deceptive studies and heretical and contradictory theories are in conflict while the lords of men tolerate them equally, the gentry within the seas have neither definite forms of speech nor constant standards of conduct. Indeed, ice and charcoal do not share the same vessel and last long; winter and summer do not come at the same time. Likewise, heretical and contradictory studies do not stand together and have peace. Now that heretical studies are equally listened to and contradictory theories are absurdly acted upon, how can there be other than chaos? If the ruler listens so carelessly and acts so absurdly, the same must be true when he rules over men.

The learned gentlemen of the present age, when they speak on political order, mostly say: "Give the poor and the destitute land and thereby provide men of no property with enough." However, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have independently become able to be perfectly self-supporting, even without prosperous years or other income, it must be due to their diligence or to their frugality. Again, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have independently become poor and destitute without suffering from any misfortune of famine and drought or illness and malignancy or calamity and lawsuit, it must be due to their extravagance or to their laziness. Extravagant and lazy persons are poor; diligent and frugal persons are rich. Now, if the superior levies money from the rich in order to distribute alms among the poor, it means that he robs the diligent and frugal and rewards the extravagant and lazy. Naturally it is impossible to force people to speed up their work and also restrain their expenditure.

Now suppose there is a man, who, holding fast to his self-righteous principle, would not enter any city that was in danger, would not stay in military camps, and would not exchange a hair from his shin for any great profit in All-underHeaven. Then be sure the sovereign of this age will respect him therefor, honouring his wisdom, exalting his conduct, and regarding him as a gentleman despising material trifles and esteeming meaningful life. Indeed, the reason that the superior lines up good fields and large houses and establishes ranks and bounties, is to make people exert their strength to the point of death. Yet as long as the superior honours the gentlemen who despise material trifles and esteem meaningful life, it is impossible to expect the people to sacrifice their lives for his royal cause.

Suppose you keep a number of books, practise the art of speaking, gather a band of pupils, indulge in culture and learning, and discuss theories, then be sure sovereigns of this age will respect you therefor, saying, "To respect worthies is the way of the early kings." Indeed, those who are taxed by the magistrates are farmers while those who are fed by the superior are learned gentlemen. Being farmers, the former are more heavily taxed; being learned gentlemen, the latter are more liberally rewarded. Hence it is impossible to force the people to work hard and talk little.

Again, suppose you build a standard of estimation, blend all clever principles, maintain strict self-control, and do not act aggressively, and are sure to pursue anybody with your sword whenever his reproachful words pass into your ears, then sovereigns of this age will honour you as a self-respecting gentleman. Indeed, as long as the merit of beheading in war is not rewarded but the bravery of family quarrels is celebrated

with honours, it is impossible to force the people to fight hard and resist enemies and have no private quarrels. In time of peace, the state feeds the literati and the cavaliers, but in case of emergency, it uses the armed officers. Thus, those who have been fed, are not taken into service; those who are taken into service, have not been fed. That is the reason why the age is chaotic.

Further, the lord of men, in listening to a learned man, if he approves his words, should officially put them into practice and appoint the person to office, and, if he reproves him fois words, should get rid of the person and put an end to his heretical doctrine. Today, however, what is regarded as right is not officially put into practice, and what is regarded as wrong is not extinguished as heretical doctrine. Thus, the right is not used, the wrong not stopped; this is the way to chaos and ruin.

T'an-t'ai Tzu-yü had the manners of a gentleman. Considering him a man of promise, Chung-ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his deeds not equal to his looks. Again, Tsai Yü's speech was elegant and refined. Considering him a man of promise, Chung-ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his wisdom falling short of his eloquence. Hence Confucius said: "In taking a man on the basis of his manners I made a mistake in choosing Tzu-yü; in taking a man on the basis of his words I made a mistake in choosing Tsai Yü." Thus, notwithstanding his wisdom, Chung-ni expressed regretful sighs for his misjudgement of realities. Now that the new debaters of today are even more reckless than Tsai Yü and sovereigns of this age in listening to them are even more susceptible to delusion than Chung-ni, if the superior appoints any debater to office on account of delight in his words, how can a mistake be avoided? For instance, Wey trusted to the eloquence of Meng Mao and met disaster at the foot of Mt. Hua. Again, Chao trusted to the eloquence of Ma-fu and experienced the calamity of Ch'angp'ing. These two instances well illustrate the error in trusting to eloquence.

Indeed, if only the heated and hammered tin is inspected and only the blue and yellow glearns are observed, even Ou Yeh can not ascertain the quality of a sword. But if you hit herons and wild geese in water with the sword and kill ponies and horses on land with it, then even bondmen and bondwomen, ignorant as they are, are not in doubt whether the sword is blunt or sharp. If the teeth in the mouth are examined and the formal features are surveyed, then even Pai Lo could not be sure of the quality of a horse. But if you harness it to a cart and observe it till the end of the drive then even bondmen and bondwomen are not in doubt whether it is a hack or a good horse. Similarly, if only manners and clothes are looked at and only words and phrases are listened to, then even Chung-ni can not ascertain the personality of a gentleman. But if you test him with an official commission and hold him responsible for any work done, then even the mediocre man is not in doubt whether he is stupid or intelligent.

Therefore, as to the subordinates of the intelligent sovereign, prime ministers must have arisen from among the district-magistrates and gallant generals must have emerged from among the squads of soldiers. If persons who have rendered meritorious services are always rewarded, then the greater ranks and bounties become the better encouraged they will be. Again, if offices are elevated and ranks are raised, then the greater the official responsibilities become the more they will promote political order. Indeed, according as ranks and bounties are raised official responsibilities promote political order, this is the royal road to supremacy.

The possessor of a thousand li of rocky land, can not be called rich; the possessor of a million puppets can not be called strong. Not because the rocks are not big and the puppets are not numerous. The possessors can not be called rich and strong, simply because great rocks do not produce grain and puppets can not be used to resist enemies. Now, men who get office through purchase and practise artful craft, eat without cultivating the land. They are thus as unproductive as uncultivated land, in the same category as great rocks. Likewise, the literati and the cavaliers who have rendered no meritorious service in the army but are celebrated and prosperous, are useless people, in the same class as puppets. Those who know the calamity of great rocks and puppets but never know that the office-purchasers, the literati, and the cavaliers, are as harmful as uncultivated land and useless people, do not know the similarity of one thing to another.

For such reasons, in the cases of the princes and kings of enemy states, though they are delighted at our righteousness, we can not lay them under tribute as vassals; but in the case of the feudal lords inside the passes, though they disapprove our doings, we can always make them bring birds to visit our court. Thus, whoever has great strength sees others visit his court; whoever has little strength visits the courts of others. Therefore the enlightened ruler strives after might.

Indeed, the strictly kept household sees no fierce servants, but a compassionate mother has spoilt children. From this I know that authority and position are able to suppress

violence, but that virtue and favour are not sufficient to stop disorder.

Indeed, the sage, in ruling the state, does not count on people's doing him good, but utilizes their inability to do him wrong. If he counts on people's doing him good, within the boundary there will never be enough such persons to count by tens. But if he utilizes people's inability to do him wrong, an entire state can be uniformed. Therefore, the administrator of the state affairs ought to consider the many but disregard the few. Hence his devotion not to virtue but to law.

Similarly, if one should always count on arrows which are straight of themselves, there would be no arrow in a hundred generations; if one should only count on pieces of wood which are round of themselves, there would be no wheel in a thousand generations. Though in a hundred generations there is neither an arrow that is straight of itself nor a wheel that is round of itself, yet how is it then that people of every generation ride in carts and shoot birds? It is because the tools for straightening and bending are used. To rely not on the tools for straightening and bending but on arrows straight of themselves and wheels round of themselves, is not thought much of by the skilful carpenter. Why? Because riding is not a matter of one man alone, nor is archery a question of a single shot. Reliance not on rewards and punishments but on people who are righteous of themselves, is not highly considered by the enlightened sovereign. Why? Because the law of the state must not be dispensed with and whom it regulates is not one man only. Therefore, the tactful ruler does not follow the good that happens by accident but practises the Tao that prevails by necessity.

Now supposing some one addressed a person, saying, "I will make you to be wise and to live long," the world would certainly think he was practising deception. Indeed, wisdom is a matter of nature, longevity is a matter of fate. As nature, and fate are not what one can learn from others, to assert to a person what men can not really do, that is what the world calls deception. To call anybody what he can not really be, is flattery. Flattery is a matter of nature, indeed. To instruct men in benevolence and righteousness is the same as to make assertions in the matters of intelligence and longevity, which the sovereign with a legal standard does not heed. For illustration, admiring the beauty of Mao-ch'iang and Hsi-shih gains one's facial looks nothing; but applying rouge, pomade, powder, and eyebrow-paint, makes one's appearance twice as good as before. Similarly, speaking about the benevolence and righteousness of the early kings gains nothing for political order; but understanding clearly our laws and measures and determining our rewards and punishments is the rouge. pomade, powder, and eyebrow-paint of the state. So the enlightened sovereign urgently seeks real aids, and regards as secondary all empty compliments. Hence no talk about benevolence and righteousness.

Now, witches and priests, in praying for somebody, all say, 'May your age last as long as one thousand autumns and ten thousand years." Then the sounds, "one thousand autumns and ten thousand years", echo through the ears. As a matter of fact, however, nobody ever testifies to the addition of a single day to his age. That is the reason why people despise witches and priests. Likewise, the literati of the present age, when they counsel the lord of men, instead of speaking about methods to attain political order at present, talk about the achievement of political order in the past. They neither study affairs pertaining to regulations for the officials nor observe the conditions of the wicked and the villainous, but all speak on the reputed glories of remote antiquity and on the achievements of the early kings. Ornamenting their speeches, the literati say, "If you listen to our words, you will thereby become Hegemonic Ruler." Such people are but witches and priests among the itinerants, whom the sovereign with a legal standard does not heed. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign exalts real facts, discards useless things, and does not speak about benevolence and righteousness. He accordingly does not listen to the words of the learned men.

Men of today who do not know the right way to political order, all say, "Win the hearts of the people." If they should think of winning the hearts of the people and thereby attaining political order, then even Yi Yin and Kuan Chung would find no use for their statesmanship and the superior would listen to the people only. The intelligence of the people, however, can not be depended upon just like the mind of the baby. If the baby does not have his head shaved, the ache will recur; if his boil is not cut open, his trouble will turn from bad to worse. However, to shave his head or to open his boil someone has to hold the baby while the compassionate mother is performing this work. Yet he keeps crying and yelling incessantly as he does not know that suffering the small pain will gain him a great benefit.

Now, the superior urges the tillage of rice fields and the cultivation of grassy lands in order to increase the production of the people, but they think the superior is cruel. To perfect penalties and increase punishments is to suppress wickedness, but they think the superior is severe. Again, he levies taxes in cash and in grain to fill up the storehouses and treasures in order thereby to relieve famine and drought and provide for

corps and battalions, but they think the superior is greedy. Finally, he traces out every culprit within the boundary, discriminates among men without personal favouritism. . . . , and unites the forces for fierce struggle, in order thereby to take his enemies captive, but they think the superior is violent. These four measures are methods to attain order and maintain peace, but the people do not know that they ought to rejoice in them.

Indeed, the superior seeks for saintly and well-informed men, because the intelligence of the people is not adequate for use as directive. For instance, of old, Yü opened the Kiang and deepened the Ho for draining the Great Deluge away, but the people gathered tiles and stones to hit him. Likewise, Tzu-ch'an cleared fields and planted mulberry-trees, but the people of Cheng slandered and reviled him. Yü benefited All-under-Heaven and Tzu-ch'an preserved Cheng, but both incurred slander. Clearly enough, indeed, the intelligence of the people is not adequately dependable. Therefore, in appointing officials, to seek for the worthy and the wise; in administering the government, to expect to suit the people: both alike are causes of confusion, and can not be employed for the attainment of political order.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 51.

Loyalty and Filial Piety: A Memorial

All-under-Heaven approve the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience, but never carefully investigate the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience; nor do they act intelligently upon these; wherefor All-under-Heaven is in disorder.

As everybody approves the Tao of Yao and Shun and conforms to it, there are murderers of rulers and rebels against fathers. Yao, Shun, T'ang, and Wu, each in his turn, acted contrary to the right relationship of ruler and minister, and the moral of the subsequent generations has consequently been upset. Yao, while ruler of men, made a minister his ruler. Shun, while ministering to a ruler, made the ruler a minister. T'ang and Wu, while ministering to rulers, murdered the sovereigns and dismembered their bodies. Yet Allunder-Heaven have honoured them. This is the reason why Allunder-Heaven has hitherto not attained political order.

Indeed, the so-called intelligent ruler is one who is able to keep his ministers in his service; the so-called worthy minister is one who is able to make laws and crimes clear and attend to his official duties so as to support his master. Now, Yao, assuming himself to be enlightened, could not keep Shun in his service; Shun, assuming himself to be worthy, could not continue supporting Yao; and T'ang and Wu, assuming themselves to be righteous, murdered their masters and superiors. That was the way "enlightened" rulers would give and "worthy" ministers would take. In consequence, hitherto there have been sons robbing their fathers' houses and ministers robbing their masters' states. Thus, fathers give way to sons and rulers give way to ministers. Such is not the right way to determine the distinction of rank between ruler and minister and unify the system of morale between father and son.

Thy servant has heard, "Minister serving ruler, son serving father, and wife serving husband, if these three relationships run in harmony, All-under-Heaven will have order; if these three relationships run in discord, All-under-Heaven will have disorder." If this is an immutable principle of the world, which neither the intelligent king nor the worthy minister dares to depart from, then even though the lord of men might be unworthy, no minister would dare to infringe his prerogative. In these days, however, the exaltation of the worthy, the appointment of the wise, and the lack of a constant principle, all follow the wrong way; but AllunderHeaven always regard it as the royal road to order. For this reason, the T'ien Clan replaced the Lü Clan in Ch'i and the Tai Clan replaced the Tzu Clan in Sung. Both T'ien Heng and Tzu-han were worthy and astute and never were stupid and worthless. Thus, when the immutable principle is abolished and worthies are exalted, confusion appears; when the law is discarded and astute men are taken into service, danger arises. Hence the saying: "Exalt law but never exalt worthiness.

The ancient Records says: "Shun, when he saw his father, Ku-sou, looked uneasy". On this Confucius remarked: "How critical the age was! For All-under-Heaven was then hanging by a hair. If anybody was a follower of the true path, even his father could not treat him as a son, and, even his ruler could not treat him as a minister."

However, thy servant would say, "Confucius in the first place did not understand the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience." By that remark did he mean that a follower of the true path, when in the court, could not be a minister to the sovereign, and, when at home, could not be a son of the father? The reason why fathers want to have worthy sons, is that the family, if poor, will be enriched by them, and the fathers, when suffering, will be gladdened by them. The reason why the ruler wants to have worthy ministers, is that the state, if in chaos, will be put into order by them, and the sovereign, when humbled, will be elevated

by them. Now supposing there were a son never doing his father any good, then the father in managing the domestic affairs would suffer. Again, supposing there were a worthy minister never doing the ruler any good, then the ruler while safeguarding his throne would be jeopardized. If so, to have a worthy son and to have a worthy minister will constitute a harm to the father and the ruler respectively. Then how can they get any benefit at all?

They say the loyal minister never endangers his ruler and the dutiful son never disowns his parents. Now, Shun, by pretending to worthiness, took the ruler's state; T'ang and Wu, by pretending to righteousness, dethroned and murdered their rulers. Though all these people endangered their sovereigns by pretending to worthiness, yet All-underHeaven has considered them really worthy.

The heroes of antiquity, when in public, would never minister to any ruler, and, when in private, would never serve their families. By so doing, they disowned their rulers in public and their parents in private. Moreover, to minister to no ruler when active in public and serve no family when retired in private, is the road to world-confusion and family-extinction. Therefore, to regard Yao, Shun, T'ang, and Wu, as worthy, and approve ancient heroes, is a disturbing craft in All-under-Heaven.

Ku-sou was Shun's father but Shun exiled him; Hsiang was Shun's brother but Shun killed him. Who exiled his father and killed his brother, could not be called benevolent. Nor could one who married the emperor's two daughters and took the rule over All-under-Heaven be called righteous. Who was neither benevolent nor righteous, could not be called enlightened. It is said in the Book of Poetry:

Under the whole heaven, Every spot is the sovereign's ground; To the borders of the land,

Every individual is the sovereign's minister.

As against the principle of this poem, Shun in public made his ruler a minister, and in private made his father a manservant, his mother a woman-servant, and his master's daughters wives.

For the same reason, every hero in private never did his family any good; disturbing the world and exterminating his posterity, and in public attempting to oppose the ruler in every way. Though his decaying bones and spoilt flesh might eventually lie unburied on the open ground or flow on the mountain-stream, he never avoided going through water and fire in order to make All-under-Heaven take him as model, whereby he would make everybody in the world die and end his life young without regret. This type of man would always desert the world and never care about political order.

Similarly, whoever is a hero in this age, acts contrary to the masses, practises his own creed, prefers differences from others, pursues the philosophy of peace and quietude, and expounds the doctrine of vagueness and illusion. Thy servant, however, thinks the philosophy of peace and quietude is a useless creed and the doctrine of vagueness and illusion is a lawless theory. He whose word is lawless and whose creed is useless, is regarded by the world as observing. Thy servant, however, maintains: Everybody during his life-time should serve the ruler and support the parents, but serving the ruler and supporting the parents can not depend upon the philosophy of peace and quietude; again everybody during his life-time should live up to his word and doctrine, loyalty and sincerity. law and tact, but word and doctrine, loyalty and sincerity, law and tact, can not be based on the teaching of vagueness and illusion; wherefore the teaching of vagueness and illusion and the philosophy of peace and quietude are nothing but bewildering crafts in the world.

A dutiful son, in serving his father, never fights with his brothers for the father's household; a loyal minister, in serving the ruler, never struggles with other ministers for the ruler's state. Indeed, if a son always praises other people's parents, saying, for instance, "The parents of Mr. So and So go to bed late at night and get up early in the morning and work hard to make money and thereby support their children and grandchildren and keep so many men and women servants," he is a defamer of his parents. Similarly, if a minister always praises the early kings for the greatness of their virtues and longs after them, he is a defamer of his ruler. Now, one who defames his parents is called undutiful; whereas one who defames his ruler, the world considers worthy. This is the reason why there is chaos.

Therefore, the minister who neither extols the worthiness of Yao and Shun, nor admires the achievement of T'ang and Wu, nor speaks well of the nobleness of the ancient heroes, but applies all his strength to observing the law and devotes his mind to serving the sovereign, is a loyal minister, indeed.

In antiquity the black headed were mindless and stupid. Therefore, it was possible to win their homage by means of empty fame. The people of today, however, are alert and astute and apt to preen themselves and disobey the superior. Therefore, the superior needs to encourage them with rewards, so that they will advance, and to terrify them with punishments, so that they will never dare to retreat.

However, people of this age all say: "As Hsü Yu declined the rule over All-under-Heaven, mere reward would not be sufficient to encourage worthies. As Robber Che purposely transgressed the penal law and bravely underwent the consequent disaster, punishment would not be sufficient to prevent culprits." In response thy servant would say: "Who had never had the rule over All-under-Heaven and left Allunder-Heaven out of consideration, was Hsü Yu. Who had already acquired the rule over All-under-Heaven but left Allunder-Heaven out of consideration, were Yao and Shun. Who ruined his personal integrity for seeking money, violated the criminal law in seizing on profit, and forgot the impending death penalty, was Robber Che. The two persons were extremes. The right way of governing the state and employing the people should not take these rare persons as standards. For government is to govern the ordinary persons; its true path is to lead the ordinary persons; wherefore extreme things and eccentric words are detrimental to political order.

The highest man of the world can not be encouraged with reward; nor can the lowest man of the world be restrained by penalty. However, if on account of the highest man reward is not established, and on account of the lowest man punishment is not established, the right way of governing the state and employing the people will be missed.

For that reason, most men of this age never speak of the law of the state but advocate the Perpendicular Union or the Horizontal Alliance. The advocates of the Union say, "No Union, no Hegemony." The advocates of the Alliance say, "No Alliance, no supremacy." Now, to the east of the Mountain advocates of the Alliance have never stopped for a single day speaking on the subject. Yet if no achievement nor any reputation has been accomplished nor any Hegemonic Ruler has emerged, it is because empty words are not means of attaining political order. The king enjoys independent actions, wherefore he is called "supreme". For this reason, the Three Kings never strove for any kind of union or separation; nor did the Five Hegemonic Rulers attempt to form any kind of Perpendicular Union or Horizontal Alliance. They only investigate ways and means of managing home affairs and thereby fix foreign policies.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 52.

The Lord of Men

The reason why the lord of men finds himself endangered and sees his state ruined is that chief vassals are too influential and the attendants are too rampant. Who is called powerful, observes no law but simply acts at random and manipulates the handles of the state for facilitating his self-seeking purposes. Who is called rampant, exercises all undue powers and influence at his pleasure and makes arbitrary determinations of right and wrong. These two types of officials the lord of men must observe carefully.

Indeed, the horse can carry a heavy load, pull the wagon, and make a distant trip, because of its muscular strength; the sovereign of ten thousand chariots and the ruler of one thousand chariots can rule over the world and subdue the feudal lords, because of their prestige and position. Thus, prestige and position are the muscular strength of the lord of men. Now suppose chief vassals gain the sovereign's prestige and attendants abuse the august position. Then the lord of men will lose his strength. The lord of men who has lost his strength and is still able to keep the state, is none out of a thousand

The tiger and the leopard can overcome men and catch the hundred beasts by virtue of their claws and fangs. Supposing the tiger and the leopard lost their claws and fangs, they would fall under the control of men. Now that the august position is the claws and fangs of the lord of men, if any ruler of men loses his claws and fangs, he will be like the tiger and the leopard that have lost theirs. For instance, the Ruler of Sung lost his claws and fangs to Tzu-han, and Duke Chien lost his claws and fangs to Trien Ch'ang. Because they failed to recover them early enough, they were themselves killed and their states were ruined.

Today, the tactless sovereigns all know very well the errors of the Ruler of Sung and Duke Chien, but never comprehend their own mistakes. For they never observe closely the similarities between things.

Moreover, upholders of law and tact and the authorities in power are incompatible with each other. How can this be proved? Well, if the sovereign has upholders of tact around, then chief vassals will not be able to control matters of decision and the courtiers will not dare to abuse their privileges. Once the power and influence of the chief vassals and attendants stop, the Tao of the lord of men will become illustrious.

The same is not so in these days. The ministers in power arrogate favourable positions and manage the state affairs at random in order to further their private interests. The attendants and the courtiers would form juntas and associate for the wicked purpose of checking distant officials. If so, when will the upholders of law and tact be able to go into the ruler's service? And when will the lord of men settle his opinion and make his decision? Naturally the upholders of

tact are not necessarily engaged by the ruler and cannot stand together with the authorities in power. Then how can the upholders of law and tact have no danger?

For such reasons, unless the ruler of men can reject the chief vassals' counsels, oppose the attendants' opinions, and conform independently to reasonable theories, how can the upholders of law and tact venture their lives in presenting their ideas to the Throne? This is the reason why the present age is not orderly.

The intelligent sovereign confers ranks and bounties according to merits and assigns offices and tasks in correspondence with abilities. Therefore, the persons appointed always have worthy qualities; those taken into service always have required abilities. If worthy and able men are in governmental service, all requests by private clans will disappear. Indeed, if men of merit receive great bounties and men of ability attain high offices, then private swordsmen will infallibly stop their self-seeking bravery and attack public enemies. So will the itinerant politicians stop handing around the private residences of influential clans and start striving for purity and cleanliness. This is the way to gather the worthy and able men and scatter the dependents of influential clans.

Now the courtiers are not necessarily wise. Yet, if the lord of men in his personnel administration first considers somebody wise and heeds his advice, and, after going inside, if he esteems the advice of the courtiers and listens to them regardless of the adviser's wisdom, he will thereby esteem the wise with the stupid. Again, the authorities in power are not necessarily worthy. Yet, if the lord of men in his personnel administration first considers somebody worthy and respects him, and, after going inside, if he esteems the worthy's conduct with the authorities in power and listens to them regardless of his worthiness, he will thereby esteem the worthy with the worthless. Therefore, if wise men have to see their plans acknowledged by fools and worthies have to see their characters estimated by worthless men, when will the men of worthiness and wisdom be able to enter the ruler's service? So will the lord of men's sight be obscured.

Of old, Kuan Lung-p'eng admonished Chieh but had his four limbs injured; Prince Pi-kan remonstrated with Chow but had his heart cut open; and Tzu-hsü was loyal and honest to Fu-ch'a but was censured with the Shu-lou sword. These three personages, while ministering to their rulers, were not disloyal; nor were their counsels untrue. However, they could not evade the disaster of unjust death penalties, because of the calamity that their sovereigns never deliberated carefully on the words of the wise and the worthy but were deluded by the stupid and the worthless.

In these days, if the lord of men does not want to engage upholders of law and tact but listens only to stupid and unworthy ministers, then who among the worthy and wise men dare face the risk of these three personages in presenting their wisdom and ability to the Throne? This is the reason why the present age is disorderly.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 53.

Making Orders Trim

If orders are made trim, laws never deviate; if laws are equable, there will be no culprit among the officials. Once the law is fixed, nobody can damage it by means of virtuous words. If men of merit are appointed to office, the people will have little to say; if men of virtue are appointed to office the people will have much to talk about. The enforcement of laws depends upon the method of judicial administration. Who administers judicial affairs with the ease of making a distance of five li, attains supremacy; who administers judicial affairs with the effort of making nine li, attains mere strength. Whoever procrastinates in creating order, will see his state dismembered.

Govern by penalties; wage war by rewards; and enlarge the bounties so as to put the principles of statecraft into practice. If so, there will be no wicked people in the state nor will there be any wicked trade at the market. If things are many and trifles are numerous, and if farming is relaxed and villainy prevails, the state will certainly be dismembered.

If the people have a surplus of food, make them receive rank by giving grain to the state. If only through their own effort they can receive rank, then farmers will not idle.

If a tube three inches long has no bottom, it can never be filled. Conferring office and rank or granting profit and bounty without reference to merit, is like a tube having no bottom.

If the state confers office and bestows rank, it can be said to devise plans with complete wisdom and wage war with complete courage. Such a state will find a rival. Again, if the state confers office and bestows rank according to merit, then rules will be simplified and opponents barred; this can be said to abolish government by means of government, abolish words by means of words, and bestow rank according to merit. Therefore the state will have much strength and none else in All-under-Heaven will dare to invade it. When its soldiers march out, they will take the objective and, having taken it, will certainly be able to hold it. When it keeps its soldiers in reserve and does not attack, it will certainly become rich.

The affairs of the government, however small, should never be abandoned. For instance, office and rank are always obtained according to the acquired merit; though there may be flattering words, it will be impossible thereby to make any interference in the state affairs. This is said to be "government by figures." For instance, in attacking with force, ten points are taken for every point given out; but in attacking with words, one hundred are lost for every one marched out. If a state is fond of force, it is called hard to attack; if a state is fond of words, it is called easy to attack.

If the ability of the official is equal to his post, if his duty is lightened and he never reserves any surplus energy in mind, and if he does not shift any responsibility of additional offices back to the ruler, then there will be no hidden grudge inside. If the intelligent ruler makes the state affairs never mutually interfere, there will be no dispute; if he allows no official to hold any kind of additional post, everybody will develop his talent or skill; and if he allows no two persons to share the same meritorious achievement, there will be no quarrel.

If penalties are heavy and rewards are few, it means that the superior loves the people, wherefore the people will die for rewards. If rewards are many and penalties are light, it means that the superior does not love the people, wherefore the people will never die for rewards.

If the profit issues from one outlet only, the state will have no rival; if it issues from two outlets, its soldiers will be half useful; and if the profit comes from ten outlets, the people will not observe the law. If heavy penalties are clear and if the people are always well disciplined and then if men are engaged in case of emergency, the superior will have all the advantage.

In inflicting penalties light offences ahould be punished severely; if light offences do not appear, heavy offences will not come. This is said to be to abolish penalties by means of penalties. And the state will certainly become strong. If crimes are serious but penalties are light, light penalties breed further troubles. This is said to create penalties through penalties, and such a state will infallibly be dismembered.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 54.

Surmising the Mentality of the People: A Psychological Analysis of Politics

The sage in governing the people considers their springs of action, never tolerates their wicked desires, but seeks only for the people's benefit. Therefore, the penalty he inflicts is not due to any hatred for the people but to his motive of loving the people. If penalty triumphs, the people are quiet; if reward over-flows, culprits appear. Therefore the triumph of penalty is the beginning of order; the overflow of reward, the origin of chaos.

Indeed, it is the people's nature to delight in disorder and detach themselves from legal restraints. Therefore, when the intelligent sovereign governs the state, if he makes rewards clear, the people will be encouraged to render meritorious services; if he makes penalties severe, the people will attach themselves to the law. If they are encouraged to render meritorious services, public affairs will not be obstructed; if they attach themselves to the law, culprits will not appear. Therefore, he who governs the people should nip the evil in the bud; he who commands troops, should inculcate warfare in the people's mind. If prohibitions can uproot causes of villainy, there will always be order; if soldiers can imagine warfare in mind, there will always be victory. When the sage is governing the people, he attains order first, wherefore he is strong; he prepares for war first, wherefore he wins.

Indeed, the administration of the state affairs requires the attention to the causes of human action so as to unify the people's mental trends; the exclusive elevation of public welfare so as to stop self-seeking elements; the reward for denunciation of crime so as to suppress culprits; and finally the clarification of laws so as to facilitate governmental procedures. Whoever is able to apply these four measures, will become strong; whoever is unable to apply these four measures, will become weak. Indeed, the strength of the state is due to the administration of its political affairs; the honour of the sovereign is due to his supreme power. Now, the enlightened ruler possesses the supreme power and the administrative organs; the ignoble ruler possesses both the supreme power and the administrative organs, too. Yet the results are not the same, because their standpoints are different. Thus, as the enlightened ruler has the supreme power in his grip, the superior is held in high esteem; as he unifies the administrative organs, the state is in order. Hence law is the origin of supremacy and penalty is the beginning of

Indeed, it is the people's nature to abhor toil and enjoy ease. However, if they pursue ease, the land will waste; if the land wastes, the state will not be in order. If the state is not orderly, it will become chaotic. If reward and penalty take no effect among the inferiors, government will come to a deadlock. Therefore, he who wants to accomplish a great achievement but hesitates to apply his full strength, can not hope for the accomplishment of the achievement; he who wants to settle the people's disorder but hesitates to change their traditions, can not hope to banish the people's disorder. Hence there is no

constant method for the government of men. The law alone leads to political order. If laws are adjusted to the time, there is good government. If government flits the age, there will be great accomplishment. Therefore, when the people are naïve, if you regulate them with fame, there will be good government; when everybody in the world is intelligent, if you discipline them with penalties, they will obey. While time is moving on, if laws do not shift accordingly, there will be misrule; while abilities are diverse, if prohibitions are not changed, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, the sage in governing the people makes laws move with time and prohibitions change with abilities. Who can exert his forces to land-utilisation, will become rich; who can rush his forces at enemies, will become strong. The strong man not obstructed in his way will attain supremacy.

Therefore, the way to supremacy lies in the way of shutting culprits off and the way of blocking up wicked men. Who is able to block up wicked men, will eventually attain supremacy. The policy of attaining supremacy relies not on foreign states' abstention from disturbing your state, but on their inability to disturb your state. Who has to rely on foreign powers' abstention from disturbing his state before he can maintain his own independence, will see his state dismembered; who relies on their inability to disturb his state and willingly enacts the law, will prosper.

Therefore, the worthy ruler in governing the state follows the statecraft of invulnerability. When rank is esteemed, the superior will increase his dignity. He will accordingly bestow rewards on men of merit, confer ranks upon holders of posts, and appoint wicked men to no office. Who devotes himself to practical forces, gets a high rank. If the rank is esteemed, the superior will be honoured. The superior, if honoured, will attain supremacy. On the contrary, if the state does not strive after practical forces but counts on private studies, its rank will be lowered. If the rank is lowered, the superior will be humbled. If the superior is humbled, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, if the way of founding the state and using the people can shut off foreign invaders and block up self-seeking subjects, and if the superior relies on himself, supremacy will be attained.

## HAN FEIZI CHAPTER 55.

Regulations and Distinctions

In general, wherever the state is extensive and the ruler is honourable, there laws are so strict that whatever is ordered works and whatever is prohibited stops. Therefore, the ruler of men who distinguishes between ranks and regulates bounties, makes laws severe and thereby makes the distinction strict.

Indeed, if the state is orderly, the people are safe; if affairs are confused, the country falls into peril. Who makes laws strict, hits on the true nature of mankind; who makes prohibitions lenient, misses the apparent fact. Moreover, everybody is, indeed, gifted with desperate courage. To exert desperate courage to get what one wants, is human nature. Yet everybody's likes and dislikes should be regulated by the superior. Now the people like to have profit and bounty and hate to be punished, if the superior catches their likes and dislikes and thereby holds their desperate courage under control, he will not miss the realities of affairs.

However, if prohibitions are lenient and facts are missed, reward and penalty will be misused. Again, when governing the people, if you do not regard conformity to law as right, you will eventually observe no law. Therefore, the science and philosophy of politics should by all means emphasize the distinction between degrees of penalty and of reward.

Who governs the state, should always uphold the law. In life there are ups and downs. If any ruler goes down, it is because in regulating rewards and penalties he makes no distinction between different degrees. Who governs the state, always distinguishes between reward and punishment. Therefore, some people might regard the distinction between reward and punishment as distinction, which should not be called distinction in the strict sense.

As regards the distinction made by the clear-sighted ruler, it is the distinction between different grades of reward and of punishment. Therefore, his subjects respect laws and fear prohibitions. They try to avoid crime rather than dare to expect any reward. Hence the saying: "Without expecting penalty and reward the people attend to public affairs."

For this reason, the state at the height of order is able to take the suppression of villainy for its duty. Why? Because its law comprehends human nature and accords with the principles of government.

If so, how to get rid of delicate villainy? By making the people watch one another in their hidden affairs. Then how to make them watch one another? By implicating the people of the same hamlet in one another's crime. When everyone knows that the penalty or reward will directly affect him, if the people of the same hamlet fail to watch one another, they will fear they may not be able to escape the implication, and those who are evil-minded, will not be allowed to forget so many people watching them. Were such the law, everybody would mind his own doings, watch everybody else, and disclose the

secrets of any culprit. For, whosoever denounces a criminal offence, is not held guilty but is given a reward; whosoever misses any culprit, is definitely censured and given the same penalty as the culprit. Were such the law, all types of culprits would be detected. If the minutest villainy is not tolerated, it is due to the system of personal denunciation and mutual implication.

Indeed, the most enlightened method of governing a state is to trust measures and not men. For this reason, the tactful state is never mistaken if it does not trust the empty fame of men. If the land within the boundary is always in order it is because measures are employed. If any falling state lets foreign soldiers walk all over its territory and can neither resist nor prevent them, it is because that state trusts men and uses no measures. Men may jeopardize their own country, but measures can invade others' countries. Therefore, the tactful state spurns words and trusts laws.

Broadly speaking, it is hard to uncover a crooked merit that appears to fulfil the promise; it is hard to disclose the feature of the fault that is ornamented with beautiful words. Therefore, penalty and reward are often misled by double-dealers. What is alleged to be fulfilling the promise but is hard to uncover, is a villainous merit. Any minister's fault is hard to disclose, because its motive is missed. However, if by following reason you can not disclose the false merit and by analyzing feelings you are still deceived by the villainous motive, then can both reward and punishment have no mistake respectively?

For such reasons, false scholars establish names inside, while itinerants devise plans outside, till the stupid and the coward mix themselves with the brave and the clever. Inasmuch as the false path is customary, they are tolerated by their age. Therefore, their law does not work and their penalty affects nobody. If so, both reward and penalty have to be double-dealings.

Therefore, concrete facts have their limits of extension, but abstract principles involve no accurate measures. The absence of such measures is due not to the law but to the abandonment of law and the dependence on cleverness. If the law is abandoned and cleverness is employed, how can the appointee to office perform his duty? If duty and office are not equivalent to each other, then how can the law evade mistakes and how can penalty evade troubles? For this reason reward and punishment will be thrown into confusion and disorder, and the state policy will deviate and err, because neither penalty nor reward has any clear distinction of degree as in the difference between black and white.

## THE MOZI

The Mojing / The Mohist Canon [Spring and Autumn - Warring States] The ethical and political works of Motse Wade-Giles Romanisation changed to Pinyin Translation: W. P. Mei, 1929; A.C. Graham, 1978 Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century BC

(The Mozi, also called the Mojing or the Mohist Canon, is an ancient Chinese text from the Warring States period (476—221 BC) that expounds the philosophy of Mohism. It propounds such Mohist ideas as impartiality, meritocratic governance, economic growth and aversion to ostentation, and is known for its plain and simple language. The following example is still true today: "Mozi said: What is the reason for the disorder in the world? It is because the gentlemen of the world\* all understand trilles but not things of importance." (Mozi, 28:1) [\* meaning politicians and bureaucrats]

The chapters of the Mozi can be divided into several categories: a core group of 31 chapters, which contain the basic philosophic ideas of the Mohist school; several chapters on logic, which are among the most important early Chinese texts on logic and are traditionally known as the "Dialectical Chapters"; five sections containing stories and information about Mozi and his followers; and eleven chapters on technology and defensive warfare, on which the Mohists were expert and which are valuable sources of information on ancient Chinese military technology. There are also two other minor sections: an initial group of seven chapters that are clearly of a much later date, and two anti-Confucian chapters, only one of which has survived. The Mohist philosophical school died out in the 3rd century BC, and copies of the Mozi were not well preserved. The modern text has been described as "notoriously corrupt" – of its 71 original chapters, 18 have been lost and several others are badly fragmented.

Source: "The ethical and political works of Motse", W. P. Mei, Probsthain, 1929 - Romanisation changed from Wade-Giles to Pinyin. N.B. W.P. Mei's translation omits the Canons, Daqu, Xiaoqu, and the military chapters. English translation of the Canons is based on that in A.C. Graham's "Later Mohist Logic, Ethics, and Science", Chinese University Press, 1978

### Contents and Structure

The Mozi originally comprised 71 chapters, but 18 of these have been lost and a number of others are damaged and fragmented. The text can be divided into a total of six sections:

- Chapters 1-7: a group of miscellaneous essays and dialogues that were clearly added at a later date and are somewhat incongruous with the rest of the book.
- Chapters 8-37: a large group of chapters—of which seven are missing and three are fragmentary—that form the core Mozi chapters, and elucidate the ten main philosophical doctrines of the Mohist school of thought. Mozi is frequently referenced and cited in these chapters.
- Chapters 38–39: two chapters—of which only chapter 39 survives—entitled "Against Confucianism" (Fei Ru), containing polemical arguments against the ideals of Confucianism. These chapters are sometimes grouped with chapters 8-37.
- Chapters 40-45: a group of six chapters, often called the "Dialectical Chapters", which are some of the most unique writings of ancient China, treating topics in logic, epistemology, ethics, geometry, optics, and mechanics. These chapters are dense and difficult, largely because the text is badly garbled and corrupted.
- Chapters 46-51: six chapters—of which chapter 51, including even its title, has been lost-that contain stories and dialogues about Mozi and his followers. These chapters are probably of somewhat later date, and are probably partly
- Chapters 52-71: a group of chapters—nine of which have been lost—known as the "Military Chapters", containing instructions on defensive warfare, supposedly from Mozi to his chief disciple Qin Guli. These chapters, like the "Dialectical Chapters", are badly damaged and corrupted.

### Contents

(\* Damaged, Missing; \*\* Not translated)

Chapter 1. Befriending the Learned

Chapter 2. Self-cultivation

Chapter 3. On Dyeing

Chapter 4. On the necessity of standards

Chapter 5. The seven causes of anxiety

Chapter 6. Indulgence in Excess

Chapter 7. Threefold Argument

## Book 2

Chapter 8. Exaltation of the Virtuous 1 Chapter 9. Exaltation of the Virtuous 2 Chapter 10. Exaltation of the Virtuous 3

Chapter 11. Identification with the Superior 1 Chapter 12. Identification with the Superior 2 Chapter 13. Identification with the Superior 3

Chapter 14. Universal Love 1 Chapter 15. Universal Love 2

Chapter 16. Universal Love 3

Chapter 17. Condemnation of Offensive War 1 Chapter 18. Condemnation of Offensive War 2

Chapter 19. Condemnation of Offensive War 3

Chapter 20. Economy of Expenditures 1

Chapter 21. Economy of Expenditures 2 Chapter 22. Economy of Expenditures 3 \*

Chapter 23. Simplicity in Funerals 1 \*

Chapter 24. Simplicity in Funerals 2 \*

Chapter 25. Simplicity in Funerals 3

## Book 7

Chapter 26. Will of Heaven 1 Chapter 27. Will of Heaven 2

Chapter 28. Will of Heaven 3

## Book 8

Chapter 29. On Ghosts 1 \* Chapter 30. On Ghosts 2 \*

Chapter 31. On Ghosts 3

Chapter 32. Condemnation of Music 1

## Book 9

Chapter 33. Condemnation of Music 2 \*

Chapter 34. Condemnation of Music 3 \*

Chapter 35. Anti-Fatalism 1 Chapter 36. Anti-Fatalism 2

Chapter 37. Anti-Fatalism 3

Chapter 38. Anti-Confucianism 1 \*

Chapter 39. Anti-Confucianism 2

Book 10 [Warring States (475 BC - 221 BC)]

Chapter 40. Canon 1

Chapter 41. Canon 2\*\*

Chapter 42. Exposition of Canon 1

Chapter 43. Exposition of Canon 2 \*\*

Chapter 44. Major Illustrations\*\* Chapter 45. Minor Illustrations

Chapter 46. Geng Zhu

Chapter 47. Esteem for Righteousness

Chapter 48. Gong Meng

### Book 13

Chapter 49. Lu's Question

Chapter 50. Gong Shu Chapter 51. (missing)\*

### Book 14

Chapter 52. Fortification of the City Gate\*\*

Chapter 53. Defense against Attack from an Elevation\*\*
Chapter 54. (missing)\*

Chapter 55. (missing)\*

Chapter 56. Defense against Attack with Ladders\*\* Chapter 57. (missing)\*

Chapter 58. Preparation against Inundation\*

Chapter 59. (missing)\*

Chapter 61. Preparation against a Sally\*\*

Chapter 62. Preparation against Tunnelling\*\*

Chapter 63. Defence against Ant-Rush\*\*

Chapter 64. (missing)\*

Chapter 65. (missing)\*

Chapter 66. (missing)\* Chapter 67. (missing)\*

Chapter 68. The Sacrifice against the Coming of the Enemy\*\*

Chapter 69. Flags and Pennants\*\*

Chapter 70. Commands and Orders\*\*

Chapter 71. Miscellaneous Measures in Defence\*\*

Mozi (Wade-Giles: Mo Tzu; Latin: Micius; c. 470-391 BC), original name Mo Di, was a Chinese philosopher who founded the school of Mohism during the Hundred Schools of Thought period (early portion of the Warring States period of c.475-221 BC). The ancient text Mozi contains material ascribed to him and his followers. Mozi taught that everyone is equal in the eyes of heaven. He believed that those in power should be based on meritocracy, or those who are worthy of power should receive power. Mozi invokes heaven and calls on the Sage Kings to support his precedents.

Born in what is now Tengzhou, Shandong Province, he founded the school of Mohism that argued strongly against Confucianism and Taoism. His philosophy emphasised universal love, social order, the will of heaven, sharing, and honoring the worthy. During the Warring States period, Mohism was actively developed and practiced in many states but fell out of favour when the legalist Qin dynasty came to power in 221 BC. During that period, many Mohist classics are thought to have been ruined when the emperor Qin Shi Huang supposedly carried out the burning of books and burying of scholars. The importance of Mohism further declined when Confucianism became the dominant school of thought during the Han Dynasty, until mostly disappearing by the middle of the Western Han dynasty.

Mozi is referenced in the Thousand Character Classic, which records that he was saddened when he saw dyeing of pure white silk, which embodied his conception of austerity (simplicity, chastity)

The concept of Ai [love] was developed by the Chinese philosopher Mozi in the 4th century BC in reaction to Confucianism's benevolent love. Mozi tried to replace what he considered to be the long-entrenched Chinese overattachment to family and clan structures with the concept of "universal love." In this, he argued directly against Confucians who believed that it was natural and correct for people to care about different people in different degrees. Mozi, by contrast, believed people in principle should care for all people equally. Mohism stressed that rather than adopting different attitudes towards different people, love should be unconditional and offered to everyone without regard to reciprocation, not just to friends, family and other Confucian relations. Later in Chinese Buddhism, the term Ai was adopted to refer to a passionate caring love and was considered a fundamental desire. In Buddhism, Ai was seen as capable of being either selfish or selfless, the latter being a key element towards enlightenment.

It is believed that Mozi was a member of the lower artisan class who managed to climb his way to an official post. It is known, however, that his parents were not affectionate

towards him and showed him very little love. Mozi was a native of the State of Lu (today's Tengzhou, Shandong Province), although for a time he served as a minister in the State of Song. Like Confucius, Mozi was known to have maintained a school for those who desired to become officials serving in the different ruling courts of the Warring States.

Mozi was a carpenter and was extremely skilled in creating devices (see Lu Ban). Though he did not hold a high official position, Mozi was sought out by various rulers as an expert on fortification. He was schooled in Confucianism in his early years, but he viewed Confucianism as being too fatalistic and emphasising too much on elaborate celebrations and funerals which he felt were detrimental to the livelihood and productivity of common people. He managed to attract a large following during his lifetime which rivaled that of Confucius. His followers—mostly technicians -were organised in a disciplined order that craftspeoplestudied both Mozi's philosophical and technical writings.

According to some accounts of the popular understanding of Mozi at the time, he had been hailed by many as the greatest hero to come from Henan. His passion was said to be for the good of the people, without concern for personal gain or even for his own life or death. His tireless contribution to society was praised by many, including Confucius' disciple Mencius. Mencius wrote in Jinxin (Chinese: Mengzi Jinxin) that Mozi believed in love for all mankind. As long as something benefits mankind, Mozi will pursue it even if it means hurting his head or his feet. Zhang Tai Yan said that in terms of moral virtue, even Confucius and Laozi cannot compare to Mozi.

Mozi travelled from one crisis zone to another throughout the ravaged landscape of the Warring States, trying to dissuade rulers from their plans of conquest. According to the chapter "Gongshu" in Mozi, he once walked for ten days to the State of Chu in order to forestall an attack on the State of Song. At the Chu court, Mozi engaged in nine simulated war games with Gongshu Ban, the chief military strategist of Chu, and overturned each one of his stratagems. When Gongshu Ban threatened him with death, Mozi informed the king that his disciples had already trained the soldiers of Song in his fortification methods, so it would be useless to kill him. The Chu king was forced to call off the war. On the way back, however, the soldiers of Song, not recognizing him, would not allow Mozi to enter their city, and he had to spend a night freezing in the rain. After this episode, he also stopped the State of Qi from attacking the State of Lu. He taught that defense of a city does not depend only on fortification, weaponry and food supply; it is also important to keep talented people close by and to put trust in them.

# The Teaching

Mozi's moral teachings emphasised introspection, selfreflection and authenticity, rather than obedience to ritual. He observed that we often learn about the world through adversity ("Embracing Scholars" in Mozi). By reflecting on one's own successes and failures, one attains true selfknowledge rather than mere conformity to ritual ("Refining Self" in Mozi). Mozi exhorted people to lead a life of asceticism and self-restraint, renouncing both material and spiritual extravagance.

Like Confucius. Mozi idealised the Xia Dynasty and the ancients of Chinese mythology, but he criticised the Confucian belief that modern life should be patterned on the ways of the ancients. After all, he pointed out, what we think of as "ancient" was actually innovative in its time, and thus should not be used to hinder present-day innovation ("Against Confucianism, Part 3" in the Mozi). Though Mozi did not believe that history necessarily progresses, as did Han Fei Zi, he shared the latter's critique of fate (ming). Mozi believed that people were capable of changing their circumstances and directing their own lives. They could do this by applying their senses to observing the world, judging objects and events by their causes, their functions, and their historical bases. ("Against Fate, Part 3") This was the "three-prong method" Mozi recommended for testing the truth or falsehood of statements. His students later expanded on this to form the School of Names.

Mozi tried to replace what he considered to be the longentrenched Chinese ideal of strong attachments to family and clan structures with the concept of "impartial caring" or "universal love" (jian ai). He argued directly against Confucians, who had philosophised that it was natural and correct for people to care about different people in different degrees. Mozi, in contrast, argued that people in principle should care for all people equally, a notion that philosophers in other schools found absurd, as they interpreted this notion as implying no special amount of care or duty towards one's parents and family.

Overlooked by those critics, however, is a passage in the chapter on "Self-Cultivation" which states, "When people near-by are not befriended, there is no use endeavoring to attract those at a distance." This point is also precisely articulated by a Mohist in a debate with Mencius (in the Mencius), where the Mohist argues in relation to carrying out

universal love, that "We begin with what is near." Also, in the first chapter of the writings of Mozi on universal love, Mozi argues that the best way of being filial to one's parents is to be filial to the parents of others. The foundational principle is that benevolence, as well as malevolence, is requited, and that one will be treated by others as one treats others. Mozi quotes a popular passage from the Book of Odes to bring home this point: "When one throws to me a peach, I return to him a plum." One's parents will be treated by others as one treats the parents of others. Also of note is the fact that Mozi differentiated between "intention" and "actuality", thereby placing a central importance on the will to love, even though in practice it may very well be impossible to bring benefit to

In addition, Mozi argued that benevolence comes to human beings "as naturally as fire turns upward or water turns downward", provided that persons in positions of authority illustrate benevolence in their own lives. In differentiating between the ideas of "universal" (jian) and "differential" (bie) Mozi said that "universal" comes from righteousness while "differential" entails human effort Furthermore Mozi's basic argument concerning universal love asserts that universal love is supremely practical, and this argument was directed against those who objected that such love could not be put into

Mozi also held a belief in the power of ghosts and spirits, although he is often thought to have only worshipped them pragmatically. In fact, in his discussion on ghosts and spirits, he remarks that even if they did not exist, communal gatherings for the sake of making sacrificial offering would play a role in strengthening social bonds. Furthermore, for Mozi the will of Heaven (tiān) was that people should love one another, and that mutual love by all would bring benefit to all. Therefore, it was in everyone's interest that they love others "as they love themselves". Heaven should be respected because failing to do so would subject one to punishment. For Mozi, Heaven was not the "amoral", mystical nature of the Taoists. Rather, it was a benevolent, moral force that rewarded good and punished evil. Similar in some ways to the Abrahamic religions, Mozi believed that all living things live in a realm ruled by Heaven, and Heaven has a will which is independent from and higher than the will of man. Thus he writes that "Universal love is the Way of Heaven", since "Heaven nourishes and sustains all life without regard to status." ("Laws and Customs" in Mozi) Mozi's ideal of government, which advocated a meritocracy based on talent rather than background, also followed his idea of Heaven.

Anti-fatalism - Mozi opposed to Confucian "Destiny thought, class differences and other ideas. Mozi put forward to promote people's victory, things in the subjective attitude to life, encourage people to work hard to change their fate and inequality in the world. In Confucius's opinion, a person's life and death, wealth and poverty are completely related to destiny and personal power can not be changed.

Mohist ethics is considered a form of consequentialism, according to which the morality of an action, statement, teaching, policy, judgement, and so on, is determined by the consequences that it brings about. In particular, Mozi thought that actions should be measured by the way they contribute to the benefit of all members of society. With this criterion, Mozi denounced things as diverse as offensive warfare, expensive funerals, and even music and dance, which he saw as serving no useful purpose. According to the Statuora Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Mohist consequentialism, dating back to the 5th century BC, is the "world's particular forms of the state of th "world's earliest form of consequentialism, a remarkably sophisticated version based on a plurality of intrinsic goods taken as constitutive of human welfare". Consequentialist theories vary over exactly which consequences are relevant, though they all share the same basic outcome-based structure. With Mozi's overwhelming focus on "benefit" (li) among other ends, and his explicit focus on making moral evaluations in light of them, Mozi's ethics indeed shares this consequentalist structure. For interpreting Mozi, however, there is some debate over how to understand the consequences Mozi seems most concerned with, and therefore over which kind of consequentialism to ascribe to him.

Some believe the best descriptor to be state consequentialism. According to this reading, Mohist ethics makes moral evaluations based on how well the action. statement, etc., in question contributes to the stability of a state. Such state-related goods include social order, material wealth, and population growth. By centering his ethical theory around the promotion of such state-related ends, Mozi shows himself to be a state consequentialist. Unlike hedonistic utilitarianism, which views pleasure as a moral good, "the basic goods in Mohist consequentialist thinking are ... order, material wealth, and increase in population". During Mozi's era, war and famines were common, and population growth was seen as a moral necessity for a harmonious society. Mozi opposed wars because they wasted life and resources while interfering with the fair distribution of wealth, yet he recognised the need for strong urban defenses so he could maintain the harmonious society he desired. The "material wealth" of Mohist consequentialism refers to basic needs like shelter and clothing, and the "order" of Mohist consequentialism refers to Mozi's stance against warfare and violence, which he viewed as pointless and a threat to social stability. Stanford sinologist David Shepherd Nivison, in The Cambridge History of Ancient China, writes that the moral goods of Mohism "are interrelated: more basic wealth, then more reproduction; more people, then more production and wealth ... if people have plenty, they would be good, filial, kind, and so on unproblematically". In contrast to Jeremy Bentham, Mozi did not believe that individual happiness was important; the consequences of the state outweigh the consequences of individual actions.

Alternative readings locate the main focus of Mozi's consequentialism in the welfare of the people themselves rather than that of the state as a whole. Such interpretations as Chris Fraser's argue that it is a mistake to view Mozi's focus on the collective well-being of a population as a focus on the well-being of the state itself rather than its constituents. In this way, Mozi tended to evaluate actions based on whether they provide benefit to the people, which he measured in terms of an enlarged population (states were sparsely populated in his day), a prosperous economy, and social order. Indeed these are collective goods rather than individual ones, which is a major difference between Mohist consequentialism and modern, Western versions. However, this reading emphasises that collective goods are better considered as aggregated individual goods rather than as state goods. This consequentialist structure supports Mohist ethics and politics, which survives in the form of 10 core doctrines. These doctrines are as follows:

- 1. Promoting the Worthy
- Identifying Upward Universal Love (also "Inclusive Care")
- Condemning Aggression
- Moderation in Use
- 6. Moderation in Burials
- 7. Heaven's Intent
- 8. Understanding Ghosts
- 9. Condemning Music 10. Condemning Fatalism

Each of these doctrines is justified on the grounds that it produces the best consequences for society, and that all people stand to benefit from adopting them. Promoting the worthy, for example, encourages people in positions of power to hire competent and worthy subordinates to fill posts, rather than hire friends and relatives instead. The reasoning here is that someone better qualified for the job will perform better and enable society as a whole to benefit. Identifying upward refers to the idea that people in subordinate positions in society must look to their superiors as models for their own conduct. Provided that the superiors are indeed morally competent and worthy of emulation, the rest of society will always have a reliable guide for their own actions, thereby giving rise to social benefits.

Universal love refers to the basic normative attitude the Mohists encourage us to adopt towards others. The idea is that people ought to consider all others as being part of their scope of moral concern. Indeed this is perhaps the most infamous of Mohist doctrines, and was criticised early on by philosophers such as Mengzi, who held that the doctrine was akin to renouncing one's family. However, close readings of the texts by modern scholars have shown the demands of Mohist universal love to be much more mild and reasonable. Additionally, given the accretional nature of the texts, the audience of such texts may have changed depending upon the Mohists' social influence, and so the demands for universal love made on rulers, for example, is considerably higher than that made on the masses. At its most basic, however, the doctrine merely encourages a general attitude of care towards others. However, this does not require that we renounce all forms of special relationships we have with our families and friends. In fact, the Mohists introduce the problem that universal love is meant to solve by lamenting the fact that fathers and sons don't care for each other, and so must instead adopt an attitude of universal love. Conversely, the Mohists hope, when people adopt an attitude of universal love, society as a whole will benefit

Dovetailing with this idea is that of condemning aggression. The main targets of this doctrine are undoubtedly the rulers of the various warring states in China, who regularly embarked on expansionist military campaigns in order to increase their territory, power, and influence. However, such campaigns were enormously taxing on the population, disrupting regular farming cycles by conscripting able-bodied people for these military ends. Additionally, the practices is ethically wrong for the same reason that robbery and murder are wrong. In fact, according to Mozi, the two are actually one and the same; for what is an expansionist war of aggression other than robbery and murder on a grand scale? And yet, Mozi laments, those rulers who execute robbers and

murderers engage in the very same practices. With respect to universal love, indeed part of the reason why rulers believe it is acceptable to invade and conquer other states while it is not acceptable for their own subjects to rob and steal from one another is that the people in neighboring states are not part of the rulers' scope of moral concern. If rulers were to instead include these people and refrain from wars of aggression, all states, those attacking and those defending, will benefit.

Moderation in use and moderation in burials are the main Mohist ideas about frugality. In one's own projects, utility ought to be the only consideration. The Mohists took particular offense to the practice of extremely lavished funerals and demanding mourning rituals. Such funerals and rituals would potentially bankrupt an entire clan, at least temporarily, and disrupt its farming practices. For the dead in higher positions of authority, this disruption would affect an even greater number of people. Again, the point here is to promote benefit across society, and the Mohists believe that adopting frugal practices will do so.

Mozi's ideas about ghosts and spirits follow from their religious beliefs in a morally consistent universe. Heaven, it is argued, is the ultimate moral standard, while ghosts and spirits serve as Heaven's enforcers. Both doctrines, when adopted, promote societal benefit both by enabling people to rely upon an objective standard to guide their actions (namely, Heaven), and by acting as a sort of cosmic authority capable of enacting rewards and punishments.

Mozi's condemnation of music rests on the same economic considerations as their general ideas of frugality. In ancient China, grand musical ceremonies established by rulers would place enormous financial and human strains on populations, and so Mozi condemned such ceremonies for this reason. It's worth noting that Mozi did not object to music in principle—"It's not that I don't like the sound of the drum" ("Against Music")—but only because of the heavy tax burden such activities placed on commoners and also due to the fact that officials tended to indulge in them at the expense of their

Finally, the Mohists rejected the idea of fatalism, or the idea that there is fate. The Mohists reject this idea on the grounds that it encourages lazy and irresponsible behavior. When people believe that there is fate, and that the consequences of their actions lie beyond their control, people will not be encouraged to improve themselves, nor will they be willing to take responsibility for disasters. As a result, society will suffer, and so the doctrine that there is fate ought to be rejected.)

# MOZI CHAPTER 1 - Befriending the Learned

- 1. If one does not preserve the learned in a state he will be injuring the state; if one is not zealous (to recommend) the virtuous upon seeing one, he will be neglecting the ruler. Enthusiasm is to be shown only to the virtuous, and plans for the country are only to be shared with the learned. Few are those, who, neglecting the virtuous and slighting the learned, could still maintain the existence of their countries.
- 2. Formerly Lord Wen was once in exile and yet later became the leading feudal lord. Lord Huan was once forced to leave his state and yet later became a "tyrant" among the feudal lords. Lord Gou Jian of Yue was once brought under humiliation by the king of Wu, and yet he was later looked upon with awe by the princes of China. The reason that these three men became famous and successful in the world lies in that they were able to endure shame and humiliation within their states. The greatest men know of no defeat. The next greatest turn failure into success, and this, by the employment of the people.
- 3. I have heard it said: It is not that there is no peaceful abode but that I have no peaceful heart (over others' homelessness); it is not that my wealth is not sufficient but that my passion yearns for more (to improve others' conditions). Therefore the superior man is strict with one's self but lenient with others (in matters of conduct) while the multitude are lenient with themselves but strict with others. The superior man carries out his ambitions successfully in action and studies the situation when he is at leisure. Even when he is taken as a mediocre individual he feels no dissatisfaction. This is because he has self-confidence. Therefore, those who attempt what seems difficult to them will obtain what they desire, but few who aim at what they desire can avoid what they dislike. Therefore, artful ministers are harmful to the lord and flattering subordinates are injurious to the ruler. The lord should have uncompromising ministers; the ruler should have stern subordinates. Only when counsel is given with farsightedness and advice administered with sternness, can the life of the state be secure and permanent
- 4. If (to the contrary) the subordinates should value their positions and keep silence, the ministers near at hand would be speechless and those far away could only sigh, and the people would become bitter. When the ruler is surrounded with praises and flatteries and insulated against good counsels,

then the country is in danger. Was it not because they would not employ the scholars, that Jie and Zhou lost their empire and their lives? Thus it is said: To offer the greatest treasure of the country to the ruler is not as laudable as to recommend the virtuous and introduce the learned.

- 5. Among the five weapons the sharpest will be broken first. Among the five swords the keenest will be first worn out. The sweet wells become sooner dry and the elegant trees are oftener felled. The tortoises that are more responsive are oftener burned and the snakes that show more magic power are more sacrificed. Thus, Bi Gan died of his uprightness; Meng Ben perished by his strength; Xi Shi paid with her life for her beauty; and Wu Qi was torn alive for his achievement. This shows that there are but few who excel other people and do not perish on account of it. Hence the saying: Position of the supreme is hard to keep.
- 6. Even the kind ruler will not show favours to ministers without merit. Even the affectionate father will not love his useless sons. He who occupies a position but is not equal to the task is not the proper person for the position. He who draws emoluments but does not deserve the rank is not the proper proprietor of the emoluments. Good bows may be hard to draw, but they can reach great heights and pierce deeply. Good horses may be hard to ride on, but they can carry heavy burdens and make long journeys. Real talents may be hard to command, but they can be trusted to be envoys to the court of the emperor and to meet the nobility. Therefore the big rivers do not despise the little brooklets for tributaries And great men do not neglect any menial task or reject any trifle, and so they become vessels for the world. The water in a river does not come from a single source, neither is the fur coat that is worth a thousand yi composed of the white fur of a single fox. Now, to discard those who agree with the right but employ those who agree with one's self is not the way to be a great ruler. (Just as) Heaven and earth do not dazzle, great bodies of water do not boil and foam, and great conflagrations do not coruscate, (so) the imperial character does not lift itself up beyond reach.
- 7. As to the chieftain of only a thousand people, he is straight like an arrow and smooth like a whetstone, unable to tolerate the manifold ways. For narrow gorges clog up rapidly, shallow streams are soon exhausted, and the barren land does not bear fruits. When a ruler confines his favours within his palace, then they cannot be shared by the whole country.

## MOZI CHAPTER 2 - Self-cultivation

- 1. Though there should be tactics in war, courage is fundamental. Though there should be ceremonies for mourning, grief is essential. Though a scholar should be learned, he must first of all exhibit good conduct. When the seeds are not well sown, there is no use in labouring for a good harvest. When the people near-by are not befriended there is no use of endeavouring to attract those at a distance. When one's relatives are not submissive, there is no use in endeavouring to establish contacts with the outside world. When one cannot accomplish a single task from beginning to end. there is no use of attempting many things. And when one is ignorant of a commonplace that is pointed out, there is no use of pursuing wide knowledge.
- 2. Therefore, when the early kings administered the empire, they would investigate what was within reach and attract those at a distance. Investigation of a locality by the superior men means its orderly government. When they discovered misconduct or depravity, they corrected themselves. Thus all complaints disappeared and conduct became regulated (by itself). When the superior men do not listen to treacherous words or utter any threatening sound, or entertain any idea of injuring somebody, then even if there were underhanded persons they would lose support.
- 3. Therefore the superior men are daily more energetic in performing their duty, but weaker in their desires, and more stately in their appearance. The way of the superior man makes the individual incorruptible in poverty and righteous when wealthy; it makes him love the living and mourn the dead. These four qualities of conduct cannot be hypocritically embodied in one's personality. There is nothing in his mind that goes beyond love; there is nothing in his behaviour that goes beyond respectfulness, and there is nothing from his mouth that goes beyond gentility. When one pursues such a way until it pervades his four limbs and permeates his flesh and skin, and until he becomes white-haired and bald-headed without ceasing, one is truly a sage.
- 4. His wisdom will not be far-reaching whose purpose is not firm. His action will not be effective whose promises are not kept. He who will not share his possessions with others is not worthy to be a friend. And he who does not stand firm on principles and has neither wide knowledge nor penetrating judgment, is not worthy to be a companion. Just as a weak trunk will have but small branches, so, mere bravery without cultivation will result in dissipation. And just as a dirty source will issue in an impure stream, so unfaithful conduct will unfavourably affect one's fame. For, fame does not spring up out of nothing, nor does praise grow by itself. Fame

follows upon success and is not obtainable by hypocrisy. He will not be listened to who talks much but is slow in action. even though he is discerning. He will not accomplish anything, who is capable but likes to boast of his feats, even though he drudges. The wise discerns all in his mind but speaks simply, and he is capable but does not boast of his deeds. And, so his name is exalted the world over. In speech, not quantity but ingenuity, not eloquence but insight, should be cultivated. If one is not wise and without insight, breeding only dissipation in one's personality, this is just the contrary of what should be cultivated. Any virtue that does not spring from the heart will not remain and any (result of) action that is not aimed at by one's self will not stay. There is no short cut to fame and there is no trick to praise. The superior man regards his body but as the vehicle for his character. None who places much importance on personal gains but lightly sacrifices his fame has ever become a gentleman in the world.

# MOZI CHAPTER 3 - On Dyeing

- 1. Watching a dyer of silk at work, Mozi sighed, saying: What is dyed in blue becomes blue, what is dyed in yellow becomes yellow. When the silk is put in a different dye, its colour becomes also different. Having been dipped in five times, it has changed its colour five times. Therefore dyeing should be done with great care.
- 2. This is true not only with silk dyeing; even a country changes its colour in response to its influences. Thus Shun came under the influences of Xu You and Bo Yang; Yu, under that of Gao Yao and Bo Yi; Tang, under that of Yi Yin and King Wu, under that of the Grand Duke and Duke Zhou. Now these four kings had been under good influences. Therefore they came to possess the empire and were commissioned Sons of Heaven (Emperors). Their achievements and great fame extended from Heaven to earth. And when the preeminently magnanimous and righteous figures of the world are mentioned, they are invariably those referred to.
- 3. Jie of Xia came under the influence of Gan Xin and Tui Yi; Zhou of Yin, under that of the Duke of Zhong and E Lai; King Li, under that of Chang Fu, Duke Li, and Yi Zhong of the State of Rong; and King You, under that of Yi, Duke of Fu, and Gu, Duke of Cai. Now these four kings had been under bad influences. Therefore they lost their empire and their lives, and were persecuted everywhere. And when the most unrighteous and shameful persons of the world are mentioned, they are invariably those referred to.
- 4. Lord Huan of Qi came under the influence of Guan Zhong and Bao Shu; Lord Wen of Jin, under that of Uncle Fan and Gao Yan; Lord Zhuang of Chu, under that of Sun Shu and the Minister of Shen; He Lu of Wu, under that of Wu Yuan and Wen Yi; and Gou Jian of Yue, under that of Fan Li and Minister Zhong. Now these five lords had been under good influences. Therefore they became Tyrants among the feudal lords and their achievements and their fame were handed down to posterity
- 5. Fan Ji She came under the influence of Zhang Liu Shuo and Wang Sheng; Zhang Xing Yin, under that of Ji Qin and Gao Jiang; Fu Chai, under that of Wang Sun Luo and Minister Pi; Zhi Bo Yao, under that of Zhi Guo and Zhang Wu; Shang of Zhongshan, under that of Wei Yi and Yan Chang; and Lord Kang of Song, under that of Tang Yang and Tian Bu Li. Now, these six princes had been under bad influences. Therefore their states were ruined and they were executed, their ancestral temples were destroyed and descendants annihilated. The rulers and the subjects were dispersed and the people were left homeless. The whole world points to these six princes as the most greedy and disturbing people.
- 6. Now, how can the rulers obtain security? They can obtain it by following the right way. And one will naturally follow the right way when under good influence. Therefore capable rulers are very painstaking in the selection of men while they may not be so careful in attending to the administration (themselves). But the incapable wear out their body and exhaust their energy, tax their mind and stretch their thought, and yet their states are only placed in greater danger and their persons under more humiliation. Now, it is not that these six princes do not value their states or hold their lives cheap, it is really that they do not understand the relative importance of things. And it is due to bad influences that their idea of importance is distorted.
- 7. Not only states but also individuals are subject to influences. If one has for friends none but those who love magnanimity and righteousness and who are careful and respectful of course one's family will become more prosperous, one's person more at peace, and one's name more honorable every day; and, as an official, one will be properly qualified. Examples of such are Duan Gan Mu, Qinzi, and Fu Yue. (On the contrary) if one has for friends none but those who are proud and quarrelsome and who pretend to be intimate, naturally one's family will be reduced to straits, one's person will be more in danger, and one's name more dishonourable every day and one will not be qualified for office. And, examples of such are Zi Xi. Yi Ya, and Shu Diao. An Ode says:

"One must choose what to be tinged with." To be careful about what one is to be tinged with is just the theme of this (essay)

## MOZI CHAPTER 4 - On the necessity of standards

- 1. Mozi said: To accomplish anything whatsoever one must have standards. None have yet accomplished anything without them. The gentlemen fulfilling their duties as generals and councillors have their standards. Even the artisans performing their tasks also have their standards. The artisans make square objects according to the square, circular objects according to the compasses; they draw straight lines with the carpenter's line and find the perpendicular by a pendulum. All artisans, whether skilled or unskilled, employ these five standards. Only the skilled workers are accurate. Though the unskilled labourers have not attained accuracy, yet they do better by following these standards than otherwise. Thus all artisans follow the standards in their work.
- 2. Now, the government of the empire and that of the large states do not observe their standards. This shows the governors are even less intelligent than the artisans. What, then, should be taken as the proper standard in government? How will it do for everybody to imitate his parents? There are numerous parents in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate his parents is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous can not be said to be following the proper standard. How will it do for everybody to follow his teacher? There are numerous teachers in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate his teacher is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous cannot be taken as following the proper standard. How will it do for everybody to imitate his ruler? There are many rulers in the world but few are magnanimous. For everybody to imitate the ruler is to imitate the unmagnanimous. Imitating the unmagnanimous cannot be taken as following the right standard. So then neither the parents nor the teacher nor the ruler should be accepted as the standard in government.
- 3. What then should be taken as the standard in government? Nothing better than following Heaven. Heaven is all-inclusive and impartial in its activities, abundant and unceasing in its blessings, and lasting and untiring in its guidance. And, so, when the sage-kings had accepted Heaven as their standard, they measured every action and enterprise by Heaven. What Heaven desired they would carry out, what Heaven abominated they refrained from. Now, what is it that Heaven desires, and what that it abominates? Certainly Heaven desires to have men benefit and love one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another. How do we know that Heaven desires to have men love and benefit one another and abominates to have them hate and harm one another? Because it loves and benefits men universally. How do we know that it loves and benefits men universally? Because it claims all and accepts offerings from all.
- 4. All states in the world, large or small, are cities of Heaven, and all people, young or old, honourable or humble, are its subjects; for they all graze oxen and sheep, feed dogs and pigs, and prepare clean wine and cakes to sacrifice to Heaven. Does this not mean that Heaven claims all and accepts offerings from all? Since Heaven does claim all and accepts offerings from all, what then can make us say that it does not desire men to love and benefit one another? Hence those who love and benefit others Heaven will bless. Those who hate and harm others Heaven will curse, for it is said that he who murders the innocent will be visited by misfortune. How else can we explain the fact that men, murdering each other, will be cursed by Heaven? Thus we are certain that Heaven desires to have them hate and harm one another.
- 5. The ancient sage-kings, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu loved the people of the world universally, leading them to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. Many were their benefits to the people. And, thereupon Heaven blessed them, establishing them emperors; and all the feudal lords of the empire showed them respect. (On the other hand) the wicked kings, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, hated all the people in the world, seducing the people to curse Heaven and ridicule the spirits. Great were their injuries to the people. Thereupon Heaven brought them calamity, depriving them of their empire and their lives; and posterity condemned them to this day. Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, then, are those that committed evil and were visited by calamities. And Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu are those that loved and benefited the people and obtained blessings. Thus we have those who obtained blessings because they loved and benefited the people as well as those who were visited by calamities because they hated and harmed the people.

## MOZI CHAPTER 5 - The seven causes of anxiety

1. Mozi said: There are seven causes of worry to a state. What are these seven causes of worry? When the outer and the inner city walls are not defensible, this is the first worry; When an enemy state is approaching and yet one's neighbours do not come to the rescue, this is the second worry; When the resources of the people have all been spent on useless

enterprises and gifts all squandered upon incapable men, when people's resources are exhausted without producing any profit and the treasury is emptied by entertaining idle company, this is the third worry; When the officials value only their salaries, and the sophists only friendship, and when the subordinates dare not remonstrate against the laws the ruler has made for persecution, this is the fourth worry; When the lord is over-confident of his own wisdom and holds no consultation, when he feels he is secure and makes no preparations against attack; and when he does not know that he must be watchful while neighbours are planning against him, this is the fifth worry; When those trusted are not loyal and the loval are not trusted, this is the sixth worry; And when the crops are not sufficient for food and the ministers can not be charged with responsibilities, and when awards fail to make people happy and punishment to make them afraid, this is the seventh worry. With these seven causes present in the maintenance of the state, the state will perish, and, in the defence of a city, the city will be reduced to ruin by the approaching enemy. Wherever these seven causes are found, the country will face calamity.

2. Now, the five grains are the people's mainstay and the source of the ruler's revenue. When the people lose their support the ruler cannot have any revenue either. And without food the people will not observe order. Therefore, food should be secured, land cultivated and expenditures cut down. When all the five grains are gathered, all the five tastes will be offered the ruler; when not all gathered, the five tastes will not be all offered. Failure of one grain is called dearth; failure of two grains is called scarcity; failure of three grains is called calamity; failure of four grains is called want; and failure of all five grains is called famine. When the country is in dearth, all the salaries of the officials below the rank of the minister will be reduced by one-fifth; in scarcity, they will be reduced by two-fifths; in calamity, they will be reduced by three-fifths; in want, they will be reduced by four-fifths; and when famine is in the country there will be no salaries beyond their rations. Therefore when famine and dearth visit a country, the ruler will omit three from the five items of sacrifice, the officials will suspend the courts, and the scholars will not go to school and the lord will not put on his robe to give audience. Even envoys from other feudal lords and messengers from neighbouring states are entertained with cooked food only, and it is not sumptuous. The side-horses of the carriage-team are done away with and the walks (in the palace) are not weeded. Neither are the horses fed with grains, nor are the concubines and maids clothed with silk. And this is the sign of extreme scarcity

3. Now, if carrying her child and drawing water from a well, a woman dropped the child into the well, she would of course endeavour to get it out. But famine and dearth is a much greater calamity than the dropping of a child. Should there not be also endeavour (to prevent it)? People are gentle and kind when the year is good, but selfish and vicious when it is bad. Yet, how can they be held responsible? When many produce but few consume then there can be no bad year; on the contrary, when few produce but many consume then there can be no good year. Thus it is said: scarcity of supply should stimulate study of the seasons and want of food demands economy of expenditures. The ancients produced wealth according to seasons. They ascertained the source of wealth before they appropriated the products, and therefore they had plenty. Could even the ancient sage-kings cause the five grains invariably to ripen and be harvested and the floods and the droughts never to occur? Yet, none were frozen or starved. why was it? It was because they made full use of the seasons and were frugal in their own maintenance. The history of Xia says that the Deluge lasted seven years in the time of Yu and the history of Yin tells that a drought visited Tang for five years. These are the extremes of disasters. Yet the people were not frozen or starved. Why was this so? The reason lies in diligent production and thrifty consumption.

4. Therefore, famine and dearth cannot be prepared against unless there are stored grains in the granaries, and justice cannot be maintained against the unjust unless there are ready weapons in the armoury. One cannot defend himself unless the inner and the outer city walls are in repair, and one cannot meet emergencies unless his ideas are well thought out. Thus Qing Ji was unprepared, and he should not have set out on the journey. Jie made no preparations against Tang and he was sent to exile. And Zhou made no preparations against Wu and he was executed. Now, Jie and Zhou were both emperors in rank and possessed the whole empire, yet they both perished at the hands of rulers (of states) of only a hundred li square. What is the reason for this? Because they depended on their rank and wealth and made no preparations. Therefore, preparation is what a country should emphasize. Supply is the treasure of a country, armament its claws, and the city walls are the stronghold of its self-defence. And these three items are the essentials to the existence of a state.

5. (The present rulers) squander great amounts of wealth to reward the undeserving, empty the treasury to acquire carriages and horses, exhaust the labourers to build palaces and furnish amusements. Upon their death, again, thick

coffins and many coats and fur coats are to be furnished. Porches and pavilions are built for them while they are living, and tombs when they are dead. By this the people are embittered and the treasury is left lean. While the amusements are not yet satisfying to the superiors, the hardship already becomes unbearable for the subjects. Such a state will fall under any attack and such people will perish by famine. And all this is due to the absence of preparation. Moreover, food is what the sages treasured. The history of Zhou says, "Without three years' food (in store) a state cannot be a state (as it is in danger of losing its sovereignty). A family being without food in store to be sufficient for three years its children cannot be its children (who are in danger of being abandoned or sold to others)." Such, then, is the preparation of a country.

## MOZI CHAPTER 6 - Indulgence in Excess

1. Mozi said: Primitive people, before the art of building houses and palaces was known, lingered by the mounds and lived in caves. It was damp and injurious to health. Thereupon the sage-kings built houses and palaces. The guiding principles for these buildings were these: The house shall be built high enough to avoid the damp and moisture: the walls thick enough to keep out the wind and cold; the roof strong enough to stand snow, frost, rain, and dew; and the walls in the palace high enough to observe the propriety of the sexes. These are sufficient, and any expenditure of money and energy that does not bring additional utility shall not be permitted. When the city walls are repaired with regular labour, the people may feel tired but there is no exhaustion. When taxes are collected according to custom, the people may be deprived of some money but there is no bitterness. The real woe of the people does not lie here, it lies in heavy taxes. The sage-kings built houses and palaces in order to better the living conditions and not for pleasures of sight. They made clothes and hats, belts and shoes in order to protect the body and not for novelty. They were thrifty themselves and taught the people to be the same. And so, the people in the whole world became orderly and wealth was sufficient for use.

2. When the present rulers build their residences, they are quite different from this. They would tax the people, robbing them of their means of livelihood, in order to have their palaces covered with porches and pavilions in various designs and adorned with paintings and sculpture. When the ruler builds his palaces in this fashion, his assistants naturally imitate him. And, so, there is not sufficient wealth to prepare against famine and dearth or to relieve the orphans and widows. And the people become more unruly as the state becomes poorer. If the rulers sincerely desire to have the empire orderly and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in building houses and palaces.

3. Before clothing was known the primitive people wore coats of furs and belts of straw. They were neither light and warm in winter nor light and cool in summer. The sage-king thought this did not satisfy the needs of man. So, he taught the women to produce silk and flax and to weave cloth and linen, therewith to make clothing for the people. The guiding principles for clothing were these: In winter the underwear shall be made of spun-silk so as to be light and warm. In summer it shall be made of coarse flax so as to be light and cool. And this is sufficient. Therefore the sages made their clothes just to fit their stature and size, and not for the purpose of pleasing the senses or to dazzle the common people. In that age, durable carts and gentle horses were not valued, neither were sculpture and adornments prised. What is the reason for this? The reason lies in the kind of leadership. The people had sufficient means of livelihood in their home to meet either drought or flood, dearth or famine. Why? Because they understood the needs of self-support and paid little attention to external appearance. So, the people were frugal and orderly and the ruler was thrifty and easily supported. The store house and treasury were full, prepared against misfortunes. Armour and weapons were not left in disuse and the soldiers and the people were not tired, ready to punish the unsubmissive. Thus the ruler could become a tyrant over the

4. The present rulers are quite different from this when they make their clothes. Having what is warm and light in winter and what is light and cool in summer, they would yet heavily tax the people, robbing them of their means of livelihood, in order to have elaborately embroidered and gorgeous garments. Hooks are made of gold and ornaments on the girdle consist of pearls and jades. Women are employed to make the embroidery and men to do the carving. All these are for the adornment of the body. They really add little to its warmth. Wealth is squandered and energy wasted all for naught. So, then, when clothing is made not for the body but for brilliant appearance, the people will be wicked and unruly and the ruler extravagant and deaf to good counsel. It will be impossible to keep the country out of disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in making clothing

5. Before the art of cooking was known, primitive people ate only vegetables and lived in separation. Thereupon the

sage taught the men to attend to farming and to plant trees to supply the people with food. And the sole purpose of securing food is to increase energy, satisfy hunger, strengthen the body and appease the stomach. He was frugal in spending wealth and simple in habits of living, and so the people became rich and the country orderly. With the present rulers all is different. They would heavily tax the people in order to enjoy elaborately the different meats and fish and turtle cooked in various ways. (The lord of) a large state is served with a hundred courses and (that of) a small state, with tens of courses, which will cover a table space of ten square feet. The eyes cannot see all the dishes, the hands cannot handle them all, and the mouth cannot taste them all. In winter they will freeze, and in summer they sour. As the ruler serves himself thus, naturally his assistants imitate him. And so the rich and high in rank are wasteful and extravagant, while the solitary and miserable are hungry and cold. It is impossible to keep such a state out of disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge in excessive eating and drinking.

6. Before the primitive people know how to make boats and carts they could neither carry a heavy load nor travel a great distance. Thereupon the sage-king made boats and carts to facilitate the people. The boats and carts were made durable and convenient so that they would carry much and travel far. Such an undertaking takes little wealth but produces many benefits. Naturally the people found it agreeable and convenient. The people were not tired out and yet the ruler's needs were all supplied. So, people were attracted to him.

7. When the present rulers make boats and carts, it is quite different. Having made them durable and convenient, they would yet heavily tax the people to decorate them. The carts are decorated with embroidery and boats with carving. Women have to stop weaving to do the enibroidery so the people are left cold. While men have to abandon agriculture to do the carving and so the people become hungry. When the ruler builds such boats and carts for himself, naturally his assistants imitate him. Therefore the people become victims of both hunger and cold, and they commit wickedness. Much wickedness is followed by heavy punishment, and heavy punishment places the country in disorder. If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to have order and hate to see it in disorder, they must not indulge themselves in constructing boats and carts excessively.

8. Every creature living between Heaven and earth and within the four seas partakes of the nature of Heaven and earth and the harmony of the Yin and the Yang. Even the greatest sages cannot alter this. How do we know? When they taught about Heaven and earth, they dwelt on the upper and the lower spheres and the four seasons, the principles of Yin and Yang and human nature, the phenomena of men and women, birds and animals, and that of the sexes. Even the early kings could not escape from the fundamentals of nature. Even the great sages of ancient times must keep a household. Only as their conduct was not unfavorably affected, there was no dissatisfaction among the people, and as women were not kept within the palace (to be spinsters) there were few bachelors in the empire. As women were not kept within the palace and as there were few bachelors abroad, the population in the empire was large. The present rulers of large states retain as many women as a thousand in their household and those of small states as many as a hundred. Therefore men in the empire are mostly without wife and women without husband. The functions of men and women are prevented and the population becomes small. If the rulers sincerely desire the population to be large and hate to see it small, they must not indulge in retaining too many women.

9. Now, in these five things the sages are temperate and economical while the wicked men are indulgent and excessive. Temperance and economy bring prosperity while indulgence and excess lead to destruction. One must not indulge in excess in these five things. When husband and wife do not indulge in excess, Heaven and earth will be harmonious; when wind and rain are not in excess, the five grains will ripen; and when excessive clothing is not indulged in, the body will be comfortable.

# MOZI CHAPTER 7 - Threefold Argument

1. Cheng Fan asked Mozi: "Sir, you say the sage-kings did not have music. But, anciently, when the feudal lords were tired of attending to government, they found recreation in music of bells and drums. When the ministers and gentlemen were tired of attending to office they found recreation in music of Yu and Se. And the farmers ploughed the fields in spring, weeded them in summer, reaped the harvest in autumn, and stored the grains in winter. Then they would enjoy music of jars and vases. Sir, you say the sage-kings did not have music. This would be comparing them to the horse placed under yoke and never released, and the bow drawn and never unstrung. Is this not impossible for the ordinary human being?"

2. Mozi replied: In ancient times, Yao and Shun lived in huts and yet they made codes of propriety and composed music. Tang sent Jie to exile on the ocean and installed himself

ruler of the empire. Having achieved success and without cause for anxiety, he added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, called "The Salvation" and also instituted the "Jiuzhao." King Wu conquered the Yin dynasty and executed Zhou and installed himself ruler of the empire. Having achieved success and having no cause of anxiety, he added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, called "Xiang." King Cheng of Zhou again added to the music of the former kings that of his own composition, named "Zouyu." The reign of King Cheng was not so good as that of King Wu, that of King Wu was not so good as that of Tang the Successful, and that of Tang the Successful was not so good as that of Yao and Shun. So, then, he who has the more elaborate music has the less efficient government. Judging from this, music is not anything to govern the empire with.

3. Cheng Fan objected: "Sir, you have said the sage-kings did not have music. This shows they did. How then can you say the sage-kings did not have music?" Mozi said: The desire of the sage-kings was to cut down excesse. Eating is of course profitable, but it takes so little intelligence to eat when one is hungry that it may be said to be nil. Now the sage-kings had music, but it was so little that it may also be said to be nil.

### MOZI BOOK 2

### MOZI CHAPTER 8 - Exaltation of the Virtuous 1

- 1. Mozi said: Now, all the rulers desire their provinces to be wealthy, their people to be numerous, and their jurisdiction to secure order. But what they obtain is not wealth but poverty, not multitude but scarcity, not order but chaos this is to lose what they desire and obtain what they avert. Why is this?
- 2. Mozi said: This is because the rulers have failed to exalt the virtuous and to employ the capable in their government. When the virtuous are numerous in the state, order will be stable; when the virtuous are scarce, order will be unstable. Therefore the task of the lords lies nowhere but in multiplying the virtuous.
- 3. But what is the way to multiply the virtuous?
- 4. Mozi said: Supposing it is desired to multiply good archers and good drivers in the country, it will be only natural to enrich them, honour them, respect them, and commend them; then good archers and good drivers can be expected to abound in the country. How much more should this be done in the case of the virtuous and the excellent who are firm in morality, versed in rhetoric, and experienced in statecraft since these are the treasures of the nation and props of the state? They should also be enriched, honoured, respected, and commended in order that they may abound.
- 5. When the ancient sage-kings administered the government they declared: "The unrighteous will not be enriched, the unrighteous will not be honoured, the unrighteous will not be favoured, the unrighteous will not be placed near." Upon hearing this, the rich and honoured of the country all began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was wealth and honour. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the poor and humble. Hence I may not do unrighteousness.' Upon hearing this, the favoured also began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was favour. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against those thus far neglected. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, those placed near began to deliberate, saying: "What I have been depending on was intimacy. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the distant. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Upon hearing this, the distant also began to deliberate, saying: "I used to think, being distant I had nothing to depend on. Now the Lord promotes the righteous without discrimination against the distant. Hence I may not do unrighteousness." Vassals of distant districts as well as youths in the palace, and multitudes within the state boundaries as well as the rustics living on the four borders, upon hearing this, all competed in doing righteousness. Now what is the reason for all this? It is only with material goods that the superior can employ his subordinates, and it is only with statecraft that the subordinates can serve their lord Take, for example, the rich man who built his walls high and left only one gate. When the burglar had entered, the man closed the gate and searched for him, and the burglar had no more exit. Why? Because the man had the vantage-point.
- 6. Therefore in administering the government, the ancient sage-kings ranked the morally excellent high and exalted the virtuous. If capable, even a farmer or an artisan would be employed commissioned with high rank, remunerated with liberal emoluments, trusted with important charges, and empowered to issue final orders. For, if his rank were not high, people would not respect him; if his emoluments were not liberal, people would not have confidence in him; if his orders were not final, people would not stand in awe before him. To place these three (honours) upon the virtuous is not so much to reward virtue, as to bring about the success of the enterprise (of government). Therefore ranks should be standardised according to virtue, tasks assigned according to

office, and rewards given according to labour spent. When emoluments are distributed in proportion to achievements, officials cannot be in constant honour, and people in eternal humility. If a person is capable promote him, if incapable, lower his rank. Give prominence to public approval and keep back private grudges (in the matter of selecting men). Here then, is the principle. So, in days of old, Yao brought forward Shun from Fuzi and entrusted him with the government, and the world had peace. Yu brought forward Yi from Yin Fang and entrusted him with the government, and the nine districts became organised. Tang brought forward Yi Yin from the kitchen and entrusted him with the government and his plans were successful. King Wen brought forward Hung Yao and Tai Tian from their rabbit nets and entrusted them with the government and the Western land showed respect. Therefore, during those days the officials of high rank and liberal emoluments all carefully and anxiously executed their duties; and the farmers and artisans all encouraged one another in exalting virtue. Therefore, the scholars are really to be officials and governors. As long as there were scholars (in government), the plans (of the ruler) were not defeated and he had no hardships to endure; his name was established and success achieved; his excellence became known and yet evils were not spread. This is all due to the employment of the

7. Therefore Mozi said: The virtuous who are prosperous must be exalted, and the virtuous who are not prosperous must be exalted too. If it is desired to continue the ways of Yao and Shun, to exalt the virtuous is indispensable. Now, exaltation of the virtuous is the root of government.

## MOZI CHAPTER 9 - Exaltation of the Virtuous 2

- 1. Mozi said: Now, in caring for the people, ruling the state, and governing the country, the rulers desire permanency and stability. But why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? How do we know exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? When the honourable and wise run the government, the ignorant and humble remain orderly; but when the ignorant and humble run the government, the honourable and wise become rebellious. Therefore we know exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government. The ancient sagekings greatly emphasised the exaltation of the virtuous and the employment of the capable. Without special consideration for relatives, for the rich and honoured, or for the goodlooking, they exalted and promoted the virtuous, enriched and honoured them, and made them governors and leaders. The vicious they kept back and banished, depossessed and degraded, and made labourers and servants. Thereupon people were all encouraged by rewards and threatened by punishments and strove with each other after virtue. Thus the virtuous multiplied and the vicious diminished in number. Such is exaltation of the virtuous. Then the sage-kings watched their words and observed their conduct, found out their capabilities and carefully assigned them their offices. Such is employment of the capable. Accordingly those who were capable to govern the country were made to govern the country, those who were capable to administer the court were made to administer the court, and those who were capable in managing the districts were made to manage the districts. All those who had charge of the country, the court, and the districts were then the virtuous of the land.
- 2. When the virtuous rules the country, he starts the day early and retires late, hearing lawsuits and attending to the government. As a result, the country is well governed and laws are justly administered. When the virtuous administers the court he retires late and wakes up early, collecting taxes from passes, markets, and on products from mountains, woods, waters, and land to fill the court. As a result, the court is filled and wealth is not wasted. When the virtuous manages the districts, he goes out before sunrise and comes back after sunset, plowing and sowing, planting and cultivating, and gathering harvests of grains. As a result, grains are in plenty and people are sufficiently supplied with food. Therefore when the country is well governed the laws are well administered, and when the court is filled the people are wealthy. For the higher sphere, the rulers had wherewith to make wine and cakes to do sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. For the countries outside, they had wherewith to provide the furs and money to befriend neighbouring feudal lords. For the people within, they had wherewith to feed the hungry and give rest to the tired. Above all these, they had means to cherish the virtuous. Therefore from above, Heaven and the spirits enrich them from without, the feudal lords submit themselves to them from within, the people show them affection, and the virtuous become loyal to them. Hence they could have satisfaction in planning and success in execution. In defence they are strong and in attack victorious. Now the way that enabled the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, namely Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu, to rule the empire and head the feudal lords was no other than this (principle of exaltation of the virtuous).
- 3. However, if there is only the principle while the technique of its application is not known, then it would seem

to be still incomplete. Therefore there should be laid down three rules. What are the three rules? They are: (1) when their rank (that of the virtuous) is not high, people would not show them respect; (2) when their emoluments are not liberal, people would not place confidence in them; (3) when their orders are not final, people would not stand in awe before them. So the ancient sage-kings placed them high in rank, gave them liberal emoluments, trusted them with important charges, and decreed their orders to be final. And all this was done not merely to reward their subordinates; it was to fulfil their trust. Thus runs an Ode: "I am instructing you to take worries and cares of the world as your own; I am teaching the order of ranks for the virtuous and talented. Who can handle heat without rinsing his hands (in cold water)?" This is to show how in the past the rulers could not do without befriending subordinates and helpers. It was like the necessity of rinsing in handling hot objects to relieve the hands. The ancient sage-kings concentrated on acquiring, and employing the virtuous - honouring them with high ranks, and assigning land to them--unwearied to the end of their lives. The virtuous men on the other hand only hoped to find an enlightened ruler to serve - exhausting all the powers of the four limbs to attend to the king's business - untired to the end of their lives. When there were any excellences and virtues they were attributed to the emperor. Thus excellences and virtues belonged to the emperor while complaints and slanders were directed against the subordinates. Peace and joy abode with the king while worries and sorrows were lodged with the officials. This was how the ancient sage-kings administered the government.

- 4. The present ruler, imitating the ancients, also want to employ the virtuous in government by exalting them. Ranks given them are very high, but the emoluments do not follow proportionally. Now, to be high in rank but receive small emoluments will not inspire people's confidence. The virtuous would say to themselves: "This is not real love for me, but only to make use of me as a means." Now, how can people be affectionate to their superiors' when they are only (treated as) means? Therefore an ancient king said: "He who is too ambitious in government will not share his tasks with others. He who over-treasures wealth will not offer big emoluments to others." When tasks are not assigned and emoluments are not given, it may be asked wherefrom would the virtuous come to the side of the rulers? And when the virtuous are not at the side of the rulers, the vicious will be on their right and left. When the vicious are on the right and left, then commendations will not fall on the virtuous and punishments will not be upon the wicked. If the rulers follow these in governing the states, in the same way rewards will not go to the virtuous and punishment not to the wicked. When rewards really do not go to the virtuous and punishment not to the wicked, then the virtuous will find no encouragement, neither the wicked any obstruction. At home the vicious are not filial to their parents, and, having left their home town, they would not recognize their elders. They move about without restraint and disregard the rules of propriety about sexes. When trusted with the administration of the court, they would steal; when trusted to defend a city, they would raise an insurrection. When the lord meets with death, they would not follow him and commit suicide; when the lord has to flee the country, they would not accompany him in banishment. In judging lawsuits they are not just, and in dividing property they are partial. In planning they are not helpful, in execution they are inefficient. Neither in defence are they strong, nor in attack are they victorious. Now, the reason that the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, misruled the country and upset their states was no other than this (employment of the vicious). Why is this so? Because they understood petty affairs but were ignorant about things of importance.
- 5. When the rulers cannot get a coat made they will employ able tailors. When they cannot have an ox or a sheep killed they will employ able butchers. In these two instances they do know they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable for business. But when it comes to the disorder of the country and danger of the state, they do not know they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable for government. Rather, they would employ their relatives, they would employ the rich without merit, and the good-looking. But as to the employment of the rich without merit and the good-looking -- will these necessarily prove themselves wise and intelligent? To let these rule the country is to let the unwise and unintelligent rule the country. And disorder can then be predicted. Moreover, the rulers employ their minds by the attractiveness of their appearance, and show them favour without finding out their knowledge. As a result, those who are not capable to rule a hundred men are assigned to posts over a thousand, and those who are not capable to rule a thousand are assigned to posts over ten thousand. What is the reason for this? Why, such positions are high in rank and rich in emoluments. Therefore the specially favoured are picked for them. But to make those incapable of ruling a thousand men rule ten thousand is to increase their duty tenfold. The business of the government comes daily. It is to be attended to

every day, yet the day cannot be lengthened by tenfold. To govern, again, requires knowledge. When knowledge is not increased by ten times, while a tenfold task is assigned, it will evidently result in attending to one and neglecting nine. Though the task be attended to day and night, still it cannot be well executed. And the reason for this is because the rulers do not understand that they should exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government. Thus exaltation of the virtuous and employment of the capable with the consequent success in government is presented above in the earlier paragraphs. And the depreciation of the virtuous with the resulting confusion in government is presented here in these paragraphs.

6. If the rulers now want to govern their states so that they will be permanent and unshakeable, why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? Besides, is this principle merely a conception of Mozi? It is the way of the sage-kings and the tenet of "Ju Nian," a book of an ancient king. And, thus it is recorded: "(He) sought out the wise men to protect and aid you." And thus states the "Oath of Tang": "I then sought for the Great Sage, with whom I might unite my strength and mind to govern the empire." All these show how the sage-kings never failed to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government. The sage-kings of old comprehended only this -to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable in government and nobody else; so the whole world was benefited. In times of old, Shun cultivated land at Mt. Li made pottery by the River, and was engaged in fishing in Lake Lei. Yao discovered him at Fuze. Exalting him, Yao made him Emperor and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Yi Zhi once served in the bridal party of the daughter of the Prince of Xin, and later voluntarily served Tang as his cook. Tang discovered him. Exalting him, Tang made him his Prime Minister and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Fu Yue once wore garments of coarse cloth tied with ropes, working as an artisan at Fu Yan. Wu Ding discovered him. Exalting him, Wu Ding made him High Duke and handed to him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Why is it that these people starting in humility arrived at honour, starting in poverty arrived at wealth? It is because these rulers understood the importance of exalting the virtuous and employing the capable in government. Therefore, none of the people were hungry yet without food, cold yet without clothing, tired yet without rest, disturbed yet without peace.

7. And, the ancient sage-kings in exalting the virtuous and employing the capable in government were following the ways of Heaven. Even Heaven does not discriminate among the poor and the rich, the honourable and the humble, the distant and the near, and the related and the unrelated (to those in power). The virtuous were promoted and exalted; the vicious were kept back and banished. Now, who were those that, possessing wealth and position, still strove after virtues and were rewarded? They were the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen and Wu (12). How were they rewarded? When they governed the empire, they loved all the people universally and benefited them, and led them in doing honour to Heaven and service to the spirits. As they loved and benefited the people, Heaven and the spirits rewarded them, appointing them to be Sons of Heaven, and parents of the people. And, thereupon people praised them, calling them sage-kings even unto this day. These then were those that, possessing wealth and position, still strove after virtues and were rewarded. Now, who were those that, possessing wealth and position, yet practiced evil and were punished? They were the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, namely, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li. How do we know they were those? When they governed the empire they disliked all the people inclusively and oppressed them and led them to curse Heaven and the spirits. Oppressing and destroying the people, they were punished by Heaven and the spirits; their corpses were mangled and lacerated, their children and grandchildren were scattered and dispersed, their family hearths were extinguished and descendants exterminated. And, thereupon the people railed at them, calling them wicked kings even unto this day. These, then, are those that, possessing wealth and position, yet practised evil and were punished. Now, who were those that were related (to the ruler) but not virtuous and were visited by punishment? Count Gun was of direct royal descent but had degenerated in the royal virtues. So he was banished to the wilderness of Yu Yu where (in the prison) light could not reach him, neither did the emperor show any favour. Such was he who was related but not virtuous and was visited by punishment. Now, who were those that were employed by Heaven because of their capability? Yu, Ji, and Gao Tao were they. How do we know that? It is found in the "Penal Code of Lu," a book of an early king, thus: "The Emperor (Yao) inquired among his subjects, and complaints were made against the Miaos (barbarians)." Again, "As the feudal lords have been appointed without insight, even the widows and the widowers are not protected. Dignity is revered only when it is accompanied with magnanimity; enlightenment is respected only when it is accompanied with

magnanimity. Thereupon three chiefs were commissioned to care for and consolate the people: (1) Bo Yi delivered the laws and statutes and taught therewith the people; (2) Yu reduced the Flood and recovered the land, and gave names to hills and rivers; (3) Ji descended (from his rank) and sowed seeds to encourage good farming. The benefits of the achievements of these three chiefs all fell upon the people." This is to say that the three sages were careful in speech, vigilant in conduct, penetrating in thought, studying and planning for every detail and benefit of the world--with this to do service to Heaven on high, Heaven will bless their virtue; to bestow it to the people below, the people will be visited by its benefits lasting beyond their lifetime. Thus said the ancient kings: 'Now, this way, when followed broadly to govern the world, will not be found to be too slender; when followed narrowly. will not be too unwieldly; when followed with discretion, will benefit the people beyond their lifetime." Referring to it, the "Eulogy of Zhou" sings: "The virtue of the sage shining upon the world is lofty as Heaven, wide as earth, high as the mountain, unbreakable and infallible; luminating as the sun, brilliant as the moon eternal with heaven and earth." This is to describe how enlightening and all-embracing, deep-rooted and, therefore, permanent is the virtue of the sage. Therefore the virtue of the sage is really inclusive of heaven and earth.

8. Now, the rulers want to be lord over the empire and be head of the feudal lords. But how can it be done without virtue and righteousness? Their way must be by overpowering and overawing. But what makes them adopt this? It simply pursues the people to death. But life is what the people eagerly desire, and death what they greatly dread. What is desired is not obtained, but what is dreaded befalls them ever so often. From antiquity to the present, none has yet been able to be lord over the empire and head of the feudal lords by this way. Now the rulers desire to be lord of the world and head of the feudal lords and want to have their ideas prevail all over the world, and their names established in posterity. But why do they not learn that exaltation of the virtuous is the foundation of government? This was the actual conduct of the sages.

### MOZI CHAPTER 10 - Exaltation of the Virtuous 3

1. Mozi said: All the rulers in the world desire their states to be wealthy, their people to be many, and their government and jurisdiction to be orderly. But they do not understand to govern their states and people by exaltation of the virtuous. They have missed, indeed, the foundation of government. But can we not point this out to them by means of parallels? Now, supposing, in governing his state, a feudal lord should proclaim: "All those who can shoot (with an arrow) and drive (a chariot) well I shall reward and honour; all those who cannot I shall punish and disgrace." If, then, we should inquire among the people of the state as to who would rejoice and who would be afraid, I suppose naturally those who could shoot and drive would rejoice and those who could not would be afraid. I have followed this (line of argument) and led them supposedly to proclaim: "All the loyal and faithful I shall reward and honour; all the disloyal and unfaithful I shall punish and disgrace." If now we should inquire among the people of the state as to who would rejoice and who would be afraid, I suppose naturally the loyal and faithful would rejoice and the disloyal and unfaithful would be afraid. Therefore the state and the people are to be governed by exalting the virtuous, so that those in the state that do good will be encouraged and those that do evil will be obstructed. To govern the empire seems then to consist of encouraging the good and obstructing the evil. But why is it that I esteemed the way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu? Because they administered the government in such a way that those in the empire that did good would be encouraged and those that did evil would be obstructed. So, then, the principle of exaltation of the virtuous is identical with the way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu.

2. The gentlemen of to-day all exalt the virtuous in their private speech and conduct. But when it comes to the administration of the government for the public, they fail to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable. Then I know the gentlemen understand only trifles and not things of significance. How do I know it is so? Suppose the ruler had a cow or a sheep which he could not have killed, he would surely look for a skilful butcher. Or if he wanted a garment which he could not have made, he would surely look for a skilful tailor. For these, the ruler would not employ his relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking, because he knew clearly they were incapable. He was afraid they would spoil the things to be attended to. So, in these, the rulers do not fail to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable. Again, if the ruler had a sick horse that he could not have cured, he would surely look for an experienced veterinary doctor. Or if he had a tight bow which he could not draw, he would surely look for a skilful workman. For these, the ruler would not employ his relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking, because he knew clearly they were incapable. He was afraid they would spoil the things to be attended to. So, in these matters the rulers do not fall to exalt the virtuous and employ the capable. But when it comes to the

affairs of the state all is different. The relations of the rulers, the rich without merit, and the good-looking are all promoted. Then does it not seem that the rulers love their states not even as much as they love a tight bow, a sick horse, a garment, or a cow or a sheep? Therefore I know the gentlemen of the world understand only trifles and not things of significance. This is like trying to make messengers of the dumb and musical directors of the deaf.

3. To the contrary, in governing the empire the sage-kings of old enriched and honoured those who were not necessarily their relatives, the rich without merit, or the good-looking. At one time Shun cultivated land at Mt. Li, made pottery by the River, engaged in fishing in Lake Lei, and went peddling in Changyang. Yao discovered him at Fuze, made him emperor, and handed him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Yi Yin once took part in the bridal party of the daughter of the Prince of Xin, and then was employed as a cook. Tang discovered him and exalted him to be High Duke, handing him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Once Fu Yue lived in the District of Beihai and built the prison walls. His clothing was of coarse cloth and tied with ropes. Wu Ding discovered him and exalted him to be High Duke, handing him the government of the empire and the rule over the people. Now, when Yao exalted Shun, Tang exalted Yi Yin, and Wu Ding exalted Fu Yue was it because they were their relatives, the rich without merit, or the good-looking? It was only because that by adopting their views, carrying out their plans, and following their ways. Heaven on high would be blessed, the spirits in the middle would be blessed, and the people below would be blessed. Therefore they were promoted and exalted.

4. Having understood the principle of exalting the virtuous in government, the ancient sage-kings inscribed it on bamboos and silk and engraved it on the dishes and vases, to hand it down to their descendants. Thus we find in the "Penal Code of Lu", a book of an ancient king, the following: "The king said: 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. Now it is yours to give repose to the people: - what should you be most concerned about the choosing of? Should it not be proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most? Should it not be to whom they should reach?"" (This is to say) with insight in choosing men and considerateness in meting punishments, you can catch up with the ways of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. How? By exaltation of the virtuous. Again in the book "Shu Nian", another book of an ancient king, we find: "He looked for wise men to protect and aid you." This is to say, when the ancient kings reigned over the empire they invariably selected the virtuous and made them officials and aids. The gentlemen in the world like riches and honour, and dislike poverty and humility. Now how can you obtain the former and avoid the latter? There is no better way than to practise virtue. What then is the way to practise virtue? Let him who has strength be alert to help others. let him who has wealth endeavour to share it with others, let him who possesses the Dao (the way of nature and life) teach others persuasively. With this, the hungry will be fed, the cold will be clothed, the disturbed will have order. When the hungry are fed, the cold are clothed, and the disturbed have order - this is procuring abundant life.

5. But those whom the rulers now are enriching and honouring are all their relatives, the rich without merit, and the good-looking. What can there be that guarantees these to be wise? When the unwise are charged with the government of the country, disorder in the country can be predicted. Now the gentlemen of the world like riches and honour, and dislike poverty and humility. But how can you obtain the former and avoid the latter? There seems to be no other way than to be the rulers' relatives, the rich without merit, and the goodlooking. Evidently one cannot become these by learning. So, when the art of judging is not understood, although some virtuous people may even compare with Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, there will be no commendation. And, although a relative of the ruler may be lame and dumb, deaf and blind, and evil like Jie and Zhou, there will be no condemnation. Therefore reward does not fall on the virtuous or punishment on the evil. As those rewarded are without merit, those punished are naturally without guilt. And so, people all became disintegrated in heart and dissipated in body, and despairing in doing good. With all their strength unused, they would not help one another; with all unused supplies rotting and fermenting, they would not share with one another; hiding the excellent Dao they would not show it to others. As a result of this, the hungry are not fed, the cold are not clothed, and the disturbed are not given order.

6. In the days of old, Yao had Shun, Shun had Yu, Yu had

6. In the days of old, Yao had Shun, Shun had Yu, Yu had Gao Yao, Tang had Yi Yin, King Wu had Hong Yao, Tai Dian, Nangong Kuo and San Yisheng — therefore the world was harmonious and people were prosperous. And those near felt contented and those distant were attracted. Wherever the sun and the moon shone, boats and vehicles could reach, rain and dew visited, and life depended on grains; few were not converted (to good) by this. Hence if the rulers in the world

now desire to do magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, and desire to strike the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and work for the benefit of the country and the people on the other; then it is indispensable that the principle of Exaltation of the Virtuous be understood. Now, exaltation of the virtuous is indeed the blessing of Heaven, the spirits, and the people, as well as the foundation of government.

### MOZI BOOK 3

MOZI CHAPTER 11 - Identification with the Superior 1

- 1. Mozi said: In the beginning of human life, when there was yet no law and government, the custom was "everybody according to his own idea." Accordingly each man had his own idea, two men had two different ideas and ten men had ten different ideas the more people the more different notions. And everybody approved of his own view and disapproval among men. As a result, father and son and elder and younger brothers became enemies and were estranged from each other, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Everybody worked for the disadvantage of the others with water, fire, and poison. Surplus energy was not spent for mutual aid; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing; excellent teachings (Dao) were kept secret and not revealed. The disorder in the (human) world could be compared to that among birds and beasts.
- 2. Yet all this disorder was due to the want of a ruler. Therefore (Heaven) chose the virtuous in the world and crowned him emperor. Feeling the insufficiency of his capacity, the emperor chose the virtuous in the world and installed them as the three ministers. The emperor and the three ministers, seeing the vastness of the empire and the difficulty of attending to matters of right and wrong and profit and harm among peoples of far countries, divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Feeling the insufficiency of their capacity, the feudal lords, in turn, chose the virtuous of their states and appointed them as their officials.
- 3. When the rulers were all installed, the emperor issued a mandate to all the people, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil one shall report it to a superior. What the superior thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the superior thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. When the superior is at fault there shall be good counsel, when the subordinates show virtue there shall be popular recommendation. To identify one's self with the superior and not to unite one's self with the subordinates - this is what deserves encouragement from above and praise from below." On the other hand, if upon hearing good or evil one should not report to a superior; if what the superior thought to be right one should not think to be right; if what the superior thought to be wrong one should not think to be wrong; if when the superior was at fault there should be no good counsel if when the subordinates showed virtue there should be no popular recommendation; if there should be common cause with subordinates and no identification with the superior - this is what deserves punishment from above and condemnation from below." The superior made this the basis of reward and punishment. He was clear-sighted and won his people's confidence.
- 4. Now the head of the village was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the village. He notified the people of the village, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the head of the district. What the head of the district thinks to be right, all shall think to be right. What he thinks to be wrong, all shall think to be wrong. Put away from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Remove from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the district?" Now, how was order brought about in the district? There was order in the district because the head could unify the standards of the district.
- 5. The head of the district was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the district. He notified the people of the district, saying "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the lord. What the lord thinks to be right all shall think to be right, what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Remove from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Take away from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the state?" Now, how was order brought about in the feudal state? There was order in the state because the feudal lord could unify the standards in the state.
- 6. The lord of the state was the most high-minded and tender-hearted man of the state. He notified the people of the state, saying: "Upon hearing good or evil you shall report it to the emperor. What the emperor thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the emperor thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Take away from your speech that which is not good and learn his good speech. Remove from your conduct that which is not good and learn his good conduct. How then can there be disorder in the empire?" Now how is order brought about in the empire? There was order in the empire because the emperor could unify the standards in the empire.

- 7. If, however, the people all identify themselves with the Son of Heaven but not with Heaven itself, then the jungle is still unremoved. Now, the frequent visitations of hurricanes and torrents are just the punishments from Heaven upon the people for their not identifying their standards with the Will of Heaven.
- 8. Therefore, Mozi said: The sage-kings of old devised the five punishments to rule the people in order to be able to lay hands on those who did not identify themselves with their superiors a device of the same nature as threads are tied into skeins and a net is controlled by a main rope.

### MOZI CHAPTER 12 - Identification with the Superior $2\,$

- 1. Mozi said: As we look back to the time when there was vet no ruler, it seems the custom was "everybody in the world according to his own standard." Accordingly each man had his own standard, ten men had ten different standards, a hundred men had a hundred different standards - the more people the more standards. And everybody approved of his own view and disapproved those of others, and so arose mutual disapproval. Even father and son and brothers became enemies, since they were unable to reach any agreement. Surplus energy was not employed for mutual help; excellent teachings (Dao) were kept secret; surplus goods were allowed to rot without sharing. The disorder in the (human) world could be compared with that among birds and beasts. The lack of regulations governing the relationships between ruler and subject, between superior and subordinate, and between elder and younger; and the absence of rules governing the relationships between father and son and between older and younger brothers, resulted in disorder in the world.
- 2. Knowing the cause of the confusion to be in the absence of a ruler who could unify the standards in the world. (Heaven) chose the virtuous, sagacious, and wise in the world and crowned him emperor, charging him with the duty of unifving the wills in the empire. Having been crowned, the emperor, realizing the impossibility of unifying the world just by his own senses of hearing and sight, chose the understanding, virtuous, sagacious, and wise of the world and installed them as the three ministers, sharing with them the duty of unifying the standards in the empire. The emperor and the three ministers being in office, they felt the vastness of the empire and the difficulty of unifying all the peoples in mountains and woods and those far distant. Therefore they systematically divided up the empire, and appointed numerous feudal lords charging these with the duty of unifying the standards in each state. The feudal lords in turn felt the difficulty of unifying the standards in their states just by their own senses of hearing and sight. Therefore they chose the virtuous of the state to be their ministers and secretaries and all the way down to the heads of districts and villages, sharing with them the duty of unifying the standards in the state.
- 3. When the lords of the country and the heads of the people had been appointed, the emperor issued mandates, instructing the people: "Discovering good you must report it to your superior, discovering evil you must report it to your superior. What the superior thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what the superior thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. When there is virtue among the people there shall be popular recommendation; when the superior is at fault there shall be good counsel. You shall identify yourself with the superior and not associate with your subordinates. So doing, one deserves encouragement from his superiors and praise from the people. "On the other hand, if upon discovering good you should not report it and upon discovering evil you should not report it; if you should not think to be right what the superior thinks to be right, and wrong what the superior thinks to be wrong; if there should be no recommendation when there is virtue among the people and no good counsel when the superior is at fault; and if you should unite with the subordinates but differ from the superior - you deserve heavy punishment from your superiors and condemnation from the people." Therefore the sage-kings of old were very judicious and faithful in their punishments and rewards.
- 4. And so all the people aspired to the rewards and commendation from the superior and dreaded his condemnation and punishment. Thereupon, in accord with the policy of the emperor, the village head proceeded to unify the purposes in the village. Having accomplished this, he led the people of the village to identify themselves with the head of the district, saying: "All you people of the village are to identify yourselves with the head of the district, and are not to unite with the subordinates. What the head of the district thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the head of the district is naturally the (most) virtuous of the district. If all the people in the district follow the example of their head, how then can the district be disorderly?" Now, how is it that the head of the district was so successful in governing the district? It was just because he could unify the purposes of the whole district that the district was so orderly.

- 5. Having accomplished this he in turn led the people of his district to identify themselves with the feudal lord, saying: "All you people of the district shall identify yourselves with the lord of the state, and shall not unite with the subordinates. What the lord thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the lord of the state is naturally the (most) virtuous of the state. If all the people in the state follow the example of their lord, how then can the state be in disorder?" Now, why was the feudal lord so successful in governing the state? It was just because he could unify the purposes in the state that the state is orderly.
- 6. Having accomplished this he in turn led the people of his state to identify themselves with the emperor, saying: "All you people of the state shall identify yourselves with the emperor and shall not unite with the subordinates. What the emperor thinks to be right all shall think to be right; what he thinks to be wrong all shall think to be wrong. Put away your evil speech and learn his good speech; put away your evil conduct and learn his good conduct. For the emperor is naturally the (most) high-minded and tender-hearted man of the empire. If all the people of the empire follow his example, how then can the state be disorderly?" Now, why was the emperor so successful in governing the empire? It was just because he could unify the purposes in the empire that the empire is orderly.
- 7. But to carry the process of identification with the superior up to the Son of Heaven and not further up to Heaven itself -- then the jungle from Heaven is yet unremoved. Thereupon Heaven would send down cold and heat without moderation, and snow, frost, rain, and dew untimely. As a result, the five grains could not ripen and the six animals could not mature; and there would be disease, epidemics, and pestilence. Now the repeated visitations of hurricanes and torrents are just punishments from Heaven - punishments to the people below for not identifying themselves with it. Therefore the sage-kings of old appreciated what Heaven and the spirits desire and avoided what they abominate, in order to increase benefits and to avoid calamities in the world. With purification and baths and clean wine and cakes they led the people to make sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. In such services to the spirits they dared not use wine and cakes that were unclean, sacrificial animals that were not fat, or jade and silk that did not satisfy the standard requirements. The proper time for the spring and autumn sacrifices they dared not miss. Judging lawsuits, they dared not be unjust. Distributing properties, they dared not be unfair. Even when at leisure they dared not be disrespectful. When the sage-kings made such (good) rulers, Heaven and the spirits commended their leadership from above, and the people cherished it from below. To work under the hearty approval of Heaven and the spirits is to obtain their blessings. To work under the appreciation of the people is to obtain their confidence. Administering the government like this, consequently they would succeed in planning, accomplish their ends in executing, be strong in defence and victorious in attack. And the reason for all this lies in their employing the principle of Identification with the Superior in government. And this is how the sage-kings of old administered their government.
- 8. People might then ask: At the present time rulers are not absent from the empire, why then is there disorder in the empire? Mozi said: The political leaders of the present day are quite different from those of old. The case is parallel to that of the Five Punishments with the Prince of Miao. In ancient times, the sage-kings made the code of the Five Punishments and put the empire in order. But when the Prince of Miao established the Five Punishments they unsettled his empire. Can it be that the Punishments are at fault? Really the fault lies in their application. The "Penal Code of Lu" among the books of the ancient kings, says: "Among the people of Miao punishments were applied without employing instruction and admonition. They made a code of five tortures and called it This is to say, those who know how to apply punishments can govern the people with them. And those who do not know, make five tortures out of them. Can it be that the punishments are at fault? Only, when their application is not to the point do they become five tortures. And, also, "Shu Ling", among the books of the ancient kings, says: "The same mouth can produce friendship or produce war." This is to say that he who can use the mouth well will produce friendship, and he who cannot will stir up the enemies and the besieging barbarians. Can it be that the mouth is at fault? The fault really lies in its use which stirs up the enemies and the besieging barbarians
- 9. Hence the installing of the ruler in the ancient days was intended to govern the people. Just as there is one thread to hold together the others in a skein and a main rope to a fishing net, so the ruler is to hold together all the evil and wicked in the empire and bring their purposes into harmony (with their superiors). Thus "Xiang Nian", among the books of the ancient kings, says: "Now the empire is established and the capital is located: (Heaven) installed the emperor, kings, and lords not in order to make them proud, and (Heaven)

appointed the ministers and the officials not in order to make them idle - it was to apportion duties among them and charge them with the maintenance of the Heavenly justice." This is to say that when God and the spirits in the past established the capital and installed the rulers, it was not to make their ranks high, and their emoluments substantial, and to give them wealth and honour, and let them live in comfort and free of care. It was really to procure benefits and eliminate adversities for the people, and to enrich the poor and increase the few, and to bring safety where there is danger and to restore order where there is confusion - it was for this that the political leaders were appointed. And so the ancient sage-kings administered their government accordingly.

10. The lords at the present, however, do just the reverse. Administration is carried on to court flattery. Fathers and brothers and other relatives and friends are placed at the right and left and appointed rulers of the people. Knowing that the superior appointed the rulers not for the welfare of the people, the people all kept aloof and would not identify themselves with the superior. Therefore purposes of the superior and the subordinates are not unified. This being so, rewards and commendations would not encourage the people to do good, and punishments and fines would not restrain them from doing evil. How do we know this would be so?

11. In governing the country, the ruler proclaims "Whoever deserves reward I will reward." Suppose the purposes of the superior and the subordinates are different, whoever is rewarded by the superior would be condemned by the public. And in community life the condemnation of the public is supreme. Though there is reward from the superior, it will not be an encouragement. In governing the country, again, the ruler proclaims: "Whoever deserves punishment I will punish." Suppose the purposes of the superior and the subordinates are different, whoever is punished by the superior would be applauded by the public. And in community life the approval of the public is supreme. Though there is punishment from the superior, it will not be an obstruction. Now, in governing the country and ruling the people, if rewards cannot encourage the people to do good and punishments cannot restrain them from doing evil, is this not just the same as in the beginning of human life when there were no rulers? If it is the same with rulers or without them, it is not the way to govern the people and unify the multitude.

12. As the ancient sage-kings could observe the principle of Identification with the Superior, when they became rulers the purposes of the superior and the subordinates became interchangeable. If the superior reserved for himself special facilities the subordinates could share them. If the people had any unrighted wrongs or accumulated injuries, the superior would remove them. Therefore, if there was a virtuous man thousands of li away, though his clansmen did not all know it (the fact) and people in the same district did not all know it, the emperor could reward him. And if there was an evil man thousands of li away, though his clansmen did not all know it (the fact) and people in the same village did not all know it, the emperor could punish him. Thereupon all the people in the world were astonished, and carefully avoided doing evil, saying: "The emperor is like a spirit in his hearing and sight." But the ancient kings said: "It was no spirit but only the ability to make use of others' ears and eyes to help one's own hearing and sight, to make use of others' lips to help one's own speech, to make use of others' minds to help one's own thought, to make use of others' limbs to help one's own actions." When there are many to help one's hearing and sight then of course one can hear and see far; when there are many to help one's speech then one's good counsel can comfort many; when there are many to help one's thought then one's plans can be shaped speedily; when there are many to help one's actions then one can accomplish one's undertaking quickly. So there was no other reason for the success and great fame of the ancient sages than that they could carry out the principle of Identification with the Superior in their administration.

13. One of the "Eulogies of Zhou" among the works of the ancient kings says: "They came to see his Majesty. Daily they sought the code of propriety." This describes how in times of old, the feudal lords came to the emperor's court both spring and autumn to receive strict instructions from the emperor and ruled their states accordingly when they returned; and there was none among those who came under such an administration that dared not submit completely. And, at that time, none dared to confuse the instructions from the emperor. And thus runs an Ode: "My team is of white horses with black manes. The six reins look luxuriant. They trot and gallop. The considerations (of the emperor) are all-inclusive. Further: "My team is of dark grey horses. The six reins look like silk. They trot and gallop. The plans (of the emperor) are all-inclusive." This is to say that upon discovering either good or evil the ancient feudal lords always hurriedly drove to the emperor and reported it to him. Therefore rewards fell upon the virtuous and punishment upon the wicked. The innocent was not prosecuted and the guilty was not set free. And all this is the result of practising the principle of Identification with the Superior.

14. Therefore, Mozi said: Now, if the rulers and the gentlemen of the world sincerely desire to enrich their country and multiply their people, and to put the government and jurisdiction in order and stabilize the state - if so, then they cannot afford to fail to understand the principle of Identification with the Superior, which is the foundation of government.

MOZI CHAPTER 13 - Identification with the Superior 3

1. Mozi said: The interest of the wise (ruler) lies in carrying out what makes for order among the people and avoiding what makes for confusion. But what is it that makes for order among the people? When the administration of the ruler answers to the desires of the people there will be order, otherwise there will be confusion. How do we know it is so? When the administration of the ruler answers to the desires of the subjects, it manifests an understanding of the approvals and disapprovals of the people. When there is such an understanding, the good will be discovered and rewarded and the bad will be discovered and punished, and the country will surely have order. When the administration of the ruler does not answer to the desires of the subjects, it shows a lack of understanding of the approvals and disapprovals of the subjects. When there is no such understanding then the good will not be discovered and rewarded and the bad will not be discovered and punished. With the good unrewarded and the evil unpunished, such a government will surely put the country into disorder. Therefore when rewards and punishments do not answer to the desires of the people, the matter has to be carefully looked into.

2. But how can the desires of the people (being so many and various) be met? Therefore Mozi said: It can be done only by adopting the principle of Identification with the Superior in government. How do we know the principle of Identification with the Superior can govern the empire? Why not then examine the administration and the theory of government of the ancient times? In the beginning there was no ruler and everybody was independent. Since every one was independent, there would be one purpose when there was one man, ten purposes when there were ten men, a hundred purposes when there were a hundred men, a thousand purposes when there were a thousand men and so on until the number of men became innumerable and the number of different purposes became innumerable with it. And all of them approved their own ideas and disapproved those of others. And there was strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Thereupon Heaven wished to unify the standards in the world. The virtuous was selected and made emperor. Conscious of the insufficiency of his power alone to govern the empire, the emperor chose the next best (in virtue and wisdom) and honoured them to be the three ministers. Conscious of the insufficiency of their powers alone to assist the emperor, the three ministers in turn divided the empire into feudal states and assigned them to feudal lords. Conscious of the insufficiency of his power alone to govern all that were within his four borders, the feudal lord in turn selected his next best and commissioned them ministers and secretaries. Conscious of the insufficiency of their power alone to assist their feudal lord, the ministers and secretaries again selected their next best and appointed them district heads and clan patriarchs. Therefore, in appointing the three ministers, the feudal lords, the ministers and secretaries, and the district heads and clan patriarchs, the emperor was not selecting them for wealth and honour, leisure and ease. It was to employ them to help in administration and jurisdiction. Hence, when Heaven established the empire and located the capital and commissioned the sovereign, kings, lords, and dukes, and appointed secretaries, scholars, professors, and elders - it was not to give them ease, but only to divide up the task and let them help carry out the light of Heaven.

3. Why are the superiors now unable to govern their subordinates, and the subordinates unwilling to serve their superiors? It is because of a mutual disregard. What is the reason for this? The reason is a difference in standards. Whenever standards differ there will be opposition. The ruler may think a man good and reward him. The man, though rewarded by the ruler, yet by the same act provokes the condemnation of the people. Therefore those who do good are not necessarily encouraged by rewards. The ruler may think a man evil and punish him. This man, though punished by the ruler, yet at the same time receives the approval of the people. Therefore those who do evil are not necessarily obstructed by punishments. Thus reward and honour from the ruler cannot encourage the good and his denunciation and punishment cannot prevent the evil. What is the reason for this? The reason is a difference in standards.

4. But how can the standards in the world be unified? Mozi said: Why not let each member of the clan organize his purposes and identify them with those of the patriarch? And let the patriarch give laws and proclaim to the clan: "Whoever discovers a benefactor to the clan shall report it, whoever discovers a malefactor to the clan shall report it. Whoever reports the benefactor of the clan upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the clan himself. Knowing him the

superior will reward him, hearing of him the group will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor of the clan upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the clan himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the group will condemn him." Thereupon all the members of the clan wish to obtain reward and honor and avoid denunciation and punishment from their superior. Seeing the good they will report; seeing the evil they will report. And the patriarch can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the clan will surely have order. Now, why is it that the clan becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

5. Now that the clan is in order, is that all there is of the way of governing the feudal state? By no means. The state is composed of many clans. They all like their own clan and dislike other clans. And there is strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Therefore the clan patriarchs should again organize the purposes in the clan and identify them with those of the feudal lord. The feudal lord also should give laws and should proclaim to the state: "Whoever discovers a benefactor of the state shall report it: whoever discovers a malefactor of the state shall report it. Whoever reports a benefactor of the state upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the state himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the people will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor of the state upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the state himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the people will condemn him." Thereupon all people in the state wish to obtain reward and honour and avoid denunciation and punishment from their superior. Seeing the good they will report, seeing the evil they will report. And the feudal lord can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the feudal state will surely have order. Now, why is it that the state becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

6. Now that the feudal state is in order, is that all there is to the way of governing the empire? By no means. The empire is composed of many states. They all like their own state and dislike other states. And there is strife among the strong and struggle among the weak. Therefore the feudal lord should again organize the purposes in the state and identify them with those of the emperor. The emperor also should give laws and should proclaim to the empire: "Whoever discovers a benefactor of the empire shall report it; whoever discovers a malefactor of the empire shall report it. Whoever reports a benefactor of the empire upon seeing one is equivalent to benefiting the state himself. Knowing him the superior will reward him, hearing of him the people will praise him. Whoever fails to report a malefactor upon seeing one is equivalent to doing evil to the empire himself. Knowing him the superior will punish him, hearing of him the people will condemn him." Thereupon all the people in the empire will wish to obtain reward and honour and avoid denunciation and punishment from their emperor. Seeing the good and the evil they will report. And the emperor can reward the good and punish the evil. With the good rewarded and the evil punished, the empire will surely have order. Now why is it that the empire becomes orderly? Just because the administration is based on the principle of Identification with the Superior.

7. Now that the empire becomes orderly, the emperor will further organize the purposes in the empire and identify them with the Will of Heaven. Therefore Identification with the Superior as a principle can govern the empire when used by the emperor, it can govern the state when used by the feudal lord, and it can govern the clan when used by the clan patriarch. To be found not wanting when used on a large scale to govern the empire, and not useless when employed on a small scale to govern a clan - this is said of such a principle.

8. Hence the proverb: "To govern the world-empire is the same as to rule a single family clan; to command all the people in the world is the same as to order a single individual." Does any one think that all this is just a fancy of Mozi, and that this teaching did not exist among the sage-kings of old? Really they were of the same opinion. All the sage-kings administered their government by the principle of Identification with the Superior, therefore the world became orderly. How do we know it is so? It is recorded in the "Grand Oath" among the books of the ancient kings: "If an unscrupulous man discovers a case of intrigue and deception and fails to make it known, he shall be punished equally." This is to say that whoever discovers any crime and does not report it will be taken as committing a crime of the same order.

9. Therefore in governing the empire, the ancient sage-kings chose only the excellent for the outposts as well as for the offices near him. As there were many to help him see and bear, be succeeded before others in planning, and completed before others in executing, and his good name was spread before others. Just because he could trust his staff in the administration, the benefits were as we have stated. There is

an ancient proverb saying: "The sight of one eye cannot compare with that of two, the hearing of one ear cannot compare with that of two, the grasp of one hand cannot compare with that of two." Now, just because he could trust his staff in the administration the sage-king received such benefits. Therefore during the reign of the ancient sage-king over the empire, if there was a virtuous man more than a thousand li away he could reward him before the people in the same district and village all got to know it. And if there was a wicked man about a thousand li away he could punish him before the people in the same district and village all got to know it. Though it may be supposed that the sage-king was keen in hearing and sight, how could he see all that is beyond a thousand li at one look, how could be hear all that is beyond a thousand li at one hearing? In fact the sage-king could see without going there and hear without being near. Yet what kept the thieves, robbers, bandits, and highwaymen moving all over the empire without being able to find refuge anywhere? There is the beauty of adopting the principle of Identification with the Superior in government.

- 10. Therefore Mozi said: Whoever orders his people to identify themselves with their superior must love them dearly. For the people will not obey orders except when they are ordered with love and held in confidence. Lead them with wealth and honour ahead, and push them with just punishments from behind. When government is carried on like this, even though I wanted to have some one not to identify himself with me, it would be impossible.
- 11. Therefore Mozi said: If the kings, dukes, and important personages of the world now sincerely want to practise magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, if they want to attain the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and contribute toward the benefit of the people on the other, they cannot leave the principle of Identification with the Superior unexamined and un-understood. Identification with the Superior is, indeed, the foundation of government and essence of orderliness.

#### MOZI BOOK 4

#### MOZI CHAPTER 14 - Universal Love 1

- 1. The wise man who has charge of governing the empire should know the cause of disorder before he can put it in order. Unless he knows its cause, he cannot regulate it. It is similar to the problem of a physician who is attending a patient. He has to know the cause of the ailment before he can cure it. Unless he knows its cause he cannot cure it. How is the situation different for him who is to regulate disorder? He too has to know the cause of the disorder before he can regulate it. Unless he knows its cause he cannot regulate it. The wise man who has charge of governing the empire must, then, investigate the cause of disorder.
- 2. Suppose we try to locate the cause of disorder, we shall find it lies in the want of mutual love. What is called disorder is just the lack of filial piety on the part of the minister and the son towards the emperor and the father: As he loves himself and not his father the son benefits himself to the disadvantage of his father. As he loves himself and not his elder brother, the younger brother benefits himself to the disadvantage of his elder brother. As he loves himself and not his emperor, the minister benefits himself to the disadvantage of his emperor. And these are what is called disorder. When the father shows no affection to the son, when the elder brother shows no affection to the younger brother, and when the emperor shows no affection to the minister, on the other hand, it is also called disorder. When the father loves only himself and not the son, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of the son. When the elder brother loves only himself and not his younger brother, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of the younger brother. When the emperor loves only himself and not his minister, he benefits himself to the disadvantage of his minister, and the reason for all these is want of mutual love.
- 3. This is true even among thieves and robbers. As he loves only his own family and not other families, the thief steals from other families to profit his own family. As he loves only his own person and not others, the robber does violence to others to profit himself. And the reason for all this is want of love. This again is true in the mutual disturbance among the houses of the ministers and the mutual invasions among the states of the feudal lords. As he loves only his own house and not the others, the minister disturbs the other houses to profit his own. As he loves only his own state and not the others, the feudal lord attacks the other states to profit his own. These instances exhaust the confusion in the world. And when we look into the causes we find they all arise from want of mutual love.
- 4. Suppose everybody in the world loves universally, loving others as one's self. Will there yet be any unfilial individual? When every one regards his father, elder brother, and emperor as himself, whereto can he direct any unfilial feeling? Will there still be any unaffectionate individual? When every one regards his younger brother, son, and minister as himself, whereto can he direct any disaffection? Therefore there will not be any unfilial feeling or disaffection. Will there then be

any thieves and robbers? When every one regards other families as his own family, who will steal? When every one regards other persons as his own person, who will rob? Therefore there will not be any thieves or robbers. Will there be mutual disturbance among the houses of the ministers and invasion among the states of the feudal lords? When every one regards the houses of others as one's own, who will be disturbing? When every one regards the states of others as one's own, who will invade? Therefore there will be neither disturbances among the houses of the ministers nor invasion among the states of the feudal lords.

5. If every one in the world will love universally; states not attacking one another; houses not disturbing one another; thieves and robbers becoming extinct; emperor and ministers, fathers and sons, all being affectionate and filial -- if all this comes to pass the world will be orderly. Therefore, how can the wise man who has charge of governing the empire fail to restrain hate and encourage love? So, when there is universal love in the world it will be orderly, and when there is mutual hate in the world it will be disorderly. This is why Mozi insisted on persuading people to love others.

#### MOZI CHAPTER 15 - Universal Love 2

- 1. Mozi said: The purpose of the magnanimous is to be found in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. But what are the benefits of the world and what its calamities? Mozi said: Mutual attacks among states, mutual usurpation among houses, mutual injuries among individuals; the lack of grace and loyalty between ruler and ruled, the lack of affection and filial piety between father and son, the lack of harmony between elder and younger brothers these are the major calamities in the world.
- 2. But whence did these calamities arise, out of mutual love? Mozi said: They arise out of want of mutual love. At present feudal lords have learned only to love their own states and not those of others. Therefore they do not scruple about attacking other states. The heads of houses have learned only to love their own houses and not those of others. Therefore they do not scruple about usurping other houses. And individuals have learned only to love themselves and not others. Therefore they do not scruple about injuring others. When feudal lords do not love one another there will be war on the fields. When heads of houses do not love one another they will usurp one another's power. When individuals do not love one another they will injure one another. When ruler and ruled do not love one another they will not be gracious and loyal. When father and son do not love each other they will not be affectionate and filial. When older and younger brothers do not love each other they will not be harmonious. When nobody in the world loves any other, naturally the strong will overpower the weak, the many will oppress the few, the wealthy will mock the poor, the honoured will disdain the humble, the cunning will deceive the simple. Therefore all the calamities, strifes, complaints, and hatred in the world have arisen out of want of mutual love. Therefore the benevolent disapproved of this want.
- Now that there is disapproval, how can we have the condition altered? Mozi said it is to be altered by the way of universal love and mutual aid. But what is the way of universal love and mutual aid? Mozi said: It is to regard the state of others as one's own, the houses of others as one's own, the persons of others as one's self. When feudal lords love one another there will be no more war; when heads of houses love one another there will be no more mutual usurpation; when individuals love one another there will be no more mutual injury. When ruler and ruled love each other they will be gracious and loyal; when father and son love each other they will be affectionate and filial; when older and younger brothers love each other they will be harmonious. When all the people in the world love one another, then the strong will not overpower the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the wealthy will not mock the poor, the honoured will not disdain the humble, and the cunning will not deceive the simple. And it is all due to mutual love that calamities, strife. complaints, and hatred are prevented from arising. Therefore the benevolent exalt it.
- 4. But the gentlemen of the world would say: "So far so good. It is of course very excellent when love becomes universal. But it is only a difficult and distant ideal." Mozi said: This is simply because the gentlemen of the world do not recognize what is to the benefit of the world, or understand what is its calamity. Now, to besiege a city, to fight in the fields, or to achieve a name at the cost of death -- these are what men find difficult. Yet when the superior encourages them, the multitude can do them. Besides, universal love and mutual aid is quite different from these. Whoever loves others is loved by others; whoever benefits others is benefited by others; whoever hates others is hated by others; whoever injures others is injured by others. Then, what difficulty is there with it (universal love)? Only, the ruler fails to embody it in his government and the ordinary man in his conduct.
- 5. Formerly, Lord Wen of the state of Jin (about 630 BC) liked the uncouth uniform of the soldier. And so all his ministers and officers wore sheepskin jackets, carried their

swords in leather girdles, and put on silk-spun hats. Thus attired, they attended the Lord when they went in and paced the court when they stayed out. What was the reason for this? It was that what the ruler encourages the ruled will carry out. And Lord Ling of the state of Chu (about 535 BC) liked slender waists. And so all his ministers and officers limited themselves to a single meal (a day). They tied their belts after exhaling, and could not stand up without leaning against the wall. Within a year the court looked grim and dark. What was the reason for this? It was that what the ruler encourages the ruled will carry out. Again, Lord Goujian of the state of Yue (about 480 BC) liked the warrior's courage, and trained his subjects accordingly. He had his palace boat set on fire. To test his soldiers he proclaimed that all the treasures of the state were contained therein. And he beat the drum himself to urge them on. Hearing the drum the soldiers rushed on in disorder. More than a hundred strong perished in the flames. Thereupon the Lord beat the gong to let them retreat.

- 6. Therefore Mozi said: Now, things like scanty diet, coarse clothing, and the achievement of a name at the cost of death are those in which people find difficulty. Yet when the ruler encourages them the multitude can stand them. Besides, universal love and mutual aid are different from these. Whoever loves others is loved by others; whoever benefits others is benefited by others; whoever injures others is injured by others. Then what difficulty is there with it (universal love)? Only, the ruler fails to embody it in his government and the ordinary man in his conduct.
- 7. Nevertheless. the gentlemen in the empire think that, though it would be an excellent thing if love can be universalised, it is something quite impracticable. It is like carrying Mt. Tai and leaping over the Ji River. Mozi said: The illustration is a faulty one. Of course to be able to carry Mt. Tai and leap over the Ji River would be an extreme feat of strength. Such has never been performed from antiquity to the present time. But universal love and mutual aid are quite different from this. And the ancient sage-kings did practise it. How do we know they did? When Yu was working to bring the Deluge under control, he dug the West River and the Youdou River in the west in order to let off the water from the Ou, Sun, and Huang Rivers. In the north he built a dam across the Yuan and Gu Rivers in order to fill the Houzhidi (a basin) and the Huzhi River. Mt. Dizhu was made use of as a water divide, and a tunnel was dug through Mt. Lungmen. All these were done to benefit the peoples west of the (Yellow) River and various barbarian tribes, Yan, Dai, Hu, Ho, of the north. In the east he drained the great Plain and built dykes along the Mengzhu River. The watercourse was divided into nine canals in order to regulate the water in the east and in order to benefit the people of the District of Ji. In the south he completed the Yangtze, Han, Huai, and Ru Rivers. These ran eastward and emptied themselves into the Five Lakes. This was done in order to benefit the peoples of Jing, Qi, Gan, Yue, and the barbarians of the south. All these are the deeds of Yu We can, then, universalize love in conduct. When King Wen was ruling the Western land, he shone forth like the sun and the moon all over the four quarters as well as in the Western land. He did not allow the big state to oppress the small state, he did not allow the multitude to oppress the singlehanded, he did not allow the influential and strong to take away the grain and live stock from the farmers. Heaven visited him with blessing. And, therefore, the old and childless had the wherewithal to spend their old age, the solitary and brotherless had the opportunity to join in the social life of men, and the orphans had the support for their growth. This was what King Wen had accomplished. We can, then, universalize love in conduct. When King Wu was about to do service to Mt. Tai it was recorded thus: "Blessed is Mt. Tai. Duke of Zhou by a long descent is about to perform his duty. As I have obtained the approval of Heaven, the magnanimous arise to save the people of Shang Xia as well as the barbarians (from the tyranny of Emperor Zhou). Though (Emperor Zhou) has many near relatives, they cannot compare with the magnanimous. If there is sin anywhere, I am solely responsible." This relates the deeds of King Wu. We can, then, universalize love in conduct.
- 8. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers sincerely desire the empire to be wealthy and dislike to have it poor, desire to have it orderly and dislike to have it chaotic, they should bring about universal love and mutual aid. This is the way of the sage-kings and the way to order for the world, and it should not be neglected.

#### MOZI CHAPTER 16 - Universal Love 3

1. Mozi said: The purpose of the magnanimous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. Now among all the current calamities, which are the most important? The attack on the small states by the large ones, disturbances of the small houses by the large ones, oppression of the weak by the strong, misuse of the few by the many, deception of the simple by the cunning, disdain towards the humble by the honoured - these are the misfortunes in the empire. Again, the lack of grace on the part of the ruler, the

lack of loyalty on the part of the minIster, the lack of affection on the part of the father, the lack of filial piety on the part of the son - these are further calamities in the empire. Also, the mutual injury and harm which the unscrupulous do to one another with weapons, poison, water, and fire is still another calamity in the empire. When we come to think about the cause of all these calamities, how have they arisen? Have they arisen out of love of others and benefiting others? Of course we should say no. We should say they have arisen out of hate of others and injuring others. If we should classify one by one all those who hate others and injure others, should we find them to be universal in love or partial? Of course we should say they are partial. Now, since partiality against one another is the cause of the major calamities in the empire, then partiality is wrong.

- 2. Mozi continued: Whoever criticizes others must have something to replace them. Criticism without suggestion is like trying to stop flood with flood and put out fire with fire. It will surely be without worth. Mozi said: Partiality is to be replaced by universality. But how is it that partiality can be replaced by universality? Now, when every one regards the states of others as he regards his own, who would attack the others' states? Others are regarded like self. When every one regards the capitals of others as he regards his own, who would seize the others' capitals? Others are regarded like self. When every one regards the houses of others as he regards his own, who would disturb the others' houses? Others are regarded like self. Now, when the states and cities do not attack and seize each other and when the clans and individuals do not disturb and harm one another -- is this a calamity or a benefit to the world? Of course it is a benefit. When we come to think about the several benefits in regard to their cause, how have they arisen? Have they arisen out of hate of others and injuring others? Of course we should say no. We should say they have arisen out of love of others and benefiting others. If we should classify one by one all those who love others and benefit others, should we find them to be partial or universal? Of course we should say they are universal. Now, since universal love is the cause of the major benefits in the world, therefore Mozi proclaims universal love is right. And, as has already been said, the interest of the magnanimous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities. Now that we have found out the consequences of universal love to be the major benefits of the world and the consequences of partiality to be the major calamities in the world; this is the reason why Mozi said partiality is wrong and universality is right.
- 3. When we try to develop and procure benefits for the world with universal love as our standard, then attentive ears and keen eyes will respond in service to one another, then limbs will be strengthened to work for one another, and those who know the Dao will untiringly instruct others. Thus the old and those who have neither wife nor children will have the support and supply to spend their old age with, and the young and weak and orphans will have the care and admonition to grow up in. When universal love is adopted as the standard, then such are the consequent benefits. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it
- 4. Yet the objection is not all exhausted. It is asked, "It may be a good thing, but can it be of any use?" Mozi replied: If it were not useful then even I would disapprove of it. But how can there be anything that is good but not useful? Let us consider the matter from both sides. Suppose there are two men. Let one of them hold to partiality and the other to universality. Then the advocate of partiality would say to himself, how can I take care of my friend as I do of myself, how can I take care of his parents as my own? Therefore when he finds his friend hungry he would not feed him, and when he finds him cold he would not clothe him. In his illness he would not minister to him, and when he is dead he would not bury him. Such is the word and such is the deed of the advocate of partiality. The advocate of universality is quite unlike this both in word and in deed. He would say to himself, I have heard that to be a superior man one should take care of his friend as he does of himself, and take care of his friend's parents as his own. Therefore when he finds his friend hungry he would feed him, and when he finds him cold he would clothe him. In his sickness he would serve him, and when he is dead he would bury him. Such is the word and such is the deed of the advocate of universality. These two persons then are opposed to each other in word and also in deed. Suppose they are sincere in word and decisive in deed so that their word and deed are made to agree like the two parts of a tally, and that there is no word but what is realised in deed, then let us consider further: Suppose a war is on, and one is in armour and helmet ready to join the force, life and death are not predictable. Or suppose one is commissioned a deputy by the ruler to such far countries like Ba, Yue, Qi, and Jing, and the arrival and return are quite uncertain. Now (under such circumstances) let us inquire upon whom would one lay the trust of one's family and parents. Would it be upon the universal friend or upon the partial friend? It seems to me, on occasions like these, there are no fools in the world. Even if he

is a person who objects to universal love, he will lay the trust upon the universal friend all the same. This is verbal objection to the principle but actual selection by it - this is self-contradiction between one's word and deed. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

5. Yet the objection is not all exhausted. It is objected: Maybe it is a good criterion to choose among ordinary men, but it may not apply to the rulers. Let us again consider the matter from both sides. Suppose there are two rulers. Let one of them hold partiality and the other universality. Then the partial ruler would say to himself, how can I take care of the people as I do of myself? This would be quite contrary to common sense. A man's life on earth is of short duration, it is like a galloping horse passing by. Therefore when he finds his people hungry he would not feed them, and when he finds them cold he would not clothe them. When they are sick he would not minister to them, and upon their death he would not bury them. Such is the word and such is the deed of the partial ruler. The universal ruler is quite unlike this both in word and in deed. He would say to himself, I have heard that to be an upright ruler of the world one should first attend to his people and then to himself. Therefore when he finds his people hungry he would feed them, and when he finds them cold he would clothe them. In their sickness he would minister to them, and upon their death he would bury them. Such is the word and such is the deed of the universal ruler. These two rulers, then, are opposed to each other in word and also in deed. Suppose they are sincere in word and decisive in deed so that their word and deed are made to agree like the two parts of a tally, and that there is no word but what is realised in deed, then let us consider further: Suppose, now, that there is a disastrous pestilence, that most people are in misery and privation, and that many lie dead in ditches (Under such circumstances) let us inquire, if a person could choose one of the two rulers, which would he prefer? It seems to me on such occasions there are no fools in the world. Even if he is a person who objects to universal love, he will choose the universal ruler. This is verbal objection to the principle but actual selection by it - this is self-contradiction between one's word and deed. It is incomprehensible, then, why people should object to universal love when they hear it.

6. Yet the objection is still not exhausted. It points out that universal love may be magnanimous and righteous, but how can it be realised? Universal love is impracticable just as carrying Mt. Tai and leaping over rivers. So, then, universal love is but a pious wish, how can it be actualised? Mozi replied: To carry Mt. Tai and leap over rivers is something that has never been accomplished since the existence of man. But universal love and mutual aid has been personally practised by six ancient sage-kings. How do we know they have done it? Mozi said: I am no contemporary of theirs, neither have I heard their voice or seen their faces. The sources of our knowledge lie in what is written on the bamboos and silk, what is engraved in metal and stones, and what is cut in the vessels to be handed down to posterity. The "Great Declaration" proclaims: "King Wen was like the sun and the moon, shedding glorious and resplendent light in the four quarters as well as over the Western land." This is to say that the love of King Wen is so wide and universal that it is like the sun and the moon shining upon the world without partiality. Here is universal love on the part of King Wen: what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of King

- 7. Moreover it is true not only in the "Great Declaration" but also with the "Oath of Yu". Yu said (therein) "Come all you hosts of people, take heed and hearken to my words. It is not that I, a single person, would willingly stir up this confusion. The Prince of Miao is more and more unreasonable, he deserves punishment from Heaven. Therefore I lead you to appoint the lords of the states and go to punish the Prince of Miao." It was not for the sake of increasing his wealth and multiplying his felicitations, and indulging his ears and eyes but for that of procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its annoyances that Yu went to war against the Prince of Miao. This is universal love on the part of Yu, and what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of Yu.
- 8. Again it is true not only in the "Oath of Yu" but also with the "Oath of Tang." Tang said: "Unworthy Lu presumed to do sacrifice with a first-born male animal to Heaven on high and mother Earth, saying, 'Now there is a great drought from heaven. It happens right in my, Lu's, time. I do not know whether I have wronged Heaven or men. Good, I dare not cover up; guilt, I dare not let go this is clearly seen in the mind of God. If there is sin anywhere hold me responsible for it; if I myself am guilty may the rest be spared." This is to say that though having the honour of being an emperor and the wealth of possessing the whole world, Tang did not shrink from offering himself as sacrifice to implore God and the spirits. This is universal love on the part of Tang, and what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the example of Tang.

- 9. Still again, it is true not only in the "Oath of Yu" and the "Oath of Tang" but also with the "Poems of Zhou." To quote: "the way of the (good) emperor is wide and straight, without partiality and without favouritism. The way of the (good) emperor is even and smooth, without favouritism and without partiality. It is straight like an arrow and just like a balance. The superior man follows it, (even) the unprincipled looks on (without resentment)." Thus the principle that I have been expounding is not to be regarded as a mere doctrinaire notion. In the past, when Wen and Wu administered the government both of them rewarded the virtuous and punished the wicked without partiality to their relatives and brothers. This is just the universal love of Wen and Wu. And what Mozi has been talking about is really derived from the examples of Wen and Wu. It is incomprehensible then why people should object to universal love when they hear it.
- 10. Yet the objection is still not exhausted. It raises the question, when one does not think in terms of benefits and harm to one's parents would it be filial piety? Mozi replied: Now let us inquire about the plans of the filial sons for their parents. I may ask, when they plan for their parents, whether they desire to have others love or hate them? Judging from the whole doctrine (of filial piety), it is certain that they desire to have others love their parents. Now, what should I do first in order to attain this? Should I first love others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return, or should I first hate others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return? Of course I should first love others' parents in order that they would love my parents in return. Hence those who desire to be filial to one another's parents, if they have to choose (between whether they should love or hate others' parents), had best first love and benefit others' parents. Would any one suspect that all the filial sons are stupid and incorrigible (in loving their own parents)? We may again inquire about it. It is said in the "Da Ya" among the books of the ancient kings: "No idea is not given its due value; no virtue is not rewarded. When a peach is thrown to us, we would return with a prune." This is to say whoever loves others will be loved and whoever hates others will be hated. It is then quite incomprehensible why people should object to universal love when they hear it.
- 11. Is it because it is hard and impracticable? There are instances of even much harder tasks done. Formerly, Lord Ling of the state of Jing liked slender waists. In his time people in the state of Jing ate not more than once a day. They could not stand up without support, and could not walk without leaning against the wall. Now, limited diet is quite hard to endure, and yet it was endured. While Lord Ling encouraged it, his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior. Lord Goujian of the state of Yue admired courage and taught it to his ministers and soldiers three years. Fearing that their knowledge had not yet made them efficient he let a fire be set on the boat, and beat the drum to signal advance. The soldiers at the head of the rank were even pushed down. Those who perished in the flames and in water were numberless. Even then they would not retreat without signal. The soldiers of Yue would be quite terrified (ordinarily). To be burnt alive is a hard task, and yet it was accomplished. When the Lord of Yue encouraged it, his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior. Lord Wen of the state of Jin liked coarse clothing. And so in his time the people of Jin wore suits of plain cloth, jackets of sheep skin, hats of spun silk, and big rough shoes. Thus attired, they would go in and see the Lord and come out and walk in the court. To dress up in coarse clothing is hard to do, yet it has been done. When Lord Wen encouraged it his people could be changed within a generation to conform to their superior. Now to endure limited diet, to be burnt alive, and to wear coarse clothing are the hardest things in the world, yet when the superiors encouraged them the people could be changed within a generation. Why was this so? It was due to the desire to conform to the superior. Now, as to universal love and mutual aid, they are beneficial and easy beyond a doubt. It seems to me that the only trouble is that there is no superior who encourages it. If there is a superior who encourages it, promoting it with rewards and commendations, threatening its reverse with punishments, I feel people will tend toward universal love and mutual aid like fire tending upward and water downwards - it will be unpreventable in the world.
- 12. Therefore, universal love is really the way of the sage-kings. It is what gives peace to the rulers and sustenance to the people. The gentleman would do well to understand and practise universal love; then he would be gracious as a ruler, loyal as a minister, affectionate as a father, filial as a son, courteous as an elder brother, and respectful as a younger brother. So, if the gentleman desires to be a gracious ruler, a loyal minister, an affectionate father, a filial son, a courteous elder brother, and a respectful younger brother, universal love must be practised. It is the way of the sage-kings and the great blessing of the people.

MOZI BOOK 5

MOZI CHAPTER 17 - Condemnation of Offensive War 1

1. Suppose a man enters the orchard of another and steals the other's peaches and plums. Hearing of it the public will condemn it; laying hold of him the authorities will punish him. Why? Because he injures others to profit himself. As to seizing dogs, pigs, chickens, and young pigs from another, it is even more unrighteous than to steal peaches and plums from his orchard. Why? Because it causes others to suffer more, and it is more inhumane and criminal. When it comes to entering another's stable and appropriating the other's horses and oxen, it is more inhumane than to seize the dogs, pigs, chickens, and young pigs of another. Why? Because others are caused to suffer more; when others are caused to suffer more, then the act is more inhumane and criminal. Finally, as to murdering the innocent, stripping him of his clothing, dispossessing him of his spear and sword, it is even more unrighteous than to enter another's stable and appropriate his horses and oxen. Why? Because it causes others to suffer more; when others are caused to suffer more, then the act is more inhumane and criminal. All the gentlemen of the world know that they should condemn these things, calling them unrighteous. But when it comes to the great attack of states, they do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, they applaud it, calling it righteous. Can this be said to be knowing the difference between righteousness and unrighteousness?

2. The murder of one person is called unrighteous and incurs one death penalty. Following this argument, the murder of ten persons will be ten times as unrighteous and there should be ten death penalties; the murder of a hundred persons will be a hundred times as unrighteous and there should be a hundred death penalties. All the gentlemen of the world know that they should condemn these things, calling them unrighteous. But when it comes to the great unrighteousness of attacking states, they do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, they applaud it, calling it righteous. And they are really ignorant of its being unrighteous. Hence they have recorded their judgment to bequeath to their posterity. If they did know that it is unrighteous, then why would they record their false judgment to bequeath to posterity? Now, if there were a man who, upon seeing a little blackness, should say it is black, but, upon seeing much, should say it is white; then we should think he could not tell the difference between black and white. If, upon tasting a little bitterness one should say it is bitter, but, upon tasting much, should say it is sweet; then we should think he could not tell the difference between bitter and sweet. Now. when a little wrong is committed people know that they should condemn it, but when such a great wrong as attacking a state is committed people do not know that they should condemn it. On the contrary, it is applauded, called righteous. Can this be said to be knowing the difference between the righteous and the unrighteous? Hence we know the gentlemen of the world are confused about the difference between righteousness and unrighteousness.

## MOZI CHAPTER 18 - Condemnation of Offensive War $2\,$

1. Mozi said: If the rulers of to-day sincerely wish to be careful in condemnation and commendation, judicious in rewards and punishments, and temperate in government and jurisdiction. Therefore Mozi said: There is an ancient saying that, when one is not successful in making out plans then predict the future by the past and learn about the absent from what is present. When one plans like this then one can be intelligent.

2. Now, about a country going to war. If it is in winter it will be too cold; if it is in summer it will be too hot. So it should be neither in winter nor in summer. If it is in spring it will take people away from sowing and planting; if it is in autumn it will take people away from reaping and harvesting. Should they be taken away in either of these seasons, innumerable people would die of hunger and cold, And, when the army sets out, the bamboo arrows, the feather flags, the house tents, the armour, the shields, the sword hilts -innumerable quantities of these will break and rot and never come back. The spears, the lances, the swords, the poniards. the chariots, the carts -- innumerable quantities of these will break and rot and never come back. Then innumerable horses and oxen will start out fat and come back lean or will not return at all. And innumerable people will die because their food will be cut off and cannot be supplied on account of the great distances of the roads. And innumerable people will be sick and die of the constant danger and the irregularity of eating and drinking and the extremes of hunger and overeating. Then, the army will be lost in large numbers or entirely; in either case the number will be innumerable. And this means the spirits will lose their worshippers, and the number of these will also be innumerable.

3. Why then does the government deprive the people of their opportunities and benefits to such a great extent? It has been answered: "I covet the fame of the victor and the possessions obtainable through the conquest. So I do it." Mozi said: But when we consider the victory as such, there is nothing useful about it. When we consider the possessions

obtained through it, it does not even make up for the loss. Now about the siege of a city of three li or a guo of seven li -if these could be obtained without the use of weapons or the killing of lives, it would be all right. But (as a matter of fact) those killed must be counted by the ten thousand, those widowed or left solitary must be counted by the thousand, before a city of three li or a guo of seven li could be captured. Moreover the states of ten thousand chariots now have empty towns to be counted by the thousand, which can be entered without conquest; and their extensive lands to be counted by the ten thousand (of mu), which can be cultivated without conquest. So, land is abundant but people are few. Now to pursue the people to death and aggravate the danger feared by both superiors and subordinates in order to obtain an empty city -- this is to give up what is needed and to treasure what is already in abundance. Such an undertaking is not in accordance with the interest of the country.

4. Those who endeavor to gloss over offensive wars would say: "In the south there are the lords of Jing and Yue, and in the north there are the lords of Qi and Jin. When their states were first assigned to them, they were but a hundred li square in area, and but a few tens of thousands in number of people. By means of wars and attacks, their areas have increased to several thousand li square and the people to several million. So, then, offensive wars are not to be condemned." Mozi said : The four or five states may have reaped their benefits, still it is not conduct according to the Dao. It is like the physician giving his drugs to the patients. If a physician should give all the sick in the world a uniform drug, among the ten thousand who took it there might be four or five who were benefited, still it is not to be said to be a common (commonly beneficial) medicine. Thus a filial son will not give it to his parent and a loyal minister will not give it to his king. After the empire was in the ancient time divided into states a great many of them died of attacks - the earlier cases we hear of through the ear, the recent cases we saw by the eye. How do we know it is so? In the east there was the state of Ju. It was a small state situated in the midst of big states. It did not show respect and obedience to the big states, and the latter therefore did not like it or favour it. So, on the east Yue cut and appropriated its land by force, and from the west Qi swallowed it up altogether. And it was due to offensive wars that Ju died between two big states. And it was due to offensive war too that in the south Chen and Cai were extinguished by Wu and Yue. And it was also due to offensive wars that in the north Bu Tu He perished among Yan, Dai, Hu and Mo. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers now really desire gain and avert loss, desire security and avert danger, they cannot but condemn offensive wars.

5. Those who endeavor to gloss over offensive wars would "These states perished because they could not gather and employ their multitudes. I can gather and employ my multitudes and wage war with them; who, then, dares to be unsubmissive?" Mozi said: You might be able to gather and employ your multitudes, but can you compare yourself with the ancient He Lu of Wu? He Lu of Wu (about 510 B.C.) in the ancient days drilled his soldiers seven years. With armour on and weapons in hand they could cover three hundred li (in a day) before encamping (for the night). Passing Zhulin, they emerged at the narrow Pass of Min. They engaged in battle (with the state of Chu) at Boju. Subduing Chu, (He Lu) gave audience to Song and Lu. By the time of Fu Chai he attacked Qi in the north, encamped on the Wen River, fought at Ai Ling and greatly defeated Qi and compelled surety from them at Mt.Tai. In the east he attacked Yue, crossing the Three Rivers and the Five Lakes, and compelled surety at Guiji. None of the nine tribes dared to show disrespect, Reaching home, however, he would not reward the orphaned or give to the numerous rustics. He depended on his own might, gloated over his success, praised his own cleverness, and neglected instructing and training his people. He built the Monument of Gusu which was not completed even in seven years. By this time (the people of Wu) felt tired and disheartened. Seeing the friction between the superior and the subordinates in Wu, Goujian of Yue gathered his multitudes to take revenge. He broke into its kuo on the north, moved away its royal boat, and surrounded its palace. And thus Wu perished. Some time ago Jin had six ministers and Zhibo (about 455 B.C.) was the most powerful. He considered the large area of his land and the great number of his people, and desired to attack the feudal lords in order to have a rapid spread of his courageous name through war and battle. So he ranked his brave warriors and arranged his boat and chariot forces. He attacked (the house of) Zhongxing and seised it. This showed to him that his plans were satisfactory. Then he attacked Fan and totally defeated him. Thus he absorbed three families into one. He did not stop even there. but surrounded Minister Xiang of Zhao at Jinyang. By this time Han and Wei came together and deliberated, saying: "An ancient proverb says: 'When the lips are removed the teeth will become cold.' The house of Zhao dying in the morning we would be following it in the evening; the house of Zhao dying in the evening we would be following it in the morning. A poet sings: 'If the fish would not act while yet in water, what can it do when it is already placed on

land?" Thereupon the three ministers worked with united strength and a single mind, opening passes and blazing trails, putting on armour and arousing the warriors. With Han and Wei from without and Zhao from within, they battled Zhibo and totally defeated him. Therefore Mozi said: An ancient proverb says: "The superior man would not go to water but to man for a mirror." In water as a mirror one sees only one's face; in man as a mirror one can predict good and bad luck." Have those who now regard offensive wars as beneficial made use of Zhibo's story? It is plainly discernible to be not ausnicious but ominous.

MOZI CHAPTER 19 - Condemnation of Offensive War 3

1. Mozi said: What does the world now praise to be good? Is not an act praised because it is useful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle sphere, and to the people below? Certainly no other reason is needed for praise than to be useful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle, and to the people below. Even the stupid would say it is praiseworthy when it is helpful to Heaven on high, to the spirits in the middle, and to the people below. And what the world agrees on is just the way of the sage-kings. Now the feudal lords in the empire still attack and assault each other. This is to praise the principle without understanding its real meaning. They resemble the blind man who uses with others the names of black and white but cannot discriminate between such objects. Can this be said to be real discrimination? Therefore, deliberating for the empire, the ancient wise men always considered the real (meaning of the) principles, and acted accordingly. Hence they were no more uncertain in their actions. All desires, far or near, were satisfied, and Heaven, the spirits, and the people were all blessed. Such was the way of the wise men. Governing the empire, the ancient magnanimous men always worked for mutual satisfaction with the large states, brought the empire into harmony, and centralised all that was within the four seas. Then they led the people in the empire diligently to do service to God, hills and rivers, and the spirits and ghosts. Many were the benefits to the people and great was their success. Thereupon Heaven rewarded them, the spirits enriched them, and the people praised them. The high honour of Son of Heaven was conferred upon them and the great wealth of the whole world was given to them. Their names partake of (the permanence and greatness of) Heaven and Earth and are not forgotten even to this day. Such is the way of the wise and such is the way by which the ancient kings came to possess the world.

2. The rulers and lords of to-day are quite different. They all rank their warriors and arrange their boat and chariot forces: they make their armour strong and weapons sharp in order to attack some innocent state. Entering the state they cut down the grain fields and fell the trees and woods; they tear down the inner and outer walls of the city and fill up the ditches and ponds; they seize and kill the sacrificial animals and burn down the ancestral temple; they kill and murder the people and exterminate the aged and weak; they move away the treasures and valuables. The soldiers are encouraged to advance by being told: "To suffer death is the highest (service you can render), to kill many is the next, to be wounded is the lowest. But if you should drop out from your rank and attempt to sneak away, the penalty will be death without moderation." Thus the soldiers are put to fear. Now to capture a state and to destroy an army, to disturb and torture the people, and to set at naught the aspirations of the sages by confusion - is this intended to bless Heaven? But the people of Heaven are gathered together to besiege the towns belonging to Heaven. This is to murder men of Heaven and dispossess the spirits of their altars and to ruin the state and to kill the sacrificial animals. It is then not a blessing to Heaven on high. Is it intended to bless the spirits? But men of Heaven are murdered, spirits are deprived of their sacrifices, the earlier kings are neglected, the multitude are tortured and the people are scattered; it is then not a blessing to the spirits in the middle. Is it intended to bless the people? But the blessing of the people by killing them off must be very meagre. And when we calculate the expense, which is the root of the calamities to living, we find the property of innumerable people is exhausted. It is, then, not a blessing to the people below either.

3. Now that the armies are intended for mutual destruction, it is evident: If the general be not courageous, if soldiers be not brave, if weapons be not sharp, if drills be not frequent, if the force be not large, if generals be not harmonious, if power be not august, if a siege be not enduring, if an assault be not speedy, if people be not strongly bound together, if determination be not firm - if this be so, the (other) feudal lords will suspect. When feudal lords entertain suspicion, enemies will be stirred up and cause anxiety, and the morale will be weakened. On the other hand, if every preparation is in good shape and the state goes out to engage in war, then the state will lose its men and the people will neglect their vocations. Have we not heard it said that, when a warring state goes on an expedition, of the officers there must be several hundred, of the common people there must be several thousand, and of the soldiers and prisoners there must be ten thousand, before the army can set out? It may last for several

years, or, at the shortest, several months. So, the superior will have no time to attend to government, the officials will have no time to attend to their offices, the farmers will have no time to sow or reap, the women will have no time to weave or spin: that is, the state will lose its men and the people will neglect their vocations. Besides, the chariots will break and horses will be exhausted. As to tents, army supplies, and soldiers' equipment - if one-fifth of these can remain (after the war) it would already be beyond expectation. Moreover, innumerable men will be missing and lost on the way, and will become sick from the long distances, meagre rations, hunger and cold, and die in the ditches. Now the calamity to the people and the world is tremendous. Yet the rulers enjoy doing it. This means they enjoy injuring and exterminating the people; is this not perversity? The most warring states in the empire to-day are Qi, Jin, Chu, and Yue. These four states are all successful in the world. Even if their people be increased tenfold, still they could not consume all that their land could produce. That is, they are in need of men while they have a surplus of land. Still they strove against each other to possess more land. This is to neglect what is needed and to value what is already in plenty.

4. The warring lords would gloss over (their conduct) with arguments to confute Mozi, saying: "Do you condemn attack and assault as unrighteous and not beneficial? But, anciently, Yu made war on the Prince of Miao, Tang on Jie, and King Wu on Zhou. Yet these are regarded as sages. What is your explanation for this?" Mozi said: You have not examined the terminology of my teaching and you do not understand its motive. What they did is not to be called "attack" but "punishment." Anciently, the three Miao tribes were in great confusion. Heaven ordered their destruction. The sun rose at night. It rained blood for three days. Dragons emerged in the temple and dogs cried in the market place. Ice came in summer and earth cracked until water gushed forth. The five grains appeared in mutation. At these, the people were greatly shocked. Gao Yang then gave command (to Yu) in the Yuan Palace. Yu held the imperial jade order in hand and set forth to conquer Miao. Amidst thunder and lightning, a god with the face of a man and the body of a bird was revealed to be waiting upon (Yu) with the gui in hand. The general of Miao was brought down by an arrow and the Miao army was set in great confusion. And the Miao tribes became less and less significant ever after. Having conquered Miao, Yu set apart the hills and rivers (by names), and ordered things into high and low. With sacrifices he set up the four bordering countries, and neither spirits nor men revolted (any more). So there was peace in the world. This was the reason why Yu made war on the Miao. When it came to King Jie of Xia, Heaven gave severe order. Sun and moon did not appear on time. Winter and summer came irregularly. The five grains were dried up to death. Ghosts called in the country, and cranes shrieked for more than ten nights. Heaven then commissioned Tang in the Biao Palace, to receive the great trust that had been given to Xia, as the conduct of Xia fell into great perversity. Only then dared Tang to lead his multitude and enter the borders of Xia And he let the deserters of the enemy destroy the cities of Xia. Soon after, a god came and told him: "The conduct of Xia is in great confusion. Go and punish him. I will surely let you destroy him, as I have my orders from Heaven." Heaven ordered Zhuyong to send down fire on the northwestern corner of the city of Xia. Thus Tang led the men of Jie and conquered Xia. He then gave audience to the feudal lords at Bo. He revealed and made known the will of Heaven and spread it in the four directions, and none of the feudal lords in the empire dared to show disrespect. This was the reason why Tang punished Jie. When it came to the regime of King Zhou of Shang, his conduct was not acceptable to Heaven. Sacrifices were not according to seasons. Even in the night... It rained sand for ten days at Bo. The nine caldrons moved from their place. Witches appeared in the dark and ghosts sighed at night. Some women turned into men. Flesh came down from Heaven like rain. Thorny brambles covered up the national highways. Yet the king became even more dissolute. A red bird holding a gui by its beak alighted on Mt. Qi, proclaiming: "Heaven decrees King Wen of Zhou to punish Yin and possess its empire." Tai Dian then came to be minister to (King Wen). The charts emerged out of the River and chenghuang appeared on land. Thereupon King Wu ascended the throne. Three gods spoke to him in a dream, saying: "Now that we have submerged Zhou of Yin in wine, you go and attack him. We will surely let you destroy him." So, King Wu set out and attacked Zhou, and replaced Shang with Zhou. Heaven gave King Wu the Yellow Bird Pennant. Having conquered Yin he continued the order of Tang and assigned the worship of the ancestors of Zhou to the feudal lords. Connexions with the barbarians of the four borders were established, and none in the world dared to show disrespect. This was the reason why King Wu punished Zhou. Speaking about the work of these three sages, it is not to be called attack but punishment.

5. The warring lords would again gloss over (their conduct) with arguments for offensive war against Mozi, saying: Do you condemn attack and assault as unrighteous and not

beneficial? But, in ancient times, Xiong Li was assigned to the state of Chu (about 1100 BC) in the Mt. of Sui. Yi Kui started at Youju, and became lord of Yue. Uncle Tang and Lu Shang were first appointed to rule over the states of Jin (1107 BC) and of Qi (about 1120 BC) respectively. All these started with a few hundred li square of land. On account of their capture of other states, now each of them has a quarter of the empire. What is your explanation for this? Mozi said: You have not examined the terminology of my teachings and you do not understand the underlying principle. In ancient times the emperor commissioned feudal lords numbering more than ten thousand. On account of absorption of one state by another, all of the more than ten thousand states have disappeared with only the four remaining. This is like the physician who attends more than ten thousand patients but cures only four. Such an one is not to be said to be a good physician.

6. The warring lords would again gloss over (their conduct) with arguments, saying: "(I wage war) not because I am still discontented with my gold and jade, my children and my land. I want to have my name as a righteous ruler established in the world and draw the other feudal lords to me with my virtue. Mozi said: If there were some one who would establish his righteous name for justice in the world and draw the feudal lords to him with his virtue, the submission of the whole world to him could be awaited while standing. For the world has long been in turmoil and war, and it is weary like the boy at playing horse. If only there were some one who would first benefit the other feudal lords in mutual good faith! When some large state acts unrighteously, he would join in the sorrow; when some large state attacks some smaller one he would join in the rescue; when the outer and the inner walls of the city of the small state are in ruin he would demand their repair; when cloth and grains are exhausted he would supply them; when money and silk are insufficient he would share his own - to befriend the large state in this way, the large state will be pleased, to befriend the small state in this way, the small state will be pleased. With the others tired out and one's self at ease, one's armour and weapon would be stronger. When with kindness and mercy we help the people in their need, the people will be drawn over. When good government is substituted for aggressive war, the country will be benefited many fold. When the expense of the army is limited and the evils of the feudal lords removed, then we shall enjoy prosperity. Let the control (of the army) be judicious and the cause be righteous. Be lenient to the people and place confidence in the army - with this to meet the forces of the feudal lords, there can be no equal in the world. And the benefits to the world will be innumerable. This is what will benefit the world, yet the rulers do not understand making use of it: such may be said to be ignorance of the great thing in the world. Therefore Mozi said: Now if the rulers and the gentlemen of the world sincerely desire to procure benefits and avert calamities for the world - if they desire to do righteousness and be superior men, if they desire to strike the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and bless the people on the other - if so, the doctrine of Condemnation of Offensive War should not be left unheeded.

#### MOZI BOOK 6

### MOZI CHAPTER 20 - Economy of Expenditures 1

1. When a sage rules a state the benefits of the state will be increased twice. When he governs the empire, those of the empire will be doubled. This increase is not by appropriating land from without. But by cutting out the useless expenditures it is accomplished. In issuing an order, taking up an enterprise, or employing the people and expending wealth, the sage never does anything without some useful purpose. Therefore wealth is not wasted and people's resources are not exhausted, and many are the blessings procured. In making clothing, what is the purpose? It is to keep out the cold in winter and heat in summer. The good of clothing is measured in terms of the amount of warmth it adds in winter and coolness in summer: what is merely decorative and does not contribute to these is to be let alone. In building palaces and houses, what is the purpose? It is to keep out the wind and the cold in winter and heat and rain in summer, and to fortify against thieves. What is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone. In forging armour and shields and the five weapons, what is the purpose? It is to prepare against invasion and revolts, bandits and thieves. When these happen, with armor, shields, and the five weapons one will succeed, without them one cannot succeed. Therefore the sages forged armour, shields, and the five weapons. And their good is measured in terms of lightness, sharpness and unbreakability: what is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone. In building boats and vehicles, what is the purpose? A vehicle is to go on land and a boat is to sail rivers and valleys in order to transport the wealth in the four quarters. The good of boats and vehicles is measured in terms of the amount of facility and convenience they afford: what is merely decorative and contributes nothing to these should be let alone. Now, in making all these things none is done without its use in view. Therefore wealth is not wasted and people's resources are not exhausted, and many are the blessings procured.

2. Besides, (the sages) again gave up all such hobbies as collecting pearls and jade, and pet birds, and animals such as dogs and horses, in order to replenish clothing, houses, armour, shields, and the five weapons, and boats and vehicles. And these were multiplied several times. But to increase these is not difficult. What, then, is difficult to increase? To increase the population is difficult. In ancient times, the sagekings said: "No man of twenty should dare to be without a family; no girl of fifteen should dare to be without a master.' Such were the laws of the sage-kings. Now that the sage-kings have passed away, the people have become loose. Those who like to have a family early sometimes marry at twenty. Those who like to have a family late sometimes marry at forty. When the late marriages are made up by the early ones, (the average) is still later than the legal requirements of the sage-kings by ten years. Supposing births are given to children on an average of one in three years, then two or three children should have been born (by the time men now marry). This is not just to urge men to establish families early in order to increase the population. But also ...

3. Those who govern the empire to-day diminish the people in more ways than one: Employing the people they exhaust them, levying taxes they make them heavy. People fall into poverty and innumerable persons die of hunger and cold. Moreover the rulers make war and attack some neighbouring states. It may last a whole year, or, at the shortest, several months. Thus man and woman cannot see each other for a long time. Is not this a way to diminish the people? Living in danger, eating and drinking irregularly many become sick and die. Hiding in ambush, setting fire, besieging a city, and battling in the open fields, innumerable men die. Are not ways of diminishing the people getting numerous with the government of the rulers of to-day? They did not exist when the sage-kings administered the government. (In the government by the sagacious), many ways of increasing the population will arise. Therefore Mozi said: To cut out expenditures is the way of the sage-kings and a great blessing to the world

#### MOZI CHAPTER 21 - Economy of Expenditures 2

- 1. Mozi said: The ancient illustrious kings and sages ruled over the empire and headed the feudal lords because they loved the people loyally and blessed them with many benefits. Loyalty calls out confidence. And, when blessing is shown in addition, the people were not wearied during their whole life and did not feel tired until their death. That the ancient illustrious kings and sages could rule over the empire and head the feudal lords is just because of this.
- 2. And the ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws of economy, saying: "All you artisans and workers, carpenters and tanners, potters and smiths, do what you can do. Stop when the needs of the people are satisfied." What causes extra expense but adds no benefit to the people the sage-kings would not undertake.
- 3. The ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws regarding food and drink, saying: "Stop when hunger is satiated, breathing becomes strong, limbs are strengthened and ears and eyes become sharp. There is no need of combining the five tastes extremely well or harmonizing the different sweet odours. And efforts should not be made to procure rare delicacies from far countries." How do we know such were the laws? In ancient times, when Yao was governing the empire he consolidated Jiaoze on the south, reached Youdu on the north, expanded from where the sun rises to where the sun sets on the east and west, and none was unsubmissive or disrespectful. Yet, even when he was served with what he much liked, he did not take a double cereal or both soup and meat. He ate out of an earthen liu and drank out of an earthen xing, and took wine out of a spoon. With the ceremonies of bowing and stretching and courtesies and decorum the sage-king had nothing to do.
- 4. The ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws regarding clothing, saying: "Be satisfied with clothes of blue or grey silk in winter which are light and warm, and with clothes of flax-linen in summer which are light and cool. What causes extra expenditure but does not add benefits to the people the sage-kings would not allow. Because the ferocious and cunning animals were destroying men and injuring the people, the ancient sage-kings taught the people the use of weapons, saying: "Carry a two-edged sword which penetrates when it pierces and severs when it cuts. When struck with the flat side it does not break, this is the utility of a sword. To be light and strong and afford convenience of action, such is the utility of armour. A vehicle is used to carry weight and to travel great distances. It should be safe to ride and easy to pull; safe to ride so as not to hurt the rider, easy to pull so as to reach the destination speedily. This is the utility of the vehicle. Because the wide rivers and broad valleys were once not crossable the sage-kings ordered boats and oars to be made. And these were made just so that they could cross the riveri. Even when the High Duke or a feudal lord arrived, the boat

and the oars were not changed and the ferryman put on no decorations. Such is the utility of the boat.

- 5. The ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws limiting funeral expenditure, saying: "Of shrouds, there shall be three pieces in order to be enough to hold the rotting flesh. The coffin shall be three inches thick, to be sufficient to hold the rotting bones. The pit shall be dug not deep enough to reach water, but just so deep that the gases will not escape. When the dead is buried the living shall not mourn too long."
- 6. In those ancient days, at the beginning of the race, when there were no palaces or houses, people lived in caves dug at the side of hills and mounds. The sage-kings felt quite concerned, thinking that the caves might keep off the wind and cold in winter, but that in summer it would be wet below and steaming above which might hurt the health of the people. So palaces and houses were built and found useful. Now, what is the standard in building palaces and houses? Mozi said: Just so that on the side it can keep off the wind and the cold, on top it can keep off the snow, frost, rain, and dew, within it is clean enough for sacrificial purposes, and that the partition in the palace is high enough to separate the men from the women. What causes extra expenditure but does not add any benefit to the people, the sage-kings will not undertake.

MOZI CHAPTER 22 - Economy of Expenditures 3 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 23 - Simplicity in Funerals 1 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 24 - Simplicity in Funerals 2 (Text missing)

#### MOZI CHAPTER 25 - Simplicity in Funerals 3

- 1. Mozi said: The magnanimous ruler takes care of the empire, in the same way as a filial son takes care of his parents. But how does the filial son take care of his parents? If the parents are poor he would enrich them; if the parents have few people (descendants) he would increase them; if the members (of the family) are in confusion he would put them in order. Of course, in doing this he might find his energy insufficient, his means limited, or his knowledge inadequate. But he dare not allow any energy, learning, or means unused to serve his parents. Such are the three interests of the filial son in taking care of his parents.
- 2. And the same is true of the magnanimous ruler in taking care of the empire: if the empire is poor he would enrich it; if the people are few he would increase them; if the multitude are in confusion he would put them in order. Of course in doing these he might find his energy insufficient, means limited, or knowledge inadequate, but he dare not allow any energy, learning, or means unused to serve the world. And such are the three interests of the magnanimous ruler in taking care of the empire.
- 3. When the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties had passed away, and the world had become ignorant of their principles, some of the gentlemen in later generations regarded elaborate funeral and extended mourning as magnanimous, and righteous, and the duty of a filial son; while others held them to be not magnanimous, not righteous, and not the duty of the filial son. These two groups condemn each other in words and contradict each other in deed, and yet both claim to be followers of the way of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. But since they are disagreed in word and opposed in deed. people doubt the assertions of both. Now that the assertions of both are doubted, it will be well to turn to the government of the country and the people and see how elaborate funeral and extended mourning affect the three interests. In my opinion, if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning could enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger, and regulate disorder, it would be magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of a filial son. Those who are to give counsel could not but encourage it. And the magnanimous (ruler) would seek to have it flourish in the empire and establish it so as to have the people praise it and never disregard it in their whole life. (On the other hand,) if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning really cannot enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger, and regulate disorder, it will not be magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of the filial son. Those who are to give counsel cannot but discourage it. And the magnanimous will seek to have it abolished in the empire and abandon it so as to have the people condemn it, never to practise it in their whole life.
- 4. It has never happened, from ancient times to the present day, that benefits are procured, calamities averted for the world, and disorder among the people of the country is regulated by elaborate funerals and extended mourning. How do we know? For even at the present the gentlemen of the world are still doubtful whether elaborate funeral and extended mourning are right and beneficial. Mozi said: I have examined the sayings of those who uphold elaborate funeral and extended mourning. If they should be taken seriously in the country, it would mean: when a lord dies, there would be several inner and outer coffins. He would be buried deep. There would be many shrouds. Embroidery would be

elaborate. The grave mound would be massive. So, then, the death of a common man would exhaust the wealth of a family. And the death of a feudal lord would empty the state treasury before his body would be surrounded with gold, jade, and pearls, and the grave filled with carts and horses and bundles of silk. Further, there should be plenty of canopies and hangings, dings, drums, tables, pots, and ice receptacles, spears, swords, feather banners, and hides all to be carried along and buried. Not till then are the requirements considered fulfilled. And, regarding those who were to die to accompany their lord, for the emperor or a feudal lord there should be from several hundred to several tens, and for a minister or secretary there should be from several tens to several. What are the rules to be observed by the mourner? He must weep without restraint and sound as if he is choking. Sackcloth is worn on the breast and hat of flax on the head. His tears and snivel are not to be wiped away. The mourner is to live in a mourning hut, sleep on a coarse mat of straw, and lay his head on a lump of earth. Then, he would be obliged to abstain from food in order to look hungry, and to wear little in order to look cold. The face and eves are to look sunken and as if in fear, and the complexion is to appear dark. Ears and eyes are to become dull, and hands and feet to become weak and unusable. And, also, if the mourner is a high official, he has to be supported to rise, and lean on a cane to walk. And all this is to last three years. Adopting such a doctrine and practising such a principle rulers cannot come to court early (and retire late); the officials cannot attend to the five offices and six posts and encourage farming and forestry and fill the granaries; the farmers cannot start out early and come in late to cultivate the land and plant trees; the artisans cannot build boats and vehicles and make vessels and utensils; and the women cannot rise early and retire late to weave and spin. So, then, in elaborate funerals much wealth is buried. and in extended mourning abstention from work is prolonged. Wealth already produced is carried away into the grave. Child-bearing is postponed. To seek wealth in this way is like seeking a harvest by prohibiting farming. The way to wealth then is not here found

 $5.\ Now that the practice of elaborate funerals and extended$ mourning has failed to enrich the country perhaps it can yet increase the population? Again it is powerless. For if elaborate funeral and extended mourning are adopted as the rule, then upon the death of the emperor there will be three years' mourning, upon the death of a parent there will be three years' mourning, upon the death of the wife or the eldest son there will be three years' mourning. There will be three vears' mourning for all five (relations). Besides, there will be one year for uncles, brothers, and the other sons; and five months for the near relatives, and also several months for aunts, sisters, nephews, and uncles on the mother's side. Further, there are set rules to emaciate one's health: the face and eyes are to look sunken and as if in fear, and the complexion is to appear dark. Ears and eyes are to become dull and hands and feet are to become weak and unusable And, also, if the mourner is a high official, he has to be supported to rise and lean on a cane to walk. And this is to last three years if such a doctrine is adopted and such a principle is practised. Being so hungry and weak, the people cannot stand the cold in winter and the heat in summer. And countless numbers will become sick and die. Sexual relations between husband and wife are prevented. To seek to increase the population by this way is like seeking longevity by thrusting one's self upon a sword. The way to dense population is not here found.

6. Now that it has failed to increase the population, perhaps it can yet regulate jurisdiction? Again it is powerless. For, adopting elaborate funerals and extended mourning as a principle in government, the state will become poor, the people few, and the jurisdiction disorderly. Adopting such a doctrine and practising such a principle superiors cannot give attention to administration and subordinates cannot attend to their work. When the superiors are unable to give their attention to administration there will be disorder. When the subordinates are unable to attend to their work, the supply of food and clothing will be insufficient. When there is insufficiency, the undutiful younger brother will ask his older brother for help, and when he does not receive it he will hate the elder brother. The unfilial son will turn to his father for help and when he does not receive it he will spurn his father. And the disloyal minister will turn for help to his lord and when he does not receive it he will mock his lord. And vicious and immoral people will commit evil and immorality beyond control when they are without clothing abroad and without food at home. So, bandits and thieves will be numerous but law-abiding people few. Now, to seek order by multiplying the bandits and thieves and diminishing the law-abiding people is like demanding of a person not to present his back to you after making him turn around three times. The way to order is not here found.

7. Now that it has failed to regulate jurisdiction and government, perhaps it can yet prevent the large states from attacking the small states? Again it is powerless. For since the ancient sage-kings have passed away and the world has

become ignorant of their principles, the feudal lords resort to attack by force. On the south there are the kings of Chu and Yue, and on the north there are the lords of Qi and Jin. All of these show favours and encouragement to their warriors and soldiers, making it their business in the world to attack and absorb (others). Some small states, however, they do not attack, and this because these small states are well stored with supplies, their inner and outer city walls are in repair, and in them the superior and the subordinates are harmonious. Therefore the large states would not want to attack them. Those which are not well stored with supplies, whose inner and outer city walls are not in repair, and in which the superior and the subordinates are not harmonious, the large states would want to attack. Adopting elaborate funerals and extended mourning in government, the state will become poor. the people few, and jurisdiction disorderly. Since the state is poor, no surplus goods can be stored. Since its numbers are few, there will be few workmen to keep the city walls and moats in repair. Since it is disorderly, a state will not be victorious in attack or strong in defence.

8. Now that it has failed in preventing the large states from attacking the small states, perhaps it can yet procure blessing from God and the spirits. Again it is powerless. For, adopting elaborate funeral and extended mourning as a principle in government, the state will become poor, the people few, and the jurisdiction disorderly. When the state is poor the cakes and wine will be unclean. When the people are few the worshippers of God and the spirits will be reduced in number. And when jurisdiction is in disorder the sacrifice will not be made according to season. Moreover, the worship of God and the spirits is now even prohibited. When the government is run like this, God and the spirits would deliberate from on high, saying: "Which is better, to have these people exist or not to have them exist? It really makes no difference whether they exist or not." Therefore God and spirits will send judgement upon them and visit them with calamities and punish and desert them. Is not this quite in place?

9. Therefore the ancient sage-kings authorised the code of laws regarding the burial of the dead thus: The coffin shall be three inches thick, sufficient to hold the body. As to shrouds there shall be three pieces adequate to cover the corpse. It shall not be buried so deep as to reach water and neither so shallow as to allow the odour to ascend. Three feet in size shall be big enough for the mound. There shall be no extended mourning after burial, but speedy return to work and pursuit in what one can do to procure mutual benefit. Such are the laws of the sage-kings.

10. Those who uphold elaborate funerals and extended

mourning say: "Although elaborate funerals and extended mourning cannot enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger and regulate disorder, yet they were a principle of the sage-kings." Mozi replied: Not at all. Anciently, Yao went north to instruct the eight tribes of Di. He died on the way and was buried in the shade of Mt. Qiong. Of shrouds there were three pieces. The coffin was of soft wood, and sealed with flax linen. Weeping started only after burial. There was no mound, only the pit was filled up. After burial, oxen and horses plodded over it. Shun went west to instruct the seven tribes of Rong. He died on the way and was buried in the market place of Nanji. Of shrouds there were three pieces. The coffin was of soft wood and sealed with flax linen. After burial the people in the market place walked over it. Yu went east to instruct the nine tribes of Yi. He died on the way and was buried at Mt. Guiji. Of clothing there were three pieces. The coffin was of tong wood and sealed with flax linen. It did not crush when bound, and it did not sink in when pressed. The pit was not deep enough to strike water and not so shallow as to allow the odour to ascend. When the coffin had been buried. the remaining earth was gathered on it, and the mound was three feet high and no more. So, to judge according to these three sage-kings, elaborate funerals and extended mourning were really not the way of the sage-kings. These three sagekings held the rank of Sons of Heaven and possessed the whole empire, yet they authorised their burial in this way; was it because of any fear of lack of means?

11. The way in which the present rulers are buried is quite different from this. There are the outer and the inner coffins, and then the three layers of hide and embroidered covers. When the stones and jade are all collected, there are yet to be completed the spears, swords, dings, pots and ice receptacles, and ten thousand of decorated reins and yokes, and the carriages, horses, and the chorus girls. Then, there must be built the tunnel to reach under the tomb which is as high as a hill. This interferes with people's work and wastes people's wealth to such a great extent. How indeed is this to be avoided? So Mozi said: I have already said that if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning really could enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger and regulate disorder, they would be magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of the filial son. Those who give counsel could not but encourage them. (On the other hand,) if in adopting the doctrine and practising the principle, elaborate funeral and extended mourning really cannot enrich the poor, increase the few, remove danger and

regulate disorder, they are not magnanimous, righteous, and the duty of the filial son. Those who are to give counsel cannot but discourage it. Now, (we have seen) that to seek to enrich a country thereby brings about poverty; to seek to increase the people thereby results in a decrease; and to seek to regulate government thereby begets disorder. To seek to prevent the large states from attacking the small ones by this way is impossible on the one hand, and, on the other, to seek to procure blessing from God and the spirits through it only brings calamity. When we look up and examine the ways of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, we find it is diametrically opposed to (these). But when we look down and examine the regimes of Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, we find it agrees with these like two parts of a tally. So, judging from these, elaborate funeral and extended mourning are not the way of the sage-kings.

12. Those who uphold elaborate funeral and extended mourning are saying: "If the elaborate funerals and extended mourning were not the way of the sage-kings, why then do the gentlemen of the Middle Kingdom practise them continually and follow them without discrimination?" Mozi said: This is because habit affords convenience and custom carries approval Anciently, east of the state of Yue there was the tribe of Kaishu. Among them the first-born son was dismembered and devoured after birth and this was said to be propitious for his younger brothers. When the father died the mother was carried away and abandoned, and the reason was that one should not live with the wife of a ghost. By the officials this was regarded as a government regulation and by the people it was accepted as a commonplace. They practised it continually and followed it without discrimination. Was it then the good and the right way? No, this is really because habit affords convenience and custom carries approval. South of Chu there was a cannibal tribe. Upon the death of the parents the flesh was scraped off and thrown away, while the bones were buried And by following this custom one became a filial son. West of the state of Qin there was the tribe of Yiqu. Upon their death the parents were burned on a bonfire and amidst the smoke, and this was said to be ascension to the golden clouds. In this way one became a filial son. The officials embodied it in the government regulations and the people regarded it as a commonplace. They practised it continually and followed it without discrimination. Is it then the good and the right way? No, this is really because habit affords convenience and custom carries approval. Now, the practice of these three tribes is too heartless and that of the gentlemen of the Middle Kingdom is too elaborate. This being too elaborate and that being too heartless, then there should be rules for funerals and burials. Even regarding clothing and food, which are the necessities of life, there are rules. How then can there be none regarding funerals and burials, which are the necessities of death? Outlining the rules for funerals and burials, Mozi said: The coffin shall be three inches thick, just sufficient to hold the rotting bones. Of shrouds there shall be three pieces just to be enough to hold the rotting flesh. The pit shall be dug not so deep as to strike water, and not so shallow as to allow the odour to ascend. The mound shall be just high enough to be identified (by the mourners). There may be weeping on the way to and from the burial. But upon returning they shall engage in earning the means of livelihood. Sacrifices shall not be neglected in order to express one's filial piety to parents. Thus the rules of Mozi neglect the necessities of neither the dead nor the living.

13. Hence, Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really want to practise righteousness and magnanimity, and to seek to be superior men, desiring to attain the way of the sagekings on the one hand and to procure blessings for the people on the other, they cannot afford to neglect the principle of Simplicity in Funeral in government.

#### MOZI BOOK 7

# MOZI CHAPTER 26 - Will of Heaven 1

1. Mozi said: The gentlemen of the world all understand only trifles but not things of importance. How do we know? We know this from one's conduct in the family. If one should offend the patriarch of the family, there are still the homes of the neighbours in which to seek shelter. Yet parents, brothers, and friends all keep on reminding one to be obedient and careful. For, how can one offend the patriarch and stay in the family? Not only is this true about conduct in the family, but also in the state. If one should offend the lord of the state there are still the neighbouring states whither he may flee. Yet parents, brothers, and friends all keep on reminding one to be obedient and careful. For, how can one offend the lord of the state and stay in it? From these there are yet shelters to flee to, yet there are such constant counsels. Should there not be more counsels in a case from which there is nowhere to flee? As the saying goes: "Sinning in broad daylight, whither can one flee?" Really there is nowhere to flee For Heaven clearly discerns it even if it be in the woods, valleys, or solitary caves where there is no man. But, contrary to our expectation, regarding Heaven, the gentlemen of the world do not understand mutually to give counsel. This is how we know the

gentlemen in the world understand only trifles and not things of importance.

2. Now, what does Heaven desire and what does it abominate? Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness. Therefore, in leading the people in the world to engage in doing righteousness I should be doing what Heaven desires. When I do what Heaven desires. Heaven will also do what I desire. Now, what do I desire and what do I abominate? I desire blessings and emoluments, and abominate calamities and misfortunes. When I do not do what Heaven desires, neither will Heaven do what I desire. Then I should be leading the people into calamities and misfortunes. But how do we know Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness? For, with righteousness the world lives and without it the world dies; with it the world becomes rich and without it the world becomes poor; with it the world becomes orderly and without it the world becomes chaotic. And if Heaven likes to have the world live and dislikes to have it die, likes to have it rich and dislikes to have it poor, and likes to have it orderly and dislikes to have it disorderly. Therefore we know Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness.

3. Moreover, righteousness is the standard. A standard is not to be given by the subordinates to the superior but by the superior to the subordinates. Therefore, while the common people should spare no pains at work they may not make the standard at will. There are the scholars to give them the standard. While the scholars should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There are the ministers and secretaries to give them the standard. While the ministers and secretaries should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There are the high duke and feudal lords to give them the standard. While the high duke and the feudal lords should spare no pains at work, they may not make the standard at will. There is the emperor to give them the standard. The emperor may not make the standard at will (either). There is Heaven to give him the standard. That the emperor gives the standard to the high dukes, to the feudal lords, to the scholars, and to the common people, the gentlemen in the world clearly understand. But that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor, the people do not know well. Therefore the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, desiring to make it clear to the people that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor, fed oxen and sheep with grass, and pigs and dogs with grain, and cleanly prepared the cakes and wine to do sacrifice to God on High and the spirits, and invoked Heaven's blessing. But I have not vet heard of Heaven invoking the emperor for blessing. So I know Heaven gives the standard to the emperor.

4. The emperor is the most honourable of the world and the richest of the world. So, the honoured and the rich cannot but obey the will of Heaven. He who obeys the will of Heaven, loving universally and benefiting others, will obtain rewards. He who opposes the will of Heaven, by being partial and unfriendly and harming others, will incur punishment. Now, who were those that obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained rewards, and who were those that opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment? Mozi said: The ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, were those that obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward. And the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, were those that opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment. How did Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu obtain their reward? Mozi said: In the highest sphere they revered Heaven, in the middle sphere they worshipped the spirits, and in the lower sphere they loved the people. Thereupon the will of Heaven proclaimed: "All those whom I love these love also, and all those whom I benefit these benefit also. Their love to men is all-embracing and their benefit to men is most substantial." And so, they were raised to the honour of Sons of Heaven and enriched with the heritage of the empire. They were succeeded by descendants for ten thousand generations to continue the spread of their righteousness all over the world. And people praise them unto this day, calling them righteous sage-kings. How did Jie, Zhou, You, and Li incur their punishment? Mozi said: In the highest sphere they blasphemed against Heaven, in the middle sphere they blasphemed against the spirits, and in the sphere below they oppressed the people. Thereupon the will of Heaven proclaimed: "From those whom I love these turn away and hate, and those whom I want to benefit they oppress. Their hate of men is without limit and their oppression of men the most severe." And, so, they were not permitted to finish out their lives, or to survive a single generation. And people condemn them unto this day, calling them wicked kings.

5. How do we know Heaven loves the people? Because it teaches them all. How do we know it teaches them all? Because it claims them all. How do we know it claims them all? Because it accepts sacrifices from them all. How do we know it accepts sacrifices from all? Because within the four seas all who live on grains feed oxen and sheep with grass, and dogs and pigs with grains, and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice to God on High and the spirits. Claiming all the people, why will Heaven not love them? Moreover, as I have

said, for the murder of one innocent individual there will be one calamity. Who is it that murders the innocent? It is man. Who is it that sends down the calamity? It is Heaven. If Heaven should be thought of as not loving the people, why should it send down calamities for the murder of man by man? So, I know Heaven loves the people.

6. To obey the will of Heaven is to accept righteousness as the standard. To oppose the will of Heaven is to accept force as the standard. Now what will the standard of righteousness do? Mozi said: He who rules a large state does not attack small states: he who rules a large house does not molest small houses. The strong does not plunder the weak. The honoured does not demean the humble. The clever does not deceive the stupid. This is beneficial to Heaven above, beneficial to the spirits in the middle sphere, and beneficial to the people below. Being beneficial to these three it is beneficial to all. So the most excellent name is attributed to such a man and he is called sage-king. The standard of force is different from this. It is contradictory to this in word and opposed to this in deed like galloping with back to back. Leading a large state, he whose standard is force attacks small states; leading a large house he molests small houses. The strong plunders the weak. The honoured disdains the humble. The clever deceives the stupid. This is not beneficial to Heaven above, or to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Not being beneficial to these three, it is beneficial to none. So, the most evil name in the world is attributed to him and he is called the wicked king.

7. Mozi said: The will of Heaven to me is like the compasses to the wheelwright and the square to the carpenter. The wheelwright and the carpenter measure all the square and circular objects with their square and compasses and accept those that fit as correct and reject those that do not fit as incorrect. The writings of the gentlemen of the world of the present day cannot be all loaded (in a cart), and their doctrines cannot be exhaustively enumerated. They endeavour to convince the feudal lords on the one hand and the scholars on the other. But from magnanimity and righteousness they are far off. How do we know? Because I have the most competent standard in the world to measure them with.

#### MOZI CHAPTER 27 - Will of Heaven 2

1. Mozi said: Those gentlemen in the world who want to practise magnanimity and righteousness cannot but examine the origin of righteousness. Since we want to examine the origin of righteousness, then where does it originate? Mozi said: Righteousness does not originate with the stupid and humble but with the honourable and wise. How do we know it does not originate with the dull and humble but with the honourable and wise? For, righteousness is the standard. How do we know righteousness is the standard? For, with righteousness the world will be orderly and without it the world will be disorderly. Therefore righteousness is known to be the standard. As the dull and the humble cannot make the standard, and only the wise and honourable can, therefore I know righteousness does not come from the stupid and humble but from the honourable and wise. Now who is honourable and who is wise? Heaven is honourable, Heaven is wise. So, then, righteousness must originate with Heaven.

2. People in the world would say: "That the emperor is

more honourable than the feudal lords and that the feudal lords are more honourable than the ministers, we clearly see. But that Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor, we do not see." Mozi said: I know Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor for a reason: When the emperor practises virtue Heaven rewards, when the emperor does evil Heaven punishes. When there are disease and calamities the emperor will purify and bathe himself and prepare clean cakes and wine to do sacrifice and libation to Heaven and the spirits. Heaven then removes them. But I have not yet heard of Heaven invoking the emperor for blessing. So I know Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. And, this is not all. We also learn of this from the book of the ancient kings which instructs us the vast and ineffable Dao of Heaven. It says: "Brilliant and perspicacious Heaven on High, who enlightens and watches over the earth below!" This shows Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. But is there yet any one more honourable and wise than Heaven? Heaven is really the most honourable and wise. Therefore, righteousness surely comes from Heaven.

3. And hence Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people, they must not disobey the will of Heaven, the origin of magnanimity and righteousness. Now that we must obey the will of Heaven, what does the will of Heaven desire and what does it abominate? Mozi said: The will of Heaven abominates the large state which attacks small states, the large house which molests small houses, the strong who plunder the weak, the clever who deceive the stupid, and the honoured who disdain the humble - these are what the will of Heaven abominates. On the other hand, it desires people having energy to work for each other, those knowing the way to teach each other, and it desires the superior diligently to attend to government and

the subordinates diligently to attend to their work. When the superior attends to the government diligently, the country will be orderly. When the subordinates attend to work diligently, wealth will be abundant. When the country is orderly and wealth is abundant, within the state there will be wherewith to prepare clean cakes and wine to sacrifice to God and the spirits, and in relation with outside countries there will be wherewith to furnish rings, stones, pearls, and jades by which to befriend surrounding neighbours. With the grudges of the feudal lords inactive and fighting on the borders suspended, and the people within provided with food and rest, the emperor and the ministers and the superiors and subordinates will be gracious and loyal respectively, and father and son and elder and younger brothers will be affectionate and filial respectively. Therefore when the principle of obeying the will of Heaven is understood and widely practiced in the world, then justice and government will be orderly, the multitudes will be harmonious, the country will be wealthy, the supplies will be plenteous, and the people will be warmly clothed and sufficiently fed, peaceful and without worry. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people they must carefully investigate the principle that the will of Heaven is the origin of magnanimity and righteousness.

4. The rule of Heaven over the world is not unlike the rule of the feudal lord over the state. In ruling the state does the feudal lord desire his ministers and people to work for mutual disadvantage? If leading a large state one attacks small states. if leading a large house one molests small houses - if by doing this one seeks reward and commendation (from the feudal lord) he cannot obtain it. On the contrary, punishment will visit him. Now, the rule of Heaven over the world is not unlike this. If leading a large state one attacks small states, if leading a large house one molests small houses -- if by doing this one seeks reward and commendation (from Heaven) he cannot obtain it. On the contrary, punishment will visit him. When (man) does not do what Heaven desires, but does what Heaven abominates, Heaven will also not do what man desires but do what he abominates. What man abominates are disease and calamities. Therefore not to do what Heaven desires but do what it abominates is to lead the multitudes in the world to calamity. Therefore the ancient sage-kings studied what Heaven and the spirits would bless and avoided what they would curse in order to procure benefits for the world and avoid calamities. Thereupon, Heaven made heat and cold temperate, the four seasons harmonious, the Yin and Yang and rain and dew timely. The five grains are enabled to ripen and the six animals to mature. And disease, pestilence, and famine did not happen. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the Dao and benefit the people they must be mindful of the principle that the will of Heaven is the origin of magnanimity and righteousness.

5. In the world those who lack benevolence are unfortunate. If a son does not serve his father, a younger brother does not serve his elder brother, or a subordinate does not serve his superior, then all the gentlemen of the world will call him unfortunate. Now Heaven loves the whole world universally. Everything is prepared for the good of man. Even the tip of a hair is the work of Heaven. Substantial may be said of the benefits that are enjoyed by man. Yet there is no service in return. And they do not even know this to be unmagnanimous and unfortunate. This is why I say the gentlemen understand only trifles and not things of importance.

6. Moreover I know Heaven loves men dearly not without reason. Heaven ordered the sun, the moon, and the stars to enlighten and guide them. Heaven ordained the four seasons. Spring, Autumn, Winter, and Summer, to regulate them. Heaven sent down snow, frost, rain, and dew to grow the five grains and flax and silk that so the people could use and enjoy them. Heaven established the hills and rivers, ravines and valleys, and arranged many things to minister to man's good or bring him evil. He appointed the dukes and lords to reward the virtuous and punish the wicked, and to gather metal and wood, birds and beasts, and to engage in cultivating the five grains and flax and silk to provide for the people's food and clothing. This has been taking from antiquity to the present. Suppose there is a man who is deeply fond of his son and has used his energy to the limit to work for his benefit. But when the son grows up he returns no love to the father. The gentlemen of the world will all call him unmagnanimous and miserable. Now Heaven loves the whole world universally. Everything is prepared for the good of man. The work of Heaven extends to even the smallest things that are enjoyed by man. Such benefits may indeed be said to be substantial, yet there is no service in return. And they do not even know this to be unmagnanimous. This is why I say the gentlemen of the world understand only trifles but not things of importance.

7. Yet this does not exhaust my reasons whereby I know Heaven loves man dearly. It is said the murder of an innocent individual will call down a calamity. Who is the innocent? Man is. From whom is the visitation? From Heaven. If Heaven does not love the people dearly, why should Heaven

send down a visitation upon the man who murders the innocent? Thus I know Heaven loves man dearly.

8. This is still not all by which I know Heaven loves man dearly. There are those who love the people and benefit the people and obey the will of Heaven and obtain reward from Heaven. There are also those who hate the people and oppress the people and oppose the will of Heaven and incur punishment from Heaven. Who are those that love the people and benefit the people, obey the will of Heaven and obtain reward from Heaven? They are the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. What did Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu do? They engaged themselves in universality and not partiality (in love). Loving universally, they did not attack the small states with their large states, they did not molest the small houses with their large houses. The strong did not plunder the weak, the many did not oppress the few, the clever did not deceive the stupid, the honoured did not disdain the humble. Such a regime was agreeable to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, and to the people below. Being helpful to these three, it was helpful to all. And this was Heavenly virtue. The most excellent names in the world were gathered and attributed to them, and they were called magnanimous, righteous, beloved of man and beneficial to the people, obedient to the will of Heaven and rewarded of Heaven. Besides this, it is also recorded on the bamboos and silk, cut in metals and stones, and engraved on the dishes and cups to be handed down to posterity. What is this for? It is to mark out those who loved the people and benefited them, obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward from Heaven. Thus the ode of Huang Yi says: "God said to King Wen, 'I cherish your intelligent virtue. It was not proclaimed with much noise or gesture. It was not modified after the possession of the empire. How instructively and naturally submissive to the scheme of Heaven!" Because he was obedient to God's scheme. He rewarded him with Yin and honoured him to be emperor and enriched him with the empire. And his fame is not forgotten even unto this day. Hence we are enabled to know who are those that loved the people and benefited them, obeyed the will of Heaven and obtained reward from Heaven. Now, who are those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven? They are the ancient wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li. What did they do? They were selfish and ungenerous. Being selfish they attacked the small states with their large states, they molested the small houses with their large houses. The strong plundered the weak, the many oppressed the few, the clever deceived the ignorant, the honoured disdained the humble. Such a regime was not helpful to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Since it was not helpful to these three it was helpful to none. And they were called the enemies of Heaven. The most evil names in the world were gathered and attributed to them, and they were called unmagnanimous, unrighteous, haters of man and oppressors of the people, disobedient to the will of Heaven and punished by Heaven. Besides this, it is also recorded on the bamboos and silk, cut in the metals and stones, and engraved on the plates and cups to be handed down to posterity. What is this for? It is to mark out those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven. Thus relates the "Great Declaration": "Zhou went beyond the proper limits and became insolent. He would not worship God and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with me,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." Heaven deserted Zhou and withdrew its support because Zhou opposed the will of Heaven. Hence we are enabled to know who are those that hated the people and oppressed them, opposed the will of Heaven and incurred punishment from Heaven.

9. Therefore the will of Heaven is like the compasses to the wheelwright and the square to the carpenter. The wheelwright tests the circularity of every object in the world with his compasses, saying: "That which satisfies my compasses is circular. That which does not is not circular." Therefore whether an object is circular or not is all known, because the standard of circularity is all established. The carpenter also tests the squareness of every object in the world with his square, saying: "That which satisfies my square is square; that which does not is not square." Therefore whether any object is square or not is all known. Why so? Because the standard of squareness is established. Similarly, with the will of Heaven Mozi will measure the jurisdiction and government of the lords in the empire on the one hand, and the doctrines and teachings of the multitudes in the empire on the other. If some conduct is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven, it is called good conduct; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called had conduct. If a teaching is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven it is called good teaching; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad teaching. And if a government is observed to be in accordance with the will of Heaven it is called good government; if it is in opposition to the will of Heaven it is called bad government. With this as the model and with this as the standard, whether the lords and the ministers are magnanimous or not can be measured as (easily as) to distinguish black and white. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers and the gentlemen of the world really desire to follow the way and benefit the people they have only to obey the will of Heaven, the origin of magnanimity and righteousness. Obedience to the will of Heaven is the standard of righteousness.

#### MOZI CHAPTER 28 - Will of Heaven 3

1. Mozi said: What is the reason for the disorder in the world? It is because the gentlemen of the world all understand trifles but not things of importance. How do we know they understand trifles but not things of importance? Because they do not understand the will of Heaven. How do we know they do not understand the will of Heaven? By observing the conduct in the family. If a man commits a misdemeanour in the family he still has other families in which to seek shelter. Yet, father reminds son, the elder brother reminds the younger brother, saying: "Be obedient, be careful in conduct in the family. If one is not obedient and careful in conduct in the family how can he live in the state?" If a man commits a misdemeanour in the state he still has other states in which to seek shelter. Yet father reminds son and the elder brother reminds the younger brother, saying: "Be obedient. Be careful. One cannot live in a state and be disobedient and careless.' Now all men live in the world and under Heaven. When a man sins against Heaven there is nowhere to seek shelter. But people do not think of warning each other. Thus I know that they do not understand things of importance.

2. And Mozi said: Be obedient. Be careful. Be sure to do what Heaven desires and avoid what Heaven abominates. Now, what does Heaven desire and what does Heaven abominate? Heaven desires righteousness and abominates unrighteousness. How do we know this? Because righteousness is the standard. How do we know righteousness is the standard? Because with righteousness the world will be orderly; without it the world will be disorderly. So, I know righteousness is the standard. Now a standard is never given by the subordinate to the superior, it is always to be given by the superior to the subordinate. Hence the common people may not make the standard at will. There are the scholars to give them the standard. The scholars may not make the standard at will. There are the ministers to give them the standard. The ministers may not make the standard at will. There are the feudal lords to give them the standard. The feudal lords may not make the standard at will. There is the high duke to give them the standard. The high duke may not make the standard at will. There is the emperor to give him the standard. The emperor may not make the standard at will. There is Heaven to give him the standard. The gentlemen of the world all understand that the emperor gives the standard to the world but do not understand that Heaven gives the standard to the emperor. The sages, explaining this, said: When the emperor has done good, Heaven rewards him. When the emperor has committed wrong, Heaven punishes him. When the emperor is unjust in reward and punishment and not judicious in hearing lawsuits, Heaven visits him with disease and calamities, and frost and dew will be untimely." The emperor will then have to feed oxen and sheep with grass and dogs and pigs with grains and prepare clean cakes and wine to pray and invoke Heaven for blessing. I have not yet heard of Heaven praying and invoking the emperor for blessing. So, I can say Heaven is more honourable and wise than the emperor. Therefore righteousness does not come from the ignorant and humble but from the honourable and wise. Who is honourable? Heaven is honourable. Who is wise? Heaven is wise. And, so, righteousness assuredly comes from Heaven. And the gentlemen of the world who desire to do righteousness therefore must obey the will of Heaven.

3. What is the will of Heaven that is to be obeyed? It is to love all the people in the world universally. How do we know it is to love all the people in the world universally? Because (Heaven) accepts sacrifices from all. How do we know Heaven accepts sacrifices from all? Because from antiquity to the present day there is no distant or isolated country but what feeds oxen and sheep, dogs and pigs with grass and grains, and prepares clean cakes and wine to worship God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. So we know Heaven accepts sacrifices from all. Accepting sacrifice from all, Heaven must love them all. Take the lords of Chu and Yue for instance. The lord of Chu accepts offering from all within the four borders of Chu, therefore he loves the people of Chu. And, the lord of Yue accepts offering from all within the four borders of Yue, therefore he loves the people of Yue. Now Heaven accepts offerings from all the world and so I know Heaven loves all the people in the world.

4. That Heaven loves all the people of the world is proved not only by this. In all the countries in the world and among all the people who live on grains, the murder of one innocent individual brings down one calamity. Now who is it that murders the innocent? It is man. Who is it that sends down the calamity? It is Heaven. If Heaven really did not love the people, why does Heaven send down calamities for the murder

of the innocent? Furthermore, Heaven loves the people dearly, Heaven loves the people inclusively. And this can be known. How do we know Heaven loves the people? Because of the certain reward to the good and punishment to the evil from the virtuous (Heaven). How do we know the virtuous (Heaven) certainly rewards the good and punishes the evil? I know this from the (examples of) the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties. Anciently, the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, loved the world universally and proceeded to benefit them. They converted the desires of the people and led them to worship God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. Heaven was pleased because they loved what it loved and benefited what it would benefit, and bestowed rewards upon them, placing them on the throne, crowning them emperor, upholding them as the standard, and calling them sage-kings. Here we have the proof of reward of the good. Anciently, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, hated all the world and proceeded to oppress them. They converted the desires of the people and led them to blaspheme against God, hills and rivers, and the spirits. Heaven was offended because they hated those whom Heaven loved and oppressed those whom Heaven would benefit, and Heaven decreed punishments upon them, letting fathers and sons be scattered, their empire be put to an end, their state be lost to them, and capital punishment fall upon them. Thereupon, the multitudes in the world condemned them, the condemnation lasting all through the ten thousand generations, the people calling them wicked kings. Here we have the proof of punishment of the evil. Those gentlemen of the world who desire to do righteousness have only to obey the will of Heaven.

5. To obey the will of Heaven is to be universal and to oppose the will of Heaven is to be partial (in love). According to the doctrine of universality righteousness is the standard; in the doctrine of partiality force is the basis of government. What is it like to have righteousness as the basis of government? The great will not attack the small, the strong will not plunder the weak, the many will not oppress the few, the clever will not deceive the ignorant, the honoured will not disdain the humble, the rich will not mock the poor, and the young will not rob the old. And the states in the empire will not ruin each other with water, fire, poison, and weapons. Such a regime will be beneficial to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, to the people below. Being beneficial to these three it is beneficial to all. This is called the virtue of Heaven; whoever practises this is a sage, magnanimous, gracious, and righteous, loyal, affectionate, and filial, and all such good names in the world will be gathered and attributed to him. Why so? Because such conduct is in accordance with the will of Heaven. Now, what is it like to have force as the basis of government? The great will attack the small, the strong will plunder the weak, the many will oppress the few, the clever will impose upon the ignorant, the honoured will disdain the humble, the rich will mock the poor, and the young will rob the old. And the states in the empire will ruin each other with water, fire, poison, and weapons. Such a regime will not be helpful to Heaven above, to the spirits in the middle sphere, or to the people below. Not being helpful to these three, it is not helpful to any. This is called the enemy of Heaven. He who practises this is a bad man, not magnanimous, not gracious, and unrighteous, disloyal, unaffectionate, and unfilial, and all such evil names in the world are gathered and attributed to him. Why so? Because such conduct is in opposition to the will of Heaven.

6. Hence Mozi established the will of Heaven as his standard, just as the wheelwright uses his compasses and the carpenter uses his square as their standards. The wheelwright with his compasses and the carpenter with his square can judge the circularity and the squareness of objects. Similarly, with the will of Heaven as the standard, Mozi can tell that the gentlemen of the world are far from righteousness. How do we know the gentlemen of the world are far from righteousness? For, the lords in the large states compete in saying: "Being a big state, if I do not attack the small states, in what wav am I big?" Therefore they mustered their warriors and soldiers, and arranged their boat and chariot forces to attack some innocent state. They broke into its borders, cut down its fields, felled its trees, tore down its inner and outer city walls, and filled up its moats and ditches, burned its ancestral temples and seised and killed its sacrificial victims. Of the people the strong were killed, the weak were brought back in chains and ropes. The men were turned into servants and grooms and prisoners. The women were made to be waitresses (to pour wine). Yet, the warring lord did not even know that this is unmagnanimous and unrighteous. He announced to the neighbouring lords: "I have attacked a state, defeated an army, and killed so many generals." And the neighbouring lords did not know that this is unmagnanimous and unrighteous either. but with furs and silk sent envoys to offer congratulations. And the warring lords were even doubly ignorant of its being unmagnanimous and unrighteous. They recorded it on the bamboos and silk and kept them in the archives so that the descendants would imitate their royal ancestors, saying:

"Why not let us open up the archives and let us learn of the achievements of our ancestors?" Then they would surely not learn: "Such and such is the regime of Wu," but would learn: "I have attacked states, reversed armies, and killed so many of their generals." Now that the warring lords do not understand this to be unmagnanimous and unrighteous, and neighbouring lords do not understand this to be unmagnanimous and unrighteous, therefore attacks and assaults go on generation after generation without end. This is what I mean when I say they do not understand matters of importance.

7. What do I mean when I say people do not understand things of importance but understand trifles? Supposing some one entered the orchard and garden of another and took the other's peaches and prunes, melon and ginger, he will be punished by the superior when caught and condemned by the public when heard of. Why? Because he did not share the toil but takes the fruit and appropriates what is not his. How much more is this true with him who jumps over another's fence and maltreats the children of the other; of him who digs into another's storehouse and carries away the others gold, jade, silk, and cloth; of him who breaks into another's fold and steals the other's oxen and horses; and of him who kills an innocent person? In the government of the lords of to-day all from the one who kills an innocent person to the one who jumps over another's fence and maltreats the other's children, who digs into another's warehouse and carries away his gold. iade, silk and cloth, who breaks into another's fold and steals his oxen and horses, and who enters another's orchard and garden and takes his peaches and prunes, melons and ginger all these are punished quite the same as they would be even in the government of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu. Now the lords and chiefs in the world all attack and absorb others. This is a thousand and ten thousand times worse than killing one innocent individual, a thousand and ten thousand times worse than jumping over another's fence and maltreating his children or digging into another's storehouse and carrying away his gold, jade, silk, and cloth, a thousand and ten thousand times worse than breaking into another's fold and stealing his oxen and horses, or entering another's orchard and garden and taking his peaches and prunes, melons and ginger. Yet, they claim it to be righteous. Mozi said: This is meant to confuse us. And is this at all different from confusion in the distinctions between black and white, and sweet and bitter? Suppose a man who upon being shown a little blackness says it is black, but upon being shown much blackness says it is white. He will have to admit that his sight is confused and that he cannot tell the difference between black and white. Suppose a man when served with a little bitter says it is bitter, but when served with much bitter says it is sweet. Then he will have to admit that his taste is impaired and that he cannot tell the difference between sweet and bitter. In the government of the present lords, the murderer of an individual is imprisoned by the state. This.... But the murderer of many men of the neighbouring states is upheld as righteous. How is this different from confusing the distinction between black and white and sweet and bitter?

8. Therefore Mozi established the will of Heaven to be the standard. Not only Mozi established the will of Heaven to be the standard, it is also the theme of an ode in the "Da Ya" among the books of the ancient kings: "God said to King Wen, T cherish your intelligent virtue. It was not proclaimed with much noise or gesture. It was not modified after the possession of the empire. Instinctively and naturally submissive to the scheme of God." This is to proclaim that King Wen used the will of Heaven as standard and was submissive to God's scheme. If the gentlemen of the world really desire to practise magnanimity and righteousness and be superior men, seeking to attain the way of the sage-kings on the one hand and to procure blessings to the people on the other, they must not neglect to understand the will of Heaven. The will of Heaven is truly the standard of righteousness.

MOZI BOOK 8

MOZI CHAPTER 29 - On Ghosts 1 (Text missing) MOZI CHAPTER 30 - On Ghosts 2 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 31 - On Ghosts 3

1. Mozi said: With the passing of the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, the world lost its righteousness and the feudal lords took might as right. The superior and the subordinates are no longer gracious and loyal; father and son, elder and younger brother are no longer affectionate and filial, brotherly and respectful, virtuous and kind. The rulers do not attend diligently to government and the artisans do not attend earnestly to their work. The people practise immorality and wickedness and become rebellious. Thieves and bandits with weapons, poison, water, and fire hold up innocent travellers on the highways and the bypaths, robbing them of their carts and horses, coats and fur coats, to enrich themselves. All these start therewith (with the passing of the sage-kings). And so the world falls into chaos. Now what is the reason for this confusion? It is all because of the doubt of

the existence of the ghosts and spirits, and the ignorance of their being able to reward virtue and punish vice. If all the people in the world believed that the spirits are able to reward virtue and punish vice, how could the world be in chaos?

2. Those who deny the existence of spirits proclaim: "Of course there are no spirits." And from morning till evening they teach this doctrine to the people of the empire. They bewilder the people, causing them all to doubt the existence of ghosts and spirits. In this way the empire becomes disorderly. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers and the gentlemen of the world really desire to procure benefits for the empire and remove its calamities they must understand whether ghosts and spirits exist or not.

3. Since we must understand whether ghosts and spirits exist or not, how can we find out? Mozi said: The way to find out whether anything exists or not is to depend on the testimony of the ears and eyes of the multitude. If some have heard it or some have seen it then we have to say it exists. If no one has heard it and no one has seen it then we have to say it does not exist. So, then, why not go to some village or some district and inquire? If from antiquity to the present, and since the beginning of man, there are men who have seen the bodies of ghosts and spirits and heard their voice, how can we say that they do not exist? If none have heard them and none have seen them, then how can we say they do?

4. But those who deny the existence of the spirits say: "Many in the world have heard and seen something of ghosts and spirits. (Since they vary in their testimony,) who are to be accepted as really having heard and seen them?" Mozi said: As we are to rely on what many have jointly seen and what many have jointly heard, the case of Du Bo is (to be accepted). King Xuan of Zhou put his minister Du Bo to death though he was innocent. Du Bo remarked: "The king puts me to death while I am innocent. If man loses his consciousness after his death, then all is over. If I shall still retain my consciousness after death I shall let the king know of this within three years." In three years, King Xuan assembled the feudal lords at Putian. There were several hundred carts. Attendants numbered by the thousand and the multitude covered the fields. At noon Du Bo in red garments and headgear appeared riding in a plain chariot drawn by a white horse, holding a red bow and carrying red arrows. He pursued King Xuan and shot him on his chariot. The arrow pierced his heart and broke his back. He fell and died prostrate. At the time all the people of Zhou who were there saw it and those far away heard of it, and it was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Zhou. Rulers instructed their ministers with it and fathers warned their sons with it, saying: "Be careful, be respectful. All who kill the innocent are speedily and severely visited by misfortune and punished by the ghosts and spirits like this." Judging from what is recorded here, how can we doubt that ghosts and spirits exist?

5. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Formerly, Lord Mu of Qin (about 640 BC) was once in the temple at noon. A spirit entered and alighted. He had the face of a man but the body of a bird. His attire was plain and dark. His appearance was dignified. Seeing him Lord Mu became afraid and was rushing away. The spirit said: "Do not be afraid. God cherishes your intelligent virtue, authorizing me to prolong your age by nineteen years, and ordaining your state to be prosperous and your descendants to be many and not to lose Qin." Lord Mu saluted him repeatedly and bowed, saying: "May I ask the name of my god?" He answered: "I am Gou Mang." If we are to accept what Lord Mu of Qin had seen personally as reliable, then how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

6. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Formerly Lord Jian of Yan (about 500 BC) put his Minister Zhuang Zeyi to death while he was innocent. Zhuang Zeyi remarked: "The lord puts me to death though I am innocent. If man loses his consciousness after death then all is done. If I shall still retain my consciousness after death, I shall let the Lord know of this within three years." In a year, Yan was going to repair to Zu. Such ceremonies were the occasions of large assemblages of men and women. At noon Lord Jian was riding on the road to Tsu. Zhuang Zevi carried a red staff and struck and prostrated him. At the time all the people of Yen who were there saw it and all those who were far away heard of it. And it was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Yan. The feudal lords circulated the news around, and remarked: "So speedy and severe are the misfortunes and punishment from the spirits and ghosts upon him that kills the innocent. Judging from the record in this book, how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

7. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Anciently, in the reign of Lord Wen of Song, whose name was Bao (610-589 BC), there was a master of ceremonies by the name of Guan Gu. While he was working in the temple, a wizard carrying a cane appeared and said to him: "Guan Gu, why don't the jades and stones measure up to the standard, and why are the cakes and wine unclean, and the victims imperfect and not fat, and the sacrifices not in season? Did you do this or did Bao do this?" Guan Gu answered: "Bao is still small and in his swaddle-clothes. What does he have to do

with this? It is all done by the official in charge, Guan Gu." Thereupon the wizard lifted his cane and struck him, prostrating him on the altar. At the time those people who were present all saw it and those far away heard of it. And it was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Song. The feudal lords circulated the news and remarked: "So speedy and severe is the punishment from spirits and ghosts to him who is not reverent in performing sacrifices!" Judging from the record of this book, how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

8. Not only does the record in this book prove it to be so. Formerly the Lord Zhuang of Qi (794-731 BC) had two ministers, Wang Liguo and Zhong Lijiao, who were engaged in a lawsuit. For three years no judgment could be reached. The Lord of Qi thought of putting both of them to death, but was afraid to slay the innocent; he thought of acquitting both of them but was afraid to let loose the guilty. So he let them provide a lamb and take oath on the altar of Qi. The two men agreed to take the oath of blood. The throat of the lamb was cut and its blood sprinkled on the altar. The case of Wang Liguo was read all through. But before half of the case of Zhong Lijiao was read, the lamb arose and butted at him. broke his leg and prostrated him on it. At the time those people who were present all saw it and those far away heard of It was recorded in the Spring and Autumn of Qi. The feudal lords circulated the news around and remarked: "So speedy and severe is the punishment from spirits and ghosts to him that takes an oath in insincerity!" Judging from the record in this book, how can we doubt that spirits and ghosts exist?

9. Therefore Mozi said: One may not act disrespectfully even in woods, valleys, or solitary caves where there is no man. Spirits and ghosts are watching everywhere.

10. Those who deny the existence of spirits ask: "Are the senses of hearing and sight of the multitude sufficient to decide a doubt? How can people strive to be learned gentlemen while they continue to trust the senses of hearing and sight of the multitude?" Mozi said: If the senses of bearing and sight of the multitude are thought to be not trustworthy, we may ask if such men like the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, are trustworthy? Of course, about this all people above the mediocre will say such men like the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, are trustworthy. If the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties are trustworthy, we may review some of their deeds. In ancient times, having captured Yin and punished Zhou, King Wu let the feudal lords share in the worship (of the ancestors of Yin) Those more closely related were to partake in the temple sacrifices and those less closely related in the outdoor sacrifices. So then King Wu must have believed there were spirits and ghosts, therefore after capturing Yin and punishing Zhou he let the feudal lords share in the worship. If there were no spirits and ghosts why did King Wu assign the duties of worship?

11. Not only does the deed of King Wu prove it to be so. When the ancient sage-kings distributed rewards it must be before their ancestors. When they meted out punishments it must be before the altar. Why are the rewards distributed before the ancestors? To submit their fairness. Why are punishments meted out before the altar? To submit their justice. Not only does the record in that book prove it to be so On the day when the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties of Yu, Xia, Shang, and Zhou first established their empire and built their capitals, they invariably chose the central altar on which to build the ancestral temple. They would pick out the luxuriant and elegant among the trees to plant in the temple of agriculture. They would select the affectionate and filial, virtuous and kind among the elders of the country to be masters of ceremonies. They would pick out the victims among the six animals by their fatness, perfection, and the colour of their wool. The jades and stones were to be appropriate in material and satisfactory in measurement. And the cakes and wine were to be prepared with the most fragrant and yellow grain, and so the quality of cakes and wine would vary with the abundance of the year. This is to say, in the government of the ancient sage-kings, spirits and ghosts had priority over the people. Before the offices and courts were completely established, the sacrificial vessels and sacrificial robes must have been all stored in the storehouse, the masters and attendants of ceremonies must have all been installed in court, and the victims must be kept apart from the original flock. Since the government of the ancient sage-kings was like this, the ancient sage-kings must have believed in the existence of spirits and ghosts.

12. Deep was their own interest in the welfare of ghosts and spirits. Yet they were afraid their descendants might not understand it. Thus they recorded it on bamboos and silk to bequeath to them. Fearing that these might rot and disappear so that the descendants might not learn it, they engraved it on plates and cups and cut it in metals and stones. They feared also that the descendants might not be reverent and obtain blessing, and so among the books of the ancient kings and the records of sages testimonies to the existence of ghosts and spirits occur time and again even on a single foot of silk or a

single sheet in the books. Why was this? Because the sagekings were interested in it. Those who deny the existence of spirits, saying "Ghosts and spirits just do not exist", are opposing the interest of the sage-kings. Opposing the interest of the sage-kings is not the way of the superior man.

13. Those who deny the existence of spirits might say: 'Among the books of the ancient kings not a foot of silk or a sheet is found which testifies to the existence of ghosts and spirits once and again. Then where are these testimonies? Mozi replied: They are found (for instance) in the "Da Ya" of "Da Ya" tells: "The rule of King Wen over the books of Zhou. the people pleased Heaven. Although Zhou is an old country, it is newly commissioned by Heaven. Zhou does not appear showy. The commission from God does not appear to be seasonable. King Wen reached high and low, he was on the left and the right of God. How active was King Wen! He dispensed his intelligent virtue without ceasing." If ghosts and spirits do not exist, then how could King Wen be "on the left and right of God" since he was already dead? Here we have a testimony of ghosts in the book of Zhou.

14. If there are testimonies only in the books of Zhou and none in those of Shang still it could not be reliable. But we find among the books of Shang the following: "Oh! Anciently, before Xia was visited by misfortune, of the various animals and insects and even birds none deviated from their proper course. As to those who have faces of men, who dare be divergent in heart? Even the hills and rivers ghosts and spirits dared not be insurgent." If one is respectful and sincere one could maintain harmony in the world and stability to the lower earth. Now it was to assist Yu that hills and rivers ghosts and spirits dared not be insurgent. Here we have a testimony of ghosts in the book of Shang.

15. If there are testimonies of ghosts only in the books of Shang and none in those of Xia it is still not reliable. But we have "Speech at Gan" among the books of Xia running thus: 'In the midst of the war at Gan the Emperor called the six associates to receive instructions in the headquarters. He said: The Prince of Hu violated the five elements and disused the three calendars. Heaven decreed to exterminate his life!' And he continued: 'At noon I shall grapple with the Prince of Hu for the fate of the day. But (mind you), you ministers and people, it is not because I covet their lind and treasures. I am only carrying out the punishment in obedience to Heaven. If you on the left do not do your part on the left you will be disobeying my orders; if you on the right do not do your part on the right you will be disobeying my orders; if you charioteers do not manage your horses according to orders you will be disobeying my orders. And rewards will be distributed before my ancestors and punishments will be meted out before the altar." Why were rewards distributed before the ancestors? To submit their fairness. Why were punishments meted out before the altar? To submit their justice. Because the ancient sage-kings must reward virtue and punish vice with ghosts and spirits, they distributed rewards before the ancestors and meted out punishments before the altar. And here we have a testimony of ghosts in the books of Xia. Now, first in the books of Xia and next in the books of Shang and Zhou, testimonies to the existence of ghosts and spirits occur again and again. What is the reason for this? Because the sage-kings were interested in it. Judging from the records of these books, how can we doubt that there are ghosts and spirits? Anciently, on the propitious day of ding mao, Zhou offered thanksgiving to Earth and the Four Quarters, and their ancestors. They did this to prolong their age. If there were no ghosts and spirits, how could their age be prolonged?

16. Mozi said: As to the fact that ghosts and spirits can reward virtue as well as punish vice, if it could be proclaimed to the whole country and to all the people it would really be a source of orderliness in the country and blessing to the people. The corruption of the officials in their public charges and the immorality among men and women will all be seen by ghosts and spirits. The vice of those who, with weapons, poisons, and water and fire, waylay innocent travellers and rob them of their carts and horses, coats and fur coats to enrich themselves will be seen by ghosts and spirits. Thereupon the officials will not dare be corrupt in office, withholding reward when they find the virtuous or withholding punishment when they find the wicked. And those among the people who commit vice and cruelties and with weapons, poisons, and water and fire waylay the innocent travellers, robbing them of their carts and horses, coats and fur coats to enrich themselves - all these will be no more. And the world will have order.

17. Really the intelligence of the ghosts and spirits cannot be combated. Even in solitary caves, big ponds, woods and valleys, the ghosts and spirits are watching. And the punishments from ghosts and spirits cannot be evaded. Even wealth and great numbers, daring and strength, strong armour and sharp weapons, the punishment of ghosts and spirits will frustrate. If this is doubted, look at the story of the ancient King Jie of Xia. He was an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. He cursed Heaven and blasphemed against the spirits above and destroyed the multitudes below. Thereupon Heaven commissioned Tang to

carry out the judicious punishment. With nine chariots Tang arranged the Bird Formation and the Wild Goose March. He climbed the Dacan and scattered the forces of Xia and entered its land. And he captured Tui Yi Da Xi. Now, King Jie of Xia was an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. In his service was the man of great daring and strength, Tui Yi Da Xi, who had torn apart a buffalo alive. He could kill a man at the move of a finger, and the number of those killed amounted to a million, and they were thrown into lakes and mountains. Yet, for all this, Jie coald not evade the punishment from ghosts and spirits. This is why I say even wealth and numbers, daring and strength, strong armour and sharp weapons cannot combat the punishment from ghosts and spirits.

18. Not only is this so. Anciently, King Zhou of Yin was also an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. He cursed Heaven and blasphemed against the spirits above and destroyed the multitudes below. He exposed the aged and murdered the children, tortured the innocent, and opened a pregnant woman. The common people and the widows and the widowers cried aloud, but were not heard Thereupon Heaven commissioned King Wu to carry out the judicious punishment. With a hundred selected chariots and four hundred warriors King Wu appointed his officials and reviewed his forces. He battled the armies of Yin in the Wilderness of Mu. He captured Fei Zhong and E Lai, and the multitude deserted and ran away. King Wu rushed into the palace. He executed Zhou and hung him on a red ring with his crimes published on a white flag, to punish him for the feudal lords in the empire. Now King Zhou of Yin was an emperor in honour and possessed the whole empire in wealth. He had men of such daring and strength as Fei Zhong, E Lai, and Duke Hu of Zhong, who could kill a man at the move of a finger; and the number of those killed amounted to a million, and they were thrown into the lakes and mountains. Yet with all these Zhou could not evade the punishment from the ghosts and spirits. This is why I say even wealth and numbers, daring and strength, strong armour and sharp weapons cannot frustrate the punishment from ghosts and spirits. Moreover, Qin Ai has said: "No virtue is too small, no extermination of a lineage is too big." This is to say, in distribution of rewards by ghosts and spirits no man is too insignificant to be rewarded for his virtue. And in the meting out of punishment by ghosts and spirits no man is too great to be punished.

19. Those who deny the existence of spirits say, "If one does not work for the blessing of one's parents but work for their destruction, would one still be a filial son?" Mozi explained: The ghosts and spirits of all times may be divided into spirits of Heaven, spirits of hills and rivers, and ghosts of men after their death. It is true that there are sons who die before their fathers, and younger brothers before their elder brothers. But, as the saying in the world goes: "He who is born first dies first." So then those who die first would be the mother if not the father, and the elder sister if not the elder brother. At any rate, we should prepare clean cakes and wine reverently to do sacrifice. If ghosts and spirits do exist, then it is to serve father and mother, elder sisters and elder brothers with food and drink. Is not this a great blessing? If ghosts and spirits did not exist it would seem to be a waste of the material for the cakes and wine. But such use is not just to throw it into the ditch or gully. For the relatives from the clan and friends from the village and district can vet eat and drink them. So, even if there were really no ghosts and spirits, a sacrifice will yet gather together a party and the participants can enjoy themselves and befriend the neighbours. Those who hold there are no ghosts say: "Of course there are no ghosts and spirits and therefore I should not expend my wealth on the cakes and wine and victims. This is not because I am miserly about my wealth on the cakes and wine and victims. But (because I do not see) what I can accomplish with it." This is opposed to the records of the sage-kings above and opposed to the practice among the filial sons among the people. Yet they claim to be superior men in the empire. This is no way to be superior men. But Mozi said: For me to offer sacrifice is not to throw it into the ditch or the gully. It is to bless the ghosts above and gather a party and enjoy ourselves and befriend the neighbours below. And if spirits exist, I would be serving my father and mother and brother with food. Is this not a great blessing in the world?

20. Therefore Mozi said: If the rulers and the gentlemen of the world really desire to procure benefits for the world and eliminate its calamities they must believe in and teach the existence of ghosts and spirits. This is the way of the sagekings.

### MOZI CHAPTER 32 - Condemnation of Music 1

1. Mozi said: The policy of the magnanimous will pursue what procures benefits of the world and destroy its calamities. If anything, when established as a law, is beneficial to the people it will be done; if not, it will not be done. Moreover, the magnanimous in their care for the world do not think of doing those things which delight the eyes, please the ears, gratify the taste, and ease the body. When these deprive the people of their means of clothing and food, the magnanimous

would not undertake them. So the reason why Mozi condemns music is not because that the sounds of the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se and the yu and the sheng are not pleasant, that the carvings and ornaments are not delightful, that the fried and the broiled meats of the grass-fed and the grain-fed animals are not gratifying, or that the high towers, grand arbours, and quiet villas are not comfortable. Although the body knows they are comfortable, the mouth knows they are gratifying, the eyes know they are delightful, and the ears know they are pleasing, yet they are found not to be in accordance with the deeds of the sage-kings of antiquity and not to contribute to the benefits of the people at present. And so Mozi proclaims: To have music is wrong.

2. Now the rulers construct musical instruments as an undertaking of the state. They cannot be produced as easily as by evaporating water or digging into the earth. Inevitably heavy taxes have to be collected from the people to obtain sounds of the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se, and the yu and the sheng. The ancient sage-kings had, indeed, collected heavy taxes from the people to build boats and vehicles. But when they were completed, and when the people asked: "What use have we for these?" the answer was: "The boats are to be employed on water and the vehicles on land, so that the gentlemen can rest their feet and the labourers can rest their shoulders and backs." Thus the people contributed their money and dared not grumble about it. This was because the boats and vehicles contributed to the benefit of the people. If the musical instruments also contribute to the benefit of the people, even I shall not dare condemn them. Thus if the musical instruments are as useful as the boats and carts with the sage-kings, even I shall not dare condemn them. There are three things that the people worry about, namely, that the hungry cannot be fed, that the cold cannot be clothed, and that the tired cannot get rest. These three are the great worries of the people. Now suppose we strike the big bell, beat the sounding drum, play the qin and the se, and blow the yu and the sheng, can the material for food and clothing then be procured for the people? Even I do not think this is possible. Again, every large state now attacks small states and every large house molests small houses. The strong plunder the weak, the many oppress the few, the clever deceive the stupid and the honoured disdain the humble. And bandits and thieves rise all together and cannot be suppressed. But can the chaos in the world be put in order by striking the big bell, beating the sounding drum, playing the qin and the se, and blowing the yu and the sheng? Even I do not think it is possible. Therefore Mozi said: The levy of heavy taxes on the people to construct the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se, and the yu and the sheng, is not at all helpful in the endeavour to procure the benefits of the world and destroy its calamities. Therefore Mozi said: To have music is wrong.

- 3. As the rulers look down from a high tower or in a grand arbour, a bell is just like an inverted ding. If it is not struck wherefrom would come the pleasure? Therefore it must be struck. To strike it of course the aged and the young would not be employed. For their eyes and ears are not keen, their arms are not strong, and they cannot produce an harmonious tone with varied expression. So, those in the prime of life must be employed because their eyes and ears are keen, their limbs strong, their voices harmonious and varied in expression. If men are employed it interferes with their ploughing and planting. If women are employed it interferes with their weaving and spinning. Now, the rulers take to music and deprive the people of their means of clothing and food to such an extent! Therefore Mozi said: To have music is wrong.
- 4. Now when the big bell, the sounding drum, the qin and the se, and the yu and the sheng are provided it is yet no pleasure for the lords alone to listen to the playing. Therefore they must enjoy it with either the common people or the gentlemen. If with the gentlemen, it will interfere with their attending to government. If with the common people it will interfere with their work. Now the rulers take to music and deprive the people of so many of their opportunities to produce food and clothing! Therefore Mozi said: It is wrong to have music.
- 5. Formerly, Lord Kang of Qi (404-379 B.C.) loved music and dancing. The dancers were not to wear garments of coarse cloth or to eat husks and bran. For if food and drink are not dainty the appearance and complexion will not be enjoyable. And if clothing is not elegant the body and the movement will not be delightful. Therefore their food must consist of grain and meat and their clothing must be made of silk and embroidery. They did not produce material of clothing and food at all, but lived on others all the time. Hence Mozi said: Now the lords take to music and deprive the people of so many of their opportunities to produce food and clothing! Therefore Mozi proclaimed: To have music is wrong.
- 6. Also, man is different from birds and beasts and insects. The birds, beasts, and insects have their feathers and furs for coats and fur coats, have their hoofs and claws for sandals and shoes, and have water and grass for drink and food. Therefore the male do not sow seeds or plant trees, neither do the female weave or spin, yet food and clothing are provided. Now, man is different from these. Those who exert themselves will live.

Those who do not exert themselves cannot live. When the gentlemen do not attend to government diligently, the jurisdiction will be in chaos. When the common men do not attend to work, supply will not be sufficient. If the gentlemen of the world should doubt my word, let us enumerate the several duties in the world and see the harm music does (to them): For the rulers to go to court early and retire late to listen to lawsuits and attend to government is their duty. For the gentlemen to exhaust the energy of their limbs and employ fully the wisdom of their minds to attend to the court within and to collect taxes without from passes, markets, and products from mountains, woods, and water and fields in order to fill up the granaries and the treasury is their duty. For the farmers to set out early and come back late, to sow seeds and plant trees in order to produce a large quantity of soy beans and millet is their duty. For the women to rise up at dawn and retire in the night to weave and spin in order to produce much silk, flax linen, and cloth is their duty. Now if the rulers should love music and listen to it, they would not be able to go to court early and retire late to listen to lawsuits and attend to government. Then the country would be in chaos and the state would be in danger. If the gentlemen should love music and listen to it, they would not be able to exhaust the energy in their Iimbs and employ fully the wisdom in the mind to attend to court within and collect taxes without from passes and markets and products from mountains, woods, water, and fields to fill up the granaries and the treasury. Then the granaries and the treasury would not be filled. If the farmers should love music and listen to it. they would not be able to set out early and come back late, to sow seeds and plant trees and produce a large quantity of soy beans and millet. Then the soy beans and millet would not be sufficient. If the women should love music and listen to it, they would not be able to rise up at dawn and retire in the night to weave and spin and produce much silk, flax linen, and cloth. Then cloth and linen will not be sufficient. If it is asked what is it that interfered with the rulers' attending to government and the common man's attending to work? it must be answered, music. Therefore Mozi said: To have music is wrong.

7. How do we know it is so? It is found in the "Code of Punishment of Tang" among the books of the ancient kings. This proclaims: "To have constant dancing in the palace is called the witch's pleasure." As to its punishment, a gentleman will be fined six hundred and forty pieces of silk, a common man will be let go free. Again, "Ah! How much is the dancing. His word is all known. God does not bless him, therefore the nine districts are lost to him. God does not favour him, therefore He visited him with various curses. His family must be destroyed too." Now the reason that the nine districts are lost to him (Jie of Xia) lies in his attention to embellishing music. Quoting Wu Guan: "Ch'i thereupon abandoned himself to lust and music. He drank and ate in improper places. Ding ding, dong dong went the wood winds and percussion instruments in harmony. He indulged in drinking and ate in improper places. Brilliantly went on the dancing. It reached the hearing of Heaven, and Heaven was not pleased." So, it was not pleasing to Heaven above and not beneficial to the people below.

8. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen really desire to procure benefits for the world and destroy its calamities they cannot but prohibit such a thing as music.

MOZI BOOK 9

MOZI CHAPTER 33 - Condemnation of Music 2 (Text missing)

MOZI CHAPTER 34 - Condemnation of Music 3 (Text missing)

### $MOZI\,CHAPTER\,35-Anti-Fatalism\,1$

- 1. Mozi said: At present, in governing the states the rulers all desire to have their countries wealthy, their population large, and their administration orderly. But instead of wealth they obtain poverty, instead of an increase they obtain a decrease in population, instead of order they obtain chaos; i.e. they lose what they like but obtain what they dislike. What is the reason for this? Mozi said: It is due to the large number of fatalists among the people. The fatalists say: decrees that a man shall be wealthy he will be wealthy; when it decrees poverty, he will be poor; when it decrees a large population, this will be large; and when it decrees a small population this will be small; if order is decreed, there will be order; if chaos, there will be chaos. If fate decrees old age, there will be old age; if untimely death, there will be untimely death. Even if a man sets himself against his fate, what is the use?" With this doctrine the rulers are urged above and the people are kept away from their work below. Hence the fatalists are unmagnanimous. And their doctrines must be clearly examined
- 2. Now, how is this doctrine to be examined? Mozi said: Some standard of judgment must be established. To expound a doctrine without regard to the standard is similar to determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a revolving potter's wheel. By this means the distinction of

right and wrong, benefit and harm, cannot be known. Therefore there must be three tests. What are the three tests? Mozi said: Its basis, its verifiability, and its applicability. How is it to be based? It should be based on the deeds of the ancient sage-kings. How is it to be verified? It is to be verified by the senses of hearing and sight of the common people. How is it to be applied? It is to be applied by adopting it in government and observing its benefits to the country and the people. This is what is meant by the three tests of every doctrine.

- 3. Some of the gentlemen of the world assume there to be fate. Now let us examine the deeds of the sage-kings. In ancient times, the confusion produced by Jie was replaced by an orderly government by Tang, the chaos of Zhou was turned into order by King Wu. The times did not alter and the people did not change, yet under Jie and Zhou the world was chaotic and under Tang and Wu it was orderly. Can it be said that there is fate?
- 4. But the gentlemen of the world still assume that there is fate. Now let us look at some of the writings of the early kings. The writings of the early kings that were issued to the whole country and distributed among the people were the laws. Did any of the laws of the early kings ever say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will not do any good and cruelty will not do any harm"? The standards according to which lawsuits were tried and punishments were meted out were the codes of punishment. Did any of the codes of punishment of the early kings say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will not do any good and cruelty will not do any harm"? The inspiration by which the armies were organised and the soldiers were commanded to advance or to retreat came from the declarations. Did any of the declarations of the early kings say: "Blessing cannot be invoked and disaster cannot be avoided; reverence will do no good and cruelty will do no harm"? Mozi said: I have not enumerated the good books of the empire completely. As they cannot be exhaustively enumerated, I limit myself to the most prominent ones, namely, the three above mentioned. And try as we may, we cannot find any belief in the doctrine of fatalism. Should it not then be abandoned? To adopt the fatalists' doctrine is to overthrow righteousness in the world. To overthrow righteousness in the world will establish fate, which is a temptation to the people. And to offer people temptation is to destroy the people. Now, why is it that we desire righteousness to be with the superiors? Because when the righteous are in authority, the world will have order, God, hills and rivers, and the spirits will have their chief sacrificer, and the people will be visited by the great blessings therefrom. How do we know? Mozi said: In ancient times, Tang was given a fief at Bo. Taking allowance for the irregular boundary lines, his land amounted to about a hundred li square. He worked with the people for mutual love and reciprocal benefit, and shared with them what was in abundance. And he led his people to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. Thereupon, Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords befriended him, the people loved him, and the virtuous came to him. Within a single generation he ruled over the empire and headed the feudal lords. Again in ancient times, King Wen was assigned to the state of Qi Zhou. Making allowance for the irregular boundary lines, his land amounted to about a hundred li square. He worked with his people for mutual love and reciprocal benefit. So those near him enjoyed his government and those distant submitted themselves to his virtues. All who heard of King Wen rose up and rushed over to him. The stupid and insolent and those weak in limbs remained where they were and complained: "Why not let the land of King Wen extend to this place. Wouldn't I then also be a subject of King Wen?" Thereupon Heaven and the spirits enriched him, the feudal lords befriended him, the people loved him and the virtuous came to him. Within a single generation he ruled over the whole empire and headed the feudal lords. As we have said: When the righteous are in authority the world will have order, God, hills and rivers, and the spirits will have their chief sacrificer, and the people will be visited by the great benefits therefrom. And this is how we know it to be so.
- 5. The ancient sage-kings published laws and issued orders to be standards of reward and punishment, and to encourage the virtuous and to obstruct the evil. And so the people were filial to their parents at home and respectful to the elders in the village or the district. They observed propriety in conduct, moderation in going out and coming in, and decency between men and women. And when they were made to look after the court they would not steal, when they were made to defend a city they would not raise an insurrection. When the lord met with death they would commit suicide, and when the lord was banished they would follow him. This is what the superior will reward and what the people will applaud. Now, the fatalists say: "Whoever is rewarded by the superior is destined to be rewarded. It is not because of his virtue that he is rewarded. Whoever is punished by the superior is destined to be punished. It is not because of his vice that he is punished." Under these conditions the people would not be filial to their parents at home, and respectful to the elders in the village or

the district. They would not observe propriety in conduct, moderation in going out and coming in, or decency between men and women. And, if they were made to look after the court they would steal, if they were made to defend a city they would raise an insurrection. If the lord met with death they would not commit suicide, and if the lord were banished they would not accompany him. This is what the superior will punish, and what the people will condemn. The fatalists say: Whoever is punished by the superior is destined to be punished. It is not because of his vice that he is punished." Believing in this, the ruler would not be righteous, the minister would not be loyal, the father would not be affectionate, the son would not be filial, the elder brother would not be brotherly, and the younger brother would not be respectful. The unnatural adherence to this doctrine is responsible for pernicious ideas and is the way of the wicked.

6. Now how do we know fatalism is the way of the wicked? In ancient times, the miserable people indulged in drinking and eating and were lazy in their work. Thereupon their food and clothing became insufficient, and the danger of hunger and cold was approaching. They did not acknowledge: "I was stupid and insolent and was not diligent at work." But they would say: "It is but my lot to be poor." The ancient wicked kings did not control the sensuality of their ears and eyes and the passions of their mind. They did not follow their ancestors and so they lost their country and ruined their state. They did not know that they should confess: "I am stupid and insolent and was not diligent in attending to government." But they would say: "It is but my fate to lose it." The "Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard that the man of Xia issued orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his forces." This tells how Tang showed Jie's belief in fate to be wrong. "The Great Declaration" says: "Zhou became insolent and would not worship God and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with my people,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." This tells how King Wu showed Zhou's belief in fate to be wrong. If the doctrine of the fatalist were put to practice, the superiors would not attend to government and the subordinates would not attend to work. If the superior does not attend to government, jurisdiction and administration will be in chaos. If the subordinates do not attend to work, wealth will not be sufficient. Then, there will not be wherewith to provide for the cakes and wine to worship and do sacrifice to God, ghosts and spirits above, and there will not be wherewith to tranquillize the virtuous of the world below: there will not be wherewith to entertain the noble guests from without, and there will not be wherewith to feed the hungry, clothe the cold, and care for the aged and weak within. Therefore fatalism is not helpful to Heaven above, nor to the spirits in the middle sphere, nor to man below. The eccentric belief in this doctrine is responsible for pernicious ideas and is the way of the wicked

7. Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen in the world really desire to have the world rich and do not want to have it poor, desire to have it orderly and dislike to have it in confusion, the doctrine of fatalism must be rejected. It is a great calamity to the world

#### MOZI CHAPTER 36 - Anti-Fatalism 2

1. Mozi said: To make any statement or to publish any doctrine, there must first be established some standard of judgment. To discuss without a standard is like determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a revolving potter's wheel. Even skilful artisans could not get accurate results in that way. Now that the truth and error (of a doctrine) in the world is hard to tell, there must be three tests. What are the three tests? They are the test of its basis, the test of its verifiability, and the test of its applicability. To test the basis of a doctrine we shall examine the will of Heaven and spirits and the deeds of the sage-kings. To test its verifiability we shall go to the books of the early kings. As to its applicability it is to be tested by its use in the administration of justice and government. These then are the three tests of a doctrine.

2. Among the gentlemen of to-day some think there is fate, some think there is no fate. That I am able to judge whether there is fate or not is by the sense testimony of the multitude If some have heard it and some have seen it I shall say there is fate. If none has heard it, if none has seen it, I shall say there is no fate. Why not then let us inquire into the sense testimony of the people? From antiquity to the present, since the beginning of man, has any seen such a thing as fate, or has heard the sound of fate? Of course, there is none. If the common people are considered stupid and their senses of hearing and sight unreliable, then why not inquire into the recorded statements of the feudal lords? But from antiquity to the present, since the beginning of man, has any of them heard the sound of fate or seen such a thing as fate? Of course, none of them has. Again, why not let us inquire into the deeds of the sage-kings? The ancient kings promoted the filial sons and encouraged them to continue to serve their parents, and respected the virtuous and gentle and encouraged them to

continue to do good. They published their orders to instruct (the people), and made reward and punishment fair to encourage (the good) and obstruct (the evil). In this way confusion could be reduced to order and danger could be converted to peace. If anyone doubts this, let us recall: In ancient times the confusion of Jie was reduced to order by Tang, and that of Zhou by King Wu. Now, the times did not change and the people did not alter. Yet when the superior changed a regime the subordinates modified their conduct. Under Tang and Wu it was orderly, but under Jie and Zhou it was disorderly. Hence peace and danger, order and disorder, all depend on the government of the superior. How can it be said everything is according to fate? So, assertions about there being fate are quite false.

3. The fatalists tell us: "This doctrine has not been invented."

3. The fatalists tell us: "This doctrine has not been invented by us in a late generation. Such a doctrine has appeared and been handed down since the Three Dynasties. Why do you, sir, now oppose it?" (In answer.) Mozi asked: Was it from the sages and good men of the Three Dynasties or from the wicked and the vicious of the Three Dynasties that the fatalistic doctrine came? How can we find this out? In the beginning secretaries and ministers were careful in speech and intelligent in conduct. They could persuade their ruler above and instruct the people below. Thus they obtained reward from their ruler and applause from the people. And the fame of those secretaries and ministers has come down to the present day. The whole world remarks: "This is the result of endeavour." And it will never say: "I see fate there."

4. On the other hand, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties did not control the lust of their ears and eyes and did not restrain the passions of their heart. When they went out they indulged in racing, hunting, and trapping. When they stayed indoors they revelled in wine and music. They did not attend to the government of the country and of the people, but they did much that was of no use. They oppressed the people, causing the subordinates not to love their superior. Hence the country became empty and without any future, and they themselves were in punishment and disaster. But they would not confess and say: "I am stupid and insolent and poor in administering the government." But they would say: "It is but my fate to perish." Even the miserable people of the Three Dynasties were like this. Within they could not well serve their parents, without they could not well serve their ruler. They disliked politeness and frugality but liked licence and ease. They indulged in drinking and eating and were lazy. The means of food and clothing became insufficient and they placed themselves in danger of hunger and cold. They would not confess: "I am stunid and insolent and was not diligent at work." But they would say: "It is but my fate to be poor.' Such, then, also were the miserable people of the Three Dynasties. Fatalism has been glossed over and taught the stupid people. This was of great concern to the sage-kings, and they put it down on the bamboos and silk and cut it in metals and stone. Among the books of the early kings, "The Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard the man of Xia issue orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his forces." This shows how King Jie of Xia believed in fate and how both Tang and Zhong Hui thought it to be wrong. Among the books of early kings "The Great Declaration" says: "Zhou became insolent and would not worship God, and pushed away the ancestors and spirits without offering them sacrifices. And he said: 'Fortune is with my people,' and neglected and betrayed his duty. Heaven thereupon deserted him and withdrew its protection." This shows how Zhou believed in fate, and how King Wu proclaimed it to be wrong with "The Great Declaration." Again, "The Three Dynasties and Hundred States " says: " Do not place too much faith in the fate in Heaven." So "The Three Dynasties and Hundred States" also says there is no fate. Also "Shao Gong" in the same way discredits the belief in fate. It says: "Assuredly there is no fate in Heaven. Let us two not teach false doctrines. (One's destiny) does not come from Heaven, but is shaped by one's self." And it is said in the odes and books of Shang and Xia: "Fate is born of the wicked kings." So, then, if the gentlemen of the world desire to distinguish right and wrong, benefit and harm, fate of Heaven must be strenuously discredited. To hold there is fate is the great disaster of the world. And therefore Mozi

# MOZI CHAPTER 37 - Anti-Fatalism 3

1. Mozi said: In order to expound a doctrine there must be established some standard of judgment. To expound without a standard is similar to determining the directions of sunrise and sunset on a potter's wheel that is turning. I should think even such obvious distinctions as that between the directions of sunrise and sunset cannot be thus determined. Therefore every doctrine must stand three tests. What are the three tests? They are the test of its basis, the test of its verifiability, and the test of its applicability. How is it to be based? It is to be verified? It is to be verified by the testimony of the ears and eyes of the multitude. How is it to be applied? It is to be

applied by being adopted in government and its effects on the people being shown. These are called the three tests.

When the ancient sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, ruled, they said: "We must promote the filial sons and encourage them in serving their parents, and we must honour the virtuous and good men and instruct them in doing good." In this way they administered the government and published instructions, rewarded the good and punished the evil. It seems in this way the confusion in the world could be reduced to order, and the danger of the state could be transformed into safety. If this is doubted, (let us recall): In ancient times, the disorder of Jie was reduced to order by Tang, that of Zhou was reduced to order by King Wu. Then the times did not change nor did the people alter. Yet when the superior changed regime the subordinates modified their conduct. With Jie and Zhou the world was chaotic, under Tang and Wu it became orderly. That the world became orderly was due to the endeavour of Tang and Wu. That the world was chaotic was due to the sin of Jie and Zhou. Judging from this, safety and danger, order and chaos all depend on the way the superior conducts the government. How can it be said, there is fate? In ancient times when Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu ruled the empire, they said: "We must feed the hungry, clothe the cold, give the weary rest, and the disturbed peace. Thus their good name was heard all over the world. Can this be ascribed to fate? It is really due to endeavour. The virtuous and gentle of today respect virtue and pursue the ways and means (to benefit the world). Hence they are rewarded by the rulers above and praised by the people below. And their good name is heard all over the world. Can this be ascribed to fate? This is also due to their endeavour. Now, were those who believed in fate the sages of the Three Dynasties or the wicked of the Three Dynasties? Judging from the nature of this doctrine, it could not be the sages of the Three Dynasties, but must be the wicked that believed in fate. The ancient wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, were honoured as emperors and possessed the whole world in wealth. Yet they could not control the sensuality of their ears and eyes, but gave rein to their passions. Going out they would race, hunt, and trap. Staying indoors they revelled in wine and music. They did not attend to the government of the country and the people, but did much that was of no use. And they oppressed and violated the people. Thus they lost their ancestral temple. They would not confess: "I am insolent and stupid. I did not attend to government diligently." But they would say: "It is but my fate that I lose it." Even the insolent people of the Three Dynasties were like this. They could not well serve their parents and their lord. They greatly hated politeness and frugality but liked licence and ease. They indulged in eating and drinking and were lazy at work. Their means of clothing and food became insufficient, and they incurred the danger of hunger and cold. They would not confess: "I am stupid and insolent, I am not diligent in my work." But they also said: "It is but my fate that I am poor. Thus the insolent people of the Three Dynasties also believed in fate.

3. The ancient wicked kings originated it and the miserable people practised it. It was shaking the convictions of the multitudes and converting the stupid. And this was already of great concern to the ancient sage-kings. They put it down on the bamboos and silk and cut it in metal and stone and engraved it on dishes and cups to be handed down to their descendants. In what books are they embodied? "Zong De" of Yu says: "When promises are not fulfilled even a subject of Heaven will not be protected. When one has touched the evil star, Heaven will visit him with its curse. When one is not careful about one's conduct, how can fate of Heaven protect him?" "The Announcement of Zhong Hui" says: "I have heard that the man of Xia issued orders, pretending them to be fate of Heaven. God was displeased and destroyed his armies." He made use of what did not exist as if it had existed, and therefore it was called pretension. If he declared to be existent what really existed, how would this be pretension? In ancient times, Jie believed in fate and acted accordingly. Tang here showed it to be wrong through "The Announcement of Zhong Hui." "The Great Declaration" says: "Therefore the Prince Regent Fa said: 'Ah, my lords, Heaven blesses the virtuous. Its way is clear. Example need not be sought far. It is in the King of Yin. He claimed each man had his own fate, worship should not be practised, sacrifices were of no avail, and wickedness could do no harm. God withdrew his blessing and the nine districts are lost to him. God is not pleased and is visiting him with ruin. Hence it is that our Zhou (the dynasty, the empire) is given by the Great God." That is, Zhou believed in fate and acted accordingly. King Wu refuted him in "The Great Declaration." So, why not examine the records of Yu, Xia, Shang, and Zhou, and see that all of them held there is no fate? How would you account for this?

4. And Mozi said: In expounding a doctrine or elaborating a system the gentlemen of the world should not do it just to exercise their voice and tongue and practise their lips. It must aim at being applied in the government of the country, the district, and the people. Now the rulers go to court early and retire late, hearing lawsuits and attending to government and

meting out justice for the whole day, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will bring about order, and negligence chaos; diligence will produce safety, and negligence danger. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The ministers and secretaries exhaust the energy in their limbs and stretch the wisdom of their minds within to look after the court and without to collect taxes from passes, markets, and products from mountains, woods, ponds, and fields to fill the treasury, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will procure honour and negligence dishonour; diligence will procure glory and negligence disgrace. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The farmers set out at daybreak and come back at dusk, diligently sowing seeds and planting trees to produce much soy beans and millet, and dare not be negligent Why do they do this? They think diligence will result in wealth, and negligence in poverty; diligence will produce plenty, and negligence famine. Therefore they dare not be negligent. The women get up at dawn and retire in the night, diligently weaving and spinning to produce much silk, flax linen, and cloth, and dare not be negligent. Why do they do this? They think diligence will produce wealth and negligence poverty; diligence will produce warmth and negligence cold. Therefore they dare not be negligent. Now, if they should believe in fate and behave accordingly, the rulers would be negligent in hearing lawsuits and attending to government; the ministers and secretaries would be negligent in attending to court; the farmers would be negligent in sowing seeds and planting trees: the women would be negligent in weaving and spinning. When the rulers are negligent in hearing lawsuits and attending to government and the ministers and secretaries in attending to court, then I should think the world would be in chaos. When the farmers are negligent in sowing seeds and planting trees and the women in weaving and spinning, then according to my opinion clothing and food for the world will be insufficient. As to the result of the application of the doctrine of fatalism to the government of the empire, to worship Heaven and the spirits above with it Heaven and the spirits will not be pleased, and to nurture the people below with it they will not be benefited but will be demoralised and cannot be employed. And, within, defence will not be strong and, without, attack will not be victorious. And that for which the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, lost their country and ruined their state was just this (doctrine). Therefore Mozi said: If the gentlemen of the world really desire to procure benefits for the world and destroy its calamities they cannot but vigorously refute the doctrine of fatalism. For fatalism was an invention of the wicked kings and the practice of miserable men. It was not a doctrine of the magnanimous. Therefore those who practise magnanimity and righteousness must examine it and vigorously refute it.

### MOZI CHAPTER 38 - Anti-Confucianism 1 (Text missing)

#### MOZI CHAPTER 39 - Anti-Confucianism 2

1. The Confucianist says: Love among relations should depend upon the degree of relationship, and honour to the virtuous should be graded. This is to advocate a discrimination among the near and the distant relations and among the respectable and the humble. But, according to his code of propriety: Mourning for the death of the parent should be three years; for the wife or the eldest son three years; for an uncle, a brother, or one of the other sons, a year; and for a near relative, five months. If the periods are based on the degree of relationship, evidently mourning for the closer relative should be longer and for the more distant shorter. Thus the wife and the eldest son are the same as the parents (in nearness). If the periods are based on degrees of respect which are severally due then it means that the wife and the eldest son are respected as much as the parents, and the uncles and brothers are placed on the same level with the other sons. What perversity can be greater than this? When his parent dies he first lets him lie there without dressing him for burial. He climbs on the roof, looks into the well, reaches into the rat holes, and searches in the washing basins to look for the dead man. Assuming that the man still exists this procedure is certainly stupid. If he does not exist this insistent search is the height of hypocrisy. When a Confucianist takes a wife, he has to escort her in person, dressed in ceremonial garments as a servant. He drives the cart himself, as if waiting on a revered parent. The dignity and solemnity of the marriage ceremony compare with that of sacrifice and worship. High and low are turned upside down. Father and mother are disobeyed. Parents are brought down to the level of the wife and the wife is exalted to interfere with service to parents. Can such conduct be called filial? The Confucianist tells us: "A wife is taken to share in continuing the worship and sacrifice (to ancestors) and the son will attend to the ancestral temple. therefore they are highly regarded." We answer him: This is all false representation. For, his brothers attend to the ancestral temple for tens of years. Yet when they die he will mourn for them only one year. The brothers' wives continue the worship and sacrifice of his ancestors. Yet, there is no mourning (upon their death) whatsoever. Then the three

years' mourning for the death of his wife and eldest son is evidently not for the reason of their attending to the ancestral temple and continuing the worship and sacrifice. Now, to be partial to one's wife and son is already quite wayward. Yet the Confucianist pretends it to be for the sake of the parents. This is partiality to the most favourite but neglect of the most important. Isn't this great perversity?

- 2. Further, he holds tenaciously to the dogma of fate and argues: "Old age or early death, poverty or wealth, safety or danger, order or chaos are destined by the fate of Heaven and cannot be modified. Failure or success, reward or punishment, luck or adversity, are all settled; the wisdom and power of man can do nothing." When the different officers believe this they will neglect their several duties. When the common people believe this they will neglect their work. Lax government will lead to disorder; inefficient agriculture will lead to poverty. And poverty is the root of disorder and insurrections. Yet the Confucianists take this teaching about fate to be the Dao and the principle of life. This is to destroy the people of the empire.
- 3. Moreover, the Confucianist glosses over the elaborate ceremonials and music to make man extravagant; he extends mourning and pretends grief to cheat his parents. He introduces fate and causes poverty, and lives in idleness. He overthrows the fundamentals and avoids work, and is indolent and proud. Self-indulgent in drinking and eating and too lazy to work, he often suffers from hunger and cold and is in danger of freezing and starvation, without ability to avert them. He behaves like a beggar: grasps food like a hamster, gazes at things like a he-goat, and rises up like a wild boar. The gentlemen all laugh at him. He becomes angry and exclaims: "What does the undisciplined man know about the good Confucianist?" In spring and summer he begs for grains. When the five grains are all gathered in he resorts to the funerals. All the sons and grandsons are taken along and are filled with drink and food. It is sufficient for him to manage but a few funerals. He depends on others' houses for his wealth and uses others' fields to uphold his dignity. When a death takes place in a rich family he will rejoice greatly, for it is his opportunity for clothing and food.
- 4. The Confucianist says: "The superior man must be ancient in mode of speech and in dress before be can be magnanimous." We answer him: The so-called ancient speech and dress were all modern once. When the ancients first used that speech and wore that dress they would not be superior men (according to the Confucianists' criteria). Do you therefore mean to say that one has to wear the dress of the non-superior man and speak the speech of the non-superior man before he can be magnanimous?
- 5. Again, the Confucianist says: "The superior man conforms to the old but does not make innovations." We answer him: In antiquity Yi invented the bow, Yu invented armour, Xi Zhong invented vehicles, and Qiao Cui invented boats. Would he say, the tanners, armourers, and carpenters of to-day are all superior men, whereas Yi, Yu, Xi Zhong, and Qiao Cui were all ordinary men? Moreover, some of those whom he follows must have been inventors. Then his instructions are after all the ways of the ordinary men.
- 6. Again he says: "When the superior man is victorious he does not pursue the fleeing enemy. When the enemy is kept at bay he does not shoot. When the enemy retreat he will help them pushing their carts." We answer him: If the magnanimous are here referred to, they have no occasion for strife. The magnanimous remind each other of the principle of right and wrong and of what is to be accepted and what is to be rejected. He who has no cause follows him who has it. He who has no knowledge follows him who has knowledge. Running short of argument he would acknowledge defeat, seeing good he would be converted. How can there be any strife? If the contestants are both wicked, though the victor does not pursue the fleeing enemy, though he does not shoot the enemy at bay, though he helps pushing the enemy's carts in retreat - though he does all these, still he cannot be a superior man. On the other hand, suppose a sage starts out to destroy a curse on behalf of the empire. He raises an army to punish the wicked and cruel state. When he is victorious, let us suppose him to follow the Confucian way and command his army: "Don't pursue the fleeing enemy. Don't shoot when the enemy is at bay. Help them pushing the carts when they retreat." The wicked men will thus be set free and the curse of the world will not yet be removed. This is to harm the parents of the multitudes and greatly to ruin the world. Nothing can be more unrighteous!
- 7. Again the Confucianist says: "The superior man is like a bell. It will sound when it is struck. It will remain silent when it is not struck." We answer him: The magnanimous, in serving his superior, should be loyal, and in serving his parents, should be filial. When there is excellence (in the superior) he should adore, when there is fault he should give counsel. This is the way of a minister. Now, if one sounds only when struck, and remains silent when not struck, then he will hide his knowledge and spare his efforts, waiting to be questioned before he answers. Even if there is some great advantage at stake to the lord or parents, he will not speak up

without being asked. And, if a great invasion or insurrection is approaching or a conspiracy is afoot, and none know it but he; yet even in the presence of his lord and parents he will not speak up without being questioned. What a criminal, producing confusion! Such a man will not be loyal as a minister, filial as a son, respectful in serving an elder brother or gentle in treating the people. When benefit is in sight, the only fear should be that counsel may be late. When the ruler starts something not beneficial, one should fold his hands high on the breast and look down and utter with difficulty: 'This I have not learned." Upon emergency one should withdraw and set out on a long journey. For, every principle, doctrine, and standard of magnanimity and righteousness are to be used on the large scale to rule men and on the small scale to hold office; widely, to exercise a universal influence and, narrowly, to cultivate one's person. What is not righteous should not be tolerated; what is not according to principle should not be practised. One should endeavour to procure benefits for the empire directly and indirectly, avoiding that which brings no profit: such is the way of the superior man. But what we hear of the conduct of Kong Qiu is diametrically opposed to this.

8. Lord Jing of Qi asked Yanzi: "What kind of a man is Confucius?" Yanzi answered not. The Lord reiterated the question and there was still no answer. Lord Jing said: "Many have told me about Kong Qiu and all said he was a virtuous man. Now that I am asking you about him, why should you not answer?" Yanzi replied: "Ying is not wise and cannot know virtuous men. Yet Ying has heard that a virtuous man must be one who, upon entering a state, will endeavour to bring about friendly relations between the ruler and the ministers and dissolve the grudges between superior and subordinates. This man Confucius once visited the state of Jing. He heard of the plans of Duke Bo and told them to Shi Qi. As a result, the lord almost perished and Duke Bo was executed. Ying has also heard that the virtuous man does not obtain confidence of the superior by flattery or that of the subordinates by threat. If his counsels are listened to by the lord they will benefit the people, if his instructions are followed by the subordinates they will benefit the superior. His speech is plain and easy to understand and his conduct is plain and easy to follow. His righteous conduct enlightens the people and his thoughtful counsel convinces the lord and his ministers. Now, this man Confucius with elaborate plans conspired with the rebels and with devious plots committed depravity. To persuade the subordinates to plot against their superior and tell the ministers to assassinate their lord is not the conduct of a virtuous man. To enter a country and join with its traitors is not akin to the righteous. To urge those who are known to be disloyal to revolt does not fit the way of the magnanimous. Plotting against one at a distance and condemning one behind his back, his conduct enlightening not the people and his counsel convincing not the lord - how Confucius is different from Duke Bo, your servant Ying does not see. This is why I did not answer you." Lord Jing said: 'Oh! I have been benefited. If it were not for you, I would never in my life understand Kong Qiu to be of the same kind

9. Kong Qiu visited the state of Qi and saw Lord Jing. Lord Jing was pleased and was going to assign Ni Xi to him. He told Yanzi about it. Yanzi said: "Please do not. A scholar of his school would sit crouching and take things easy, therefore he cannot be made to teach the subordinates. He likes music and will corrupt the people, and therefore cannot be trusted to govern. He believes in fate and will neglect his duty, therefore be cannot be given an office. He lays emphasis on mourning, and makes much of grief, therefore he cannot be made to take care of the people. He will be formal in dress and affected in manners, therefore he cannot lead the multitudes. Kong Qiu dresses elaborately and puts on adornments to mislead the people, promotes music and dancing to attract the multitudes, performs elaborate ceremonies of going up and coming down the steps, and practises the etiquette of rushing and soaring to dazzle the multitudes. With all his extensive learning he cannot plan for the world; with all his laborious thought he cannot help the people. A whole lifetime cannot exhaust his learning; the grown man cannot observe his ceremonies; and even the wealthy cannot enjoy his music. He elaborates and adorns his improper ways to keep the lords busy; he profusely furnishes sounds and music to corrupt the people. His principles cannot instruct the world; his learning cannot lead the multitudes. Now you, my lord, commission him to change the customs of Qi. It really is not the way to lead a country and bring forward the multitudes." The Lord said: "This is well." Thereupon the Lord gave him valuable gifts but retained the commission, received him with respect but did not inquire into his teaching. Kong Qiu became angry, angry with Lord Jing and Yanzi. So, he placed Chi Yi Ze Pi in the following of Tian Chang, and communicated his plans to Hui-tzu of the South City. Then he returned to Lu. Before long, Qi desired to attack Lu. He remarked to Zi Gong: "Oh, Ci, now is the time to do the great deed." Thereupon he sent Zi Gong to Qi and, through the introduction of Huizi of the South City, saw Tian Chang. Zi Gong persuaded him to

attack Wu (instead of Lu). He also told Gao Guo Bao Yan not to interfere with Tian Chang's insurrection. Then he went on and persuaded Yue to attack Wu. For three years, both Qi and Wu were threatened with ruin. The bodies of those killed amounted to hundreds of thousands. And this was the revenge of Kong Qiu.

10. Kong Qiu was once the Chief Justice of Lu. But he abandoned the cause of the lord and entered the service of Jisun, Jisun was the Chancellor of Lu but deserted his trust and ran away. As he was trying to force the gate against the guards, Kong Qiu lifted the beam (for him).

11. Once, Kong Qiu was in straits between Cai and Chen having only vegetable soup without even rice to eat. After ten days of this, Zi Lu cooked a pig for him. Kong Qiu did not inquire whence the meat came, and ate. Zi Lu robbed some one of his garment and exchanged it for wine. Kong Qiu did not inquire whence the wine came, and drank. But when Lord Ai received Confucius, Confucius would not sit on a mat that was not placed straight and would not eat meat that was not cut properly. Zi Lu went to him and asked: "Why the reverse to what you did on the borders of Chen and Cai? Kong Qiu answered: "Come, let me tell you. Then, our goal was to keep alive. Now our goal is to behave righteously." Now when hunger-stricken he was not scrupulous about the means of keeping alive, and when satiated he acted hypocritically to appear refined. What foolery, perversion, villainy, and pretension can be greater than this!

12. Kong Qiu was lounging with his disciples. He remarked: "When Shun saw Gu Sou, he felt uneasy. The empire at the time must be in danger. Was not Dan, the Duke of Zhou, unmagnanimous? Why did he resign from his public office and retire to his private home? This shows Kong Qiu's conduct and the attitude of his mind. His followers and disciples all imitated him: Zi Gong and Ji Lu assisted Kong Li and committed high treason against the state of Wei. Yang Huo rebelled against Qi. Bi Xi was entrusted with Zhong Mou and became independent. Qi Diao had a ferocious appearance. Nothing can be more... than this! Of course the disciples and pupils, following a teacher, will advocate his doctrines and imitate his conduct. Only, they are not as powerful and not as clever. Now, since such was the conduct of Kong Qiu, the Confucian scholars are naturally to be objects of suspicion.

(The chapters 40 and 42 build a kind of combination, as such: )

MOZI CHAPTER 40 Canon 1 (each 1st sentence)

MOZI CHAPTER 42 Exposition of Canon 1 (texts after the 1st sentence): English translation: A. C. Graham

1. The gu (reason/cause) of something is what it must get before it will come about.

'Minor reason': having this, it will not necessarily be so; lacking this, necessarily it will not be so. It is a part, like having a starting point. 'Major reason': having this, it will necessarily [be so]; lacking [this, necessarily it will not] be so. Like the appearing bringing about the seeing.

2. A ti (unit/individual/part) is a portion in a jian (total/collection/whole).

For example, one of two, or the starting-point of a measured length.

3. The zhi (intelligence/consciousness) is the capability.

The 'intelligence': it being the means by which one knows. one necessarily does know. Like the eyesight.

4. Lu (thinking/forethought) is the seeking.

'Thinking': by means of one's intelligence one seeks something, but does not necessarily find it. Like peering.

Zhi (knowing) is the connecting.

'Knowing': by means of one's intelligence, having passed the thing one is able to describe it. Like seeing.

6. Zhi (understanding/wisdom) is the illumination.

'Understanding': by means of one's intelligence, in discourse about the thing one's knowledge of it is apparent. Like clearness of sight.

7. To be ren (benevolent/humane/kind) is to love individually.

Love of oneself is not for the sake of making oneself useful. Not like loving a horse.

8. To be yi (righteous/dutiful/moral) is to benefit.

In intent, he takes the whole world as his field; in ability, he is able to benefit it. He is not necessarily employed.

Li (manners/courtesy) is respect.

The noble are adressed as 'Sir', the base by their given names, but in both cases one may be either respectful or rude, because modes of behaviour are different for different ranks.

10. Xing (conduct) is doing.

What one does, neutrally named, is one's conduct. Giving a good name to what one does is trickery. For example, to committing robbery.

11. To be cheng (sincere/whole-hearted) is to reveal oneself spontaneously.

The manifestation of his intent and his zeal enables others to know him. Not like the tinkle of metal or jade pendants.

12. To be zhong (to serve loyally/do one's utmost) is to be energetic in sustaining the responsibility when one deems something beneficial.

13. To be xiao (filial) is to benefit one's parents.

In intent, he takes his parents as his field; in ability, he is able to benefit them. He does not necessarily succeed.

14. Xin (good faith/trustworthiness) is the words agreeing with the thought.

It is not by his words fitting the fact that he makes others pay attention to them; it is because they are sure of his conduct. The frankness of his words enables him to verify them. ... the city wall and get the money.

15. To si (?) (be in authority (?)) is to act on one's own initiative

When he confronts another, the multitude follows his lead. 16. To be juan (scrupulous/squeamish) is to be deficient in initiative.

He does the right things; but when doing the right thing interferes with some other thing, he will not do it.

17. To be lian (honest/consciencious) is to (...?) initiative. Although he performs it himself, he is under the authority of someone who knows the rest about it (?).

18. To ling (command) is not to perform what one initiates. It is not that he is not himself the agent.

19. Ren (bearing the weight of a responsibility) is an officer working to his own loss but to the advantage of those on whose behalf he acts

He performs what in his own interests he dislikes in order to bring about what others need.

20. Yong (courage) is that by which intent is daring.

One names a man 'brave' because of what he does dare; one does not raise as an objection something else that he does not

21. Li (strength) is that by which the body exerts itself. It is of weight that it is said. Lifting a weight from below is

exertion. 22. Sheng (life) is the body being located with the

intelligence. 23. Meng (dreaming) is the intelligence neither desiring nor disliking anything.

25. Ping (calm) is the intelligence neither desiring nor disliking anything.

...tranquil.

26. Li (benefit) is what one is pleased to get.

If you are pleased to get this one, this is the beneficial one, and the harmful one is not this one.

27. Hai (harm) is what one dislikes getting.

If you dislike getting this one, this is the harmful one, and the one which is beneficial is not this one.

28. To zhi (deal with successfully/put in order) is to achieve what is sought.

One's own affairs having been put in order, others also putting in order North and South.

29. To yu (praise) is to make plain what is honourable.

30. To fei (blame) is to make plain what is dishonourable. 31. Ju (to refer to/pick out by name from others) is to

present the analogue for the object. Example, 'stone' explained by pointing out a stone? ... For

'like the stone' one necessarily uses what is like the name. 32. Yan (to say/speak of/words) is to emit references.

Example, 'tiger', explained by a picture? ... To inform about this name is to refer to the other object. Therefore 'saving' is an emitting of something's characteristics of which any speaker is capable. 'If the characteristics are like the picture, it is a tiger' is saying. To say that which it is called (as in the case of 'stone'), is to communicate it.

33. Qie (will/about to) is declaring something to be so before the event (?).

Before the event one says 'about to', after the event one says 'already'. The just now so too is about to be. (Like 'I'm afraid it will' and 'Let's for the moment...' (?))

34. The jun (ruler) is the common knot tying ministers and

35. Gong (achievement) is benefiting the people

If not at the due time, even if it is beneficial there is no achievement. (Like summer and winter clothes.)

36. Shang (reward) is requital from above for achievement below

37. Zui (crime) is violation of a prohibition.

If not covered by a prohibition, even if it is harmful there is no crime

38. Fa (punishment) is requital from above for crime below. 39. Tong (agreeing/conforming) is being different but both the same in relation to this one thing.

They are two men but both see that this is a pillar. Like serving a ruler. The pillar's engendering of the complement is not to be treated as necessary. (?)

40. Jiu (duration) is pervasion of different times.

'Present' and 'past' combine mornings and evenings.

41. Yu (space/extension) is pervasion of different places. 'East and West' covers North and South.

42. The qiong (limit) is wherever at the next advance there is no room for a measured length.

If somewhere there is no room for a measured length, it is limited; if everywhere there is room for a measured length, it is limitless.

43. Jin (exhausting/applying to all/all) is none not being so. Something is fixed of all of them.

44. To shi (commence) is to be plumb with the time.

Of times of a movement, there is one which has duration and one without duration. The commencement is plumb with the one without duration.

45. Hua (transformation) is the distinguishing marks of one thing changing to the distinguishing marks of another.

For example, a frog becoming a quail.

46. Sun (reduction/loss) is the removal of some without the

'Some but not the rest': it is a unit in a total. Of its units, if one is removed and the other remains, we say that the one which remains is reduced.

47 (Text missing)

48. To xuan (circle round) is to swerve (?).

It is the figure of a curve.

49. To yun (rotate) is to change round.

The circumference is like a cut, the figure is constant.

50. Dong (to stir/move) is to shift somewhere.

Things which shift all over the border: the hinge of a door, the louse on a hare (?).

51. Zhi (to stay/remain fixed) is to endure as it was.

When the one without duration does not stay, the thing fits 'ox' and 'non-horse'. Like the arrow passing the starting-post. When the one which has duration does not stay, the thing fits 'horse' and 'non-horse'. Like a man having passed over a

52. Bi (the necessary/the certain) is the unending.

It is said of cases where complements are 'matured'. For example, younger-brother and elder-brother. Of a thing so in one case, a thing not so in one case, that it stays as such (?) is unnecessary, that it is this or is not is necessary.

53. Ping (level/flat) is of the same height.

54. Tong chang (of the same length) is each when laid straight exhausting the other.

The same lengths of door-bar and door-frame are straight.

55. The zhong (centre) is [the place from which (?)] they are the same in length.

Distances outward from this are alike.

56. Hou (having bulk/thickness/dimension) is having something than which it is bigger.

Only [the starting point (?)] has nothing than which it is

bigger.
57. Ri zhong (the sun at the centre/noon) is the sun being due South.

58. Zhi (straight/on a straight course) is in alignment.

59. Yuan (circular) is having the same lengths from one centre

The compasses draw it in the rough (?).

60. Fang (square) is circuiting in four from a right angle (?). The carpenter's square shows it in the rough (?).

61. Bei (doubling) is making two of them.

When they are 'two', measured foot and measured foot both depart from one starting-point, which is being nowhere the same

62. The duan (starting-point) is the unit without dimension which precedes all others.

63. You jian (having an interval/discontinuous) is [not extending to] the centre.

It refers to the flanking ones.

64. Jian (intervening/in between) is not extending to the sides.

It refers to what is flanked. Lengths measured from starting-point to circumference are not flanked by startingpoint and circumference. The two extensions are extensions of which it is not the case that they come out level with each

65. Lu (...?) is the interval being empty.

'Empty': of the interval between the two pieces of wood, it refers to where there is no wood.

66. To ying (fill) is to be nowhere absent.

What does not fill anything is dimensionless. Along a measured length wherever you go you find the two.

67. Jian bai (as hard to white/mutually pervasive) is not excluding each other.

Different positions do not fill each other. Not being each other is excluding each other.

68. Ying (touching/coinciding) is occupying each other.

Of measured feet, neither is wholly covered by the other. Of starting-points, each is wholly covered by the other. Of the measured foot and the starting-point, one is wholly covered and the other is not. The hard and the white in coinciding wholly cover each other. Countable units in coinciding do not wholly cover each other.

Pi (side by side/measured against each other/commensurate) is over part of the length coinciding and over part of it not.

It is possible only if both proceed from a starting-point.

70. Ci (the next/adjacent) is without interval but not coinciding.

It is possible only because the starting-point is dimensionless.

71. The fa (standard) is that in being like which something is so.

The idea, the compasses, a circle, all three may serve as standard.

72. The vin (criterion) is that wherein it is so.

Being 'so' is the characteristics being like the standard.

73. Shuo (explaining/demonstrating) is the means by which one makes plain.

74. Fan (being the converse of each other) is if inadmissible then on both sides inadmissible.

All oxen, and non-oxen marked off as a group, are the two sides. To lack what distinguishes an ox is to be a non-ox.

75. Bian (disputation) is contending over claims which are the converse of each other. Winning in disputation is fitting the fact.

One calling it an 'ox' and the other 'non-ox' is 'contending over claims which are the converse of each other'. Such being the case they do not both fit the fact; and if they do not both fit, necessarily one of them does not fit. Not like fitting 'dog'.

76. To wei (to be doing something for the sake of .../to have as end) is to give the most weight in relation to the desires, having taken account of all that one knows.

If you prefer to cut off your finger, and the understanding does not recognise the harm in it, this is the understanding being at fault. If the consideration paid to it by the understanding overlooks none of the harm in it, but you still prefer to cut it off, then that things have turned out unhappily is as with eating dried meat. Whether putrid meat will benefit or harm is unknowable in advance; if you prefer to eat the meat, and it is putrid, then eating it is refusing to take the doubt as grounds for fixing which you prefer. Whether there was benefit or harm 'beyond the wall' was not knowable in advance; if by heading for it you could get money, then refusing to head for it would be taking the doubt as grounds for fixing which you prefer.

In the light of the principle that 'To be 'for' is to give the most weight in relation to the desires, having taken account of all that one knows', when you cut up dried meat it is not wisdom, when you cut off a finger it is not foolishness. When what you are for and what you are against put each other in doubt, you are failing to plan things out.

77. Yi (end/finish). To bring about, to get rid of.

Of making a coat: 'to bring about'. Of curing an illness: 'to get rid of'.

78. Shi (to commission/to cause). To tell. The cause.

To give orders is 'to tell'. The thing does not necessarily come about. Dampness is a cause. It is necessarily required that what it does comes about.

79. Ming (name). Unrestricted; classifying; private.

'Thing' is 'unrestricted' - any object necessarily requires this name. Naming something 'horse' is 'classifying' - for 'like the object' we necessarily use this name. Naming someone 'Jack' is 'private' - this name stays confined in this object. The sounds which issue from the mouth all have the name. For example, surname and style-name.

80. Wei (call). Transfer, refer, apply.

Of naming by linking 'whelp' and 'dog: 'transfer'. Of 'whelp', of 'dog': 'refer'. Of hooting at a dog: 'apply'.

81. Zhi (know). By hearsay, by explanation, by personal experience. The name, the object, how to relate, how to act.

Having received it at second hand is knowing by 'hearsay'. Knowing that something square will not rotate is by 'explanation'. Having been a witness oneself is knowing 'by personal experience'. What something is called by is its 'name'. What is so called is the 'object'. The mating of 'name' and 'object' is 'relating'. To intend and to perform are to 'act'.

82. Wen (hear). At second hand, in person.

Being told by someone is hearing 'at second hand'. Being a witness oneself is hearing 'in person'.

83. Jian (see). Individuals, all.

One member of a pair (?) is an individual. Two of them are 'all'.

84. He (relation/tallying/being together). Exact, to the one which is appropriate, necessary.

The relations of sharing a level with (?), coinciding as the converse (?), aim and achievement, are 'exact'. The relation to wahat Jack is deemed to be is 'to the one which is appropriate'. If without something else something is necessarily absent, the relation is 'necessary'. The judges of sage, employ but do not treat as necessary. The 'necessary' accept and do not doubt. The ones which are the converse of each other, apply on both sides, not on one without the other.

85. Yu (desire/be about to). Directly, weighing the benefit; be about to. Wu (dislike). Directly, weighing the harm.

86. Wei (constitute/become/deem/make/cure/govern). Keep as it is, get rid of, exchange, dissolve, govern, transform.

Of coinciding with a complement (?): 'keep as it is'. Of illness: 'get rid of'. Of buying and selling: 'exchange'. Of sleet

or ashes: 'dissolve'. Of instructing and leading: 'govern'. Of frog and quail: 'transform'.

87. Tong (same). Identical, as units, as together, of a kind. There being two names but one object is the sameness of 'identity'. Not being outside the total is sameness 'as units'. Both occupying the room is the sameness of being 'together'. Being the same in some respect is sameness in being 'of a kind'.

88. Yi (different). Two, not units, not together, not of a kind.

The objects if the names are two necessarily being different is being 'two'. Not connected or attached is 'not units'. Not in the same place is 'not together'. Not the same in a certain respect is 'not of a kind'.

89. Sameness and difference. In interplay, having and lacking become relative.

In interplay the following become relative: In the case of a rich family, of native intelligence, 'having and lacking'. In the case of putting side by side and measuring, 'more and less'. In the case of a louse on a hare moving this way and that (?), 'departing and approaching'. In the case of retreating the better to attack, 'hard and soft'. In the case of a sword just striking, 'dead and alive'. In the case of son, son and mother within a family, 'elder and younger'. In the case of discourse, conduct, learning an object, 'being this or not being it (right or wrong)'. In the case of raising objections to a proposal or putting off acting on it, 'proved or not yet proved'. In the case of elder-brother and younger-brother, 'both being complements'. In the case of the body being here and the thoughts on something elsewhere, 'present or absent'. In the case of what 'Crane' constitutes, 'the surname or the thing as it is in itself. In the case of a price being right, 'dear or cheap'.

91 (Text missing)

92 (Text missing)

93 (Text missing)

94. An assent and a denial are one in the benefit and the use. When we 'jump the wall', the circular stays fixed. By the things which follow from each other or exclude each other, we may know 'a priori' what it is. For the five colours, long and short, before and after, light and heavy, adduce the one to which you are committed. The matching and the assent enter the consciousness together. When something is explained, and you assent to more than that they match, for example to a circle being nowhere straight, or nothing is explained and you assent on the basis of the matching, it is as though it were so of itself.

95. When someone devotes himself to a commitment, if the description takes a subtle turn, seek his reasons.

If he raises objections to an established statement, and makes it his business to establish this commitment, seek the standard for the commitment.

96 (Text missing)

97. If the standard is the same, examine what is the same in

Choose what is the same, and examine the subtle turn.

98. If the standard differs, examine what is appropriate to it. Choose this and pick out that, ask about reasons and examine appropriateness. Using what is black and what is not black in a man to fix 'black man', and using love of some men and failure to love other men to fix 'love of man' - of these which is appropriate?

99. Fix the criterion in order to 'separate the roads'.

If the other man, referring to a respect in which it is not so, deems it so in the instance here, refer to respects in which it is not so and inquire about them.

100. The exact nowhere is not.

For example, the sage has respects in which he is not, yet he is.

MOZI CHAPTER 41 Canon 2 MOZI CHAPTER 43 Exposition of Canon 2 101-183 (No translation available!)

MOZI BOOK 11

MOZI CHAPTER 44 - Major Illustrations [Warring States (475 BC - 221 BC)] (No translation available!)

MOZI CHAPTER 45 - Minor Illustrations [Also known as: "Xiao-qu", "Lesser Pick" [Warring States (475 BC - 221 BC)] English Translation: Donald Sturgeon

1. "Distinguishing" will be used to make clear the distinction between so and not-so; investigate the rules of order and chaos; make clear the locations of similarity and difference; examine the patterns of name and stuff; locate benefit and harm, and resolve doubts. Only then can one describe in approximation the way the myriad things are, and speak of seeking similarity of sayings. Names are used to raise stuff; phrases are used to express intention; explanations are

used to bring out causes. Choose according to kind; offer according to kind. Having it in oneself one do not oppose it in others; lacking it in oneself one do not seek it of others.

2. "Some" is not all. "Suppose" is not so now. "Imitation" is to make a standard: what is imitated is that which is used to make the standard. Thus what matches the imitation is so; what does not match the imitation is not so. This is imitation. "Analogy" is raising another thing to make something clear. "Similarity" is similar sayings proceeding together. "Leading" is saying, "You take it as so - why can I alone not take it as so?" "Extending" is taking what he has not chosen but is similar to what he has chosen, and presenting it to him. "It is like this" is similarity. "How could I be like this" is difference.

3. Things have that by which they are similar, but this does not make them the similar. Similarity of sentences is correct within a certain range. That it is so, has that by which is so. When things are the same in being so, that by which they are so is not necessarily the same. When something is chosen, there is that by which it is chosen. When what is chosen is the same, that by which it is chosen is not necessarily the same. Thus the sayings of Analogy, Similarity, Leading, and Extending, proceed and become different, turn and become unsafe, go far and become lost, flow and lose their foundation - this must be examined, and they cannot be constantly applied. Thus doctrine should rely upon many methods, various kinds, different causes, and cannot be looked upon rom a single perspective. Things are sometimes thus and so; sometimes thus and not so; sometimes one requires all and one not all; sometimes one thus and one not thus.

4. A white horse is a horse; riding a white horse is riding a horse.

A black horse is a horse; riding a black horse is riding a horse.

Huo is a man; caring for Huo is caring for a man.

Zang is a man; caring for Zang is caring for a man.

These are "thus and so".

5. Huo's parents are people; Huo serving his parents is not serving people.

His younger brother is a handsome person; caring for his younger brother is not caring for handsome people.

A cart is wooden; riding a cart is not riding wood.

A boat is wooden; entering a boat is not entering wood.

A thief is a man; many thieves is not many men. There being no thieves is not there being no men.

How can it be made clear?

Hating there being many thieves is not hating there being many men.

Wishing there were no thieves is not wishing there were no men.

Everyone in the world takes these as so. If this is so, then though thieves are men, caring for thieves is not caring for men; not caring for thieves is not not-caring for men; killing thieves is not killing men — there is nothing difficult in it! This and those are of the same kind; the world have those and don't oppose themselves, [yet] we Mohists have this and they oppose us. There can be no other reason than that they are stopped up within and closed without; their heart-minds are all filled in!

These are the "thus and not so".

6. Reading books is not books; liking reading books is liking books.

Fighting cocks is not cocks; liking fighting cocks is liking cocks.

Being about to fall into a well is not falling into a well; stopping someone about to fall into a well is stopping someone from falling into a well.

Being about to go out is not going out; stopping someone about to go out is stopping someone going out.

If this is so, then:

Being about to die young is not dying young; stopping someone about to die young is stopping someone from dying young.

Taking there being fate is not fate; opposing those who take that there is fate is opposing fate.

It is not difficult. This and that are the same, the world has that and do not oppose themselves. We Mohists have these and yet they blame and oppose us. There can be no other reason than that they are stopped up within and closed without; their heart-minds are all filled in!

These are the the "not thus and so".

7. Caring for people requires caring for all people to count as caring for people; not caring for people does not require not caring for all people to count as not caring for people. Not caring for all people implies not caring for people.

Riding horses does not require riding all horses to count as riding horses;

Having ridden upon a horse implies riding horses.

By contrast, not riding horses requires not riding all [i.e. any] horses to count as not riding horses.

This is "one requires all and one not all"

8. Living within a state is living in the state; having a house within the state is not having the state.

The fruit of a peach is a peach; the fruit of a ji (jujube) is not a ji

Asking after a person's illness is asking after a person; disliking a person's illness is not disliking a person.

A person's ghost is not a person; one's elder brother's ghost is one's elder brother.

Sacrificing to a person's ghost is not sacrificing to a person; sacrificing to one's elder brother's ghost is sacrificing to one's elder brother.

This horse's eyes are blind means that this horse is blind; this horse's eyes are large does not mean that this horse is large.

This ox's hairs are brown means that this ox is brown; this ox's hairs are many does not mean that this ox is many.

One horse is a horse. Two horses are horses. Horses have four feet: one horse has four feet; two horses do not have four feet

One horse is a horse. Some horses are white: two horses can be some white; one horse cannot be some white.

This is "one thus and one not thus".

#### MOZI CHAPTER 46 - Geng Zhu

- 1. Mozi was angry with Geng Zhuzi. Geng Zhuzi said: Am I not at all better than others?" Mozi said: Suppose I am starting out for Tai Hang. And a horse and an ox are to pull my cart. Which of them would you urge? Geng Zhuzi said: "I would urge the horse." Mozi asked: Why urge the horse? Geng Zhuzi said: "Because the horse is capable (of better speed)." Mozi said: I also think you are capable (of better things).
- 2. Wu Mazi questioned Mozi "Which are wiser, the ghosts and spirits or the sages?" Mozi said: The ghosts and spirits are wiser than the sages by as much as the sharp-eared and keensighted surpass the deaf and blind. In ancient times, Emperor Qi of Xia commissioned Fei Lian to dig minerals in mountains and rivers and cast tings at Kun Wu. He ordered Yi to kill the pheasant to invoke the tortoise of Boruo, saying: "Let the dings, when completed, be four-legged. Let them be able to cook automatically, without fire, to hide themselves without being lifted, and to move themselves without being carried. So that they may be used for the sacrifice at Kun Wu. May our offering be accepted!" Then the oracle was interpreted as saying: "I have accepted the offering. Profuse are the white clouds: one to the south, one to the north, one to the west, one to the east. When the nine dings have been completed, they shall be given over to three empires. When the emperor of Xia loses them the man of Yin will possess them: when the man of Yin loses them the man of Zhou will possess them." Now the transfer from the emperor of Xia to Yin and Zhou took many centuries. Even if the sage planned in counsel with his excellent ministers and superior assistants, could he foresee what would happen after many centuries? Yet the ghosts and spirits can. Therefore we say, the ghosts and spirits are wiser than the sages by as much as the sharp-eared and keen-sighted are than the deaf and blind
- 3. Zhi Tu Yu and Xian Zi Shuo asked Mozi: "What is the greatest righteousness in conduct?" Mozi said: It is like the building of a wall. Let those who can lay the bricks lay the bricks, let those who can fill in the mortar fill in the mortar, and let those who can carry up the material carry up the material. Then the wall can be completed. To do righteousness is just like this. Let those who can argue argue, let those who can expound the doctrines, and let those who can administer, administer. Then righteousness is achieved.
- 4. Wu Mazi said to Mozi: "Though you love universally the world cannot be said to be benefited; though I do not love (universally) the world cannot be said to be injured. Since neither of us has accomplished anything, what makes you then praise yourself and blame me?" Mozi answered: Suppose a conflagration is on. One person is fetching water to extinguish it, and another is holding some fuel to reinforce it. Neither of them has yet accomplished anything, but which one do you value? Wu Mazi answered that he approved of the intention of the person who fetches water and disapproved of the intention of the person who holds fuel. Mozi said: (In the same manner) do I approve of my intention and disapprove of
- 5. Mozi had recommended Geng Zhuzi to Chu. Some (other) pupils visited him. They were given only three sheng (of grain) each meal and were not generously entertained. The pupils returned and reported to Mozi, saying: "Geng Zhuzi is not profited by serving Chu. When we visited him, we were given only three sheng each meal and were not generously entertained." Mozi said: You cannot tell. Shortly after, (Geng Zhuzi) sent Mozi ten jin of silver, saying: "Your junior disciple who dare not die sends herewith ten jin, which I hope you will use." Mozi said: So. indeed. we cannot tell.
- 6. Wu Mazi said to Mozi: "For all the righteousness that you do, men do not help you and ghosts do not bless you. Yet you keep on doing it. You must be demented." Mozi said: Suppose you have here two employees. One of them works when he sees you but will not work when he does not see you. The other one works whether he sees you or not. Which of the

two would you value? Wu Mazi said that he would value him that worked whether he saw him or not. Mozi then said: Then you are valuing him who is demented.

- 7. A pupil of Zi Xia asked Mozi whether there could be any struggle among the superior men. Mozi said: The superior men do not struggle. The pupil of Zi Xia said: "There is struggle even among the dogs and hogs, how can there be no struggle among men?" Mozi said: What a shame! Tang and Wu are praised with words; but dogs and hogs are brought into comparison in conduct. What a shame!
- Wu Mazi criticised Mozi, saying. "To leave contemporaries alone and to praise the early kings is to praise rotten bones. It is like the carpenter who knows only the decaying lumber but not the living tree." Mozi: Now the world lives because of the instructions of the early kings. And to praise the early kings is to praise the source of life to the world. Not to praise what should be praised is not magnanimous. Mozi said: The jade of He, the pearl of Duke Sui, and the nine dings - these are what the feudal lords value as excellent treasures. Can they enrich the country, multiply the people, put the government in order, and place the state in safety? Of course they cannot. Excellent treasures are to be valued for their efficacy. Now since the jade of He, the pearl of Duke Sui, and the nine dings cannot benefit men, then they are not the excellent treasures in the world. On the other hand, if righteousness is employed in the government of the state the population will be increased, the government will be in order, and the state will be secure. The excellent treasures are to be valued for their efficacy. Now righteousness can benefit men. So then righteousness is the excellent treasure of the world.
- 9. Lord Zi Gao of She asked Zhongni about government, saying: "What is a good governor like?" Zhongni answered him that the good governor will attract those who are distant and renew old friendships. Mozi heard of it and commented: Lord Zi Gao of She did not put the question right, neither did Zhongni give the right answer. For, did not Lord Zi Gao of She understand, to be a good governor is to attract the distant and to renew the old friendships? The question was really how to do this. The answer told only what the inquirer understands but did not tell what he does not understand. Therefore (I say), Lord Zi Gao of She did not put the question right, neither did Zhongni give the right answer.
- 10. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: The large states attacking the small states is like the boys playing horse. When the boys play horse, they merely tire out their own feet. Now, when a large state attacks a small state the farmers of the attacked states cannot cultivate the fields and the women cannot weave. They have to go to the defence. And the farmers of the invading states cannot cultivate the fields and the women cannot weave either. They have to take part in the attack. Therefore (I say) the large states attacking the small states is like the boys playing horse.
- 11. Mozi said: Doctrines that can be translated into conduct may be taught frequently. Doctrines that cannot be translated into conduct may not be taught frequently. To talk frequently about what cannot be carried out is merely to wear out one's mouth.
- 12. Mozi sent Guan Qin Ao to recommend Gao Shizi to Wei. The lord of Wei gave him heavy emoluments and ranked him among the ministers. Gao Shizi came to court three times and gave all his counsels. But none of them was carried out. So he left for Qi where he saw Mozi and said: "On your account the lord of Wei gave me heavy emoluments and ranked me among the ministers. I went to court three times and gave all my counsels. But none of them was carried out. So I left. Wouldn't the lord of Wei think I was demented?" Mozi said: If you left because it is in accordance with the Dao, what does it matter even if suspected of being demented? Anciently, Duke Zhou was displeased with Uncle Guan and resigned from the Duke's duties and went east to Shang Yan to live. Everybody then said he was demented. But posterity praised his virtue and exalted his name unto this day. Moreover, I have heard, to practise righteousness is not to avoid blame and seek praise. If the resignation is in accordance with the Dao, what does it matter if one is suspected of being demented? Gao Shizi said: 'How dare Shi leave if it were not in accordance with the Dao? Formerly, Master, you have said: When there is no Dao in the world, the superior men will not stay in positions of plenty. Now the lord of Wei does not observe the Dao. If I should covet his emoluments and position then I would be living on others as a parasite." Mozi was pleased and summoned Qinzi, telling him: Now, listen, cases of disregard of righteousness for emoluments I have heard of. But disregard of emoluments for righteousness I have seen (only) in Gao Shizi.
- 13. Mozi said: When a man calls a gentleman of the present rich while he is poor he becomes angry. Yet, when the man calls him just he will be pleased even though he is unjust. Isn't this perverse!
- 14. Gong Mengzi said: "The ancient people had their rules, and they were but three in number." Mozi interrupted him, saying: Which ancient people are you talking about that you say have three rules? You don't understand that people first

- 15. Some pupils deserted Mozi and then returned. (They said:) "How are we to blame? We deserted late." Mozi said: This is like asking for reward for late desertion in a defeated army
- 16. Gong Mengzi said: "The superior man does not create but transmits." Mozi said: Not at all. The most unsuperior men do not transmit the good of old and do not create any good for the present. The less unsuperior men do not transmit the good of old, but will bring out the good which he possesses for the sake of praise. Now to transmit but not to create is not different from creating without transmitting. It seems to me what good there is of old one should transmit it; what good there is to be for the present, one should institute it, so that the good may increase all the more.

  17. Wu Mazi told Mozi: "I differ from you. I cannot love
- universally I love the people of Zou better than the people of Chu, the people of Lu better than the people of Zou, the people of my district better than the people of Lu, the members of my family better than the people of my district, my parents better than the other members of my family, and myself better than my parents. This, because of their nearness to me. When I am beaten I feel pain. When they are beaten the pain does not extend to me. Why should I resist what does not give me pain but not resist what gives me pain? Therefore I would rather have them killed to benefit me than to have me killed to benefit them." Mozi said: Is this view of yours to be kept secret or to be told to others? Wu Mazi replied: "Why should I keep my opinion to myself? Of course I shall tell it to others." Mozi said: Then if one person is pleased with you, there will be one person who will desire to kill you in order to benefit himself. If ten persons are pleased with you, there will be ten persons who will desire to kill you to benefit themselves. If (the people of) the whole world are pleased with you, the whole world will desire to kill you to benefit themselves. (On the other hand), if one person is not pleased with you there will be one person who will desire to kill you as the propagator of a wicked doctrine. If ten persons are not pleased with you there will be ten persons who will desire to kill you as the propagator of an evil doctrine. If (the people of) the whole world are not pleased with you the whole world will desire to kill you as the propagator of an evil doctrine. (So, then) those who are pleased with you desire to kill you and those who are not pleased with you also desire to kill you. This is to say, what passes out from your mouth is what kills your body. Mozi continued: Then, where, after all, does the benefit of your doctrine lie? To teach what is not profitable is merely to wear out one's mouth.
- 18. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: Here is a man who has such an abundance of sheep, oxen, and (other) grass-fed and grain-fed animals that he cannot eat all that the cooks prepare for him. (Yet,) when he sees a man baking cakes, he looks surprised and steals them, saying: "Let me eat them." Now, is this due to an unsatisfied appetite or is he affected with kleptomania? Prince Wen of Lu Yang replied that he must be suffering from kleptomania. Mozi said: The fields of Chu all lie in waste and cannot be exhaustively cultivated. The unoccupied land amounts to thousands (of mu) and is more than sufficient for cultivation. Yet when it saw the towns of Song and Zheng, it looked surprised and stole them. Is there any difference between this and the other (case)? Prince Wen of Lu Yang replied: "This is the same as that. It must be suffering from kleptomania (too)."
- 19. Mozi said: When Jisun Zhao and Meng Bo Chang were in authority in Lu they could not trust each other. So they took oath at the altar, saying: "May we be harmonious!" This is like closing one's eyes and praying at the altar, "May I be able to see everythine!" Isn't this unreason?
- 20. Mozi said to Lou Hua Li: I have heard you are brave. Lou Hua Li replied: "Yes. When I hear there is a brave man somewhere I always go and kill him." Mozi said: The whole world promotes that which it likes and destroys that which it hates. But when you hear of a brave man somewhere you must go and kill him. This is not admiration for bravery but hate for it.

#### MOZI BOOK 12

MOZI CHAPTER 47 - Esteem for Righteousness

- 1. Mozi said: Of the multitude of things none is more valuable than righteousness. Suppose we say to a person: We shall give you a hat and shoes on condition you let us cut off your hands and feet. Would he agree to this? Of course, he will not agree. Why? Just because hats and shoes are not so valuable as hands and feet. Again (if we say), we shall give you the whole world on condition you let us kill you. Would he agree to this? Of course he will not agree. Why? Just because the world is not so valuable as one's person. Yet people have struggled against one another for a single principle. This shows righteousness is even more valuable than one's person. Hence we say, of the multitude of things none is more valuable than righteousness.
- 2. On his way from Lu to Qi, Mozi met an old friend who said to him: "Nowadays none in the world practises any righteousness. You are merely inflicting pain on yourself by trying to practise righteousness. You had better give it up."

Mozi replied: Suppose a man has ten sons. Only one attends to the farm while the other nine stay at home. Then the farmer must work all the more vigorously. Why? Because many eat while few work. Now, none in the world practises righteousness. Then you should all the more encourage me. Why do you stop me? Mozi travelled south to Chu to see Lord Hui of Chu. Lord Hui refused to see him with the excuse of his being old, and let Mu He receive him. Mozi talked to Mu He and Mu He was greatly pleased. He said to Mozi: "Your ideas may be quite good. But our Lord is a great lord of the empire. Can't he refuse to employ them because they come only from a humble man?" Mozi replied: So long as they are applicable they are like (good) medicines, which are only the roots of herbs. Yet even the emperor takes them to cure his sickness. Does he refuse to take them because they are only the roots of a herb? Now, the farmer pays his tax to the superior. (With this,) the superior prepares wine and cakes to do sacrifice to God, ghosts and spirits. Do these refuse to accept them because they come from the humble? So, even a humble man can yet be compared to the farmer, or, at least to medicine. Is he even of less value than the roots of a herb? Moreover, has not my Lord heard the story of Tang? Anciently, Tang was going to see Yi Yin and let a son of the house of Peng be the driver. On the way, the son of Peng inquired where the lord was going. Tang told him that he was going to see Yi Yin. The son of Peng said: "Yi Yin is but a humble man of the world. If you want to see him just send for him and he will feel quite flattered." Tang said: "This is not what you can understand. Here is some medicine. When taken, it will sharpen the ears and brighten the eyes. Then I shall be pleased and endeavour to take it. Now, Yi Yin to me is like a good physician and an effective medicine. Yet you don't think I should see him. It means you do not want to see me become good." Thereupon he dismissed the son of Peng and did not let him drive any more. They did not resume their journey till the son of Peng became respectful.

- 3. Mozi said: Any word, any action, that is beneficial to Heaven, the spirits, and the people is to be carried out. Any word, any action, that is harmful to Heaven, the spirits, and the people is to be abandoned. Any word, any action, that is in harmony with the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, is to be carried out. Any word, any action, that is in agreement with the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, is to be abandoned.
- 4. Mozi said: Any principle that can modify conduct, (expound) much; any principle that cannot modify conduct, do not (expound) much. To (expound) much what cannot modify conduct is just to wear out one's mouth.
- 5. Mozi said: The six peculiarities must be removed. When silent one should be deliberating; when talking one should instruct; when acting one should achieve (something). When one employs these three alternatively he will be a sage. Pleasure, anger, joy, sorrow, love (and hate) are to be removed and magnanimity and righteousness are to replace them. When hands, feet, mouth, nose, ears (and eyes) are employed for righteousness, then one will surely be a sage.
- 6. Mozi said to a few of his disciples: Though one cannot achieve righteousness one must not abandon the way, just as the carpenter must not blame the line though he cannot saw the lumber straight.
- 7. Mozi said: As the gentlemen in the world cannot be butchers of dogs and pigs, they would refuse when asked to be such. Yet, though they are not capable of being ministers in a state, they would accept it when asked to be such. Isn't this part ware?
- 8. Mozi said: The blind say that which is bright is white, that which is dark is black. Even the keen-sighted cannot alter this. But if we should mix up the black and white objects and let the blind select them they could not do it. Hence the reason that I say the blind do not know white from black does not lie in the matter of definition but in the process of selection. Now, the way the gentlemen of the world define magnanimity even Yu and Tang cannot alter. But when we mix up magnanimous conduct with unmagnanimous conduct and let the gentlemen of the world choose them they do not know which is which. So, the reason that I say the gentlemen of the world do not know magnanimity does not lie in the matter of definition either; it also lies in the process of selection.
- 9. Mozi said: The gentlemen of to-day handle their persons with even less care than the merchant would handle a bale of cloth. When the merchant handles a bale of cloth he dare not sell it without discretion; he will surely select a good one. But the gentlemen of to-day handle their person quite differently. Whatever they happen to desire they will carry out. In the more severe cases they fall into punishment; even in less severe cases they are visited with condemnation. So then the gentlemen are even less careful in handling their persons than the merchant is in handling a bale of cloth.
- 10. Mozi said: The gentlemen of our time desire to achieve righteousness. Yet when we endeavour to help them in the cultivation of their personality they become resentful. This is like desiring the completion of a wall and becoming resentful when helped in the building. Isn't this perverse?

- 11. Mozi said: The sage-kings of old wanted to have their teaching passed to future generations. Therefore they recorded it on bamboos and silk and engraved it in metal and stone to bequeath to posterity so that their descendants could follow it. Now the ways of the early kings are known but not carried out. This is to break the tradition of the early kings.
- 12. Mozi brought numerous books in his wagon drawers on his southern journey as an envoy to Wei. Xian Dangzi saw them and was surprised. He inquired: "Sir, you have instructed Gong Shang Guo just to consider the right and wrong (of any case), and do no more. Now you, sir, bring very many books along. What can be the use for them?" Mozi said: Anciently, Duke Dan of Zhou read one hundred pages every morning and received seventy scholars every evening. Therefore his achievements as minister to the emperor have lasted till this day. I have no superior above me to serve, nor any farm below to attend to. How dare I neglect these (books)? I have heard, though the (different) ways lead to the same end they are not presented without deviations. And the common people do not know how to place proper importance in what they hear. Hence the large number of books. When one has reviewed the ideas and has thought deeply on them then he understands the essentials which lead to the same end. Therefore he does not need to be instructed by books. Why should you feel so much surprised?
- 13. Mozi said to Gong Liang Huanzi: Wei is a small state situated between Qi and Jin. It is like a poor family in the midst of rich families. For a poor family to imitate the rich families in the extravagance in clothing and food, ruin is assured. Now we find in your house hundreds of decorated vehicles, hundreds of horses fed on grain, several hundred women clothed with finery and embroidery. If the expenditures for the decorations of the vehicles, food to the horses, and the embroidered clothes are used to maintain soldiers, there should be more than a thousand. Upon emergency, several hundred of them can be stationed at the van and several hundred can be stationed in the rear. To do this or to let the several hundred women hold the van and the rear, which is more secure? I should think to keep women is not so secure as to maintain soldiers.
- 14. Mozi had introduced somebody to office in Wei. The man went and returned. Mozi asked him why he returned. He answered: "In counsel my opinions were not considered. Being promised a thousand pen was given only five hundred. Therefore I left." Mozi inquired: Suppose you were given more than a thousand pen, would you still leave? It was answered, no. Mozi said: Then it is not because of lack of consideration. It is because of the smallness of the salary.
- 15. Mozi said: The gentlemen of the world have even less regard for the righteous man than for the grain carrier. If a carrier was resting by the road side and was unable to rise up, the gentlemen would surely help him to rise upon seeing him, whether he be old or young, honourable or humble. Why? Because it is right. But when the gentleman who practises righteousness urges them with the way of the early kings, they are not only unwilling to carry it out but will even trample it down. So, then, the gentlemen of the world have even less regard for the righteous man than for the grain carrier.
- 16. Mozi said: The merchants go everywhere to do business and their gain is doubled and multiplied. They persist notwithstanding the difficulties at the passes and bridges, and the dangers of the highwaymen and robbers. Now the gentlemen can sit down and teach righteousness. There are no difficulties at the passes and bridges or dangers from highwaymen and robbers. Their gain should be not only doubled and multiplied but become incalculable. Yet, they will not do it. Then the gentlemen are not as discerning as the merchants in their calculation of benefits.
- 17. Mozi was going north to Qi and met a fortune teller on the way. The fortune teller told him: "God kills the black dragon in the north to-day. Now, your complexion is dark. You must not go north." Mozi did not listen to him and went north. At the Ze River he could proceed no further and returned. The fortune teller said: "I have told you that you must not go north." Mozi said: People on the south, of course, cannot go north (of the Ze River), but neither can those on the north come south. (Moreover), there are the darkcomplexioned, but there are also the fair-complexioned. Why is it that neither can proceed? Besides, God kills the blue dragon on the days of Jia and of Yi in the East, the red dragon on the days of Bing and of Ding in the South, the white dragon on the days of Geng and of Xin in the West, and the black dragon on the days of Ren and of Gui in the North. According to you then all the travellers in the world will be prohibited, then all their plans will be curbed and the world made empty. Your idea is not to be adopted.
- 18. Mozi said: My principle is sufficient. To abandon my principle and exercise thought is like abandoning the crop and trying to pick up grains. To refute my principle with one's own principle is like throwing an egg against a boulder. The eggs in the world would be exhausted without doing any harm to the boulder.

MOZI CHAPTER 48 - Gong Meng

- 1. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "The gentleman should fold his hands on the breast in waiting. He will speak when consulted he will not speak when not consulted. He is like a bell when struck it sounds, when not struck it does not sound." Mozi said: This idea covers three phases of which you know but one; so you do not understand what you are talking about. In the case of the ruler's committing violence in the state, to go and warn him will be called insolence, and to offer warning through those around him will be called meddling with counsel. This is where the gentleman hesitates (to speak). Now, if the ruler, in his administration, meets with some difficulty in the state resembling a machine about to shoot,... the gentleman must give warning. So the benefit to the ruler... In such cases although he is not asked he should give counsel. Again, if the lord should launch out on some unrighteous, extraordinary enterprise; and if in possession of clever military schemes, he should attack innocent states with a view to extending his territory, collecting taxes and gathering wealth; and if in taking such a course he meet with humiliation, as it is beneficial neither to the victor nor to the vanguished -- and hence harmful to both - in such a case the gentleman must respond with counsel though he is not asked. Moreover, according to what you have said, the gentleman is to fold his hands on his breast and wait. He will speak when consulted; he will not speak when not consulted. He is like a bell: when struck it sounds, when not struck it does not sound. Now, none had asked you and yet you spoke. Is this what you call sounding without being struck? Is this what you call ungentlemanly?
- 2. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "How is it possible for the people to be ignorant of what is really good? For instance, when the able fortune teller remains at home and does not go abroad, he will have grain in abundance; when the beautful maiden remains at home and does not go abroad, people will compete in obtaining her. On the other hand if she should set forth to sell herself, none would take her. Now you go about, trying to persuade everybody, wherefore all this fuss?" Mozi said: In the present world of chaos those who seek the beautiful maidens are many. So, though they remain at home most people would take them. But those who seek goodness are few. Without intelligent persuasion people will not understand. Moreover, suppose here are two people good at fortune telling. One travels about to tell people's fortunes, and the other remains at home and does not go abroad. Which of these two will have more grain? Gong Mengzi said that he who travels about and tells people's fortunes will have more grain. Mozi said: So with magnanimity and righteousness. He who travels about and urges the people has more merit also. Why not, then, let us travel about and urge the people?
- 3. Gong Mengzi, wearing a ceremonial hat, carrying the officials' tablet, and in the cloak of the learned, came to see Mozi and asked: "Does the gentleman dress in appropriate attire before acting. Or does he do his business first and then consider his attire?" Mozi said: Action does not depend on attire. Gong Mengzi asked how is it possible to know. Mozi said: Formerly, Lord Huan of Qi (685-643 B.C.), wearing a high hat and a wide girdle, with a gold sword and wooden shield, governed his state. And his state became orderly. Lord Wen of Jin (780-746 B.C.), wearing garments of coarse cloth and sheepskin cloak, with the sword in a leather belt, governed his state. And his state became orderly. Lord Zhuang of Chu (671-626 B.C.), wearing a gaudy hat with a tassel, and a red garment and a big gown, governed his state. And his state became orderly. Lord Gou Jian of Yue (496-465 B.C.), had his hair cut short and his body tattooed and governed his state, and his state became orderly. Now, these four lords differed in attire but agreed in action. I therefore know action does not depend on attire. Gong Mengzi said: "That is fine. I have heard that it is unlucky to keep goodness in darkness. So, let me go and put away the tablet and change the hat and come back to see you. Is this all right?" Mozi said: Please come out with your errand. If you have to put away the tablet and change the hat before you can see me, then, action does depend on attire.
- 4. Gong Mengzi said: "The gentleman has to be ancient in attire and in speech before he can be magnanimous." Mozi said: In ancient times, minister Fei Zhong of Emperor Zhou of Shang was the terror of the world. While Baron Ji and Baron Wei were the sages of the world. Now these spoke the same dialect, but the latter were magnanimous and the former was wicked. (Later), Duke Dan of Zhou was the sage of the world and Uncle Guan was the villain of the world. Now these wore the same attire but the former was magnanimous and the latter wicked. Then, virtue evidently does not depend on the antiquity of attire and speech. Moreover, you are following only Zhou and not Xia. Your antiquity does not go back far enough.
- 5. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "In ancient times, in assigning ranks the sage-kings crowned the most sagacious as emperor, and appointed the others as ministers and secretaries. Now Confucius had an extensive knowledge of poetry and history, a clear understanding of ceremonial and music, and

an intimate insight into many things. If it fell upon Confucius to be the sage-king, why should he not make himself emperor?" Mozi said: The wise man should reverence Heaven and worship the spirits, love the people and economize in expenditures. Combining these we get wisdom. Now, you say, Confucius had an extensive knowledge of poetry and history, a clear understanding of ceremonials and music, and an intimate insight into many things. Therefore, you think, he should be made emperor. This is like estimating one's wealth by counting the number of notches.

6. Gong Mengzi said: "Poverty or wealth, old age or untimely death, all are determined by Heaven and they cannot be altered." Again, he said: "The superior man must learn." Mozi said: To hold fatalism and teach people to learn is like telling him to cover his hair and vet remove his hat.

7. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "There is only righteousness and unrighteousness, but no such thing as propitiousness or unpropitiousness." Mozi said: The ancient sage-kings all regarded the ghosts and spirits as intelligent and in control of calamity and blessing. They held there was propitiousness and unpropitiousness and thereby the government was well administered and the country was secure. From Jie and Zhou down they all regarded the ghosts and spirits as unintelligent and not in control of calamity and blessing. They held there was no propitiousness and unpropitiousness, and thereby the government became disorderly and the country in danger. So, the book of the ancient kings "Jizi" says, "Pride brings calamity." That is to say, the evil act will be punished and the good act will be rewarded.

8. Mozi said to Gong Mengzi: According to the ceremonial for the death of the ruler, the parents, the wife, and the firstborn son, there shall be mourning for three years. For the elder uncle, younger uncle, elder brother, younger brother, one year; and for cousins within the family, five months. And for the aunt, the sister, the uncle on mother's side, and the nephew on sister's side, there will be mourning of several months for each. Many also use the intervals between periods of mourning to read the Three Hundred Poems according to rhymes, to play them on the string instruments, to sing them, and to dance to them. If your counsel should be followed when can the gentleman attend to government, and when can the common man attend to work? Gong Mengzi said: "When the country is in chaos it should be put in order; when it is in order, ceremonials and music may be pursued. When the country is poor work should be attended to; when it is rich, ceremonials and music may be pursued." Mozi said: A country may be orderly. But it is because it is being well governed that it is orderly. As soon as good administration is abandoned, order disappears also. A country may be rich. But it is because work is being attended to that it is rich. As soon as work is abandoned, wealth disappears also. Therefore although a country is orderly it is necessary to encourage unceasing attention to administration. Now, you say, when the country is in order, ceremonials and music may be pursued. But put it in order when it becomes disorderly. This is similar to digging a well when some one is choked and to seeking a physician when some one is dead. In ancient times, the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, revelled in music, and did not remember their people. Therefore they suffered capital punishment and brought calamity to their empire. And it was all from following this idea.

9. Gong Mengzi said that there were no ghosts and spirits; again, he said that the superior man must learn sacrifice and worship. Mozi said: To hold there are no spirits and learn sacrificial ceremonials is comparable to learning the ceremonials of hospitality while there is no guest or to making fishing nets while there are no fish.

10. Gong Mengzi said to Mozi: "You think mourning for three years is wrong. Your mourning for three days is also wrong." Mozi replied: You hold mourning for three years and condemn mourning for three days. This is similar to the naked person condemning the person who lifted up his garments for indecency.

11. Gong Mengzi asked Mozi whether it is wisdom when one knows something better than some other person. Mozi answered: A fool may know something better than some other person. Yet can the fool be said to be wise?

12. Gong Mengzi said: "I mourn for three years in imitation of the affection that my son shows to his parents." Mozi said: But does the baby have an intelligence to love only its parents? Why, then, should it keep on crying when the parents are not to be had? It is really the extreme degree of foolishness. Thus, is the intelligence of the Confucianists any higher than that of the baby?

13. Mozi asked a Confucianist why the Confucianists pursued music. He replied, music is pursued for music's sake. Mozi said: You have not yet answered me. Suppose I asked, why build houses. And you answered, it is to keep off the cold in winter, and the heat in summer, and to separate men from women. Then you would have told me the reason for building houses. Now I am asking why pursue music. And you answer music is pursued for music's sake. This is comparable to: "Why build houses?" "Houses are built for houses' sakes."

14. Mozi said to Chengzi: In the teaching of the Confucianists there are four principles sufficient to ruin the empire: The Confucianists hold Heaven is unintelligent, and the ghosts are inanimate. Heaven and spirits are displeased. This is sufficient to ruin the world. Again they (practise) elaborate funerals and extended mourning. They use several inner and outer coffins, and many pieces of shrouds. The funeral procession looks like house-moving. Crying and weeping last three years. They cannot stand up without support and cannot walk without a cane. Their ears cannot hear and their eyes cannot see. This is sufficient to ruin the world. And they play the string instruments and dance and sing and practise songs and music. This is sufficient to ruin the empire. And, finally, they suppose there is fate and that poverty or wealth, old age or untimely death, order or chaos, security or danger, are all predetermined and cannot be altered. Applying this belief, those in authority, of course, will not attend to government and those below will not attend to work. Again, this is sufficient to ruin the world. Chengzi said: "Sir, you are accusing the Confucianists of too much." Mozi said: If the Confucianists hold nothing like these four principles and yet I say they do then it is false accusation. Now that the Confucianists do hold these four principles and I say so, then it is not accusation, but information. Chengzi had nothing more to say and went out. Mozi called him back. After being seated he continued: "What you, sir, have just said is not without fault. For according to what you have said, there will be no praise of Yu or blame of Jie and Zhou." Mozi replied: Not at all. You are only cleverly criticizing me according to traditional notions. When attack is heavy defence must be strong. When attack is light defence must be light. To criticize according to traditional notions is similar to trying to kill a moth with a thill.

15. In a discussion with Chengzi, Mozi cited Confucius. Chengzi said, "You condemn Confucianism - why is it that you cite Confucius?" Mozi said: This has reference to what is right and cannot be altered. When the bird becomes aware of the danger of heat and of drought, it flies high. When the fish becomes aware of the danger of heat and of drought, it swims low. In such circumstances even the deliberations of Yu and Tang cannot differ from this. The bird and the fish may be said to be unintelligent. Yet, in some instances, even Yu and Tang would follow them. Should I never cite Confucius?

16. A man visited Mozi's school. He was physically well built and mentally brilliant. Desiring to have him in his school, Mozi told him to come and study and that he would make him an official. Persuaded by such an attractive promise, he came to study. In a year, he demanded a position of Mozi. Mozi said: I have not made you an official. But have you not heard the story of Lu? There were five brothers in Lu whose father passed away. The eldest son loved wine and would not conduct the funeral. The four younger brothers said to him, 'You conduct the funeral for us, and we shall buy wine for you." He was persuaded by such an attractive promise and buried (his father). After the burial he demanded wine of the four brothers. The four brothers told him, "We will not give you any wine. You are to bury your father and we, ours. Is your father only ours? If you don't bury him people will laugh at you, therefore we urged you to bury him." Now, you have done right and I have done right, is it only my righteousness? If you don't learn, people will laugh at you. Therefore I urged you to learn.

17. A man visited Mozi's school. Mozi said: Why not come and study? Came the reply, "None of my family is learned." Mozi said: No matter. Does he who loves beauty say, none of my family loves it, therefore I will not? And does he who desires wealth and honour say, none of my family desires them, therefore I will not? Now, in the love of beauty and desire for wealth and honour, one goes ahead regardless of others. And righteousness is the greatest thing in the world. Why should one follow others in doing it?

18. A man visited Mozi's school and said to Mozi: "Sir, you teach that the ghosts and spirits are intelligent and can bring calamity or blessing to man. They will enrich the good and harm the evil. Now, I have served you for a long time. Yet no blessing has come. Can it be that your teaching is not entirely correct, and that the ghosts and spirits are not intelligent? Else why don't I obtain any blessing?" Mozi said: Though you have not obtained any blessing, how does that invalidate my teaching and how does that make the ghosts and spirits unintelligent? He replied that he did not know. Mozi continued: Suppose there is a man ten times as virtuous as you are, can you praise him ten times while you praise yourself but once? He answered that he could not. Now suppose there is a man a hundred times as virtuous as you are, can you during your whole life praise him and not praise yourself even once? He answered that he could not. Mozi said: He who obscured the virtues of one person is guilty. Now, you have obscured the virtues of so many. You must be guilty of very much. Wherewith can you expect blessing?

19. Mozi was sick. Die Bi came and inquired: "Sir, you have taught the ghosts and spirits are intelligent and are in control of calamity and blessing. They will reward the good and punish the evil. Now you are a sage. How can you become sick?

Can it be that your teaching was not entirely correct, that the ghosts and spirits are after all unintelligent? Mozi said: Though I am sick how (does it follow that the ghosts and spirits) should be unintelligent? There are many ways by which a man can contract diseases. Some are affected by climate, some by fatigue. If there are a hundred gates and only one of them is closed, how is it that the burglar should not be able to get in?

20. Some of the pupils asked to learn archery with Mozi. Mozi said: Impossible. The wise should measure how far his energy can go and plan his career accordingly. Even a soldier cannot fight and help somebody at the same time. Now you are no soldiers. How can you be both accomplished scholars and accomplished archers?

21. Some of the pupils reported to Mozi that Gaozi proclaimed Mozi to be teaching righteousness but doing wickedness, and urged him to denounce Gaozi. Mozi said: That would not do. To praise my teaching and blame my conduct is yet better than indifference. Suppose there is some one who declares that Di is quite unmagnanimous, that he reverences Heaven, worships spirits, and loves men - this is yet better than indifference. Now, Gaozi was quite discriminating in his statements. He does not blame me for teaching magnanimity and righteousness. So, blame from Gaozi is yet better than indifference.

22. Some of the pupils reported to Mozi that Gaozi was zealous in practising magnanimity. Mozi remarked: It may not really be so at all. Gaozi practises magnanimity in the same way as the man who stands on his tip toe to appear tall and spreads himself to appear broad. It cannot last long.

23. Gaozi said to Mozi that he can administer the country and the government. Mozi said: To govern is to carry out what one teaches. Now you don't behave according to what you teach, this means that you yourself are in revolt. Being unable to govern one's self, how can one govern the country? Your self will set it in chaos.

#### MOZI BOOK 13 MOZI CHAPTER 49 - Lu's Question

1. The Lord of Lu asked Mozi: "I fear Qi will attack me. Is there any remedy?" Mozi said: Yes, the sage-kings of the Three Dynasties, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, were originally feudal lords of states of only a hundred li square. Yet, enlisting the loyal and practising righteousness, they acquired the empire. While the wicked kings of the Three Dynasties, Jie, Zhou, You, and Li, by estranging the loyal and practising wickedness, lost the empire. I wish your Lordship would reverence Heaven and the spirits above and love and benefit the people below; prepare plenty of furs and money and humble your speech to befriend all the neighbouring lords, and lead the state to serve Qi. Besides this, indeed nothing can

2. Qi was going to attack Lu. Mozi said to Xiang Zi Niu: To attack Lu is a great wrong on the part of Qi. Formerly, the Lord of Wu attacked Yue on the east and drove (Lord Gou Jian of Yue) to take refuge upon Guiji. He attacked Chu on the west and hold fast Lord Zhao at Sui. On the north he attacked Qi and brought Guozi back to Wu. The feudal lords then took vengeance and his people complained of the hardship and would not be commanded. Thereupon the state perished and the Lord of Wu was executed. Formerly, Zhi Bo attacked both the house of Fan and the house of Zhongxing. and absorbed all the land of the Three Jin states. The feudal lords then took vengeance and his people complained of the hardship and would not be commanded. Thereupon the state perished and he was executed. Therefore the attack of a large state on a small state is injury to both and the consequences of the wrong will always return to the large state.

3. Mozi saw the Grand Lord of Qi and said: Suppose here is a sword. When it is tried on a man's neck it severs it swiftly. Can it be said to be sharp? The Grand Lord said it is sharp. Mozi said: When it is tried on several men's necks, it severs them swiftly. Can it be said to be sharp? The Grand Lord said it is sharp. Mozi said: Of course, the sword is (proved to be) sharp, but who will take the curse of the deed upon him? The Grand Lord said that the sword reaped the benefit but he who tries it will be visited by the curse for the act. Mozi continued: Now to capture a state, ruin an army, and destroy the people—who will be visited by the curse for this act? The Grand Lord looked down and up and deliberated, saying: "I shall be visited with the curse for this act."

4. Prince Wen of Lu Yang was going to attack Zheng. Mozi heard of it and tried to stop him, saying to him: Suppose within the borders of Lu Yang the large cities should attack the small cities and the large houses attack the small houses, killing the people and carrying away the oxen and horses, dogs and hogs, cloth and silk, and grains and valuables. What would you say? Prince Wen of Lu Yang replied: "Within the borders of Lu Yang all are my subjects. Now, should the large cities attack the small cities and the large houses attack the small houses, carrying away their valuables, I should punish them severely." Mozi said: Now, Heaven possesses the whole world just as your Lordship possesses your state. But you are raising an army to attack Zheng. Shouldn't punishment from

Heaven come to you? Prince Wen of Lu Yang said: "Why should you, sir, prevent me from attacking Zheng? I attack Zheng, in accordance with the will of Heaven. The people of Zheng have murdered their father for three generations. Heaven has been visiting them with punishment. It has caused them to be unprosperous for three years. I am only helping Heaven to carry out the punishment." Mozi said: The people of Zheng have murdered their father for three generations. Heaven has been visiting them with punishment. It has caused them to be unprosperous for three years. The punishment of Heaven is sufficient. Yet, you are raising an army to attack Zheng, proclaiming: "My attack on Zheng is in accordance with the will of Heaven." Suppose there is a man whose son is strong but insolent. So the father punished him with a ferule. But the neighbour's father struck him with a heavy staff, saying: "It is in accordance with his father's will that I strike him." Isn't this perversity?

5. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: If a lord had attacked the neighbouring states, killed their people, carried away their oxen and horses, grains and valuables, a lord might yet record it on bamboos and silk and engrave it on metal and stone and write it up into maxims on the bell and the ting to hand down to posterity, saying: "None possess so much as I." Now, the unscrupulous common man also attacks neighbouring homes, kills their inmates, and takes the dogs and hogs, food and clothing. They would also like to record it on bamboos and silk and write it up into maxims on the vessels and dishes to hand down to posterity, saying: "None possesses so much as I." Is this permissible? Prince Wen of Lu Yang said: "According to what you have said then what the world takes for granted may not be right after all."

6. Mozi said to Prince Wen of Lu Yang: The gentlemen of the world know only trifles but not things of importance. If a man steals a dog or pig, they call him wicked. But stealing a state or a city is regarded as righteous. This is similar to calling it white when one sees a little white, but calling it black when he sees much white. And this is what is meant when we say the gentlemen of the world know only trifles and not things of importance.

7. Prince Wen of Lu Yang said to Mozi: There is a cannibal tribe on the south of Chu. When the first son is born they dissect and devour him. This is said to be propitious to his younger brothers. If he tastes delicious, he will be offered to the chief, and if the chief is pleased the father will be rewarded. Isn't this a wicked custom?" Mozi said: So is the custom in China. How is killing the father and rewarding the son different from devouring the son and rewarding the father? If magnanimity and righteousness are not observed, wherefore shall we condemn the barbarians for eating their sons?

8. Upon the death of a favourite concubine of the Lord of Lu, somebody in Lu wrote an obituary for her. The Lord of Lu was pleased with it and employed the writer. Mozi heard of it and remarked: An obituary is but to narrate the ambitions of the dead. To employ the man because his obituary is pleasing is like making the wild cat pull a carriage.

9. Prince Wen of Lu Yang asked Mozi: "Suppose somebody was recommended as a loyal minister. And he would bow down when I let him bow down; he would bend back when I let him bend back. Staying there he would be silent, and when called upon he would answer. Can this be said to be loyal?' Mozi said: To bow down when permitted, to bend back when permitted - this is but a shadow. To remain silent when let alone, to answer when called upon - this is but an echo. What would your Lordship get out of an echo or a shadow? According to my conception of a loyal minister, when the superior is at fault he should wait and warn; possessing a good idea he should give counsel to the superior without revealing it to the world; he should correct irregularities and lead in goodness: he should identify himself with the superior and not ally himself with subordinates. So that goodness and excellences will be attributed to the superior and complaints and grudges lodged against the subordinates; so that ease and happiness be with the superior and trouble and worry with the ministers. This is what I call a loval minister.

10. The Lord of Lu consulted Mozi, saying: "Now I have two sons. One likes learning and the other likes dividing property for people. Which one should be crowned Prince?" Mozi said: We can't tell (just from this). It may be that they behave so just for the praise and reward of it. The fisherman's bait is not intended to feed the fish. Trapping a mouse with worms is not for the love of the mouse. I wish your Lordship would observe both their intention and consequences.

11. There was a man in Lu who sent his son to Mozi to study. The son perished in a battle. The father blamed Mozi for it. Mozi said: You wanted to have your son trained. Now he had completed his training and died in battle. And you become sore. This is like trying to sell something, and yet becoming sore when it is sold. Isn't this peculiar?

12. Among the rustic people living south of Lu there was a man by the name of Wu Lu. Making pottery in winter and farming in summer, he compared himself to Shun. Mozi heard of him and went to see him. Wu Lu told Mozi: "Righteousness is just righteousness. Wherefore all the verbosity? Mozi asked him: Now, does what you call righteousness possess power to

serve other people and produce wealth to divide among the people? Wu Lu said that it does. Mozi continued: I have deliberated about this matter. I have thought of becoming a farmer and feeding the people in the world. If that could be successful I would become one. But when a farmer's produce is divided among the world, each person cannot get even one sheng of grain. Even if he can obtain, that much. evidently that cannot feed all the hungry in the world. I have thought of becoming a weaver and clothing all the people in the world. If that could be successful I would become one. But when a weaver's goods are divided among the world, each person cannot get even a foot of cloth. Even if he can obtain that much, evidently that cannot keep all who are cold in the world warm. I have thought of putting on armour and carrying a weapon to come to the feudal lord's rescue. If that could be successful I would become a soldier. Now it is evident that a soldier cannot hold out against a regular army. I concluded that none of these is as good as to familiarize myself with the Tao of the ancient sage-kings, and discover their principles, and to understand the word of the sages and be clear about their expressions; and with these to persuade the rulers and then the common people and the pedestrians. When the rulers adopt my principles their states will be orderly. When the common people and the pedestrians adopt my principles their conduct will be regulated. Therefore I think though I do not plow and feed the hungry or weave and clothe the cold, I have greater merit than those who plow and feed, and weave and clothe. Therefore I think my merit is greater than that of those who plow and weave though I do not do so. Wu Lu kept on saying, "Righteousness is just righteousness. Wherefore all the verbosity?" Mozi continued: Suppose the world does not know how to plow. Who has more merit, the man who teaches people to plow, or he who does not teach people to plow but simply plows himself? Wu Lu answered that he that teaches others to plow deserves more merit. Mozi said: In the attack of an unrighteous state, does he that beats the drum and urges the soldiers to fight on, or does he that does not beat the drum and urge the soldiers to fight on but only fights on himself deserve more merit? Wu Lu said that he that beats the drum and urges the soldiers to fight on deserves more merit. Mozi continued: Now the common people and the pedestrians in the world know little about righteousness. Naturally those who teach them righteousness deserve more merit too. Why don't you say so (in this case)? Would not my righteousness be advanced if I can encourage them in righteousness?

13. After Mozi had paid Gong Shang Guo a visit, Gong Shang Guo recommended him to the Lord of Yue. The Lord of Yue was greatly pleased, saying to Gong Shang Guo: "Sir, if you can induce Mozi to come to Yue and instruct me I shall offer him five hundred li square of the land lying in the former state of Wu." Gong Shang Guo promised to try and so fifty wagons were made ready to go to Lu, and welcome Mozi. (Gong Shang Guo) told him: "When I tried to persuade the Lord of Yue with your principles he was quite pleased and said to me that if I could induce you to come to Yue and instruct him, he would offer you five hundred li square of the land lying in the former state of Wu." Mozi said to Gong Shang Guo: As you observe it, what is the intention of the Lord of Yue? If the Lord of Yue will listen to my word and adopt my way, I shall come, asking only for food according to the capacity of my stomach, and clothing according to the stature of my body. I shall just be one of the ministers. What is the use of any commission? On the other hand, if the Lord of Yue will not listen to my word and adopt my way and I should go nevertheless, I should then be selling my righteousness. As for selling righteousness I could very well do it in China, why should I then go out to Yue?

14. Mozi was visiting Wei Yue. The latter asked: "Now that you have seen the gentlemen of the four quarters, what would you say is the most urgent enterprise?" Mozi replied: Upon entering a country one should locate the need and work on that. If the country is upset in confusion, teach them with the (doctrines of) Exaltation of the Virtuous and Identification with the Superior. If the country is in poverty, teach them with Economy of Expenditures and Simplicity in Funeral. If the country is indulging in music and wine, teach them with Condemnation of Music and Anti-fatalism. If the country is insolent and without propriety, teach them to reverence Heaven and worship the spirits. If the country is engaged in conquest and oppression, teach them with Universal Love and Condemnation of Offensive War. Hence we say, one should locate the need and work on that.

15. Mozi had recommended Cao Gongzi to Sung. He returned in three years and saw Mozi, saying: "When I first came to your school I had to wear short jackets and eat vegetable soup. Even this I could not have in the evening if I had had it in the morning. And I had nothing to offer and sacrifice to the ghosts and spirits. Now, on your account my family has become better off. And I could respectfully offer sacrifice and worship ghosts and spirits at home. Yet several members of my household died off, the six animals do not breed, and I have myself been troubled with ailments. I doubt if your way is after all to be adopted." Mozi said: This is not

fair. For what the ghosts and spirits desire of man is that when in high rank and receiving much emolument, he give up his position in favour of the virtuous; that when possessing much wealth he share it with the poor. How can the ghosts and spirits merely desire to snatch food and drink? Now, when in high rank and receiving much emolument you did not give up your position in favour of the virtuous. This is your first step to bad fortune. Possessing much wealth you did not share it with the poor. This is your second step towards misfortune. Now you serve the ghosts and spirits by merely offering them sacrifice; and you wonder whence come all the ailments. This is like shutting one out of a hundred gates and wondering whence the thieves entered. How can you invoke ghosts and spirits for blessing like this?

16. The master of sacrifice of Lu offered one pig and asked for a hundred blessings. Upon hearing of it Mozi said: This cannot be done. To give others little but to expect much from others would make them afraid of gifts. Now one pig is offered and a hundred blessings are asked of the ghosts and spirits. They would be quite afraid of a sacrifice of oxen and sheep. Anciently, when the sage-kings worshipped the ghosts and spirits, they just offered them sacrifice and that was all. One would be better off to remain poor than become rich by offering a pig for sacrifice and asking for a hundred blessings.

17. Peng Qing Shengzi said: "The past can be known, the future cannot." Mozi said: Suppose your parents met with misfortune a hundred li away. And there was just the margin of a single day. If they could be reached they would live, if not they would die. Here are a strong wagon and an excellent horse, and also a bad horse and a square-wheeled cart. And you are allowed to choose. Which would you take? It was replied that the excellent horse and the strong wagon would of course make for a more speedy journey. Mozi said: How then is the future not knowable?

18. Meng Shan praised Prince Ze Lu, saying: "Formerly, in the uprising of Bo Gong, Prince Ze Lu was held captive. With axes around his waist and spears pointing at his heart, Bo Gong told him to be Lord and live or refuse and die. Prince Ze Lu said to him, 'What an insult to me. You have killed my parents and now bait me with the state of Chu. If it is not righteous I would not even take the whole empire, to say nothing of the state of Chu.' Thus he refused. Wasn't Prince Ze Lu magnanimous?" Mozi said: What he did was indeed difficult, but hardly magnanimous. If he thought the Lord had gone astray from the Tao, why not accept the offer and undertake the government himself? If he thought Bo Gong was unrighteous, why not accept the Lordship also, execute Bo Gong, and then return the Lordship to the Lord? Therefore I say what he did was indeed difficult, but hardly magnanimous.

19. Mozi sent Sheng Zhuo to serve Xiang Zi Niu. Xiang Zi Niu invaded Lu three times, and Sheng Zhuo was three times with him. Hearing of this, Mozi sent Gao Sunzi to call him back, saying: I sent Zhuo there in order to cure pride and regulate insolence. Now, Zhuo draws a large salary and flatters his master. His master invaded Lu three times and he was with him every time. This is like whipping a horse by its martingale. I have heard that to preach righteousness but do it not is intentional commitment of wrong. It is not that Zhuo is ignorant. It is a case of victory of emolument over righteousness.

20. Formerly the people of Chu and the people of Yue had a battle on the River. The people of Chu were with the stream in their advance but against it in their retreat. When success was in sight they advanced. But when defeat was confronting them they found it very difficult to retreat. On the contrary the people of Yue advanced upstream but retreated downstream. When success was in sight they would advance. And when defeat was confronting them they could easily retreat. With this advantage the people of Yue greatly defeated the people of Chu. Gong Shuzi came south from Lu to Chu, and began making implements for naval warfare which consisted of grappling hooks and rams. When the enemy were retreating they used the hooks. And when the enemy were advancing they employed the rams. And the weapons were made according to the length of these hooks and rams. The weapons of Chu thus were all standardised, and those of Yue were not. And, with this advantage, the people of Chu greatly defeated the people of Yue. Gong Shuzi was proud of his cleverness and asked Mozi: "There are the implements for grappling and ramming in my boats of war. Do you have such a device in your righteousness?" Mozi said: The grappling and ramming device in my righteousness is more excellent than your implements in the boats of war. In my scheme, I pull with love and push with respect. If you do not pull with love there can be no intimacy. If you do not push with respect there will be rapid desecration. And desecration without real intimacy will soon end in separation. Therefore mutual love and mutual respect mean really mutual benefit. Now you pull people up to stop their retreat, but they would also pull you up and stop your retreat. You push people back to stop their advance, but they would also push you back to stop your advance. The mutual pulling and pushing are just mutual injury. Therefore the device of pulling and pushing in my righteousness is more

excellent than the implements of pulling and pushing in your boats of war.

21. Gong Shuzi constructed a bird from bamboo and wood and when it was completed he flew it. It stayed up (in the air) for three days. Gong Shuzi was proud of his supreme skill. Mozi said to him: Your accomplishment in constructing a bird does not compare with that of the carpenter in making a linch-pin. In a short while he could cut out the piece of wood of three inches. Yet it would carry a load of fifty shi. For, any achievement that is beneficial to man is said to be beautiful, and anything not beneficial is said to be clumsy.

22. Gong Shuzi confessed to Mozi: "Before I saw you, I wished to take Song. Since I have seen you, even if Song were offered me I would not take it if it is unrighteous." Mozi said: Before you saw me you wished to take Song. Since you have seen me even if Song were offered to you you would not take it if it unrighteous. This means I have given you Song. If you engage yourself in doing righteousness, I shall yet give you the whole world.

#### MOZI CHAPTER 50 - Gong Shu

1. Gong Shu Ban had completed the construction of Cloudladders for Chu and was going to attack Song with them. Mozi heard of it and set out from Qi. He walked ten days and ten nights and arrived at Ying. He saw Gong Shu Ban. The latter asked him what he wanted of him. Mozi said: Some one in the north has humiliated me. I would like to have you kill him. Gong Shu Ban was displeased. Mozi persisted, offering him ten jin. Finally Gong Shu Ban said: "My principle is incompatible with murdering people." Thereupon Mozi rose and bowed twice and spoke: Now, let me explain myself. While in the north I heard you were building ladders to attack Song. Now, of what is Song guilty? The state of Jing has land to spare but is short of people. To destroy what is scarce in order to strive for what is already plenty cannot be said to be wise. Since Song is innocent, to attack it cannot be said to be magnanimous. To fail to make an effort according to what you know cannot be said to be loyal. To make the effort without obtaining (the desired result) cannot be said to be effective. To hold a principle that forbids the killing of few but allows that of many cannot be said to be understanding the fundamental categories. Gong Shu Ban became convinced. Mozi argued further: Then why would you not stop it? Gong Shu Ban said that could not be done as he had already promised the Lord. Mozi said: Why not then present me to the Lord? Gong Shu Ban agreed.

2. Mozi saw the Lord and said: Suppose there is a man who. putting aside his elegant carriage, desires to steal his neighbour's shattered sedan; putting aside his embroidery and finery, desires to steal his neighbour's short jacket; putting aside his meat and grains desires to steal his neighbour's husks What kind of a man would this be? The Lord said that he must be suffering from kleptomania. Mozi continued: The land of Jing amounts to five thousand li square while that of Song is only five hundred, this is similar to the contrast between the elegant carriage and the shattered sedan. Jing possesses Yun Meng which is full of rhinoceroses and deer. The fish, tortoises and crocodiles in the Yangtse and the Han Rivers are the richest in the empire. While Song is said to possess not even pheasants, rabbits, or foxes. This is similar to the contrast between meat and grains and husks. In Jing there are tall pines, spruces, cedars and camphor trees, while Song has no tall trees at all. This is similar to the contrast between embroidery and finery and the short jacket. When your ministers and generals set out to attack Song, it seems to me there is the same strategy. I can see, my Lord, you will be violating righteousness to no advantage. The Lord said: "That is all very well. But Gong Shu Ban has already constructed the Cloud-ladders for me, and I must capture Song.

3. And he turned to Gong Shu Ban. Mozi untied his belt and laid out a city with it, and used a small stick for weapon. Gong Shu Ban set up nine different machines of attack. Mozi repulsed him nine times. Gong Shu Ban was at an end with his machines of attack while Mozi was far from being exhausted in defence. Gong Shu Ban felt embarassed and declared: ' know how I can put you down, but I would not tell." Mozi also said: "I know how you can put me down, but I would not tell." The Lord of Chu asked what it was. Mozi replied: Gong Shuzi's idea is just to have me murdered. (Apparently,) when I was murdered, Song would be powerless at defence. And she would be subject to your attack. However, my disciples Qin Hua Li and others numbering three hundred are already armed with my implements of defence waiting on the city wall of Song for the bandits from Chu. Though I be murdered, you cannot exhaust (the defence of Song). The Lord of Chu said: "Well, then let us not attack Song any more."

4. On his way back, Mozi passed through Song. It was raining and he sought shelter in a pass. But the guard of the pass would not let him in. Thus it is said: "The merit of the man who cultivates himself before the spirits is not recognised by the multitude. On the other hand, he who strives in the open is recognised."

(No more translations available!)

#### BUDDHIST TEXTS IN CHINA

#### THE FAHUA SAN BUJING

The Zheng-fa-hua jing / Miaofa Lianhua jing / Fahua jing
The Threefold Lotus Sutra / The Teachings of Enlightenment
The Chinese Lotus Sutra, plus Prologue and Epilogue
Translated from Sankrit to Chinese by Zhu Fahu,
also known as Dharmaraksha or Yuezi
Translation: Bunno Kato, 1975
Estimated Range of Dating: 280-286 A.D.

(The earliest known Sanskrit title for the sutra is the Saddharma Pundarika Sutra, which can be translated as "the Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma" or "The Discourse on the White Lotus of the True Doctrine." In English, the shortened form Lotus Sutra is more common. The title of Zhu Fahu's (c. 233-311 AD) Chinese translation is Zheng-fa-hua jing, or True Dharma Flower Sutra, today better known as Wu Liang Yi Jing or Miaofa Lianhua jing, "Subtle Dharma Lotus Flower Sutra" (short: Fahua jing or Fahua jingin = Dharma Flower Sutra).

This title with the word "Lotus Sutra" in it has a reason. In a story of chapter 12, Manjusri (the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature) praises the Naga king Sagara's daughter and says she can attain Buddhahood. The bodhisattva Prajnakuta is skeptical of this, and then the Naga princess appears. Shariputra (the Buddha's first chief disciple) said to the daughter of the dragon: "You state that ... you attained the supreme Way [the highest level of Buddhist scholarship and experience]. This thing is hard to believe ... Because the body of a women is filthy and not a vessel of the Law.... Now, the dragon's daughter possessed a precious pearl which she presented to the Buddha, and which the Buddha immediately accepted.... At that moment the entire congregation saw the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male, perfect in bodhisattva-deeds [high level of righteousness and wisdom], who instantly went to the world Spotless ... where she sat on a precious lotus flower [of enlightenment], attaining Perfect Enlightenment and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe [of wisdom]." It is this story, the Lotus Sutra most likely has got its title from. It represents the core of Buddhist teachings: There should be no difference between the sexes in sharp contrast to the traditional teaching of the time in which females are not only considered weak but despisable and fiflthy. This theme has a little extension.

In 1945, an extraordinary find was made in Nag Hammadi, Egypt. Thirteen leather-bound papyrus codices buried in a sealed jar were found by a local farmer. The writings in these codices comprise 52 treatises from the early Christians and Gnostics but they also include three works belonging to the Corpus Hermeticum and a partial version of Plato's Republic. The most famous single document it is the Gospel of Thomas (full title: The Gospel of Didimus Judas Thomas). It is one of the most remarkabe Christian texts in history because it obviously contains a quote from the Buddhist Lotus Sutra.

In this Gospel of Thomas (verse 114, The Grand Bible, p. 758-760), we read: "Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary [Magdalene] go forth from among us, for women are not worthy of the life [of enlightenment]. Jesus said: Behold, I shall lead her, that I may make her male, in order that she also may become a living spirit [of righteousness and wisdom] like you males. For every woman who makes herself male shall enter into the kingdom of heaven [of wisdom]."

We do not know if Jesus has ever said this or why the author of that gospel has put it into the mouth of Jesus. It is known however, that Buddhist monks have travelled to western destination over a period of several hundred years between 300 BC and 200 AD, perhaps even earlier than that. Their teachings reached the mind of thinkers in Greece and Egypt as well as those in Syria and Judaea. Sepphoris, the capital of Galilee, only 5 km northwest of Nazareth, was an important Silk Road station. Likewise, Hebrew scholars went east on these trade roads even before the Persian king liberated them from Babylonian captivity, and the apostle Thomas was one of them. In the 1st century AD, he founded the first [Maabar] Christian communities in India converting Jews [and Indians] who lived in the Malabar coast for generations.

This attractive translation of the Threefold Lotus Sutra (full titles: The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings; The Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law; The Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue) was made by Kato Bunno (Weatherhill & Kosei Publishing, New York & Tokyo 1975) Kato used the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit original made by Zhu Fahu.

It is slightly different from the translation by Hendrik Kern (The Lotus Sutra or The Saddharma Pundaríka or The Lotus of the True Law, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 21, Translation from the text in Sanskrit, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1884; Grand Bible Scriptures of India, p. 7045), particularly in style but not much in contents. It is certainly worthwhile to read both texts side by side. Kato's footnotes, here arranged as parenthetical notes, are very helpful for readers who are not familiar with Buddhism; sometimes they

appear to be too complex. We have added a few notes for clarification, as well as notes on history, language and biography.

Zhu Fahu (also known as Dharmaraksa or as Yuezhi in scriptural catalogues) was an early translator of Mahayana sutras into Chinese, several of which had profound effects on East Asian Buddhism. His family lived at Dunhuang, where he was born around 233 AD. At the age of eight, he became a novice and took the Indian monk named Zhu Gaozuo as his teacher. As a young boy, Zhu Fahu journeyed with his teacher to many countries in the Western Regions, where he learned central Asian languages and scripts. He then traveled back to China with a quantity of Buddhist texts and translated them with the aid of numerous assistants and associates, both Chinese and foreign, from Parthians to Khotanese. One of his more prominent assistants was a Chinese upasaka, Nie Chengyuan who served as a scribe and editor.

Zhu Fahu first began his translation career in Chang'an (present day Xi'an) in 266 AD, and later moved to Luoyang, the capital of the newly formed Jin Dynasty. He was active in Dunhuang for some time as well, and alternated between the three locations. It was in Chang'an that he made the first known translation of the Lotus Sutra (made in 286) and the Ten Stages Sutra (made in 302), two texts that later became definitive for Chinese Buddhism.

Altogether, Zhu Fahu translated around 154 sutras. Many of his works were greatly successful, widely circulating around northern China in the third century and becoming the subject of exegetical studies and scrutiny by Chinese monastics in the fourth century. His efforts in both translation and lecturing on sutras are said to have converted many in China to Buddhism, and contributed to the development of Chang an into a major centre of Buddhism at the time. He died at the age of seventy-eight after a period of illness; the exact location of his death is still disputed.

#### Contents and Structure

The sutra is presented in the form of a drama consisting of several mythological scenes. According to British writer Sangharakshita, the Lotus uses the entire cosmos for its stage, employs a multitude of mythological beings as actors and "speaks almost exclusively in the language of images."

According to Gene Reeves the first part of the sutra "elucidates a unifying truth of the universe (the One Vehicle of the Wonderful Dharma)", the second part "sheds light on the everlasting personal life of the Buddha (Everlasting Original Buddha); and the third part emphasises the actual activities of human beings (the bodhisattva way)."

The following chapter by chapter overview is based on the expanded Chinese version of the Threefold Lotus Sutra (translated into English by Bunno Kato). Other versions have different chapter divisions.

Chapter 1-During a gathering at Vulture Peak, Shakyamuni Buddha goes into a state of deep meditative absorption (samadhi), the earth shakes in six ways, and he brings forth a ray of light from the tuft of hair in between his eyebrows (urnakosa) which illuminates thousands of buddhafields in the east. Maitreya wonders what this means, and the bodhisattva Manjusri states that he has seen this miracle long ago when he was a student of the Buddha Candrasuryapradipa. He then says that the Buddha is about to expound his ultimate teaching, The White Lotus of the Good Dharma. In fact, Manjusri says this sutra was taught by other Buddhas innumerable times in the past.

Chapters 2-9-Modern scholars suggest that chapters 2-9 contain the original form of the text. In Chapter 2 the Buddha declares that there ultimate exists only one path, one vehicle, the Buddha vehicle (buddhayana). This concept is set forth in detail in chapters 3-9, using parables, narratives of previous existences and prophecies of awakening.

Chapter 2: Skillful Means--Shakyamuni explains his use of skillful means to adapt his teachings according to the capacities of his audience. He also says that his ways are inconceivable. Sariputra asks the Buddha to explain this and five thousand monks leave because they do not want to hear this teaching. The Buddha then reveals that the three vehicles (yanas) are really just skillful means, and that they are in reality the One Vehicle (ekayana). He says that the ultimate purpose of the Buddhas is to cause sentient beings "to obtain the insight of the Buddha" and "to enter the way into the insight of the Buddha."

The Buddha also states the various benefits for those who preserve the sutra, and that those who perform even the simplest forms of devotion will eventually reach Buddhahood. The Buddha also states that those who reject and insult the Lotus Sutra (and those who teach it) will be reborn in hell.

Chapter 3: The Parable of the Burning House --The Buddha prophecies that in a future eon (kalpa) Sariputra will become a Buddha called Padmaprabha. Sariputra is happy to have heard this new teaching, but says that some in the assembly are confused. The Buddha responds with the parable of the burning house, in which a father (symbolising the

Buddha) uses the promise of various toy carts to get his children (sentient beings) out of a burning house (symbolising samsara). Once they are outside, he gives them all one large cart to travel in instead. This symbolizes how the Buddha uses the three vehicles, as skillful means to liberate all beings—even though there is only one single vehicle to Buddhahood, i.e. the Mahayana. The sutra emphasizes that this is not a lie, but a compassionate salvific act.

Chapter 4: Belief and Understanding --Four senior disciples including Mahakasyapa address the Buddha. They tell the parable of the poor son and his rich father (sometimes called the "prodigal son" parable). This man left home and became a beggar for 50 years while his father became incredibly rich. One day the son arrives at the father's estate, but the son does not recognize his father and is afraid of such a powerful man. The father therefore sends low class people to offer him a menial job cleaning trash. For over 20 years, the father gradually leads his son to more important and better jobs, such as being the accountant for all the father's wealth. Then one day he announces his identity and the son is overjoyed. The senior disciples say that they are like the son, because initially they did not have the confidence to accept full Buddhahood, but today they are happy to accept their future Buddhahood.

Chapter 5: The Parable of Medicinal Herbs--This parable says that the Dharma is like a great monsoon rain that nourishes many different kinds of plants in accordance with their needs. The plants represent Sravakas, Pratyekabuddhas, and Bodhisattvas, and all beings which receive and respond to the teachings according to their respective capacities. Some versions of the sutra also contain other parables, such as one which compares the Dharma to the light of the Sun and moon, which shine equally on all. Just like that, the Buddha's wisdom shines on everyone equally. Another parable found in some versions says that just like a potter makes different types of pots from the same clay, the Buddha teaches the same One Vehicle in different forms.

Chapter 6: Bestowal of Prophecy--The Buddha prophesies the future Buddhahood of Mahakasyapa, Mahamaudgalyayana, Subhuti, and Mahakatyayana.

Chapter 7: A Past Buddha and the Illusory City—The Buddha tells a story about a past Buddha called Mahabhijnajnanabhibhu, who reached awakening after aeons under the Bodhi tree and then taught the four noble truths and dependent origination. At the request of his sixteen sons, he then taught the Lotus Sutra for a hundred thousand eons. His sons proceeded to teach the sutra. The Buddha then says that these sons all became Buddhas and that he is one of these.

The Buddha also teaches a parable about a group of people seeking a great treasure who are tired of their journey and wish to quit. Their guide creates a magical illusory city for them to rest in and then makes it disappear. The Buddha explains that the magic city represents the "Hinayana Nirvana", created merely as a rest stop by the Buddha, and the real treasure and ultimate goal is Buddhahood.

Chapter 8: Prophecy for Five Hundred Disciples--Purna Maitrayaniputra is declared by the Buddha to be the supreme teacher in his sangha and is given a prediction of future Buddhahood (his name will be Dharmaprabhasa). The Buddha then gives prophecies of future Buddhahood to twelve hundred arhats. The five hundred arhats who had walked out before confess that they were ignorant in the past and attached to the inferior nirvana but now they are overjoyed since they have faith in their future Buddhahood.

The arhats tell the parable of a man who has fallen asleep after drinking and whose friend sews a jewel into his garment. When he wakes up he continues a life of poverty without realising he is really rich, he only discovers the jewel after meeting his old friend again. The hidden jewel has been interpreted as a symbol of Buddha-nature. Zimmermann noted the similarity with the nine parables in the Tathagatagarbha Sutra that illustrate how the indwelling Buddha in sentient beings is hidden by negative mental states.

Chapter 9: Prophecies for the Learners and Adepts-Ananda, Rahula, and two thousand bhiksus aspire to get a prophecy, and the Buddha predicts their future Buddhahood.

Chapters 10-22—Chapters ten to twenty two expound the role of the bodhisattva and the concept of the immeasurable and inconceivable lifespan and omnipresence of the Buddha. The theme of propagating the Lotus Sutra which starts in chapter 10, continues in the remaining chapters.

Chapter 10: The Dharma teachers--The Buddha states that whoever hears even just one line from the sutra will attain Buddha hood. This chapter presents the practices of teaching the sutra which includes accepting, embracing, reading, reciting, copying, explaining, propagating it, and living in accordance with its teachings. The teachers of the Dharma (dharmabhanaka) are praised as the messengers of the Buddha. The Buddha states that they should be honored as if they were Buddhas and that stupas should be built wherever the sutra is taught, recited or written. Someone who does not know the Lotus is like digging a well and finding only dry earth, while a bodhisattya that knows the Lotus is like striking water. The

Buddha also says that he will send emanations to protect the teachers of the sutra.

Chapter 11: The Emergence of the Jeweled Stupa--A massive jewelled stupa [a stylised Buddhist reliquary burial mound or pyramid like the tomb of the Buddha (found at Piprahwa in northern India in 1898, near Lumbini in Nepal); such a stupa is called "jewelled" simply because it contained thousands of jewels] rises from the earth and floats in the air. Then a voice is heard from within praising the Lotus Sutra. The Buddha states that another Buddha resides in the stupa, Prabhutaratna, who attained awakening through the Lotus Sutra and made a vow to make an appearance to verify the truth of the Lotus Sutra whenever it is preached.

Countless manifestations of Shakyamuni Buddha in the ten directions are now summoned by the Buddha into this world, transforming it into a Pure Land. The Buddha then opens the stupa. Thereafter Prabhutaratna invites Shakyamuni to sit beside him in the jewelled stupa. This chapter reveals the existence of multiple Buddhas at the same time as well as the idea that Buddhas can live on for countless aeons. According to Donald Lopez "among the doctrinal revelations that this scene intimates is that a buddha does not die after he passes into nirvana."

Chapter 12: Devadatta--The Buddha tells a story about how in a previous life he was a king who became the slave of a rishi just so he could hear the Lotus Sutra. This rishi was non other than Devadatta, one of the ten disciples of the Buddha, who is destined for Buddhahood in the future as the Buddha Devaraia.

The Buddha's 10 Disciples: S = Mahayana discourses (lit. "Great Vehicle," meaning Doctrine of Enlightenment) in Sanskrit; P = Theravada discourses (lit. "School of the Elders") in Pali: 1. S: Sariputra, P: Sariputra; 2. S: Mahakasyapa, P: Maudgalyayana; 3. S: Mahakasyapa, P: Mahakasyapa; 4. S: Subhuti, P: Mahakatyayana; 5. S: Purna Maitrayaniputra, P: Mahakotthita; 6. S: Aniruddha, P: Kaphina; 7. S: Mahakatyayana, P: Mahacunda; 8. S: Upali, P: Aniruddha; 9. S: Rahula, P: Revata; 10. S: Ananda, P: Devadatta.1

In another story of this chapter, (in the translation by Hendrik Kern it is Chapter 11!) Manjusri (the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature) praises the Naga king Sagara's daughter and says she can attain Buddhahood. The bodhisattva Prajnakuta is skeptical of this, and then the naga princess appears. Shariputra (the Buddha's first chief disciple) says that women cannot attain Buddhahood. The Naga princess makes an offering to the Buddha of a precious jewel and then says she can reach Buddhahood faster than she made that offering. She then turns into a male bodhisattva and becomes a Buddha. Through these stories, the Buddha teaches that everyone can become enlightened. (See: above, and the Gospel of Thomas, Grand Bible.)

Scholars have identified Manjusri as the oldest and most significant bodhisattva in Mahayana literature. Manjusri is first referred to in early Mahayana sutras such as the Prajnaparamita sutras and through this association, very early in the tradition he came to symbolise the embodiment of prajna (transcendent wisdom). The Lotus Sutra assigns him a pure land called Vimala, which according to the Avatamsaka Sutra is located in the East. His pure land is predicted to be one of the two best pure lands in all of existence in all the past, present, and future. When he attains buddhahood his name will be Universal Sight. In the Lotus Sutra, Manjusri also leads the Nagaraja's daughter to enlightenment.

Chapter 13: Encouraging Devotion--The Buddha encourages all beings to embrace the teachings of the sutra in all times, even in the most difficult ages to come. The bodhisattvas Bhaisajyaraja, Mahapratibhana and two hundred thousand others promise to teach the sutra in the future. The Buddha prophecies that the six thousand nuns who are also present, including Mahaprajapati and Yasodhara, will all become Buddhas.

Chapter 14: Peaceful Practices--Manjusri asks how a bodhisattva should spread the teaching. The Buddha explains the four qualities they should cultivate to teach the sutra. First, they should be self-controlled and correctly see the characteristics of phenomena and they should stay apart from worldly life. Secondly, they should see the emptiness of phenomena. Thirdly, they should be happy and never criticize and discourage people from enlightenment. Finally, they should have compassion for people and wish to attain Buddhahood so they may help liberate others. Virtues such as patience, gentleness, a calm mind, wisdom and compassion are to be cultivated.

Chapter 15: Emerging from the Earth—The bodhisattvas from other world systems say they will help the Buddha teach this sutra here, but the Buddha says their help is not needed — he has many bodhisattvas here. Then the ground splits open and countless bodhisattvas spring up from the earth (lead by Visistacaritra, Anantacaritra, Visuddhacaritra, and Supratisthitacaritra), ready to teach. Maitreya asks who these bodhisattvas are since nobody has heard of them before. The Buddha affirms that he has taught all of these bodhisattvas

himself in the remote past after attaining Buddhahood. Maitreya then asks how this is possible, since these bodhisattvas have been training for aeons.

Chapter 16: The Life Span of Tathagatha--The Buddha (Tathagatha) states that he actually attained Buddhahood countless quintillions of eons ago. He has only appeared to become awakened recently as a skillful means to teach others. The Buddha also says that he only appears to pass into final nirvana, but actually he does not really do so. This is just a expedient teaching so that beings will not become complacent. The Buddha then teaches the Parable of the Excellent Doctor who entices his poisoned sons into taking an antidote by feigning his death. After they hear this they are shocked and take the medicine. The doctor then reveals he is still alive. Because the Buddha uses skillful means in this way, he should not be seen as a liar, but as an intelligent teacher.

Chapter 17: Merit--The Buddha explains the merit (punya) or benefits that come from listening to and believing in this teaching on the Buddha's lifespan. He says that this teaching has led countless bodhisattvas, as many as the sands of the Ganges, to various levels of spiritual accomplishment. He also says that there greater benefit in hearing and believing the Lotus Sutra than practicing the first five perfections for eons. The Buddha states that those who have faith in this teaching will see this world as a pure land filled with bodhisattvas. Those who have faith in the sutra have already made offerings to past Buddhas and they do not need to build stupas or temples. These beings will developed excellent qualities and attain Buddhahood. This chapter also says that Caityas should be built to honor the Buddha.

Chapter 18: Rejoicing—The Buddha states that the merit generated from rejoicing in this sutra (or in even just a single line from it) is far greater than bringing thousands of beings to arhathood. The merits of listening to the sutra, for even a moment, are extensively praised in this chapter.

Chapter 19: Benefits of the Teacher of the Law--The Buddha praises the merits of those who are devoted to the Lotus Sutra. He states that their six sense bases (ayatanas) will become purified and develop the ability to experience the senses of billions of worlds as well as other supernatural powers.

Chapter 20: The Bodhisattva Never Disparaging—The Buddha tells a story about a previous life when he was a bodhisattva called Sadaparibhuta ("Never-disparaging" or "Never-disrespectful") and how he treated every person he met, good or bad, with respect, always remembering that they will become Buddhas. Never-disparaging experienced much ridicule and condemnation by other monastics and laypersons but he always responded by saying "I do not despise you, for you will become a buddha." He continued to teach this sutra for many lifetimes until he reached Buddhahood.

Chapter 21: Supernatural Powers of the Thus Come One-This chapter reveals that the sutra contains all of the Buddha's secret spiritual powers. The bodhisativas who have sprung from the earth (in chapter 15) are entrusted with the task of spreading and propagating it and they promise to do so. Sakyamuni and Prabhutaratna extend their tongues into the Brahma realm, emitting numerous rays of light along with countless bodhisattvas. This miracle lasts for a hundred thousand years. Then they clear their throats and snap their fingers, which is heard in all worlds and all worlds shake. All beings in the universe are then given a vision of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. All Buddhas praise Sakyamuni for teaching the Lotus. The Buddha says that the merits of teaching the sutra is immeasurable and that any place where it is being taught or copied is a holy place.

Chapter 22: Entrustment—The Buddha transmits the Lotus Sutra to all bodhisattvas in his congregation and entrusts them with its safekeeping and its propagation far and wide. The Buddha Prabhutaratna in his jeweled stupa and the countless manifestations of Shakyamuni Buddha return to their respective buddha-fields. According to Donald Lopez, the Lotus Sutra "appears to end with Chapter Twenty-Two, when the Buddha exhorts his disciples to spread the teaching, after which they return to their abodes...scholars speculate that this was the final chapter of an earlier version of the Lotus, with the last six chapters being interpolations." This is the final chapter in the Sanskrit versions and the alternative Chinese translation. Shiorir suggests that an earlier version of the sutra ended with this chapter and that chapters 23-28 were inserted later into the Sanskrit version.

Chapters 23-28--These chapters are focused on various bodhisattvas and their deeds.

Chapter 23: "Former Affairs of Bodhisattva Medicine King" (Bhisajyaraja) bodhisattva, who, in a previous life as the bodhisattva Sarvasattvapriyadarsana, set his body on fire, lighting up many world systems for twelve years, as a supreme offering to a Buddha. This chapter teaches the practice "offering the body", which involves burning a part of one's body (such as toe, finger, or a limb) as an offering. The hearing and chanting of the Lotus Sutra' is also said to cure

diseases. The Buddha uses nine similes to declare that the Lotus Sutra is the king of all sutras.

Chapter 24: The Bodhisattva Gadgadasvara-Gadgadasvara ('Wonderful Voice'), a bodhisattva from a distant world, visits Vulture Peak to worship the Buddha. Gadgadasvara once made offerings of various kinds of music to the Buddha Meghadundubhisvararaja. His accumulated merits enable him to take on many different forms to propagate the Lotus Sutra.

Chapter 25: The Universal Gateway of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva-This chapter is devoted to bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Skt. "Lord Who Looks Down", Ch. Guanyin, "Regarder of the Cries of the World"), describing him as a compassionate bodhisattva who hears the cries of sentient beings, and rescues those who call upon his name.

Chapter 26: Dharani--Hariti and several bodhisattvas offer sacred dharani (magical formulas) in order to protect those who keep and recite the Lotus Sutra.

Chapter 27: Former Affairs of King Wonderful Adornment
--This chapter tells the story of the conversion of King
'Wonderful-Adornment' by his two sons.

Chapter 28: Encouragement of Samantabhadra--A bodhisattva called "Universal Virtue" or "All Good" (Samantabhadra) asks the Buddha how to preserve the sutra in the future. Samantabhadra promises to protect and guard all those who keep this sutra in the future. He says that those who uphold the sutra will be reborn in the Trayastrimsa and Tusita heavens. He also says that those who uphold this sutra will have many good qualities and should be seen and respected as Buddhas.)

[Lines of Verses have been here united to coherent blocks of prose; their initial letters are however maintained as Capital letters. The verses are displayed here in *italics* fonts.]

PROLOGUE, BETTER KNOWN AS THE SUTRA OF INNUMERABLE MEANINGS

#### THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 1

Virtues

Thus have I\* heard. Once the Buddha was staying at the City of Royal Palaces on Mount Gridhrakuta with a great assemblage of great bhikshus [ordained monks.], in all twelve thousand. There were eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas. [\* The word "I" refers to Ananda; he is the storyteller here. Ananda (5th-4th century BC) was the primary attendant of the Buddha and one of his ten principal disciples.] There were gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, and mahoragas, besides all the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas. There were great wheel-rolling kings, small wheel-rolling kings, and kings of the gold wheel, silver wheel, and other wheels; further, kings and princes, ministers and people, men and women, and great rich persons, each encompassed by a hundred thousand myriad followers. They went up to the Buddha, made obeisance at his feet, a hundred thousand times made procession around him, burned incense, and scattered flowers. After they variously worshiped, they retired and sat to one side.

Those bodhisattvas' names were the Son of the Law-king Manjushri, the Son of the Law-king Great Dignity Treasury, the Son of the Law-king Sorrowlessness Treasury, the Son of the Law-king Great Eloquence Treasury, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattva Leader, the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Medicine Lord, the Bodhisattva Flower Banner, the Bodhisattva Flower Light Banner, the Bodhisattva King Commanding Dharanis at Will, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, the Bodhisattvas Great Power Obtained, the Bodhisattva Ever Zealous, the Bodhisattva Precious Seal, the Bodhisattva Precious Store, the Bodhisattva Precious Stick, the Bodhisattva Above the Triple World, the Bodhisattva Vimabhara [a Chinese phonetic transliteration of a Sanskrit word.], the Bodhisattva Scented Elephant, the Bodhisattva Great Scented Elephant, the Bodhisattva King of the Lion's Roar, the Bodhisattva Lion's Playing in the World, the Bodhisattva Lion's Force, the Bodhisattva Lion's Assiduity, the Bodhisattva Brave Power, the Bodhisattva Lion's Overbearing, the Bodhisattva Adornment, and the Bodhisattva Great Adornment: such bodhisattva-mahasattvas as these, eighty thousand in all.

Of these bodhisattvas there is none who is not a great saint of the Law-body. They have attained commands, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and the knowledge of emancipation. With tranquil minds, and constantly in contemplation, they are peaceful, indifferent, nonactive, and free from desires. They are immune from any kind of delusion and distraction. Their minds are calm and clear, profound and infinite. They remain in this state for hundreds of thousands of kotis of kalpas, and all the innumerable teachings have been revealed to them. Having obtained the great wisdom, they penetrate all things, completely understand the reality of their nature

and form, and clearly discriminate existing and nonexisting, long and short.

Moreover, well knowing the capacities, natures, and inclinations of all, with dharanis and the unhindered power of discourse, they roll the Law-wheel just as buddhas do. First, dipping the dust of desire in a drop of the teachings, they remove the fever of the passions of life and realise the serenity of the Law by opening the gate of nirvana and fanning the wind of emancipation. Next, raining the profound Law of the Twelve Causes, they pour it on the violent and intense rays of sufferings--ignorance, old age, illness, death, and so on; then pouring abundantly the supreme Mahayana, they dip all the good roots of living beings in it, scatter the seeds of goodness over the field of merits, and make all put forth the sprout of buddhahood. With their wisdom brilliant as the sun and the moon, and their timely tactfulness, they promote the work of Mahayana and make all accomplish Perfect Enlightenment speedily; and with eternal pleasure wonderful and true, and through infinite great compassion, they relieve all from suffering.

These are the true good friends for all living beings, these are the great field of blessings for all living beings, these are the unsummoned teachers [Those who are ready to help living beings on their own initiative, even if they are not asked.] for all living beings, and these are the peaceful place of pleasure, relief, protection, and great support for all living beings. They become great good leaders or great leaders for living beings everywhere. They serve as eyes for blind beings, and as ears, nose, or tongue for those who are deaf, who have no nose, or who are dumb; make deficient organs complete; turn the deranged to the great right thought. As the master of a ship or the great master of a ship, they carry all living beings across the river of life and death to the shore of nirvana. As the king of medicine or the great king of medicine, they discriminate the phases of a disease, know well the properties of medicines, dispense medicines according to the disease, and make people take them. As the controller or the great controller, they have no dissolute conduct; they are like a trainer of elephants and horses who never fails to train well, or like a majestic and brave lion that inevitably subdues and overpowers all beasts.

Bodhisattvas, playing in all paramitas, being firm and immovable at the stage of tathagata, purifying the Buddha-country with the stability of their vow power, will rapidly accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. All these bodhisattva-mahasattvas have such wonderful merits as seen above.

Those bhikshus' names were Great Wisdom Shariputra, Supernatural Power Maudgalyayana, Wisdom Life Subhuti, Maha-Katyayana, Maitrayani's son Purna, Ajnata-Kaundinya, Divine Eye Aniruddha, Precept-keeping Upali, Attendant Ananda, Buddha's son Rahula, Upananda, Revata, Kapphina, Vakkula, Acyuta [Cunda.], Svagata, Dhuta Maha-Kashyapa, Uruvilva-Kashyapa, Gaya-Kashyapa, and Nadi-Kashyapa. There are twelve thousand bhikshus such as these. All are arhats, unrestricted by all bonds of faults, free from attachment, and truly emanci

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattava Great Adornment, seeing that all the groups sat in settled mind, rose up from his seat, went up to the Buddha with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-masattavas in the assembly, made obeisance at his feet, a hundred thousand times made procession round him, burned celestial incense, scattered celestial flowers, and presented the Buddha with celestial robes, garlands, and jewels of priceless value which came rolling down from the sky and gathered all over like clouds. The celestial bins and bowls were filled with all sorts of celestial delicacies, which satisfied just by the sight of their colour and the smell of their perfume. They placed celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings everywhere; pleased the Buddha with celestial music; then went forth to kneel with folded hands, and praised him in verse, saying with one voice

"Great! The Great Enlightened, the Great Holy Lord, In him there is no defilement, no contamination, no attachment. The trainer of gods and men, elephants and horses, His moral breeze and virtuous fragrance Deeply permeate all. Serene is his wisdom, calm his emotion, And stable his prudence. His thought is settled, his consciousness is extinct, And thus his mind is quiet.

Long since, he removed false thoughts And conquered all the laws of existence. His body is neither existing nor nonexisting; Without cause or condition, Without self or others; Neither square nor round, Neither short nor long; Without appearance or disappearance, Without birth or death; Neither created nor emanating, Neither made nor produced; Neither sitting nor lying, Neither walking nor stopping; Neither moving nor rolling, Neither calm nor quiet; Without advance or retreat, Without safety or danger; Without right or wrong, Without merit or demerit; Neither that nor this, Neither going nor coming; Neither blue nor yellow, Neither red nor white; Neither crimson nor purple, Without a variety of colour.

Born of commandments, meditation, Wisdom, emancipation, and knowledge; Merit of contemplation, the

six divine faculties, And the practice of the way; Sprung of benevolence and compassion, The ten powers, and fearlessness; He has come in response To good karmas of living beings.

He reveals his body, Ten feet six inches in height, Glittering with purple gold, Well proportioned, brilliant, And highly bright. The mark of hair curls as the moon, In the nape of the neck there is a light as of the sun. The curling hair is deep blue, On the head there is a protuberance. The pure eyes, like a stainless mirror, Blink up and down. The eyebrows trail in dark blue, The mouth and cheeks are well formed. The lips and tongue appear pleasantly red, Like a scarlet flower. The white teeth, forty in number, Appear as snowy agate. Broad the forehead, high-bridged the nose, And majestic the face. The chest, with a swastika mark, Is like a lion's breast. The hands and feet are flexible, With the mark of a thousand spokes. The sides and palms are well rounded, And show in fine lines.

The arms are elongated, And the fingers are straight and slender. The skin is delicate and smooth, And the hair curls to the right. The ankles and knees are well defined, And the male organ is hidden Like that of a horse. The fine muscles, the collarbone, And the thigh bones are slim Like those of a deer. The chest and back are shining, Pure and without blemish, Untainted by any muddy water, Unspotted by any speck of dust. There are thirty-two such signs, The eighty kinds of excellence are visible, And truly, there is nothing Of form or nonform. All visible forms are transcended; His body is formless and yet has form. This is also true Of the form of the body of all living beings [That is, the Buddha and men are fundamentally nonsubstantial.].

Living being adore him joyfully, Devote their minds to him, And pay their respects wholeheartedly. By cutting off arrogance and egotism, He has accomplished such a wonderful body. Now we, the assemblage of eighty thousand, Making obeisance all together, Submit ourselves to the saint of nonattachment, The trainer of elephants and horses, Detached from the state of thinking, Mind, thought, and perception.

We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the Law-body, To all commands, meditation, wisdom, Emancipation, and knowledge. We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the wonderful character. We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the unthinkable. The sacred voice sounds eight ways [This refers to the eight excellent qualities of the voice of the Buddha.], As the thunder sounds. It is sweet, pure, and greatly profound.

He preaches the Four Noble Truths, The Six Paramitas, and the Twelve Causes, According to the working of the minds of living beings. One never hears without opening one's mind And breaking the bonds of the infinite chain of life and death.

One never hears without reaching srota-apanna, Sakridagamin, anagamin, and arhat; Reaching the state of pratyekabuddha, Of nonfault and noncondition; Reaching the state of bodhisattva, Of nonlife and nondeath; Of obtaining the infinite dharani And the unhindered power of discourse, With which one recites profound and wonderful verses, Plays and bathes in the pure pond of the Law, Or displays supernatural motion By jumping and flying up, Or freely goes in or out of water and fire.

The aspect of the Tathagata's Law-wheel is like this. It is pure, boundless, and unthinkable. Making obeisance all together, We submit ourselves to him When he rolls the Lawwheel. We make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the sacred voice. e make obeisance, And submit ourselves to the Causes, Truths, and Paramitas.

For infinite past kalpas, The World-honoured One has practised All manner of virtues with effort To bring benefits to us human beings, Heavenly beings, and dragon kings, Universally to all living beings. He abandoned all things hard to abandon, His treasures, wife, and child, His country and his palace. Unsparing of his person as of his possessions, He gave all, his head, eyes, and brain, To people as alms.

Keeping the buddhas' precepts of purity, He never did any harm, Even at the cost of his life. He never became angry, Even though beaten with sword and staff, Or though cursed and abused. He never became tired, In spite of long exertion. He kept his mind at peace day and night, And was always in meditation.

Learning all the law-ways, With his deep wisdom He has seen into the capacity of living beings. As a result, obtaining free power, He has become the Law-king, Who is free in the Law. Making obeisance again all together, We submit ourselves to the one Who has completed all hard things."

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 2

Preaching

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment, with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas, finished praising the Buddha with this verse and said to the Buddha in unison: "World-honoured One, we, the assemblage of the eighty thousand bodhisattvas, want to ask you about the Tathagata's Law. We are anxious that the World-honoured One should hear us with sympathy."

The Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva Great Adornment and the eighty thousand bodhisattvas: "Excellent! Excellent!

Good sons, you have well known that this is the time. Ask me what you like. Before long, the Tathagata will enter parinirvana. After nirvana, there shall be not a doubt left to anybody. I will answer any question you wish to ask."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Great Adornment, with the eighty thousand bodhisattvas, said to the Buddha in unison with one voice: "World-honoured One! If the bodhisattva-mahasattvas want to accomplish Perfect Enlightenment quickly, what doctrine should they practice? What doctrine makes bodhisattva-mahasattvas accomplish Perfect Enlightenment quickly?"

The Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva Great Adornment and the eighty thousand bodhisattvas: "Good sons, there is one doctrine which makes bodhisattva accomplish Perfect Enlightenment quickly. If a bodhisattva learns this doctrine, then he will accomplish Perfect Enlightenment."

"World-honoured One! What is this doctrine called? What is its meaning? How does a bodhisattva practice it?"

The Buddha said: "Good sons! This one doctrine is called the doctrine of Innumerable Meanings. A bodhisattva, if he wants to learn and master the doctrine of Innumerable Meanings, should observe that all laws [Or "all existences."] were originally, will be, and are in themselves void in nature and form; they are neither great nor small, neither appearing nor disappearing, neither fixed nor movable, and neither advancing nor retreating; and they are nondualistic, just emptiness. All living beings, however, discriminate falsely: 'It is this' or 'It is that,' and 'It is advantageous' or 'It is disadvantageous': they entertain evil thoughts, make various evil karmas, and [thus] transmigrate within the six realms of existence; and they suffer all manner of miseries, and cannot escape from there during infinite kotis of kalpas. Bodhisattvamahasattvas, observing rightly like this, should raise the mind of compassion, display the great mercy desiring to relieve others of suffering, and once again penetrate deeply into all laws. According to the nature of a law, such a law emerges. According to the nature of a law, such a law settles. According to the nature of a law, such a law changes. According to the nature of a law, such a law vanishes. According to the nature of a law, such an evil law emerges. According to the nature of a law, such a good law emerges. Settling, changing, and vanishing are also like this. Bodhisattvas, having thus completely observed and known these four aspects from beginning to end, should next observe that none of the laws settles down even for a moment, but all emerge and vanish anew every moment; and observe that they emerge, settle, change, and vanish instantly. After such observation, we see all manner of natural desires of living beings. As natural desires are innumerable, preaching is immeasurable, and as preaching is immeasurable, meanings are innumerable. The Innumerable Meanings originate from one law. This one law is, namely, nonform. Such nonform is formless, and not form. Being not form and formless, it is called the real aspect of things. The mercy which bodhisattvamahasattvas display after stabilizing themselves in such a real aspect is real and not vain. They excellently relieve living beings from sufferings. Having given relief from sufferings, they preach the Law again, and let all living beings obtain

"Good sons! A bodhisattva, if he practices completely the doctrine of the Innumerable Meanings like this, will soon accomplish Perfect Enlightenment without fail. Good sons! The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Therefore, good sons! Bodhisattva-mahasattvas, if you want to accomplish supreme buddhahood quickly, you should learn and master the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle."

At that time the Bodhisattva Great Adornment said to the Buddha again: "World-honoured One! The preaching of the World-honoured One is incomprehensible, the natures of living beings are also incomprehensible, and the doctrine of emancipation is also incomprehensible. Though we have no doubt about the laws preached by the Buddha, we repeatedly ask the World-honoured One for fear that all living beings should be perplexed. For more than forty years since the Tathagata attained enlightenment, you have continuously preached all the laws to living beings--the four aspects, suffering, voidness, transience, selflessness, nonlarge, nonsmall, nonbirth, nondeath, one aspect, nonaspect, the suffering, nature of the law, the form of the law, void from the beginning, noncoming, nongoing, nonappearance, and nondisappearance. Those who have heard it have obtained the law of warming, the law of the highest, the law of the best in the world\*, the merit of srota-apanna, the merit of sakridagamin, the merit of anagamin, the merit of arhat, and the way of pratyekabuddha; have aspired to enlightenment; and ascending the first stage, the second stage, and the third stage, have attained the tenth stage. [\* The law of warming, the law of the highest, and the law of the best in the world are three stages to be passed through by the disciple who is not

yet free of desire when he tries to understand fully the Four Noble Truths.] Because of what difference between your past and present preaching on laws do you say that if a bodhisattva practices only the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, he will soon accomplish supreme buddhahood without fail? World-honoured One! Be pleased to discriminate the Law widely for living beings out of compassion for all, and to leave no doubt to all Law-hearers in the present and future."

Hereupon the Buddha said to the Bodhisattva Great Adornment: "Excellent! Excellent! Great good sons, you have well questioned the Tathagata about such a wonderful meaning of the profound and supreme Great-vehicle. Do you know that you will bring many benefits, please men and gods, and relieve living beings from sufferings. It is truly the great benevolence, and the truth without falsehood. For this reason you will surely and quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood. You will also make all living beings in the present and future accomplish supreme buddhahood.

"Good sons! After six years' right sitting under the Bodhi tree of the wisdom throne, I could accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. With the Buddha's eye I saw all the laws and understood that they were inexpressible. Wherefore? I knew that the natures and desires of all living beings were not equal. As their natures and desires were not equal, I preached the Law variously. It was with tactful power that I preached the Law variously. In forty years and more, the truth has not been revealed yet. Therefore living beings' powers of attainment are too different to accomplish supreme buddhahood quickly.

"Good sons! The Law is like water that washes off dirt. As a well, a pond, a stream, a river, a valley stream, a ditch, or a great sea, each alike effectively washes off all kinds of dirt, so the Law-water effectively washes off the dirt of all delusions of living beings.

"Good sons! The nature of water is one, but a stream, a river, a well, a pond, a valley stream, a ditch, and a great sea are different from one another. The nature of the Law is like this. There is equality and no differentiation in washing off the dirt of delusions, but the three laws, the four merits, and the two ways\* are not one and the same. [The three laws are the Four Noble Truths, the Twelve Causes, and the Six Paramitas (These are: 1. Dana paramita: generosity, the attitude of giving; 2. Sila paramita: virtue, morality, discipline, proper conduct; 3. Kshanti paramita: patience, tolerance, forbearance, acceptance, endurance; 4. paramita: energy, diligence, vigor, effort; 5. Dhyana paramita: one-pointed concentration, contemplation; 6. Prajna paramita: wisdom, insight.); the four merits are srotaapanna, sakridagamin, anagamin, and arhat (see Glossary): and the two ways are the Great-vehicle, or Mahayana, and the lesser vehicle, or Hinayana. The typical Buddhist term "vehicle" refers to sect or denomination and thus to its doctrines, the ways this particular vehicle goes.]

"Good sons! Though each washes equally as water, a well is not a pond, a pond is not a stream or a river, nor is a valley stream or a ditch a sea. As the Tathagata, the world's hero, is free in the Law, all the laws preached by him are also like this. Though preaching at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end all alike effectively wash off the delusions of living beings, the beginning is not the middle, and the middle is not the end. Preaching at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end are the same in expression but different from one another in

"Good sons! When I rolled the Law-wheel of the Four Noble Truths for the five men, Ajnata-Kaundinya and the others, at the Deer Park in Varanasi after leaving the king of trees. I preached that the laws are naturally vacant, ceaselessly transformed, and instantly born and destroyed. When I discoursed explaining the Twelve Causes and the Six Paramitas for all the bhikshus and bodhisattvas in various places during the middle period, I preached also that all laws are naturally vacant, ceaselessly transformed, and instantly born and destroyed. Now in explaining the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a Great-vehicle, at this time, I preach also that all laws are naturally vacant, ceaselessly transformed, and instantly born and destroyed. Good sons! Therefore the preaching at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end are the same in expression but different from one another in meaning. As the meaning varies, the understanding of living beings varies. As the understanding varies, the attainment of the law, the merit, and the way also varies

"Good sons! At the beginning, though I preached the Four Truths for those who sought to be shravakas, eight kotis of heavenly beings came down to hear the Law and raised the desire for enlightenment. In the middle, though I preached in various places the profound Twelve Causes for those who sought to be pratyekabuddhas, innumerable living beings raised the aspiration for enlightenment or remained in the stage of shravaka. Next, though I explained the long-term practice\* of bodhisattvas, through preaching the twelve types of sutras of Great Extent, the Maha-Prajna, and the voidness of the Garland Sea, a hundred thousand bhikshus, myriad kotis of men and gods, and innumerable living beings could remain in the merits of srota-apanna, sakridagamin,

anagamin, and arhat or in the law appropriate to the pratyekabuddha. [\* Religious exercises extending over many kalpas. Kalpa (Aeon) is a Sanskrit word referring to a great length of time, period, era.]

Good sons! For this reason, it is known that the preaching is the same, but the meaning varies. As the meaning varies, the understanding of living beings varies. As the understanding varies, the attainment of the law, the merit, and the way also varies. So good sons! Since I attained the way, and stood to preach the Law for the first time, till I spoke the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, the Great-vehicle, today, I have never ceased from preaching suffering, voidness, transience, selflessness, nontruth, nonreality, nonlarge, nonsmall, nonbirth in origin, and also nondeath at present, one aspect, nonaspect, and the form of the law, the nature of the law, noncoming, nongoing, and the four aspects by which all the living are driven.

"Good sons! For this reason, all the buddhas, without a double tongue, answer widely all voices with one word; though having one body, reveal bodies innumerable and myriad kotis nayutas; in each body, display various forms countless as the sands of some hundred thousand myriad kotis nayutas asamkhyeya Ganges, and in each form show shapes countless as the sands of some hundred thousand myriad kotis nayutas asamkhyeya Ganges as the sands of some hundred thousand myriad kotis nayutas asamkhyeya Ganges.

Good sons! This is, namely, the incomprehensible and profound world of buddhas. Men of the two vehicles cannot apprehend it, and even bodhisattvas of the ten stages cannot attain it. Only a buddha together with a buddha can fathom it well [It can only be comprehended by one who has reached the Buddha degree, that is, the highest degree of enlightenment.].

"Good sons! Thereupon I say: the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, the wonderful, profound, and supreme Great-vehicle, is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Bodhisattva-mahasattvas, if you want to accomplish supreme buddhahood quickly, you should learn and master the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle."

After the Buddha had finished explaining this, the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world was shaken in the six ways; various kinds of celestial flowers, such as utpala, padma, kumuda, and pundarika, rained down naturally from the sky; and innumerable kinds of celestial perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value also rained and came rolling down from the sky, and they were offered to the Buddha, all the bodhisattvas and shravakas, and the great assembly. The celestial bins and bowls were filled with all sorts of celestial delicacies; celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings were placed everywhere; and celestial music was played in praise of the Buddha.

Also the buddha-worlds, as many as the sands of the Ganges, in the direction of the east were shaken in the six ways; celestial flowers, perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value, celestial bins, bowls, and all sorts of celestial delicacies, celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings rained down; and celestial music was played in praise of those buddhas, those bodhisattvas, the shravakas, and the great assembly. So, too, was it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and nadir.

At this time thirty-two thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas in the assembly attained to the contemplation of the Innumerable Meanings. Thirty-four thousand bodhisattvamahasattyas obtained the numberless and infinite realms of dharani and came to roll the never retrogressing Law-wheel of buddhas all over the three worlds. All the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, great wheel-rolling kings, small wheel-rolling kings, kings of the silver wheel, iron wheel, and other wheels, kings and princes, ministers and people, men and women, and great rich persons, and all the groups of a hundred thousand followers, hearing together the Buddha Tathagata preaching this sutra, obtained the law of warming, the law of the highest, the law of the best in the world, the merit of srota-apanna, the merit of sakridagamin, the merit of anagamin, the merit of arhat, and the merit of pratyekabuddha; attained to the bodhisattya's assurance of the law of no birth\*: acquired one dharani [Buddhist chant, also known as a Parittas.], two dharanis, three dharanis, four dharanis, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten dharanis, a hundred thousand myriad kotis of dharanis, and asamkhyeya dharanis as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges; and all came to roll the neverretrogressing Law-wheel rightly. Infinite living beings gained the aspiration to Perfect Enlightenment. [\* Transcendence of life and death. The religious aspect of a god wholly independent of the material universe or going beyond some philosophical concept or limit.]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 3
Ten Merits

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment said to the Buddha again: "World-honoured One! The Worldhonoured One has preached this Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a wonderful, profound, and supreme Great-vehicle. It is truly profound, profound, and profound. Wherefore? In this assembly, all the bodhisattva-mahasattvas, all the four groups, gods, dragons, demons, kings, subjects, and all the living beings, hearing this Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, never fail to obtain the realm of dharanis, the three laws, the four merits, and the aspiration to enlightenment. It should be known that this Law is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Wherefore? Because hearing it but once is keeping all the laws.

"If a living being can hear this sutra, he will acquire a great benefit. Wherefore? If he practices it sincerely, he will quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood without fail. If a living being cannot hear it, it should be known that he loses a great benefit. He will never accomplish supreme buddhahood even after a lapse of infinite, boundless, inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas. Wherefore? Because he does not know the great direct way to enlightenment, he meets with many sufferings in walking steep ways.

"World-honoured One! This sutra is inconceivable. World-honoured One! Be pleased to explain the profound and inconceivable matter of this sutra out of benevolence for all the people. World-honoured One! From what place does this sutra come? For what place does it stay? Whereupon does this sutra make people quickly accomplish Perfect Enlightenment, having such infinite merits and inconceivable powers?"

At that time the World-honoured One addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment: "Excellent! Excellent! Good sons; just so, just so, just as you say. Good sons! I preach this sutra as profound, profound, and truly profound. Wherefore? Because it makes people quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood; hearing it but once is keeping all the laws: it greatly benefits all the living: there is no suffering in practicing the great direct way. Good sons! You ask where this sutra comes from, where it leaves for, and where it stays. Do listen attentively. Good sons! This sutra originally comes from the abode of all buddhas, leaves for aspiration of all the living to the buddhahood, and stays at the place where all the hodhisatty as practice. Good sons! This sutra comes like this, leaves like this, and stays like this, Therefore this sutra, having such infinite merits and inconceivable powers, makes people quickly accomplish supreme buddhahood.

"Good sons! Do you want to hear how this sutra has ten inconceivable merit-powers?" The Bodhisattva Great Adornment said: "We heartily want to hear." The Buddha said: "Good sons! First, this sutra makes the unawakened bodhisattva aspire to buddhahood, makes a merciless one raise the mind of mercy, makes a homicidal one raise the mind of great compassion, makes a jealous one raise the mind of joy, makes an attached one raise the mind of detachment, makes a miserly one raise the mind of donation, makes an arrogant one raise the mind of keeping the commandments, makes an irascible one raise the mind of perseverance, makes an indolent one raise the mind of assiduity, makes a distracted one raise the mind of meditation, makes an ignorant one raise the mind of wisdom, makes ones who lacks concern for saving others raise the mind of saving others, makes one who commits the ten evils raise the mind of the ten virtues, makes one who wishes for existence aspire to the mind of nonexistence, makes one who has an inclination toward apostasy build the mind of nonretrogression, makes one who commits defiled acts raise the mind of undefilement, and makes one who suffers delusions raise the mind of detachment. Good sons! This is called the first inconceivable merit-power of this sutra [teaching].

"Good sons! Secondly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if a living being can hear this sutra but once, or only one verse and phrase, he will penetrate into a hundred thousand kotis of meanings, and the law kept by him cannot be explained fully even in infinite kalpas. Wherefore? It is because this sutra has innumerable meanings.

"Good sons! Suppose that from one seed a hundred thousand myriad seeds grow, from each of a hundred thousand myriad seeds another hundred thousand myriad seeds grow, and in such a process seeds increase to an unlimited extent. This sutra is like this. From one law a hundred thousand meanings grow, from each of a hundred thousand meanings a hundred thousand myriad meanings grow, and in such a process meanings increase to an unlimited and boundless extent. Such being the case, this sutra is called Innumerable Meanings. Good sons! This is the second inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Thirdly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if a living being can hear this sutra but once, or only one verse and phrase, he will penetrate into a hundred thousand myriad kotis of meanings. After that, his delusions, even though existent, will become as if nonexistent; he will not be seized with fear, though he moves between birth and death; and he will raise the mind of compassion for all the living, and obtain the spirit of bravery to obey all the laws. A powerful wrestler can shoulder and hold any heavy thing. The keeper of this sutra is also like this. He can shoulder the heavy treasure of supreme buddhahood, and carry living beings on his back out of the way of birth and death. He will be able to relieve others, even though he cannot yet relieve himself. Just as a ferry master, though he stays on this shore owing to his serious illness and unsettled body, can be made to cross over by means of a good and solid ship that has the quality of carrying anyone without fail, so also is it with the keeper of this sutra. Though he stays on this shore of ignorance, old age, and death owing to the hundred and eight kinds of serious illness [The 108 illusions, or obstacles to enlightenment.], with which his body under the existence of all the five states is seized and ever afflicted, he can be delivered from birth and death through practicing this strong Mahayana Sutra of Innumerable Meanings as it is preached, which realises the deliverance of living beings. Good sons! This is called the third inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Fourthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if a living being can hear this sutra but once, or only one verse and phrase, he will obtain the spirit of bravery, and relieve others, even though he cannot yet relieve himself. He will become the attendant of the buddhas together with all the bodhisattvas, and all the buddha-tathagatas will always preach the Law to him. On hearing it, he will keep the Law entirely and follow it without disobeying. Moreover, he will interpret it for people extensively as occasion calls.

"Good sons! Suppose that a new prince is born of a king and queen. A day, two days, or seven days, and a month, two months, or seven months passing away, he will attain the age of one, two, or seven. Though he cannot yet manage national affairs, he will come to be revered by people and take all the great king's sons into his company. The king and queen will always stay and converse with him with special and deep affection because he is their little child. Good sons! The keeper of this sutra is also like this. The king--the Buddha--and the queen--this sutra--come together, and this son--a bodhisattva--is born of them. If the bodhisattva can hear one phrase or verse of this sutra once, twice, ten times, a hundred times, a thousand times, myriad times, myriad kotis of times, or innumerable and numberless times like the sands of the Ganges he will come to shake the three-thousand-greatthousandfold world, though he cannot vet realise the ultimate truth, and will take all great bodhisattvas into his attendance, while being admired by all of the four classes and the eight guardians, though he cannot yet roll the great Law-wheel with the sacred voice like the roll of thunder. Entering deeply into the secret law of the buddhas, he will interpret it without error or fault. He will always be protected by all the buddhas. and especially covered with affection, because he is a beginner in learning. Good sons! This is called the fourth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Fifthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters keep, read, recite, and copy the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound and supreme Great-vehicle, either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, they will realise the way of great bodhisattvas though they cannot yet be delivered from all the faults of an ordinary man and are still wrapped in delusions. They will fill with joy and convince those living beings, extending a day to a hundred kalpas, or shortening a hundred kalpas to a day. Good sons! These good sons or good daughters are just like a dragon's son who can raise clouds and cause a rainfall seven days after his birth. Good sons! This is called the fifth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Sixthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters keep, read, and recite this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, even though clothed in delusions, they will deliver living beings from the life and death of delusions. and make them overcome all sufferings, by preaching the Law for them. After hearing it, living beings will put it into practice, and attain the law, the merit, and the way, where there will be equality and no difference from the Buddha Tathagata. Suppose that a king, in journeying or falling ill, leaves the management of national affairs to his prince, though he is an infant. Then the prince, by order of the great king, leads all the government officials according to the law, and propagates the right policy, so that every citizen of the country follows his orders exactly as if the king were governing. It is the same with good sons or good daughters keeping this sutra. During the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, these good sons will propagate the doctrine, preaching exactly as the Buddha did, though they themselves cannot yet live in the first stage of immobility, and if living beings, after hearing their preaching, practice it intently, they will cut off delusions and attain the law, the merit, and the

way. Good sons! This is called the sixth inconceivable meritpower of this sutra.

"Good sons! Seventhly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, hearing this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, rejoice, believe, and raise the rare [extraordinary] mind; keep, read, recite, copy, and expound it; practice it as it has been preached; aspire to buddhahood; cause all the good roots to sprout; raise the mind of great compassion; and want to relieve all living beings of sufferings, the Six Paramitas will be naturally present in them, though they cannot yet practice the Six Paramitas. They will attain the assurance of the law of no birth in their bodies; life and death, and delusions will be instantly destroyed; and they will rise to the seventh stage of bodhisattya.

"Suppose there is a vigorous man who tries to destroy an enemy on behalf of his king and after the enemy has been destroyed, with great joy, the king gives him half the kingdom as a prize. Good sons or good daughters who keep this sutra are like this. They are the most vigorous of all ascetics. They come to attain the Law-treasure of the Six Paramitas even though they are not consciously seeking it. The enemy of death and life will be naturally destroyed, and they will be made comfortable by the prize of a fief, realizing the assurance of no birth as the treasure of half the Buddhacountry. Good sons! This is called the seventh inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Eighthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, see someone who has received this sutra, they will make him revere and believe it exactly as if he saw the body of the Buddha; they will keep, read, recite, copy, and worship this sutra with joy; serve and practice it as the Law; firmly keep the commandments and perseverance; they will also practice almsgiving; raise a deep benevolence; and explain the Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, this supreme Great-vehicle, widely to others. To one who for a long time does not at all recognise the existence of sinfulness and blessedness, they will show this sutra, and force him to have faith in it with all sorts of expedients. By the strong power of this sutra, he will be made to stir up faith and to convert suddenly. After stirring up faith, he will endeavor so valorously that he can acquire the virtue and power of this sutra, and attain the way and the merit. In this way, these good sons or good daughters will attain the assurance of the law of no birth in their bodies of men or women by the merit of having been enlightened, reach the upper stage, become the attendants [of the buddhas], together with all the bodhisattvas convert living beings quickly, purify buddha-lands, and attain supreme buddhahood before long. Good sons! This is called the eighth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Ninthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, receiving this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, leap for joy; acquire the unprecedented; keep, read, recite, copy, and adore this sutra; and explain its meaning discriminatingly and widely for living beings, they will instantly destroy the heavy barrier of sins resulting from previous karma and become purified, acquire great eloquence, gradually realise all paramitas, accomplish all samadhis and shuramgama-samadhi, enter the great gate of dharani, and rise up to the upper stage quickly with strenuous efforts. They will spread their divided bodies in all the lands of ten directions, and relieve and emancipate entirely all living beings who suffer greatly in the twenty-five abodes. Thus such a power can be seen in this sutra. Good sons! This is called the ninth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! Tenthly, the inconceivable merit-power of this sutra is as follows: if good sons or good daughters, receiving this sutra either during the Buddha's lifetime or after his extinction, greatly rejoice; raise the rare mind; keep, read, recite, copy, and adore this sutra of their own accord; practice it as it has been preached; also induce many monks and lay people to keep, read, recite, copy, adore, and expound this sutra, and practice it as the Law, these good sons or good daughters will obtain the innumerable realms of dharani in their bodies because it is wholly by the merciful and friendly instruction of these good sons or good daughters that other people attain the way and the merit through the power of the practice of this sutra. They will make vast oaths and great vows of numberless asamkhyeva naturally and from the beginning in the stage of ordinary men, and raise a deep desire to relieve all living beings. They will realise the great compassion, thoroughly abolish all sufferings, gather many good roots, and bring benefit to all. They will explain the favor of the Law and greatly enliven the withered; give all living beings the medicine of the Law, and set all at ease: gradually elevate their view to live in the stage of the Lawcloud. [The stage of the Law-cloud is the tenth and highest of the ten stages of the bodhisattva-way.] They will spread favor extensively, grant mercy to all suffering living beings, and lead them into the Buddha-way. Thereupon these persons [Good sons and daughters.] will accomplish Perfect

Enlightenment before long. Good sons! This is called the tenth inconceivable merit-power of this sutra.

"Good sons! The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a supreme Great-vehicle, has an extremely great divine power and is unsurpassed in its worth. It makes all ordinary men accomplish the sacred merit, and makes them free from life and death forever. Thereupon this sutra is called Innumerable Meanings. It makes all the living sprout the innumerable ways of all the bodhisattvas in the stage of ordinary men, and makes the tree of merit grow dense, thick, and tall. Therefore this sutra is called inconceivable merit-power."

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment, with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas, said to the Buddha with one voice: "World-honoured One! The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, such a profound, wonderful, and supreme Great-vehicle preached by the Buddha, is reasonable in its logic, unsurpassed in its worth, and protected by all the buddhas of the three worlds. No kind of demon or heretic can break into it, nor can any wrong view or life and death destroy it. Thereupon this sutra has ten such inconceivable merit-powers. It greatly benefits innumerable living beings, makes all bodhisattva-mahasattvas attain the contemplation of Innumerable Meanings, a hundred thousand realms of dharani, all the stages and assurances of bodhisattva, and the accomplishment of the four way-merits of pratyekabuddha and arhat. The World-honoured One has preached such a Law willingly for us in compassion, and made us obtain the benefits of the Law abundantly. This is immensely marvelous and unprecedented. It is difficult to repay the merciful favor of the World-honoured One."

At the close of these words, the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world was shaken in the six ways [The six ways are moving, rising, springing, trembling, reverberating, and thudding.]; various kinds of celestial flowers, such as utpala, padma, kumuda, and pundarika, rained down from the sky; and numberless kinds of celestial perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value also rained and came rolling down from the sky, and they were offered to the Buddha, all the bodhisattvas and shravakas, and the great assembly. The celestial bins and bowls were filled with all manner of celestial delicacies, which gave satisfaction naturally to anyone who just saw them and smelled their perfume. The celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings were placed everywhere, and celestial music was played in praise of the Buddha.

Also the buddha-worlds, as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, in the east were shaken in the six ways; celestial flowers, perfumes, robes, garlands, and treasures of priceless value rained down; the celestial bins and bowls, and all sorts of celestial delicacies gave satisfaction naturally to anyone who just saw them and smelled their perfume. The celestial banners, flags, canopies, and playthings were placed everywhere, and celestial music was played in praise of those buddhas, those bodhisattvas and shravakas, and the great assembly. So, too, was it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and nadir.

At that time the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment and the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas: "You should entertain a deep respect for this sutra, practice it as the Law, instruct all widely, and propagate it earnestly. You should protect it heartily day and night, and make all living beings obtain the benefits of the Law. This is truly great mercy and great compassion, so, offering the divine power of a vow, you should protect this sutra and not let anybody put obstacles in its way. Then you should have it practised widely in Jambudvipa, and make all the living observe, read, recite, copy, and adore it without fail. Because of this you will be made to attain Perfect Enlightenment rapidly."

At this time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Adornment rose up from his seat, went up to the Buddha with the eighty thousand bodhisattva-mahasattvas, made obeisance at his feet, a hundred thousand times made procession round him, and then going forth to kneel, said to the Buddha with one voice: "World-honoured One! We have been placed under the mercy of the World-honoured One to our delight. The Sutra of Innumerable Meanings, this profound, wonderful, and supreme Great-vehicle, has been preached for us. We will widely propagate this sutra after the Tathagata's extinction in obedience to the Buddha's command, and let all keep, read, recite, copy, and adore it. Be pleased to have no anxiety! With the vow-power, we will let all the living observe, read, recite, copy, and adore this sutra, and acquire the marvelous merit of this sutra."

At that time the Buddha said in praise: "Excellent! Excellent! All good sons; you are really and truly the Buddha's sons. You are persons who abolish sufferings and remove calamities thoroughly with great mercy and great compassion. You are the good field of blessings for all living beings. You have been the great good leaders extensively for all. You are the great support for all living beings. You are the great to prefer to all living beings. Always bestow the benefits of the Law extensively on all."

At that time all in the great assembly, greatly rejoicing together, made salutation to the Buddha and, taking possession of the sutra [the teaching], withdrew.

MAIN PART, BETTER KNOWN AS THE SUTRA OF THE LOTUS FLOWER OF THE WONDERFUL LAW

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER I Introductory [The title of this chapter consists of the two words  $X\dot{u}$  (hsu), "sequence" or "introduction," and Pǐn (p'in), "taste, grade, degree, kind." As an introduction to the entire sutra this chapter includes 1. the order of the sutra, 2. the origin or scene of the revelation, and 3. the statement of the doctrine of the sutra. Each chapter is styled a Pǐn, as each treats of its subject.]

Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was staying at the City of Royal Palaces on Mount Gridhrakuta with a great assemblage of great bhikshus, in all twelve thousand; all of them arhats, faultless, free from [earthly] cares, self-developed, emancipated from all bonds of existence, and free in mind. Their names were Ajnata-Kaundinya, Maha-Kashyapa, Uruvilva-Kashyapa, Gaya-Kashyapa, Nadi-Kashyapa, Maha-Maudgalyayana, Maha-Katyayana, Shariputra, Aniruddha, Kapphina, Gavampati, Revata, Pilindavasta, Vakkula, Maha-Kaushthila, Nanda [Or Maha-Nanda.], Sundara-Nanda, Purna son of Maitrayani [Or "Purna Maitrayani putra."], Subhuti, Ananda, and Rahula--all such great arhats are well known to everybody. In addition there were two thousand under training and no longer under training [Shaiksha and ashaiksha, that is, undergraduates and graduates.]; the bhikshuni Mahaprajapati, with six thousand followers; the bhikshuni Yashodhara, the mother of Rahula, also with her train; there were eighty thousand bodhisattvamahasattvas, all free from backsliding in regard to Perfect Enlightenment, all having obtained dharani, [all] endowed with knowledge of eloquent discourse [One of the four pratisamvids, or four unlimited forms of wisdom: 1. dharmapratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of the Law; 2. arthapratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of principles; 3. niruktipratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of terms or arguments; and 4. pratibhana-pratisamvid, unlimited knowledge of pleasant discourse.], and rolling the never-retrogressing wheel of the Law; who had paid homage to countless hundreds of thousands of buddhas, under whom they had planted all the roots of virtue, constantly being extolled by them; who cultivated themselves by charity, entered well into the Buddha-wisdom, penetrated the greatest knowledge, and reached the other shore [The shore of enlightenment beyond the sea of mortality.]; whose fame became universally heard in innumerable worlds, they being able to save numberless hundreds of thousands of living beings. Their names were the Bodhisattva Manjushri, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, the Bodhisattva Great Power Obtained, the Bodhisattva Ever Zealous, the Bodhisattva Never Stopping, the Bodhisattva Precious Palm [of the Hand], the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Bold Almsgiver, the Bodhisattva Precious Moon, the Bodhisattva Moon Light, the Bodhisattva Full Moon, the Bodhisattva Great Power, the Bodhisattva Infinite Power, the Bodhisattva Above the Triple World, the Bodhisattva Bhadrapala, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the Bodhisattya Precious Store, and the Bodhisattva Leader: such bodhisattva-mahasattvas as these, eighty thousand in all. At that time there was Shakra Devendra with his following of twenty thousand divine sons; there were also the Divine Son Excellent Moon, the Divine Son Universal Fragrance, the Divine Son Precious Light, and the four great heavenly kings with ten thousand divine sons in their train; the god Sovereign and the god Great Sovereign [The deities in the fifth and the sixth (and highest) heavens of the Realm of Desire, respectively.], followed by thirty thousand divine sons; Brahma Heavenly King [The deity in the first of the four meditation heavens in the Realm of Form.], the lord of the saha-world, Great Brahma Shikhin [Another name of Brahma Heavenly King.] and Great Brahma Light [The deity in the second of the four meditation heavens in the Realm of Form.], and others, with their following of twelve thousand divine sons. There were also the eight dragon kings [Rulers of the waters.] Nanda Dragon King, Upananda Dragon King, Sagara Dragon King, Vasuki Dragon King, Takshaka Dragon King, Anavatapta Dragon King, Manasvin Dragon King, and Utpalaka Dragon King, each with some hundred thousand followers: further, the four kimnara kings: Law Kimnara King, Mystic Law Kimnara King, Great Law Kimnara King, and Law-maintaining Kimnara King, each with some hundred thousand followers; besides, the four gandharva kings: Pleasing Gandharva King, Pleasant Sound Gandharva King, Charming Gandharva King, and Charming Sound Gandharva King, each with some hundred thousand followers; further, the four asura kings: Balin Asura King, Kharaskandha Asura King, Vemacitri Asura King, and Rahu Asura King, each with some hundred thousand followers; also the four garuda kings: the Garuda King Great in Dignity, the Garuda King Great in Body, the

Garuda King Great in Fullness, and the Garuda King Absolute at Will, each with some hundred thousand followers; and King Ajatashatru, son of Vaidehi [The wife of King Bimbisara.], with some hundred thousand followers. Each worshiped at the Buddha's feet, retired, and sat to one side.

At that time the World-honoured One, surrounded, worshiped, revered, honoured, and extolled by the four groups, preached, for the sake of all the bodhisattvas, the Great-vehicle sutra called Innumerable Meanings, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. Having preached this sutra, the Buddha sat cross-legged and entered the contemplation termed the station of innumerable meanings [Here the Buddha contemplates the truth that the boundless principles come forth from the one Law, that is, the Wonderful Law revealed in the Lotus Sutra.], in which his body and mind were motionless. At this time the sky rained mandarava, mahamandarava, manjushaka, and maha-manjushaka flowers over the Buddha and all the great assembly, while the universal buddha-world shook in six ways. Then in the congregation bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, as well as minor kings and the holy wheel-rolling kings: all of this assembly, obtaining that which had never been before, with joy and folded hands and with one mind looked up to the Buddha. Then the Buddha sent forth from the circle of white hair between his evebrows\* a ray of light, which illuminated eighteen thousand worlds in the eastern quarter, so that there was nowhere it did not reach. downward to the Avici hell and upward to the Akanishtha heaven. [\* The urna. This circle of hair issues rays of light that illuminate every universe. It is one of thirty-two signs possessed by every buddha.] In this world were seen in those lands all their living creatures in the six states of existence; likewise were seen the buddhas existing at present in those lands; and there could be heard the sutra-laws those buddhas were preaching; there could also be seen there bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas who had practised and attained the Way; further were seen the bodhisattvamahasattyas, who walked the bodhisattya-way from various causes, with various discernments in faith, and with various appearances [The various aspects of practice.]: likewise were seen the buddhas who had entered final nirvana; and there were seen the stupas made of the precious seven for the relics of the buddhas, which were erected after the buddhas entered final nirvana.

At that time Maitreya Bodhisattva reflected thus: "Now does the World-honoured One display an appearance so marvelous. What is the cause and reason of this auspicious sign? Now that the Buddha, the World-honoured One, has entered into his contemplation and such inconceivable and unprecedented wonders appear, of whom shall I inquire, and who will be able to answer?" Again, he reflected thus: "Here is Manjushri, the son of the Law-king, who has been in close contact with and paid homage to former innumerable buddhas, and who must have witnessed such unprecedented signs as these. Let me now ask him."

Then also the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, and all the heavenly beings, dragons, and other spirits reflected thus: "Of whom shall we now inquire concerning this shining spiritual sign of the Buddha?"

Then Maitreya Bodhisattva, desiring to resolve his own doubts and observing the thoughts arising in all the assembly of four groups of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, as well as the heavenly beings, dragons, and other spirits, inquired of Manjushri, saying: "What are the cause and reason of this auspicious and spiritual sign, shedding so great a luminous ray, lighting up the eighteen thousand eastern lands, revealing in detail the splendour of those buddha-realms?"

Thereupon Maitreya Bodhisattva, desiring to announce this meaning over again, inquired thus in verse:

"Manjushri! Why does [our] master From the white hair between his eyebrows Universally radiate so great a ray? The rain of mandarava And manjushaka flowers And fragrant breezes of sandal Delight our every heart.

By reason of this All the earth is replete with splendour, While this [whole] world Shakes in six different ways. At this moment the four groups Are all full of joy, Glad in body and in mind To obtain [a sign so] unprecedented. The ray between his brows Illuminates the eastern quarter Of the eighteen thousand lands, Colouring them all with gold [Gold is a symbol of enlightenment.].

From the Avici hell Up to the Summit of All Existence, The dwellers in all the worlds, The living beings in their six states, The progress of those being born and of the dying, Their good and evil karma and environment [Karma is the immediate cause of weal or woe in any succeeding state. Environment is the secondary cause.], The retribution, good or evil, I see them all from here. I see also the buddhas, The holy masters, the lions [Vadisimha, "holy lion lord"; also translated as "lion of the Law," meaning fearless in teaching the Law, an epithet of the Buddha.], Expounding the sutra, Mystic and supreme; Their voices clear and pure Send forth softly

sounding tones, Teaching the bodhisattvas In numberless myriad kotis; Their sacred voices, deep and mystic, Cause men to rejoice in hearing; Each in his own world, Proclaiming the good Law By various reasonings And innumerable illustrations, Reveals the Buddha-law And opens the understanding of all creatures.

If any have met with distress And are weary of age, disease, and death, For these they announce nirvana To bring to an end all distresses. If any are in a happy estate, Having paid homage to buddhas, Devoted to seeking the victorious Law, For these they announce pratyekabuddhahood. If any Buddha-sons Have carried out their various duties, Seeking after the supreme wisdom, For those they announce the pure way.

Manjushri! Abiding here, I see and hear such things as these And thousands of kotis of things; These things so numerous Let me now briefly describe. I see in those lands Bodhisattvas like the sands of the Ganges, Who in various degrees Seek after the Buddha-way.

Some there are who give alms of Gold, silver, and coral, Pearls [Literally, "felicitous pearls"; pearls are always bright and luminous, therefore a symbol of the Buddha and of his doctrines.] and jewels, Moonstones and agates\*, Diamonds and precious stones, Male and female slaves, carriages and animals to ride, Wagons and litters gem-adorned. [\* These constitute the so-called precious seven, of which several combinations exist. Agate is a stone material consisting of chalcedony and quartz as its primary components by which it glitters in a wide variety of colours that looks like the discolouration of case-hardened steel.]

They give all these alms with joy And, turning toward the Buddha-way, Seek to gain this vehicle, The supreme in the triple world, Magnified by the buddhas.

Besides, there are bodhisattvas Who give precious fourhorse carriages With railed seats and ornate covers And other adorned vehicles as alms.

Also I see bodhisattvas Who give their own flesh, hands, and feet, And their wives and children, as alms, To seek after the supreme Way.

Again I see bodhisattvas Who give their own heads, eyes, and bodies, Cheerfully and gladly, as alms, To seek after the wisdom of the Buddha.

Manjushri! I see many kings Who go to visit the buddhas To ask about the supreme Way, And then abandon their pleasant lands, Palaces, ministers, and concubines, And shaving beard and hair, Put on the robes of the Law.

I see also bodhisattvas Who become bhikshus [Ordained monks.], Live alone in seclusion and quiet, And take their joy in reciting sutras. And I see bodhisattvas Who in their zeal and earnestness Enter the depths of the mountains To ponder the Buddha-way. I see also those who, renouncing all desires, Constantly dwell in the seclusion of the wilds, Profoundly to practice meditation And obtain the five transcendent faculties. Further I see bodhisattvas Peacefully meditating with folded hands And in myriads of stanzas Extolling the kings of the Law. Again I see bodhisattvas, Profound in wisdom, firm in will, Able to question the buddhas And receive and retain all they hear.

And I see Buddha-sons, Perfect in meditation and wisdom, With innumerable illustrations Proclaiming the Law for the multitude, Cheerfully and gladly preaching the Law To transform bodhisattvas, And, destroying the army of Mara, Strike the drum of the Law. I see also bodhisattvas, Calm in perfect meditation, Who, though honoured by gods and dragons, Count it not a joy. Again I see bodhisattvas Who, dwelling in forests, emit radiance That saves the sufferers in hell And causes them to enter the Buddha-way.

I see also Buddha-sons Who, unsleeping, Walk about in the forest, Diligently seeking the Buddha-way. Further I see perfect observers of the commandments [precepts], In strictness without flaw, Pure as precious pearls, Who thereby seek the Buddha-way. And I see Buddha-sons Who, abiding in the power of perseverance, Though men of the utmost arrogance Hate, abuse, and beat them, Are able to endure all of these In order to seek the Buddha-way. I see also bodhisattvas Who leave all play and laughter And all foolish companions, Who seek association with the wise, And with all their mind get rid of distraction, Concentrating their thoughts in mountain forests For myriads of kotis of years, To seek the Buddha-way.

To seek the Buddha-way.

Or I see bodhisattvas Who bestow edibles, dainties, drink and food, And all kinds of medicaments On buddhas and monks as alms; Who give famous clothes and superior garments Worth thousands and myriads, Or clothes of priceless value, To buddhas and monks as alms; Who give myriads of kotis of kinds Of precious buildings built of sandalwood, With all sorts of wonderful bed furniture, To buddhas and monks as alms; Who give immaculate gardens Abounding with flowers and fruits, With flowing springs and bathing pools, To buddhas and monks as alms; Who give alms like these, Every kind most wonderful, Joyfully without grudging, Seeking after the supreme Way.

Moreover, there are bodhisattvas Who preach the Law of tranquillity, Teaching in various ways The numberless living beings. Also I see bodhisattvas Who observe that the nature of all laws Is not in two opposing forms [The two forms are existence and nonexistence. These bodhisattvas realise the law of undifferentiation, or the Middle Path.], But like space. Again I see Buddha-sons, With minds free from attachments, By this mystic wisdom Seeking after the supreme Way.

Manjushri! There are also bodhisattvas Who, after the extinction of buddhas, Pay homage to their relics. Also I see Buddha-sons Who build numerous stupas, Innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, Splendidly adorning the domains, Precious stupas of height most wonderful, Five thousand yojanas, Their height and breadth proportionate, Two thousand yojanas around; Each of those stupas Has thousands of banners and flags, Curtains decorated with jewels, And precious bells harmoniously sounding; Gods, dragons, and other spirits, Human beings and beings not human With perfumes, flowers, and music Are always paying homage to

Manjushri! All the Buddha-sons For worshiping the relics So splendidly adorn the stupas That all the domains are thereby Made extraordinarily wonderful and fine, Like the king of celestial trees In full bloom. The Buddha sends forth but a single ray And I with all the assembly See that these domains Are extraordinarily wonderful. Rare are the divine powers And wisdom of the buddhas; Sending forth a single pure ray, They illuminate innumerable domains. We, beholding this. Attain that which has never been before.

Son of Buddha, Manjushri, Do you resolve all their doubts! All of the four groups, joyfully expecting, Gaze on thee, O virtuous one, and on me. Why has the World-honoured One Emitted such a ray of light? Son of Buddha! Now give answer; Remove our doubts and make us glad. For what abundant benefits Has he spread such a ray of light?

Seated on the wisdom throne, The Wonderful Law which he has obtained—Does the Buddha [now] wish to preach it? Is he now going to prophesy? [This refers to the Buddha's prediction of future recompense for those who are endeavoring to attain buddhahood.] He shows us all the buddha-lands, Ornate and pure with precious things, And we see the buddhas there; This is not for any trivial reason.

Know, Manjushri! All the four groups, the dragons and spirits Are gazing on and questioning thee As to what thou wilt sav."

At that time Manjushri spoke to Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva and all the other leaders [Literally, "great men," or mahasattvas.]: "All ye good sons! According to my consideration, the Buddha, the World-honoured One, is now intending to preach the great Law, to pour the rain of the great Law, to blow the conch of the great Law, to beat the drum of the great Law, and to expound the meaning of the great Law. All ye good sons! Whenever from any of the former buddhas I have seen this auspice, after emitting such a ray, they have thereupon preached the great Law. Because of this, know ye that now the Buddha, having displayed this ray, in like manner intends to cause all creatures to hear and know the Law which all the worlds will find hard to believe. That is why he displays this auspice.

"All ye good sons! In time of yore, infinite, boundless, inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there then was a buddha styled Sun Moon Light Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct [One who has perfected the three clear views: 1, the clear view of destiny, 2. the clear view of supernatural insight, and 3. the clear view of faultlessness (or perfection of character).], Well Departed [Rightly going (to final nirvana).], Understander of the World, Peerless Leader [The supreme noble man.], Controller [The noble man who controls (all evil).], Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. [From "Tathagata" to "Buddha" comprise the ten titles of a buddha, while "Worldhonoured One" is the general title of a buddha.] He proclaimed the Right Law, which is good at its commencement, good in its middle, and good at the end; which is profound in its meaning, subtle in its terms, pure and unadulterated, perfect, flawless, and noble in practice. [Here the seven good characteristics of a buddha's preaching are described: 1. good as to time, 2. good in meaning, 3. good in terms, 4. good in its purity, 5. good in its perfection, 6. good in its flawlessness, and 7. good in the nobility of its practice.] For those who sought to be shravakas he preached response to the Law of the Four Noble Truths for the overcoming of birth, old age, disease, and death, and finally [leading to] nirvana; for those who sought pratyekabuddhahood he preached response to the Law of the Twelve Causes; for the bodhisattvas he preached response tothe Six Paramitas to cause them to attain Perfect Enlightenment and to accomplish perfect know

"Next again there was a buddha, also named Sun Moon Light, and again a buddha, also named Sun Moon Light; and in like manner there were twenty thousand buddhas all bearing the same name Sun Moon Light and the same surname Bharadvaja. [One of the eighteen Brahmanic families.] Know, Maitreya! All these buddhas, from the first to the last, bore the same name Sun Moon Light and perfectly possessed the

ten titles. The Law which they should preach was good at its commencement, in its middle, and at the end.

"Before the last of these buddhas left his home, he had eight royal sons: the first was named Possessing the Will, the second named Excellent Will, the third named Infinite Will, the fourth named Precious Will, the fifth named Increasing Will, the sixth named Undoubting Will, the seventh named Echoed Will, and the eighth named Law Will.

"These eight princes in their honourable estate were independent, each having dominion over four continents. All these princes, hearing that their father had left his home and attained Perfect Enlightenment, renounced the royal position and, following him, left home, resolute on the Great-vehicle; they constantly practised noble deeds, and all become teachers of the Law, having planted all roots of goodness under thousands of myriads of buddhas.

"At that time the Buddha Sun Moon Light preached the Great-vehicle sutra called Innumerable Meanings, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. Having preached this sutra, he at once, amidst the great assembly, sat cross-legged and entered the meditation [termed] the station of innumerable meanings, in which his body and mind were motionless. At this moment the sky rained mandarava, maha-mandarava, manjushaka, and maha-manjushaka flowers over the buddha and all the great assembly, while the universal buddha-world shook in six ways.

"Then, in the congregation, bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, as well as minor kings and the holy wheel-rolling kings, all of this assembly, obtaining that which had never been before, with joy and folded hands and with one mind looked up to the buddha.

"Then the tathagata sent forth, from the circle of white hair between his eyebrows, a ray of light, which illuminated eighteen thousand buddha-lands in the eastern quarter, so that there was nowhere it did not reach, just like all these buddha-lands which now are seen.

"Know, Maitreya! At that time in the assembly there were twenty kotis of bodhisattvas, who joyfully desired to hear the Law. All these bodhisattvas, beholding this ray of light illuminating the buddha-lands universally, and obtaining that which they had never had before, desired to know the causes of and reasons for that ray.

"Then there was a bodhisattva named Mystic Light, who had eight hundred disciples. When the Buddha Sun Moon Light arose from his contemplation, he preached, by means of the Bodhisattva Mystic Light, the Great-vehicle sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. During sixty minor kalpas he rose not from his seat and during [these] sixty minor kalpas his hearers in that assembly remained seated in their places, motionless in body and mind, listening to the buddha's preaching and deeming it but the length of a meal. During that time there was no one in the assembly who felt fatigue in either body or mind.

"The Buddha Sun Moon Light, for sixty minor kalpas having preached this sutra, at once proclaimed these words to the host of Brahmas, Maras, shramanas, Brahmans, gods, men, and asuras: Today, at midnight, will the tathagata enter the nirvana of no remains. [Entering the nirvana of no remains means entering Perfect Enlightenment at death.]

"Thereupon there was a bodhisattva named Virtue Treasury. The Buddha Sun Moon Light then spoke to all the bhikshus, foretelling [Predicting the bodhisattva's destiny.] thus: This Bodhisattva Virtue Treasury will become the next buddha and his name will be Pure Body Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi."

"The buddha, having predicted him, at midnight entered the nirvana of no remains. After the buddha's extinction, the Bodhisattva Mystic Light, having retained in memory the Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, expounded it for men during fully eighty minor kalpas. All the eight sons of the Buddha Sun Moon Light took Mystic Light as their teacher. Mystic Light taught and influenced them to be firm in Perfect Enlightenment. All these princes paid homage to innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas and accomplished the Buddha-way. The last to become a buddha was named Burning Light. [Or "Burning Lamp"; so named because when he was born a ray of light issued from his body.]

"He had eight hundred disciples, one of whom was named Fame Seeker. This one was greedily attached to the development of gain, and though he read and recited many sutras repeatedly, none of them penetrated and stuck, for he forgot and lost almost all. So he was named Fame Seeker. This man also, because he had planted many roots of goodness, was able to meet innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, whom he worshiped, revered, honoured, and extolled.

"Know, Maitreya! The Bodhisattva Mystic Light of that time, was it some other person? No, it was I myself, while the

Bodhisattva Fame Seeker was you yourself. Now I see that this auspice is no different from the former one.

"Therefore I consider that the present Tathagata will preach the Great-vehicle sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind."

Then Manjushri in the great assembly, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I remember a past age, Infinite and numberless kalpas (aeons) ago; There was a buddha, the most honoured of men, Named Sun Moon Light. That world-honoured one preached the Law To save innumerable creatures And countless kotis of bodhisattvas And cause them to enter the Buddha-wisdom. Before that buddha left his home The eight princes born to him, Having seen the great sage leave his home, Also followed him and practised the noble life.

Then that buddha preached the Great-vehicle, The sutra called Innumerable Meanings, Amongst the hosts of living beings, And in detail defined it for them. When the buddha had preached this sutra He then, on the seat of the Law, Sat cross-legged in the contemplation Termed the station of innumerable meanings.

The sky rained mandarava flowers, While the heavenly drums sounded of themselves; Gods, dragons, and spirits Worshiped the most honoured of men. All of the buddhalands At that moment trembled greatly.

The ray sent forth from the buddha's brows Revealed unprecedented wonders. This ray, illuminating the eastern quarter Of eighteen thousand buddha-lands, Showed everywhere all living creatures In the state of their mortal karmas. Some of the buddha-lands were seen Adorned with every precious thing, Many-hued with lapis lazuli and crystal, From the shining of the buddha's ray. Besides I saw gods, men, Dragons, spirits and yakshas, Gandharvas and kimnaras, Each of them worshiping that buddha. Further I saw tathagatas Who of themselves had accomplished the Buddhaway, Their appearance like mountains of gold, Very wonderful in their majesty.

As within pure lapis lazuli A real golden image is made apparent, So the world-honoured one in the great assembly Expounded the meaning of the profound Law. In each of the buddha-lands Were shravakas innumerable; By the shining of the buddha's ray Their great host was completely visible.

Besides there were the bhikshus Who, having dwelt in the mountain forests, Had zealously advanced and kept the pure commandments As if they were protecting bright jewels. And I also saw bodhisattvas Who practised donations and perseverance. As the sands of the Ganges in number, By the radiance of the buddha's ray.

I saw also bodhisattvas Who, entering into deep meditation, Were at rest, motionless in body and mind, Seeking the supreme Way. Again I saw bodhisattvas Who, knowing the nirvana-nature of the Law, Each in his own domain Preached the Law and sought the Buddha-way. Thereupon all of the four groups, Seeing the Buddha Sun Moon Light

Display great supernatural powers, With joy in all their minds Each asked one of another: 'For what reason are these things?' He who is honoured by gods and men Soon rose from his contemplation, Thus extolling the Bodhisattva Mystic Light: 'Thou art the eye of the world, To whom all turn in faith, Able to keep the treasury of the Law. Such a law as I preach, Thou alone art able to bear it witness.'

The world-honoured one, having thus praised him And caused Mystic Light to rejoice, Then preached this Law-Flower Sutra During full sixty minor kalpas, Never rising from his seat. The supreme and wonderful Law so preached, This Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, Was wholly able to receive and retain.

When the buddha had preached this Law-Flower And caused all of them to rejoice, Then he, on that very day, Proclaimed to the hosts of gods and men: The Truth of the Reality of All Existence Has just been preached for all of you. I now, at midnight, Must enter into nirvana.

Do you, with all your mind, advance zealously And depart from all slackness; Buddhas are very rarely encountered; In kotis of kalpas but one is met.' The sons of the world-nonoured one, Hearing that the buddha was entering nirvana, Every one felt grieved and distressed: 'How sudden is the Buddha's extinction!' The holy lord, the king of the Law, Comforted the countless multitude: 'Even when I am extinct, Be ye not sad and afraid! This Bodhisattva Virtue Treasury, In the realization of faultlessness, Has gained complete understanding.

He will become the next buddha, Whose name will be called Pure Body; He, too, will save innumerable creatures.' That night the buddha became extinct, As when firewood is finished the fire dies out. His relics were distributed And innumerable stupas erected. Bhikshus and bhikshunis, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges, Doubled their zealous advance, Seeking the supreme Way. This Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, Having kept the treasury of the Law, During eighty minor kalpas Widely proclaimed the Law-Flower Sutra. All these eight princes, Converted by Mystic Light, Kept firmly the supreme Way And would see countless buddhas. Having worshiped the buddhas And followed them, walking the Great Way, In succession they could become buddhas, And one by one they were foretold.

The last, the god of gods, ["God of gods" is 1. an epithet of the Buddha and 2. the supreme heaven of the four heavens of the Realm of Form.] Was called the Buddha Burning Light.

He, the leader of all the sages, [Rishis, men transformed into immortals through asceticism and meditation.] Saved innumerable living beings.

This Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, At that time had a pupil Who was always of a lazy spirit, Greedily attached to fame and gain, Tireless in seeking fame and gain, Addicted to enjoyment in noble families, Casting aside that which he had learned, Forgetting everything and dull of apprehension, Who because of these things [Literally, "causes and reason."] Was called Fame Seeker.

He also by practicing good works Was enabled to see numberless buddhas, Also to pay homage to buddhas And to follow them, walking the Great Way, Perfecting the Six Paramitas, And now has seen Shakva, the Lion.

He will afterward become a buddha And will be named Maitreya, Who shall widely save living creatures Countless in number. He who, after the extinction of the other buddha, Was the slothful one was yourself. And Mystic Light, Teacher of the Law, Was I myself who now am here. Having seen the the Law, Was I might film full, "the Buddha Sun Moon Light."] Of yore [send forth] a like auspicious ray, I therefore know that the present Buddha Desires to preach the Law-Flower Sutra.

The present sign is like the former auspice; It is the tactful method of buddhas. Now the Buddha sends forth a ray To help reveal the Truth of Reality. Be aware, all of you! Fold your hands and with all your mind await! The Buddha will pour the rain of the Law To satisfy those who seek the Way. If those who seek after the three vehicles Have any doubts or regrets, The Buddha will rid them of them So that none whatever shall remain."

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 2

Tactfulness

[The title of this chapter in Chinese, Fāngbiàn (Sanskrit Upaya-kaushalya), means an appropriate, convenient, expedient, or tactful method.]

At that time the World-honoured One, rising quietly and clearly from contemplation, addressed Shariputra: wisdom of buddhas is very profound and infinite. Their wisdom-school is difficult to understand and difficult to enter so that the shravakas and pratyekabuddhas cannot apprehend it. Wherefore? Because the buddhas have been in fellowship with countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, perfectly practicing the infinite Law of all buddhas, boldly and zealously advancing and making their fame universally known, perfecting the very profound, unprecedented Law and preaching, as opportunity served, its meaning so difficult to understand. Shariputra! Ever since I became Buddha, with various reasonings and various parables I have widely discoursed and taught, and by countless tactful methods have led living beings, causing them to leave all attachments. Wherefore? Because the Tathagata is altogether perfect in his tactfulness and paramita of wisdom. Shariputra! The wisdom of the Tathagata is broad and great, profound and far-reaching, his mind is infinite ["Infinite" indicates the four kinds of infinite mind or infinite virtues: benevolence (or kindness), compassion, joy, and indifference.]; his expositions are unimpeded [or: "unlimited" indicating the four unlimited forms of wisdom.]; his powers [The ten powers.], his fearlessness [The four kinds of fearlessness of a buddha: 1. fearlessness in proclaiming all truth; 2. fearlessness in proclaiming the truth of perfection, or freedom from faults; 3. fearlessness in exposing obstacles to the truth; and 4. fearlessness in proclaiming the way to end all suffering.], his meditations [Dhyana, literally, "fixed abstraction": contemplation or exercises in reflection; one of the Six Paramitas.], his emancipations [The eight emancipations.], his contemplations have enabled him to enter into the boundless realms and to accomplish all the unprecedented Law. Shariputra! The Tathagata is able to discriminate everything, preach the laws skillfully, use gentle words, and cheer the hearts of all. Shariputra! Essentially speaking, the Buddha has altogether fulfilled the infinite, boundless, unprecedented Law. Enough, Shariputra, there is no need to say more. Wherefore? Because the Law which the Buddha has perfected is the chief unprecedented Law, and difficult to understand. Only a buddha together with a buddha can fathom the Reality of All Existence, that is to say, all existence [All laws or all existences. The word "Reality" does not occur in the extant Sanskrit text. has such a form, such a nature, such an embodiment, such a potency, such a function, such a primary cause, such a secondary cause, such an effect, such a recompense, and such a complete fundamental whole\*

[\* These ten categories, termed the Ten Suchnesses, are fundamental to the T'ien-t'ai sect of Buddhism. The most important doctrine of its founder, Chih-i (538-597), that of

"three thousand worlds in one thought," arises from these categories. The extant Sanskrit text has only the following sentences corresponding to these ten categories: 1. ye ca te dharma, or "what those laws are," "such a nature"; 2. yatha ca te dharma, or "how those laws are," "such a function"; 3. yadrishash ca te dharma, or "like what those laws are," "such a complete fundamental whole"; 4. yallakshanash ca te dharma, or "of what forms [or characteristics] those laws "such a form": 5, vatsvabhavash ca te dharmah, or "of what self-natures those laws are," "such an embodiment"; 6. ye ca, or "what"; 7. yatha ca, or "how"; 8. yadrishash ca, or "like what"; 9. yallakshanash ca, or "of what forms"; 10. yatsvabhavash ca, or "of what self-natures." These seem to correspond to the ten categories, but the sixth to the tenth, which are not found in Kern's translation, may be only a repetition of the first five. This extant Sanskrit original may be different from that which Kumarajiva used, or Kumarajiva may have translated these words according to their inner. esoteric meanings.]

At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Immeasurable are the world's heroes. Embracing gods and men in the world Among all the living creatures. None can know the buddhas. The Buddha's powers and fearlessness, Emancipations and contemplations, And the Buddha's other laws No one is able to measure.

Of yore I followed countless buddhas, And perfectly trod the right ways Of the profound and wonderful Law, Which are difficult to perceive and perform. During infinite kotis of kalpas, After pursuing all those ways, Having obtained the perfect fruit on the wisdom throne, I was able perfectly to understand.

Such great effects as these, The meaning of every nature and form: I and other buddhas in the universe Alone can understand these things. This Law is inexpressible, It is beyond the realm of terms; Among all the other living beings None can apprehend it Except the bodhisattvas Who are firm in the power of faith.

The disciples of all the buddhas Who have offered worship to the buddhas And have ended all their faults And dwell in this last bodily state, Such men as these Have not powers equal to such knowledge. Though the world were full Of beings like Shariputra Who with utmost thought combined to measure it, They could not fathom the Buddha-wisdom.

Indeed though the universe were full Of beings like Shariputra, And the rest of my disciples Filled the world in every quarter, Who with utmost thought combined to measure it, They also could not understand. Though pratyekabuddhas of keen intelligence, In their last faultless bodily stage, Also filled every region of the universe, Numerous as bamboo in the woods, If these with united mind Through infinite kotis of kalpas Wished to ponder the Buddha's real wisdom, They could not know the least part.

Though newly vowed bodhisattvas Who have worshiped countless buddhas, Have penetrated all meanings, And can ably preach the Law, Abounding as rice and hemp, bamboo and reeds, Filled the world in every quarter, If with one mind by mystic wisdom, Through kalpas like the sands of the Ganges, All these were to ponder together, They could not know the Buddha-wisdom.

Though bodhisattvas, free from falling back, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges, With one mind investigated together, They too could not understand. Again I say to Shariputra: The faultless and inscrutable, Profound and mysterious Law I now have wholly attained. Only I know these truths, As also do the buddhas of the universe.

Know, Shariputra! The words of buddhas do not differ. In the laws preached by the Buddha You should beget great strength of faith, For at length after the Buddha's preparatory teaching He must now proclaim the perfect Truth'

I address all the shravakas And seekers after the vehicle of pratyekabuddhas, Those whom I have freed from the bondage of suffering And who have reached nirvana: 'The Buddha employs his tactful powers; He shows the Way by the three-whicle teaching [Three ways to achieve wisdom and salvation]. All beings have various attachments; He leads them to obtain escape.'"

At that time in the great assembly there were shravakas and faultless arhats, Ajnata-Kaundinya and others, twelve hundred in number, and bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and pratyekabuddhas-hall these reflected thus: "For what reason does the World-honoured One now extol the tactful way so earnestly and say these words: The Law which the Buddha has obtained is very profound and difficult to comprehend. That which he proclaims has a meaning so hard to understand that all the shravakas [disciples] and pratyekabuddhas [solitary buddhas] are unable to attain it"? As yet the Buddha has declared only one principle of emancipation, and we also, obtaining this Law, reach nirvana. But now we do not know where this principle leads."

At that time Shariputra, apprehending the doubt in the minds of the four groups and also himself not having mastered

[the meaning], spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! What is the cause and what the reason for so earnestly extolling the paramount tactful method and the very profound, mysterious Law, difficult to understand, of the buddhas? From of yore I have never heard such a discourse from the Buddha. At present these four groups are altogether in doubt. Will the World-honoured One be pleased to explain these things, why the World-honoured One extols so earnestly the very profound and mysterious Law, so difficult to understand." Then Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"O Wisdom Sun! Great Holy Honoured One! At length thou hast preached this Law, And declared thyself to have obtained such Powers, fearlessness, and contemplations, Meditations, emancipations, and other Inconceivable laws. About the Law obtained on the wisdom throne No one has been about to utter any question, And I find it hard to fathom the meaning And also am unable to ask questions.

Without being asked thou thyself hast spoken, Extolling the way thou hast walked, That thy most mysterious wisdom Is that which the buddhas obtained. All the faultless arhats And those who are seeking nirvana Have now fallen into nets of doubt. Why does the Buddha speak thus? Seekers after pratyekabuddhahood, Bhikshus and bhikshunis, Gods, dragons, and spirits, Gandharvas and other beings Scan each other in perplexity, And look expectant to the Honoured of Men. [Literally, "the honoured biped," or the most honoured of living beings that have two legs; another epithet of the Buddha. The two legs indicate virtuous happiness and wisdom, commandments and meditation, and so on-the means by which the Buddha works in the universe.]

What may be [the meaning of] this matter? We would the Buddha will explain. In this assembly of shravakas The Buddha says I am the chief of the disciples, But I, now, of my own wisdom Am in doubt and cannot understand Whether it sthe final Law Or is the way to progress there. The sons born of the Buddha's mouth With folded hands wait expectantly.

Be pleased to send forth the mystic sound And now proclaim the truth as it is. Gods, dragons, spirits, and others, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges; Bodhisattvas aspiring to be buddhas, Fully eighty thousand in number; Also, from myriads of kotis of countries, Holy wheel-rolling kings are here, With folded hands and reverent hearts, Desiring to hear the perfect Way."

At that time the Buddha said to Shariputra: "Enough, enough, there is no need to say more. If I explain this matter, all the worlds of gods and men would be startled and perplexed."

Shariputra again said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Be pleased to explain it! Be pleased to explain it! Wherefore? [Because] in this assembly there are numberless hundred thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya living beings who have already seen the buddhas, whose perceptions\* are keen and whose wisdom is clear. If they hear the Buddha's teaching, they will be able to believe it respectfully." [\* Literally, "roots." Usually there are considered to be six roots, or sense organs: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind. But here the "five roots" are meant, the roots of faith, zealous progress, memory, meditation, and wisdom. The five roots are also called the five powers.]

Then Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"King of the Law, Most High Honoured One! Be pleased to explain without misgiving! In this assembly are countless beings Who can respectfully believe."

The Buddha again said: "Enough, Shariputra! If I explained this matter, all the worlds of gods, men, and asuras would be startled and perplexed, and haughty bhikshus [Utmost haughtiness or arrogance, which possesses those who mistakenly think they have obtained the perfect Law.] might fall into the great pit." [This refers to hell.]

Then the World-honoured One once again spoke in verse: "Enough, enough, no need to say more. My Law is subtle and inscrutable; Those who are haughty On hearing would

not believe it respectfully."

Then Shariputra once again said to the Buddha: "World-honoured Onel Be placed to evaluin it! Be placed to evaluin

honoured One! Be pleased to explain it! Be pleased to explain it! In this present assembly there are, equal with me, hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis who, in former lives, have followed the Buddha and been transformed by him. Such men as these can certainly believe respectfully and throughout the night will peacefully rest and in various ways be abundantly benefited."

Then Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Most High and Honoured of the Living! Be pleased to explain the paramount Law! I am the eldest son of the Buddha. Condescend to explain it discriminately. In this assembly countless beings Are able respectfully to believe this Law. The Buddha already in his former lives Has taught such living beings. All with one mind, folding their hands, Desire to hear the Buddha's words. There are twelve hundred of us And others aspiring to be buddhas. Be pleased, for the sake of these

beings, To condescend to explain it discriminately. If these hear this Law, They will beget great joy."

At that time the World-honoured One addressed Shariputra: "Since you have already thrice earnestly repeated your request, how can I refuse to speak? Do you now listen attentively to, ponder, and remember it! I will discriminate and explain it for you."

When he had thus spoken, in the assembly some five thousand bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas straightway rose from their seats and, saluting the Buddha, withdrew. Wherefore? Because the root of sin in these beings was so deep and their haughty spirit so enlarged that they imagined they had attained what they had not attained and had proved what they had not proved. In such error as this they would not stay; and the World-honoured One was silent and did not stop them.

Thereupon the Buddha addressed Shariputra: "Now in this congregation I am free from useless twigs and leaves, and have nothing but all that are purely the true and real. It is good, Shariputra, that such extremely haughty ones as those are gone away. Now carefully listen and I will expound the matter for you." Shariputra said: "So be it, World-honoured One; I desire joyfully to listen."

The Buddha addressed Shariputra: "Such a wonderful Law as this is only preached by the buddha-tathagatas on rare occasions, just as the udumbara flower is seen but once in long periods. Shariputra, believe me, all of you; in the Buddha's teaching no word is false. Shariputra, the meaning of the laws which the buddhas expound as opportunity serves is difficult to understand. Wherefore? Because I expound the laws by numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions. These laws cannot be understood by powers of thought or discrimination; only the buddhas can discern them. Wherefore? Because the buddhas, the worldhonoured ones, only on account of the one very great cause appear in the world. Shariputra, why do I say that the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, only on account of the one very great cause appear in the world? Because the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, desire to cause all living beings to open their eyes to the Buddha-knowledge so that they may gain the pure mind, therefore they appear in the world; because they desire to show all living beings the Buddha-knowledge, they appear in the world; because they desire to cause all living beings to apprehend the Buddhaknowledge, they appear in the world; because they desire to cause all living beings to enter the way of the Buddhaknowledge, they appear in the world\*. Shariputra, this is why it is [only] on account of the one very great cause that buddhas appear in the world.'

To open, to show, to apprehend, and to enter the perception of the Buddha-knowledge are termed the four perceptions of the Buddha-knowledge. Every creature originally has the buddha-nature, but buried beneath his ignorance and earthly cares it is invisible. In this sutra the Buddha teaches that all creatures can realise their own buddha-nature and teaches these four perceptions of the Buddha-knowledge.]

The Buddha addressed Shariputra: "The buddha-tathagatas teach only bodhisattvas. Whatever they do is always for one purpose, that is, to take the Buddha-knowledge and reveal it oall living beings. Shariputra! The Tathagata, by means of the One Buddha-vehicle\*, preaches to all living beings the Law; there is no other vehicle, neither a second nor a third. Shariputra! The laws of all the buddhas in the universe also are like this. Shariputra! The buddhas in times past, by infinite, numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions, expounded the laws for the sake of all living beings. All these laws are for the One Buddhavehicle, so that all those living beings, who have heard the Law from the buddhas, might all finally obtain perfect knowledge.

[\* Also called the One-vehicle and the Buddha-vehicle. "Vehicle" (Sanskrit yana) means a vehicle by which one reaches the goal, the Law taught and practised by the Buddha. It is interpreted as 1. the Law by which one obtains buddhahood and 2. those who practice that Law. The Buddha spoke of many kinds of vehicles--the two vehicles, the three vehicles, the five vehicles, and so on. The One Buddha-vehicle means the Law taught and practised as the one and only Buddha-way, and also refers to those who follow that Law. This teaching includes two concepts of the vehicle, as relative and as absolute. The One Buddha-vehicle, considered as relative, is a vehicle that is explained correlatively with other kinds of vehicles. In such cases the One Buddha-vehicle refers to one of those vehicles: the term used in this sense is found in all the Mahayana sutras. In this chapter, however, the Buddha proclaims that such teachings are all temporary and expedient, for use only until he reveals the final truth. Here the absolute One Buddha-vehicle is shown as the final truth. comprehending all temporary and expedient teachings. After this absolute One Buddha-vehicle has been revealed, none of the other vehicles is to exist independently; all Buddhism is to depend upon and be unified in it. Only this sutra contains this

doctrine, and is therefore known as the One-vehicle sutra (the one-doctrine teaching).]

"Shariputra! The future buddhas who are to appear in the world will also, by infinite, numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions, expound the laws for the sake of all living beings. All these laws are for the One Buddha-vehicle, [so that] all those living beings who hear the Law from the buddhas shall finally obtain perfect knowledge.

"Shariputra! The buddhas, the world-honoured ones, at present in innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddha-lands in the universe, who are so greatly benefiting and rejoicing all living beings, these buddhas, by infinite, numberless tactful ways and with various reasonings and parabolic expressions, also expound the laws for the sake of all living beings. All these laws are for the One Buddha-vehicle, iso that] all those living beings who hear the Law from the buddhas finally obtain perfect knowledge.

"Shariputra! All these buddhas teach only bodhisattvas, desiring to show all living beings the Buddha-knowledge, desiring to cause all living beings to apprehend the Buddha-knowledge, and desiring to cause all living beings to enter the Way of the Buddha-knowledge. Shariputra! I, at the present time, am also like them. Knowing that all living beings have many kinds of desires deeply attached in their minds, I have, according to their capacity, expounded the laws by various reasonings, parabolic expressions, and tactful powers. Shariputra! Such [teachings] all are in order to secure perfect knowledge of the One Buddha-vehicle. Shariputra! In the whole universe there are not even two vehicles\*, how much less a third\*\*

[\*The vehicles of the shravaka (disciple) and pratyekabuddha (The pratyekabuddha is an individual who independently achieves liberation, enlightenment, wisdom, without the aid of teachers or guides and without teaching others to do the same.):

\*\* The third vehicle is that of the bodhisattva (any person who is far advanced on the path towards Buddhahood, the total enlightenment.).].

"Shariputra! The buddhas appear in the evil ages of the five decays, that is to say, decay of the kalpa, decay through tribulations, decay of all living creatures, decay of views, and decay of lifetime. Thus, Shariputra! Because in the disturbed times of kalpa decay all living beings are very vile, being covetous and envious, bringing to maturity every root of badness, the buddhas by tactful powers in the One Buddhavehicle discriminate and expound the three. Shariputra! If my disciples who call themselves arhats or pratyekabuddhas will neither hear nor understand that the buddha-tathagatas teach only bodhisattvas, these are not the Buddha's disciples nor arhats nor pratyekabuddhas.

"Again, Shariputra! If those bhikshus and bhikshunis who claim that they have already become arhats and say: 'This is our last bodily state before final nirvana,' and thereupon do not again devote themselves to seek after Perfect Enlightenment, you must know that this class are all extremely conceited. Wherefore? Because there is no such thing as a bhikshu who has really obtained arhatship if he has not believed this Law. But there is an exceptional case when, after the Buddha's extinction, there is no other buddha present. Wherefore? Because after the Buddha's extinction it is hard to find persons who can receive and keep, read and recite. and explain the meaning of such sutras as these. Only if they meet other buddhas can they, in this same Law, obtain the solution. Shariputra! You should with all your heart believe and discern, receive and keep the word of the Buddha. No word of the buddha-tathagatas is false; there is no other vehicle, but only the One Buddha-vehicle." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Bhikshus and bhikshunis Obsessed by utmost arrogance, Upasakas filled with self-conceit, Upasikas with unbelief, Four groups such as these, Five thousand in number, Perceiving not their errors And faults in the commandments, Careful only of their flaws: Such small wit they showed, These dregs of the assembly, who Because of the Buddha's splendid virtue withdrew; These men of little virtuous happiness Are incapable of receiving this Law.

Now this assembly has no twigs and leaves, But only those who are true and real. Shariputra! Listen carefully to The laws obtained by the buddhas, which, By infinite tactful powers, They expound for all creatures. What they all entertain in their minds, All the ways they practice, How many kinds are their desires, And their former karmas, good and evil, The Buddha knows all these perfectly.

With various reasonings and parables, Terms and tactful powers, He causes them all to rejoice, Preaching either sutras, Or gathas, or former things [Literally, "original events"; stories of previous lives of saints, such as shravakas and bodhisattvas.], Or birth stories [Stories detailing the former lives of the Buddha.], or the unprecedented [Literally, "what never took place before," that is, marvels.], And also preaching by reasonings\*, By parables [Literally,

"comparisons of parables."] and geyas, And by upadesha scriptures.

f\* Literally, "causes and reasons," or primary and secondary causes; the chain of cause and effect of all existence, in which there are twelve links (see Glossary). This also refers to the three classes of sutras: those written because of a request or query, those written because of certain violated precepts, and those written because of special events that demand doctrinal clarification.]

The dull who delight in petfy rules [Literally, "small law." Here it means the Hinayana.], Who are greedily attached to existence, Who, under innumerable buddhas, Do not walk the profound and mystic Way, Who are harassed by all the sufferings-Because of these I preach nirvana. I have set up such tactful ways To enable them to enter the Buddha-wisdom.

But I have never said: 'You all Shall accomplish the Buddha-way.' The reason why I have never so said Is that the time for saying it had not arrived. But now is the very time, And I have resolved to preach the Great-vehicle.

These nine divisions\* of my Law Preached according to [the capacity] of all creatures Are but the introduction to the Great-vehicle, Hence I preach this sutra. [The nine divisions of Hinayana texts, arranged according to subject. The nine divisions are sutras, stanzas, former things, birth stories, the unprecedented, reasonings, parables, chants, and doctrinal discourses.]

There are sons of the Buddha whose minds are pure, Who are gentle and clever-natured, And who, in innumerable Buddha-regions, Have walked the profound and mystic Way; On behalf of these sons of the Buddha I preach this Greatvehicle sutra. And I predict that such men as these In the world to come will accomplish the Buddha-way.

Through their deep-hearted mindfulness of the Buddha And observance of the pure commandments, These, hearing that they may become buddhas, Are filled throughout with great joy. The Buddha knows their mind and conduct, And therefore preaches to them the Great-vehicle. If shravakas or bodhisattvas Hear the Law which I preach, Even be it but one verse, All, without doubt, become buddhas.

In the buddha-lands of the universe There is only the Onevehicle Law, Neither a second nor a third, Except the tactful teachings of the Buddha. But by provisional expressions He has led all living creatures, Revealing the Buddha-wisdom. In the appearing of buddhas in the world Only this One is the real fact, For the other two are not the true.

They never by a smaller vehicle [The Hinayana; or basic doctrines.] Save all living creatures. The Buddha himself abides in the Great-vehicle, In accordance with the Law he has attained, Enriched with powers of meditation and wisdom, And by it [The Great-vehicle, or Mahayana.] he saves all creatures. I, proving the supreme Way, The Great-vehicle, the universal Law, If I convert by a smaller vehicle Even but one human being, I shall fall into grudging-- A thing that cannot be.

If men turn in faith to the Buddha, The Tathagata will not deceive them, For he has no covetous and envious desires And is free from all the sins of the laws. So the Buddha, in the universe, Is the one being perfectly fearless. I, by my signs-adorned body [This refers to the thirty-two signs that distinguish a buddha.], With their shining illuminate the world, And am worshiped by countless multitudes, For whom I preach the seal of reality. [The seal of the Law, a system of magic gesticulaton. Here it means that the teaching of the Reality of All Existence in this sutra is the Buddha's seal.] Know, Shariputra! Of yore I made a vow, Wishing to cause all creatures To rank equally without difference with me. According to the vow I made of old, Now all has been perfectly fulfilled For converting all living beings And leading them to enter the Buddha-way.

Whenever I meet any creatures I teach them all by the Buddha-way. But the unwitting remain confused And, going astray, never accept my teaching. I know that all these creatures Have never practised the fundamental goodness, Are firmly attached to the five desires, And through infatuation are in distress; By reason of these desires, They have fallen into the three evil paths; Transmigrating in the six states of existence, They suffer the utmost misery.

Received into the womb in minute form, Life after life they ever increase and grow, Poor in virtue and of little happiness. They are oppressed by all the distresses; They have entered the thickets of heretical\* views, Such as 'existence' or 'nonexistence' | \* "There is," or being, existence, and "There is not," or non-being, non-existence. The former is the view that all is real, the latter that all is unreal. These are two schools of non-Buddhist thought. Originally, Buddhism was merely a kind of Hindu-sect, just like many hundred others. The word "heretical" here suggests a vicious fight among the religious and philosophical streams in India but also in Buddhism itself. After Emperor Ashoka had made Buddhism the main state religion, his sometimes radical interpretation and execution of Buddhist convictions, such as banning of meat entirely brought the Hindu majority to fight against them. Buddhism as state religion did crumble shortly after Ashokas death as their teachings, focussing only on monastic life and asceticim,

were considered an enemy of ordinary family life and unrealistic, and therefore they were despised by Hindus. In the end, the Buddhists lost this fight, they were expelled from most Indian Kingdoms and their temples destroyed.]; Relying on these false views, Altogether sixty-two [The sixty-two views arise out of the above two views, that is, of existence and nonexistence.], They are deeply attached to these false laws, Firmly holding, unable to give them up, Self-sulficient and self-inflated, Suspicious, crooked, and faithless in mind; During thousands and milliards of kalpas They have not heard the name of a buddha, Nor have they heard the True Law; Men such as these can hardly be saved.

For this reason, Shariputra, I set up a tactful way for them, Proclaiming the way to end sufferings, Revealing it through nirvana. Though I proclaim nirvana, Yet it is not real extinction. All existence\*, from the beginning, Is ever of the nirvana-nature. [\* Or "laws." These two lines may be read: "All and any laws from the very first have always been those of nirvana."]

When a son of the Buddha has fulfilled his course, In a world to come he becomes a buddha. Only by my powers of tactfulness Do I manifest the three-vehicle Law. For all the world-honoured ones Expound the One-vehicle Way.

Now let all in this great assembly Be free from doubts and perplexities. The buddhas do not differ in their statements; There is One only and no second vehicle. In the past countless kalpas Innumerable extinct buddhas, In hundreds, thousands, and milliards, Whose numbers cannot be counted, All such world-honoured ones as these With various reasonings and parables And innumerable tactful powers Have proclaimed the various laws.

But all these world-honoured ones Proclaimed the Onevehicle Law, Converting numberless creatures To enter the Buddha-way. Moreover, the great holy masters, Knowing that which all the worlds Of gods, men, and other creatures beeply desire in their hearts, In addition, by varying tactfulness, Assist in revealing the first principles.

If there are any beings Who have met the former buddhas; If, having heard the Law, they have given donations; If they have kept the commandments and been persevering, Been assiduous, meditative, and wise; Having kept these various ways of happiness and virtue, Such beings as these Have all attained the Buddha-way.

After the extinction of buddhas, Men with good and soft minds for the truth, Such living beings as these Have all attained the Buddha-way. After the extinction of buddhas, Those who worshiped their relics And built many kotis of sorts of stupas, With gold, silver, and crystal, With moonstone and agate, With jasper and lapis lazuli, Clearly and broadly decorated, Handsomely displayed on every stupa; Or those who built stone shrines Of sandalwood and aloes, Eaglewood and other woods, Of brick, tiles, and clay; Or those who in the wilds Raised earth for buddhas' shrines; Even children, in their play, Who gathered sand for a buddha's stupa: All such beings as these Have attained the Buddha-way.

If men for the sake of buddhas Have erected images Carved with the characteristic signs, They have all attained the Buddha-way. Or those who with the precious seven, With brass, red and white copper, With wax, lead, and tin, With iron, wood, and clay, Or with glue and lacquer Have adorned and made buddhas' images, All such ones as these Have attained the Buddha-way. Those who have painted buddhas' images With the hundred blessing-adorned signs, Whether done by themselves or by employing others, Have all attained the Buddha-way. Even boys in their play Who with reed, wood, or pen Or with the fingernail Have drawn buddhas' images, All such ones as these, Gradually accumulating merit And perfecting hearts of great pity, Have attained the Buddha-way; Indeed, by influencing the bodhisattvas, Have saved countless creatures.

If men to the stupas and shrines, To the precious images and paintings, With flowers, incense, flags, and umbrellas Have paid homage with respectful hearts; Or employed others to perform music, Beat drums, blow horns and conchs, Panpipes and flutes, play lutes, harps, Guitars, gongs, and cymbals, Such mystic sounds as these, All played by way of homage; Or with joyful hearts By singing have extolled the merits of buddhas Even though in but a low voice, These too have attained the Buddha-way. Even anyone who, with distracted mind, With but a single flower Has paid homage to the painted images Shall gradually see countless buddhas. Or those who have offered worship, Were it by merely folding the hands, Or even raising a hand, Or by slightly bending the head, By thus paying homage to the images Gradually see innumerable buddhas, Attain the supreme Way, Extensively save countless creatures, And enter the formless nirvana, As when firewood is finished the fire dies out. If any, even with distracted mind, Enter a stupa or temple And cry but once 'Namah Buddha ' They have attained the Buddha-way

If any from the buddhas of the past, Whether in existence or already extinct, Have heard this Law, They have all attained the Buddha-way. All the future world-honoured ones, Infinite in their number, All these tathagatas Also by tactful ways preach the Law. All of the tathagatas By infinite tactful ways

Save all living creatures To enter the Buddha's faultless wisdom. Of those who hear the Law Not one fails to become a buddha. This is the original vow of the buddhas: By the Buddha-way which I walk, I desire universally to cause all creatures To attain the same Way along with me.' Though the buddhas in future ages Proclaim hundreds, thousands, kotis, Countless schools of doctrine, In reality they are but the Onevehicle. The buddhas, the honoured ones, Know that nothing has an independent existence\* And that buddha-seeds\*\* spring from a cause\*\*\*, So they reveal the One-vehicle.

[\* Literally, "laws for beings] are always non-nature." This means that no existing thing has its own fixed or independent nature and body. That is to say, all existing things are inconceivable and mysterious.]

[\*\* The buddha-seed is the buddha-nature possessed by all

[\*\* The buddha-seed is the buddha-nature possessed by all things. This includes two concepts: I. the natural seed, or nature-seed, is the buddha-seed that all existing things, even beings in hell, originally possess, but it has no independent power to appear of itself; 2. the vehicle-seed is the buddha-seed by which the natural seed is caused to appear. The latter is the Law of the One Buddha-vehicle revealed in this sutra.

[\*\*\* The natural seed can only be developed through the teaching and practice of the Law of the One Buddha-vehicle. The buddha-nature of all beings depends upon this Law, climbs up by it, and appears through its help or by reason of it. Here "cause" may be read as "providence." The two lines from "Know" to "cause" differ from the extant Sanskrit text, probably because of a difference in the original texts used.]

All things abide in their fixed order, Hence the world abides forever\*.

[\* This translation follows the interpretation of the T'ient'ai sect, but it may also be read: "These stable laws and order [are] / Immovable [and] ever abide in the world," because the extant Sanskrit text reads: "dharma-sthitim dharmaniyamatam ca / nitya-sthitam loki imam akampyam." According to Chih-i, dharma-niyamata, law-order or fixed position, indicates suchness. That is, every law (or being) abide in suchness or reality. Because of standing on reality, all laws (or beings) abide forever, and therefore every phenomenon also has an unshakable and everlasting existence.]

Having apprehended this on the wisdom throne, The leaders proclaim it in tactful ways.

Whom gods and men pay homage to, The present buddhas in the universe, Whose number is as the sands of the Ganges, And who appear in the world For the relief of all creatures, These also proclaim such a Law as this. Knowing the supreme nirvana, Though by reason of their tactful powers They display various kinds of ways, Really they are but the One Buddha-vehicle.

Knowing the conduct of all creatures, What they entertain in their deepest minds, The karma they have developed in the past, Their inclinations and zeal, And their capacities, keen or dull, With various kinds of reasonings, Parables, and narrations, As they could respond, so have they tactfully taught.

Now I also in like manner For the relief of all creatures By various kinds of doctrine Promulgate the Buddha-way.

I, by my power of wisdom, Knowing the natures and inclinations of creatures, Tactfully proclaim the laws Whic] cause all to obtain gladness. Know, Shariputra!

I, observing with the Buddha's eyes, See the creatures in the six states of existence, Poor and without happiness and wisdom, In the dangerous path of mortality, In continuous, unending misery, Firmly fettered by the five desires Like the yak caring for its tail, Smothered by greed and infautation, Blinded and seeing nothing; They seek not the Buddha, the mighty, And the Law to end sufferings, But deeply fall into heresies, And seek by suffering to be rid of suffering.

For the sake of all these creatures, My heart is stirred with great pity. When I first sat on the wisdom throne, Looking at [that] tree and walking about it During thrice seven days, I pondered such matters as these: 'The wisdom which I have obtained is wonderful and supreme.

But all creatures are dull in their capacities, Pleasureattached and blind with ignorance.

Such classes of beings as these, I saw, how can they be saved?" Thereupon all the Brahma kings And Lord Shakra of all the gods, The four heavenly beings who protect the worlds, Also the god Great Sovereign And all the other heavenly beings, With hundreds of thousands of myriads of followers, Respectfully saluted with folded hands, Entreating me to roll the wheel of the Law. ["To roll the wheel of the Law." means to teach the Law. The first sermon of the Buddha in particular is designated by this term.]

Then I pondered within myself: 'If I only extol the Buddhavehicle, All creatures, being sunk in suffering, Will not be able to believe this Law, And by breaking the Law through unbelief Will fall into the three evil paths. I had rather not preach the Law, But instantly enter nirvana.' Then, on remembering what former buddhas Performed by their tactful powers, I thought:] 'The Way which I have now attained I must preach as the tripartite vehicle.' While I was pondering thus, All the buddhas in the universe appeared And, with sacred voice, cheered me in response: 'Excellent! Shakyamuni!

The first of leaders! Having attained this supreme Law, Thou art following after all the buddhas In using tactful powers. We, too, have all attained This most wonderful, supreme Law, But for the sake of the many kinds of creatures, We divide and preach it in three vehicles.

Those of little wisdom delight in petty laws, Not believing that they can become buddhas, Hence we, by tactful ways, Divide and preach the [natural] results. Though we also proclaim the three vehicles, It is only for teaching the bodhisattvas.' Know, Shariputra! Hearing the voices of the Holy Lions, Profoundly clear and mystic, I saluted them, 'Namah buddhas,' [This may be translated "Hail to the buddhas!"] And again reflected thus: 'Having come forth into the disturbed and evil world, I, according to the buddhas' behest, Will also obediently proceed.' Having finished pondering this matter, I instantly went to Varanasi. The nirvana-nature of all existence, Which is inexpressible, I by my tactful ability Preached to the five bhikshus. [The five ascetics who had been Shakyamuni's companions before his enlightenment: Ajnata-Kaundinya, Ashvajit, Vashpa, Mahanaman, and Bhadrika.]

This is called [the first] rolling of the Law-wheel,

This is called [the first] rolling of the Law-wheel, Whereupon there was the news of nirvana [Literally, "nirvana-sound" or "voice of nirvana"; that is, the term "nirvana" (enlightenment) was uttered.] And also the separate names of Arhat, Of Law, and of Samgha. [That is, the terms "Arhat" (Buddha), "Dharma" (Law, or Teaching), and "Samgha" (assemblage of monks) successively came into being.]

From distant kalpas onward I have extolled and indicated the Law of nirvana For the perpetual end of mortal distress; Thus have I continuously spoken. Know, Shariputra! When I saw the Buddha-sons Bent on seeking the Buddha-way, In countless thousands and myriads of kotis, All, with reverent hearts, Draw near to [me] the Buddha; They had already heard from the buddhas The Law which they tactfully explained.

Then I conceived this thought: 'The reason why the Tathagata appears Is for preaching the Buddha-wisdom; Now is the very time.' Know, Shariputra! The stupid and those of little wit, The tied to externals and the proud Cannot believe this Law.

But now I am glad and fearless; In the midst of the bodhisattvas Frankly put aside tactfulness And only proclaim the supreme Way. You bodhisattvas hearing this Law, Having all got rid of the nets of doubts, You twelve hundred arhats Will all become buddhas. In the same fashion that the buddhas, Past, present, and future, preach the Law, So also will I now Proclaim the undivided Law. The appearing of buddhas in the world Is far apart and of rare occurrence, And when they do appear in the world, With equal rareness do they proclaim this Law. Even in infinite countless kalpas, Rarely may this Law be heard; And those who are able to listen to this Law, Men such as these are also rare. It is like the udumbara flower, Which all love and enjoy, Seldom seen by gods and men, Appearing but once in flongl periods.

So he who, hearing the Law, extols it joyfully And utters but one single word of it Has already paid homage to All the buddhas in the three worlds. Such a one is exceedingly rare, Rarer than the udumbara flower. Be you free from doubts; I am the king of the Law\* And declare to all the assembly: 'I, only by the One-vehicle Way, Teach the bodhisattvas, And have no shravaka disciples.'

Know, all of you, Shariputra, Shravakas, and bodhisattvas, That this Wonderful Law Is the mystery of all the buddhas. Because the evil world of the five decadences Only delights in sensual attachments, Its creatures such as these Never seek the Buddha-way. The wicked in generations to come, Who hear the One-vehicle preached by the Buddha, In their delusion and unbelief Will break the Law and fall into evil ways. But there are beings, modest and pure, Devoted to seeking the Buddhaway; For such as these I must Widely extol the One-vehicle Way.

Know, Shariputra! The Law of the buddhas is thus: By myriads of kotis of tactful ways They proclaim the Law as opportunity serves. But those who will not learn Are not able to discern it. But you already know The expedient tactful ways of The buddhas, the leaders of the world. Have no further doubts; Rejoice greatly in your hearts, Knowing that you will become buddhas."\*

HERE ENDS THE FIRST BUNCH OF WORDS

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 3

A Parable

At that time Shariputra, ecstatic with joy, instantly rose up, folded his hands, and looking up at the honourable face, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "Now, hearing the sound of the Law from the World-honoured One, I am filled with ecstasy, obtaining that which I have never experienced before. Wherefore? Because of yore when I heard of such a Law as this from the Buddha and saw bodhisattvas who were predicted to become buddhas, we were never prepared for these things and greatly distressed ourselves at having lost the Tathagata's infinite knowledge. World-honoured One! Constantly when

dwelling alone in mountain forests or under trees, whether sitting or walking, I was occupied with this thought: 'We equally have entered the Law-nature. ["Law-nature" here means the mind-emptiness that is sought by shravakas and pratyekabuddhas.] But why does the Tathagata save us by the small-vehicle law?' This is our own fault, not the Worldhonoured One's. Wherefore? Because had we attended to his preaching in regard to the accomplishment of Perfect Enlightenment, we should certainly have been delivered by the Great-vehicle. Whereas we, not understanding [his] tactful method of opportune preaching, on first hearing the Buddhalaw only casually believed, pondered, and bore witness to it. World-honoured One! Ever since then I have passed whole days and nights in self-reproach. But now, on hearing from the Buddha the unprecedented Law which I have never before heard, I have ended all my doubts and regrets, am at ease in body and mind, and am happily at rest. Today I indeed know that I am really a son of the Buddha, born from the mouth of the Buddha, evolved from the Law, and have obtained a place in the Buddha-law." At that time Shariputra, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I. hearing the voice of the Law, Have obtained the

"I, hearing the voice of the Law, Have obtained the unprecedented; My heart is full of joy And all nets of doubts are gone. From of yore have I received the Buddha's teaching And shall not miss the Great-vehicle.

The voice of the Buddha is very precious, Able to rid all creatures of distress. I, now freed from imperfections, Hearing it, am also rid of anxiety. When dwelling in mountain valleys or abiding under forest trees, Whether sitting or walking to and fro.

I ever pondered on this matter And deeply accused myself, lamenting: 'Why am I so self-deluding? We also are Buddhasons Who have equally entered the faultless Law, Yet we cannot, in the future, Proclaim the supreme Way. The golden thirty-two signs, The ten powers and feightly emancipations Are all included in the one Law, Yet I do not attain them. The eighty kinds of excellence\*, The eighteen unique characteristics, Merits such as these I have entirely missed.' [\* The eighty kinds of physical beauty and other special characteristics of a buddha.]

When alone I was walking to and fro And saw the Buddha in the great assembly, His fame filling the universe, Abundantly benefiting all creatures, I thought I had lost this advantage And that I had deluded myself. Always by day and by night I ever pondered these things, Desiring to ask the World-honoured One Whether I had lost my opportunity or not. Ever did I see the World-honoured One Extolling the bodhisattvas; Therefore by day and night I have pondered such things as these.

Now I hear the voice of the Buddha Opportunely preaching the Law, Faultless and inscrutable, Which causes all to reach the wisdom throne. Formerly I was attached to heretical views, eing a teacher of heretical mendicants. [The Chinese translation uses the equivalent of the Sanskrit brahmacarin, literally, "descendant of purity": a young Brahman who is a student of the Vedas under a preceptor or who practices chastity; a young Brahman before marriage, that is, in the first period of his life.]

The World-honoured One, knowing my heart, Uprooted my heresy and taught me nirvana. Thus having completely freed myself from heretical views And obtained proof of the Law of the Void, Then in my mind I said to myself: I have attained extinction.'

But now I have perceived This is not the real extinction. Whenever one becomes a buddha, He possesses all the thirty-two signs; Gods, men, and yakshas, Dragons and other spirits revere him.

Then it may be said: 'Extinction is forever complete, nothing remaining.' The Buddha in the great assembly Proclaims that I shall become a buddha. Hearing such a voice of the Law, All doubts and regrets have been removed.

On first hearing the Buddha's preaching, In my mind there was fear and doubt Lest it might be Mara acting as Buddha, Distressing and confusing my mind. But when the Buddha, with various reasonings And parables, speaks so skillfully, One's heart is peaceful as the sea. On hearing, my nets of doubts were broken. The Buddha preaches that the infinite, extinct Buddhas of past worlds Calmly established and in tactful ways All likewise expounded this Law.

The present and future buddhas, Countless in their numbers, Also with tactful ways Proclaim such a Law as this. The present World-honoured One, After his birth and leaving home, Having gained the Way and rolled the Law-wheel, Also has preached with tactfulness. It is the World-honoured One who preaches the true Way; The Evil One\* has no such truths as these. Hence I know for certain that This is not Mara acting as Buddha, But because I had fallen into nets of doubts, I conceived it as the doing of Mara. [\* Sanskrit "Papiyas," another name for Mara, "the Evil One" or "the Evil of Evils."]

Hearing the gentle voice of the Buddha, Profound and very refined, Expounding the pure Law, My heart is filled with joy, My doubts and regrets are forever ended, I am at rest in real wisdom. I am sure I shall become a buddha, Revered by gods

and men, And rolling the supreme Law-wheel, Shall teach many bodhisattvas."

At that time the Buddha said to Shariputra: "Now I declare in this great assembly of gods, men, ascetics, Brahmans, and others. Of yore, in the presence of twenty thousand kotis of buddhas, for the sake of the supreme Way, I continuously taught you, while you also for long nights and days have followed me and received my teaching. By reason of my tactful guidance, you have been born into my Law. Shariputra! Of yore I caused you to resolve on the Buddha-way. But you have now entirely forgotten it and so consider that you have now entirely forgotten it and so consider that you have rattained extinction. Now again desiring to cause you to recollect the Way which you originally resolved to follow, I preach for all the shravakas this Great-vehicle sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in

"Shariputra! In a world to come, after infinite, boundless, and inconceivable kalpas, when you shall have served some thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, maintained the Right Law, and completed the way which bodhisattvas walk, you shall become a buddha whose title will be Flower Light Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, Worldhonoured One, and whose domain shall be named Undefiled, whose land will be level and straight, pure and ornate, peaceful and prosperous, replete with celestial people; with lapis lazuli for earth, having eight intersecting roads with golden cords to bound their cities, and by each road a line of precious-seven trees always [filled] with flowers and fruits. The Tathagata Flower Light also will teach and convert all living creatures by the three vehicles.

"Shariputra! When that buddha appears, though it is not in an evil age, he will preach the three-vehicle Law because of his original vow. Its kalpa will be named Ornate with Great Jewels. For what reason is it named Ornate with Great Jewels? Because in that domain the bodhisattvas are considered the great jewels. These bodhisattvas will be infinite, boundless, inconceivable, beyond computation or compare, such as none can apprehend who has not a buddha's wisdom. Whenever they walk, iewel flowers will receive their feet. These bodhisattvas will not have started in this conception for the first time, for all of them will have cultivated the roots of virtue for a long time, purely performing noble deeds under infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, being always praised by buddhas, constantly practicing the Buddhawisdom, perfecting the great spiritually pervading power, knowing well the way of all the laws, and being upright and genuine in character, firm in will and thought. Such bodhisattvas as these will fill that domain.

"Shariputra! The lifetime of the Buddha Flower Light will be twelve minor kalpas, except the time during which he, being a prince, has not yet become a buddha. And the lifetime of the people of his domain will be eight minor kalpas. The Tathagata Flower Light, at the expiration of twelve minor kalpas, will predict the future destiny of the Bodhisattva Full of Firmness [Or: "Full of Perseverance."] to Perfect Enlightenment and will declare to all the bhikshus: 'This Bodhisattva Full of Firmness shall next become a buddha, whose title will be Calmly Walking on Flowery Feet Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi. The domain of the buddha also will be of like character.'

"Shariputra! After the extinction of this Flower Light Buddha, the Righteous Law will abide in the world during thirty-two minor kalpas and [then] the Counterfeit Law will also abide in the world during thirty-two minor kalpas."

At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Shariputra! In an age to come, You shall become a buddha, honoured for universal wisdom\*, By name and title Flower Light, And you shall save innumerable creatures. [\* Or: "honoured attainer of universal wisdom."] Paying homage to numberless buddhas, Perfecting bodhisattva-actions And the merits of the ten powers and so on, It shall be evident that you have attained the supreme Way.

After infinite kalpas have passed There will be a kalpa named Ornate with Great Jewels,

And a world named Undefiled, Pure and flawless, With lapis lazuli for its ground, With golden cords defining its ways, With trees variegated by the precious seven, Always having flowers and fruits.

All the bodhisattvas of that domain, Ever firm in will and thought, Of supernatural powers and paramitas All in complete possession, Under numberless buddhas Having well learned the bodhisattva-way: Such leaders as these Shall be converted by the Buddha Flower Light. That buddha, when he is a prince, Will abandon his domain and give up earthly glory, And in his last bodily existence Will leave home and achieve the Buddha-way. The Buddha Flower Light will dwell in the world For a lifetime of twelve minor kalpas, And the people of his domain Will live for eight minor kalpas.

After that buddha's extinction [physical death] The Righteous Law will abide in the world For thirty-two minor

kalpas, Widely saving living creatures. At the expiration of Righteous Law, The Counterfeit Law will abide for thirtytwo minor kalpas. His relics will be widely dispersed, Universally worshiped by gods and men. The doings of the Buddha Flower Light, Such as these will be his deeds. That most holy honoured of men, Most excellent and incomparable, He is really you yourself; Therefore rejoice and be glad."

At that time all the four groups of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, and gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, and others, all the great assembly, seeing that Shariputra in the presence of the Buddha had received his prediction of Perfect Enlightenment, rejoiced greatly in unbounded ecstasy, each divesting himself of the robe he wore and offering it in homage to the Buddha, while Shakra Devendra, the Lord Brahma, and others, with countless divine sons, also paid homage to the Buddha with wonderful heavenly robes and celestial mandarava flowers, maha-mandarava flowers, and so on. The celestial robes bestrewed, remaining in the sky, whirled round of themselves and hundreds of thousands of myriads of sorts of heavenly musical instruments all at once made music in the sky. And, raining numerous heavenly flowers, they uttered these words: "Of old at Varanasi the Buddha first rolled the wheel of the Law and now again rolls the supreme and greatest Law-wheel." Thereupon all the divine sons, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke [thus] in verse:

"Of old, at Varanasi, Thou didst roll the Law-wheel of the Four Noble Truths And discriminately preach the laws Of the rise and extinction of the five aggregates, And now again thou dost roll the most wonderful, Supreme, great wheel of the Law, The Law which is extremely profound And which few are able to believe.

We for a long time past Have often heard the World-honoured One preach, But we have never before heard such A profound, mystic, and supreme Law. The World-honoured One preaching this Law, We all follow it with joy. The great wise Shariputra Now has received the Honoured One's prediction.

We also in like manner Must certainly become buddhas, Who in all worlds Are the most honoured and peerless. The Buddha-way is beyond conception And is preached by opportune tactful methods. May all our happy karma In the present world or past worlds, And the merit of seeing the Buddha, All turn to the Way of buddhahood."

Thereupon Shariputra spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I now have no doubts or regrets. In person, before the Buddha, I have received my prediction of Perfect Enlightenment. But these twelve hundred selfcontrolled ones, who of yore abode in the four stages of learning [Also called the four holy stages, or the four fruits, of shravakas.], were always instructed by the Buddha, saying: 'My Law is able to give freedom from birth, decrepitude, disease, and death, and the final attainment of nirvana.' Each of these who are under training and no longer under training is also free from false views about the self and about 'existence or 'nonexistence,' and considers he has attained nirvana. But now, in the presence of the Buddha, hearing that which they have never heard before, they have all fallen into doubts and perplexities. Good! World-honoured One! Please state the reasons to the four groups so that they may be free from doubts and regrets.'

Then the Buddha spoke to Shariputra: "Have I not before said that the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, by various reasonings, parables, and terms preach the Law tactfully, all for the purpose of Perfect Enlightenment? All these teachings are for the purpose of transforming bodhisattvas. But Shariputra! Let me now again in a parable make this meaning still more clear, for intelligent people through a parable reach understanding.

'Shariputra! Suppose in a certain kingdom, city, or town there is a great elder, old and worn, of boundless wealth, and possessing many fields, houses, slaves, and servants. His house is spacious and large, having only one door, and with many people dwelling in it, one hundred, two hundred, or even five hundred in number. Its halls and chambers are decayed and old, its walls crumbling, the bases of its pillars rotten, the beams and rooftree toppling and dangerous. On every side at the same moment fire suddenly starts and the house is in flames. The sons of the elder, say ten, twenty, or even thirty, are in this dwelling. The elder, on seeing this conflagration spring up on every side, is greatly startled and reflects thus: 'Though I am able to get safely out of this burning house, yet my children in the burning house are pleasurably absorbed in amusements, without apprehension, knowledge, surprise, or fear. Though the fire is pressing upon them and pain and suffering are imminent, they do not mind or fear and have no impulse to escape.

"Shariputra! This elder ponders thus: 'I am strong in my body and arms. Shall I get them out of the house by means of a flower vessel [A symbol of the wisdom of the Buddha.], or a bench [A symbol of the four fearlessnesses of the Buddha.], or a table?' [A symbol of the ten powers of the Buddha.] Again he ponders: 'This house has only one gate; moreover, it is narrow and small; my children are young, knowing nothing as yet and attached to their place of play; perchance they will fall into and be burned in the fire. I must speak to them on this dreadful matter, warning them that the house is burning and that they must come out instantly lest they be burned and injured by the fire.' Having reflected thus, according to his thoughts, he notifies his children: 'Come out quickly, all of you!'

"Though the father, in his pity, lures and admonishes with kind words, yet the children, joyfully attached to their play, are unwilling to believe him and have neither surprise nor fear, nor any mind to escape; moreover, they do not know what is the fire he means, or what the house, and what he means by being lost, but only run hither and thither in play, glancing at their father. Then the elder reflects thus: 'This house is burning in a great conflagration. If I and my children do not get out at once, we shall certainly be burned up by it. Let me now by some tactful means cause my children to escape this disaster.' Knowing that to which each of his children is predisposed and all the various attractive playthings and curiosities to which their natures will joyfully respond, the father informs them, saying: 'The things with which you are fond of playing, so rare and precious--if you do not [come and] get them, you will be sorry for it afterward. Such a variety of goat carts, deer carts, and bullock carts is now outside the gate to play with. All of you must come quickly out of this burning house, and I will give you whatever you want.' Thereupon the children, learning of the attractive playthings mentioned by their father, and because they suit their wishes, every one eagerly, each pushing the other and racing against each other, comes scrambling out of the burning house.

"Then the elder, seeing his children have safely escaped and are all in the square, sits down in the open, no longer troubled but with a mind at ease and ecstatic with joy. Then each of the children says to their father: 'Father! Please now give us those lovely things you promised us to play with, goat carts, deer carts, and bullock carts.' Shariputra! Then the elder gives to each of his children equally a great cart, lofty and spacious, adorned with all the precious things, surrounded with railed seats, hung with bells on its four sides, and covered with curtains, splendidly decorated also with various rare and precious things, linked with strings of precious stones, hung with garlands of flowers, thickly spread with beautiful mats, supplied with rosy pillows, yoked with white bullocks of pure [white] skin, of handsome appearance, and of great muscular power, which walk with even steps and with the speed of the wind, having also many servants and followers to guard them. Wherefore? Because this great elder is of boundless wealth and all his various treasuries and granaries are full to overflowing. So he reflects thus: 'My possessions being boundless, I must not give my children inferior small carts. All these children are my sons, whom I love without partiality. Having such great carts made of the precious seven, infinite in number, I should with equal mind bestow them on each one without discrimination. Wherefore? Because if I gave them to the whole nation, these things of mine would not run short--how much less to my children!' Meanwhile each of the children rides on his great cart, having got that which he had never had before and never expected to have. Shariputra! What is your opinion? Has that elder, in giving great carts of the precious substances to his children equally, been somewhat guilty of falsehood?

Shariputra said: "No, World-honoured One! That elder only caused his children to escape the disaster of fire and preserved their bodies alive-he committed no falsity. Why? He has in such a manner preserved their bodies alive and also they have obtained those playthings; how much more by tactful means has he saved them from that burning house! World-honoured One! Even if that elder did not give them one of the smallest carts, still he is not false. Wherefore? Because that elder from the first formed this intention: I will by tactful means cause my children to escape.' For this reason he is not false. How much less so seeing that this elder, knowing his own boundless wealth and desiring to benefit his children, gives them great carts equally!"

The Buddha said to Shariputra: "Good! Good! It is even as you say. Shariputra! The Tathagata is also like this, for he is the father of all worlds, who has forever entirely ended all his fear, despondency, distress, ignorance, and umbrageous darkness and has perfected his boundless knowledge, powers, and fearlessness; is possessed of great spiritual power and wisdom; has completely attained the paramitas of tactfulness and wisdom; who is the greatly merciful and greatly compassionate, ever tireless, ever seeking the good, and benefiting all beings. And he is born in this triple world, the old decayed burning house, to save all living creatures from the fires of birth, old age, disease, death, grief, suffering, foolishness, darkness, and the three poisons, and teach them to obtain Perfect Enlightenment. He sees how all living creatures are scorched by the fires of birth, old age, disease, death, grief, and sorrow, and suffer various kinds of distress by reason of the five desires and the greed for gain; and how, by reason of the attachments of desire and its pursuits, they

now endure much suffering and hereafter will suffer in hell, or as animals or hungry spirits; even if they are born in a heaven, or amongst men, there are such various kinds of sufferings as poverty, distress, separation from loved ones, and union with hateful beings. Absorbed in these things, all living creatures rejoice and take their pleasure, while they neither apprehend nor perceive, are neither alarmed nor fear, and are without satiety, never seeking to escape but in the burning house of this triple world running about hither and thither, and although they will meet with great suffering, count it not a cause for anxiety.

"Shariputra! The Buddha, having seen this, then reflects thus: 'I am the father of all creatures and I must snatch them from suffering and give them the bliss of the infinite, boundless Buddha-wisdom for them to play with.'

"Shariputra! The Tathagata again reflects thus: 'If I only use spiritual power and wisdom, casting aside every tactful method, and extol for the sake of all living creatures the wisdom, powers, and fearlessness of the Tathagata, living creatures cannot by this method be saved. Wherefore? As long as all these creatures have never escaped birth, old age, disease, death, grief, and suffering, but are being burned in the burning house of the triple world, how can they understand the Buddha-wisdom?"

"Shariputra! Even as that elder, though with power in body and arms, yet does not use it but only by diligent tact resolutely saves his children from the calamity of the burning house and then gives each of them great carts made of precious things, so is it with the Tathagata; though he has power and fearlessness, he does not use them, but only by his wise tact does he remove and save all living creatures from the burning house of the triple world, preaching the three vehicles: the shravaka, pratyekabuddha, and Buddha vehicles. And thus he speaks to them: 'All of you! Do not delight to dwell in the burning house of the triple world. Do not hanker after its crude forms, sounds, odours, flavours, and contacts. For if, through hankering, you beget a love of it, then you will be burned by it. Get you out of the triple world and attain to the three vehicles, the shravaka, pratyekabuddha, and Buddha vehicles. I now give you my pledge for this, and it will never prove false. Do you only be diligent and zealous!' By these tactful means does the Tathagata lure all creatures forth, and again speaks thus: 'Know ye! All these three vehicles are praised by sages; in them you will be free and independent, without wanting to rely on anything else. Riding in these three vehicles, by means of perfect faculties [The five roots.], powers [The five powers.], perceptions [The seven degrees of intelligence.], ways [The Eightfold Path.], concentrations, emancipations, and contemplations, you will as a matter of course be happy and gain infinite peace and joy.'

'Shariputra! If there are living beings who have a spirit of wisdom within and, following the Buddha, the Worldhonoured One, hear the Law, receive it in faith, and zealously make progress, desiring speedily to escape from the triple world and seeking nirvana for themselves, these will have the vehicle [doctrine] named the shravaka-vehicle, just as some of those children come out of the burning house for the sake of a goat cart. If there are living beings who, following the Buddha, the World-honoured One, hear the Law, receive it in faith, and zealously make progress, seeking self-gained wisdom [Natural wisdom, obtained without a teacher.], delighting in the tranquillity of their individual goodness, and deeply versed in the causes and reasons of the laws, these will have the vehicle [doctrine] named the pratyekabuddhavehicle [solitary buddha doctrine, just as some of those children come out of the burning house for the sake of a deer cart. If there are living beings who, following the Buddha, the World-honoured One, hear the law, receive it in faith, diligently practice, and zealously advance, seeking the complete wisdom, the wisdom of the Buddha, the natural wisdom, the wisdom without a teacher, and the knowledge, powers, and fearlessness of the Tathagata, who take pity on and comfort innumerable creatures, benefit gods and men, and save all beings, these will have the vehicle [doctrine] named the Great-vehicle. Because the bodhisattyas seek this vehicle, they are named mahasattyas. They are like those children who come out of the burning house for the sake of a

"Shariputra! Just as that elder, seeing his children get out of the burning house safely to a place free from fear, and, pondering on his immeasurable wealth, gives each of his children a great cart, so also is it with the Tathagata. Being the father of all living creatures, if he sees infinite thousands of kotis of creatures by the teaching of the Buddha escape from the suffering of the triple world, from fearful and perilous paths, and gain the joys of nirvana, the Tathagata then reflects thus: 'I possess infinite, boundless wisdom, power, fearlessness, and other Law-treasuries of buddhas. All these living creatures are my sons to whom I will equally give the Great-vehicle, so that there will be no one who gains an individual nirvana [Literally, "gain extinction (nirvana) alone," that is, individualism as contrasted with the universalism of Mahayana.], but all gain nirvana by the same nirvana as the Tathagata. All these living creatures who

escape the triple world are given the playthings of buddhas, concentrations, emancipations, and others, all of one form and one kind, praised by sages and able to produce pure, supreme pleasure.' Shariputra! Even as that elder at first attracted his children by the three carts and afterward gave them only a great cart magnificently adorned with precious things and supremely restful, yet that elder is not guilty of falsehood, so also is it with the Tathagata: there is no falsehood in first preaching three vehicles to attract all living creatures and afterward saving by the Great-vehicle only. Wherefore? Because the Tathagata possesses infinite wisdom, power, fearlessness, and the treasury of the laws, and is able to give all living creatures the Great-vehicle Law, but not all are able to receive it. Shariputra! For this reason know that the buddhas, by their tactful powers, in the One Buddha-vehicle discriminate and expound the three." The Buddha, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Suppose there is an elder Who has a large house, And for long this house has been old,

Is also falling and decayed, With lofty halls in dangerous condition, Pillar bases broken and rotten, Beams and rooftree toppling and leaning, Foundation and steps in a state of collapse, Walls and partitions ruined and cracked, Their plaster crumbling away, Thatch in disorder and dropping, Rafters and eaves awry and slipping, Its surrounding fences bent and distorted, Filled with all kinds of refuse.

Five hundred people Are dwelling within it. Owls, hawks, and vultures, Crows, magpies, pigeons, doves, Black snakes, vipers, scorpions, Centipedes, millipedes, Geckos, galley worms, Weasels, ferrets, rats, and mice, All sorts of evil creatures, Run about in every direction; There are places stinking with excrement and urine, Overflowing with uncleanliness, Where dung beetles and worms Flock together.

Foxes, wolves, and jackals Bite and trample each other To gnaw human carcasses, Scattering their bones and flesh. Following these, packs of dogs Come, striving to snatch and grab, And gaunt with hunger skulk about Seeking food everywhere, Quarreling and seufling, Snarling and barking. Such is the fearfulness of that house Full of variety.

In every direction there are Goblins and ogres, [Hill demons, house demons, and water demons.] Yakshas and malign demons, Who devour the flesh of men; All sorts of venomous insects And evil birds and brutes Hatch or suckle their broods, Each hiding and protecting its own; Yakshas come striving with each other To seize and eat them; When they have eaten their fill, Their evil minds become inflamed, And the sound of their quarreling is dreadful in the extreme Kumbhanda demons Crouch on the earth and mould, Sometimes springing from the ground A foot or two high, Wandering about to and fro, Giving full rein to their sports; Seizing dogs by their feet, Striking them so that they lose their voices, Twisting their legs around their necks, Frightening dogs for their own amusement.

Also there are demons Tall of stature, Naked, black, and lean, Always dwelling in that house, Who emit great and dreadful sounds, Bellowing in search of food. Again there are demons With throats narrow as a needle.

And there are demons With heads like a bullock's. Some eat human flesh, Some devour dogs; Their locks are all disheveled, They are cruel and fiendish, and, oppressed by hunger and thirst. Race about crying and calling.

thirst, Race about crying and calling.

Yakshas and hungry ghosts, Evil birds and brutes Hungrily hurry in all directions, Peeping and looking through window and lattice. Such are its plagues, Terrible beyond measure. This decaying old house Belongs to a man Who has just gone outside But a little while ago, Whereupon that house Of a sudden catches fire. All at once, in every direction, Its flames are in full blaze; Rooftree, beams, rafters, pillars With cracking sound burst open, Break, split, and topple down; Walls and partitions crumble.

Demons and spirits Bellow and cry aloud; Hawks, vultures, and other birds, Kumbhanda demons and others Hurry about in alarm, Powerless to escape. Evil beasts and venomous insects Hide away in holes and cavities; Pishacaka demons Also take up their abode therein. For lack of merits They are driven by the fire, Cruelly hurting each other, Supping and devouring each other's flesh and blood.

Creatures of the jackal tribe Are already dead in herds. The bigger evil beasts Come striving to devour them. Fetid smoke and bursting flames Fill and choke the surrounding air. Centipedes and millipedes And all kinds of venomous snakes, Burned by the fire, Run contending from their holes. Kumbhanda demons Thereon seize and eat them. And hungry demons, Their heads ablaze with fire, Tormented with hunger, thirst, and heat, Rush about confused and in distress.

Such is the state of that house, Dreadful in the extreme, With horrid calamities and conflagration And disasters not a few. At this very time the master of the house Is standing outside the gate, When he hears someone saying: 'All of your children A little while ago in their play Came into this house In their youth and ignorance, Enjoying themselves with their amusements.'

On hearing this, the elder In alarm enters the burning house, With intent to save them From the harm of burning. So he tells his children Of all the [impending] dangers, saying: 'There are evil demons and venomous worms, And calamitous fire is spreading; Sufferings upon sufferings Follow each other unceasing; Venomous snakes and vipers, All kinds of yakshas, Kumbhanda demons, Jackals, foxes, and dogs, Hawks, vultures, owls, And all sorts of galley worms Are tormented by hunger and thirst And to be feared in the extreme. Even these distresses are hard to deal with; How much more this conflaeration?"

The children, unheeding, Though they hear their father's admonition, Remain attached to their pleasures And do not stop their play. Thereupon the elder Begins to reflect thus: My children, [acting] in this manner, Add to my anxiety and distress. Now this house really Has nothing to delight in, Yet all my children, Bewitched by their play, Take no notice of my instructions And will be injured by the fire.'

Instantly he ponders, Arranges a device, And says to his children: 'I have many varieties Of rare playthings, Excellent carts wonderfully bejeweled, Goat carts and deer carts And great bullock carts, Now all just outside the door, Come out, all of you! I, for your sakes, Have made these carts. You may roam and play with them At your own will and pleasure.'

When the children hear him tell Of such carts as these, They immediately rush in rivalry, Scampering forth, And reach the open ground, Away from harm. The elder, seeing his children Escape from the burning house, Takes his place in the square, Sitting on the lion throne, And congratulates himself, saying: 'Now I am joyful.

All these children, Brought up with so much difficulty, Stupid, little, and ignorant, Entered this dangerous house, Abounding with venomous worms And fearful goblins.

Conflagrations and raging flames Broke out on every side, But all these children were Fascinated by their play. Now I have rescued them And caused them to escape from harm. Therefore, all you people! Now I am joyful.'

Then the children, Knowing their father is sitting at ease, All come to the father And speak to the father, saying: 'Please give to us The three kinds of precious carts As you promised, saying: "If you children come out, I will give you three carts And you can choose whichever you like." Now is the very time; Be pleased to give them to us.' The elder is very rich And has treasuries full of Gold, silver, lapis lazuli, Moonstone, and agate.

With all kinds of precious things He has made great carts, Magnificently adorned and splendidly decorated, Surrounded with railed seats, Hung with bells on every side, Strung with golden cords, And with networks of pearls Spread over them; Festoons of golden flowers Hang down here and there; Many colours and varied decorations Surround and encircle; Soft silks and silk floss Make the cushions; The best quality of fine felt, Worth thousands of kotis, Snow white and pure, Is spread above the cushions.

There are great white bullocks, Sleek, strong, and active, Of finest shape, Yoked to the precious carts; There are numerous retinues Tending and guarding them. These excellent carts Are equally given to all the children. Then the children, Ecstatic with joy, Riding these precious carts, Roam in every direction, Playing joyfully Just as they wish, without bindeness.

I tell you, Shariputra! I also am like this, The most honoured of all the sages, The father of the world; All living beings Are my sons But are deeply attached to earthly pleasures And without wisdom. The triple world is not safe, Just as the burning house, Full of all kinds of sufferings, Was greatly to be feared. Ever there are distresses of birth, Old age, disease, and death; Such fires as these Are burning ceaselessly.

The Tathagata, freed from The burning house of the triple world, Tranquilly lives in seclusion, Abiding in peace in the woodland. Now this triple world All is my domain; The living beings in it All are my sons. But now this place Abounds with distresses; And I alone Am able to save and protect them. [The passage "Now this triple world... protect them" is called the preaching of the Three Merits of Shakyamuni Buddha: 1. his merit as lord, because the triple world is his possession or domain; 2. his merit as leader or teacher, because he alone saves all living creatures; and 3. his merit as father, because all are his sons.]

Though I taught and admonished them, Yet they did not believe, For they were imbued with desires To which they were greedily attached. Therefore, tactfully I tell them of the three vehicles Which cause all living beings To know the sufferings of the triple world, And reveal and expound The way of escaping from the world.

If all these sons Are resolved in their minds, They will perfectly have the three clear views And the six transcendent faculties, And will become pratyekabuddhas Or bodhisattvas who never slide back. [The lines "If all these sons . . . who never slide back" are translated according to the Japanese rendering but can also be translated as follows: "If all these sons / Are resolved in their minds, / Perfect in the three clear views / And the six transcendent faculties, / Becoming pratyekabuddhas / Or never-backsliding bodhisattvas . . ."] Shariputra! I, for the sake of all beings, By means of this parable Preach the One Buddha-vehicle.

If all of you are able To receive these words in faith, You shall all be able To accomplish the Buddha-way. This vehicle is wonderful, Pure, and supreme; In all the worlds There is nothing more exalted; It is that which the Buddha rejoices in and which all living creatures Should praise, Worship, and adore. Infinite thousands of kotis Of powers, emancipations, Meditations, and wisdom, And the Buddha's other laws: Such is the vehicle provided for: "obtain such a vehicle as this."] To cause all my sons, Night and day for many kalpas, Ever to take their recreation in it, With bodhisattvas As well as shravakas Riding in this precious vehicle Directly to the wisdom throne.

For these causes and reasons, Though one searches in every direction, There is no other vehicle [doctrine] Except the Buddha's device. [The Buddha's teaching principles, eg. The 4 Noble Truths, The 8-fold Paths, the 5 Precepts, etc..] I tell you, Shariputra! All you people Are my sons; I then am father. You, for successive kalpas (aeons) Burning in many sufferings, Have I wholly rescued, That you may escape the triple world.

Though I previously preached that You would attain extinction, You have only become free from birth and death, And have not attained real extinction. What you have now to do Is only to attain the Buddha-wisdom. If there be any bodhisattvas Amongst this assembly, Be you able wholeheartedly to obey The real Law of the buddhas.

Though buddhas, world-honoured ones, Convert by tactful methods, Yet living creatures transformed by them Are all bodhisattvas. If there are any of little wit Who are deeply attached to desires and passions, The Buddha for their sake Preaches the truth of suffering.

All the living with joyful hearts Attain the unprecedented. The truth of suffering preached by the Buddha Is real without differentiation. If there are any living beings Who do not know the source of suffering, Deeply attached to the cause of suffering, And unable to forsake it even for a moment, The Buddha for the sake of them Preaches the Way [The Eightfold Path.] by tactful methods, saying: 'The cause of all suffering Is rooted in desire.'

If desire be extinguished, Suffering has no foothold. To annihilate all suffering Is called the third truth. For the sake of the truth of extinction To observe and walk in the Way, Forsaking all bonds of suffering, This is called the attaining of emancipation.

From what have these people Attained emancipation? Merely to depart from the false Is called emancipation. But they have not yet really attained Entire emancipation.

So the Buddha declares that these people Have not yet really reached extinction. Because these people have not yet gained The supreme Way, I am unwilling to declare That they have attained extinction.

I am the king of the Law, Absolute in regard to the Law, Pacifying all creatures, And therefore appear in the world. Shariputra! This my seal of the Law, [The seal of the Law is the same as the seal of reality.] Because of my desire to benefit the world, is [now] expounded Wherever you roam; Do not recklessly proclaim it. If there be any hearers Who joyfully receive with profound obeisance [To receive, carrying the folded hands to the top of the head as a sign of utmost reverence.], You may know these people Are of avivartika. If there be any who receive This sutra-law in faith, These people must have already Seen buddhas of past times, Revered and worshiped them. And heard this Law.

If there be any people who are able To believe your preaching, They must have seen me And also seen you And these bhikshus [Male and female monastics], As well as\* these bodhisattvas [any person who is on the path towards Buddhahood.]. [\* Or "As I also have been seen by you and the bhikshus and bodhisattvas."] This Law-Flower Sutra Is preached for men of profound wisdom. [Or "For its profound wisdom is preached."] Men of shallow knowledge, hearing it, Go astray, not understanding. All the shravakas And pratyekabuddhas Cannot by their powers Attain this sutra. Shariputra! Even you into this sutra Can only enter by faith; How much more difficult for the other shravakas. All the other shravakas, Because of believing the Buddha's words, Obediently follow this sutra; But it is not that they themselves have knowledge. Again, Shariputra!

[In the following passage the so-called "fourteen sins of slandering the Law" are expounded. These are fundamental causes of falling into the Avici hell: haughtiness, neglect, self-centeredness, shallowness, sensuality, irrationality, unbelief, sullenness, doubting, slander, scorning goodness, hating goodness, jealousy of goodness, and grudging goodness.]

To those who are haughty and lazy And to those with selfcentered views, Do not preach this sutra. Common shallow people Deeply attached to the five desires, Who on hearing cannot apprehend, Do not preach it to them. If any people do not believe in And vilify this sutra, Then they cut [themselves] off from all The buddha-seeds in the worlds; [Or "Then they cut off.' The buddha-seeds in all the worlds."] Or if again they sullenly frown, And cherish doubts and perplexities, Listen to my declaration Concerning the recompense of such people's sir. Whether during the Buddha's lifetime Or after his extinction, If there be any who slander Such a sutra as this,

Who, seeing those who read and recite, Write or hold this sutra, Scorn and despise, hate and envy them And bear them a tenacious grudge.

Concerning the recompense of such people's sin, Listen now again: After their lifetimes end They will enter into the Avici hell For a complete kalpa, Being born again at each kalpa's end And thus revolving In innumerable kalpas; When they come out of hell, They will be degraded to animals, Such as dogs or jackals, With lean-cheeked forms, Blue-black, with scabs and sores, Knocked about by men; Moreover, by men Hated and scorned, Constantly suffering hunger and thirst, Bones and flesh withered. During life beaten with thorns Literally, "Alive receiving thorn poison." And after death with potsherds and stones, Because of cutting (themselves) off from the buddha-seed They receive such recompense for their sin. Perhaps they become camels, Or are born amongst asses, Always carrying burdens on their backs, Being beaten with sticks, Thinking only of water and grass, Knowing nothing else.

Because of slandering this sutra teaching, Such is their punishment. Some[times] becoming jackals, They enter a village, Their bodies scabbed with sores, Having not even an eye, By all the boys Beaten and stoned, Suffering bitter pains, At times even beaten to death.

When they have thus died, Again they each receive a serpent's body Of a shape as long as Five hundred yojanas [A yojana is about 12-15 km/7-9 mi.]. Deaf and stupid, without feet, They wriggle about on their bellies, By many kinds of insects Stung and devoured, Day and night in misery, With never any rest.

Because of slandering this sutra, Such is their punishment. Should they become human beings, Their powers of life are blunted, Short and ugly, palsied and lame, Blind, deaf, and humpbacked; Whatever they may say, People do not believe; Their breath is vile, They are possessed by demons, They are needy and menial, Ordered about by others, Often ill and emaciated, Having none on whom to rely; Though they are dependent on others, These take no notice of them; Even if they gain anything, They instantly forget and lose it; If they make use of means of healing And follow the usual methods of treatment, Other ailments will only be added, Or, again, they will cause Itheir patients to die: If they themselves are ill. None will save and cure them; Though they take good medicine, Their disease becomes increasingly severe; If other people cause rebellion, And plunder and rob, For such crimes as these The retribution pervertedly falls on them. Such sinners as these Never see the Buddha, The king of all the holy ones Who preaches the Law instructs and transforms Such sinners as these Are always born in distress: Mad. deaf. and confused in mind, They never hear the Law; During kalpas innumerable As the sands of the Ganges, Whenever they are born they are deaf and dumb And with deficient natural powers; They constantly dwell in the hells As their pleasure gardens, Or in other evil states As their dwellings; Among asses, hogs, and dogs Are the places where they must go. Because of slandering this sutra, Such is their punishment. If they become human beings, They are deaf, blind, and dumb, Poor, needy, and feeble, As their own ornament; Dropsy and scurf, Scabs, sores, and abscesses, All such ills as these Will be there apparel.

Their bodies are always fetid abodes, Filthy and unclean; They are deeply absorbed in themselves, They become angrier and angrier, Their carnal passions are utterly inflamed, They are no better than animals; Because of slandering this sutra, such is their punishment. I say to you, Shariputra! Those who slander this sutra his teachings, IT told the tale of their evils, I could not exhaust them in a whole kalpa. For this cause and reason I especially say to you: Amongst undiscerning people, Do not preach this sutra. If there be any who are clever, Of clear wisdom, Learned and of strong memory, Who seek after the Buddha-way, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it.

If any have ever seen Hundreds of thousands of kotis of buddhas, Cultivated many roots of goodness, And been firm in their innermost minds, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. If any have zealously progressed, Constantly maintained kindly hearts, And never spared body and life, Then you may preach it to them. If any have been reverent, With unvarying mind, Having left all the ignorant And dwelt alone in mountains and swamps, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. Again, Shariputra! If you see any Who give up bad friends And make friends of the good, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. If you see Buddha-sons Who keep the commands in purity, Like pure bright jewels, Who seek the Great-vehicle sutra, To such people as these Then, you may preach it. If any be free from irascibility, Of upright character and patient, Always compassionate to all beings And reverent to the buddhas. To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. Further, if there be Buddha-sons Who, in the general assembly, With pure hearts, By various reasonings, Parables, and expressions, Expound the Law without hesitation, To such people as these Then, you may preach it.

If there be bhikshus Who, for the sake of perfect knowledge, Seek the Law in every direction, Folding their hands in profound obeisance, Only pleased to receive and keep The Great-vehicle sutra, Even without accepting A single verse of any other sutra, To such people as these, Then, you may preach it. Like a man who with all his mind Seeks for the Buddha's relics, So those who seek the sutra and, Having obtained it, receive it with profound obeisance, And who are not again Bent on seeking other sutras, And also have never minded Books of other philosophies, To such people as these Then, you may preach it. I say to you, Shariputra! Were I to speak in detail of all these kinds Of seekers after the Buddhaway, In a whole kalpa I could not finish. Such people as these Are able to believe and discern. You should to them preach The Sutra of the Flower of the Wonderful Law."

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 4

Faith Discernment\*

[The title of this chapter can also be translated "Discernment Resulting from Faith" or "Discernment by Faith."]

At that time the wisdom-destined Subhuti, Maha-Katyayana, Maha-Kashyapa, and Maha-Maudgalyayana, hearing from the Buddha the unprecedented Law and the prediction by the World-honoured One of Shariputra's future destiny of Perfect Enlightenment, were struck with wonder and ecstatic with joy. Thereupon they rose from their seats, and, arranging their garments, humbly baring their right shoulders, placing their right knees on the ground, with one mind folding their hands, bending their bodies in reverence, and gazing upon his honoured face, addressed the Buddha, savine:

"We, heads of the monks, in years moreover worn out, consider that we have attained nirvana, and that there is nothing more we are able to undertake, so we do not press forward to seek after Perfect Enlightenment. The Worldhonoured One for a long time has been preaching the Law, and we all the time seated in our places have become weary in our bodies and neglectful, only thinking of the void, of the formless, and of nonfunction\*, but in regard to the bodhisattva-laws, their supernatural displays, the purifying of the buddha-lands, and the perfecting of all living beings, our hearts have not taken delight. [\* These are three Hinayana ideas, called "the three gates of emancipation [or wisdom]" or "the three samadhis": to contemplate the fundamental nature of all existence 1. as void or immaterial, 2. as formless, and 3. as functionless.] Wherefore? Because we have fancied that the World-honoured One had caused us to escape the triple world and to obtain proof of nirvana, and besides, now we are so worn with age that in regard to Perfect Enlightenment, for which the Buddha instructs bodhisattvas, we have not conceived a single fond thought of joy. Now we, in the presence of the Buddha, hearing that shravakas are predicted to [attain] Perfect Enlightenment, are extremely glad in our minds and have obtained that which we have never experienced before. Unexpectedly we now of a sudden hear this rare Law. Profoundly do we congratulate ourselves on having acquired so great and good a gain, an inestimable jewel, without the seeking. World-honoured One! Now let us have the pleasure of speaking in a parable to make plain this

meaning.

"It is like a man who, in his youth, leaves his father and runs away. For long he dwells in some other country, for ten, twenty, or lifty years. The older he grows, the more needy he becomes. Roaming about in all directions to seek clothing and food, he gradually wanders along till he unexpectedly approaches his native country. From the first the father searched for this son, but in vain, and meanwhile settled in a certain city. His home became very rich, his goods and treasures incalculable: gold, silver, lapis lazuli, coral, amber, crystal, and other gems, so that his granaries and treasuries overflow; he has many youths and slaves, retainers and attendants, and numberless elephants, horses, carriages, animals to ride, cows, and sheep. His revenues and investments spread to other countries, and his traders and customers are many in the extreme.

"At this time the poor son, wandering through village after village and passing through countries and cities, at last reaches the city where his father has settled. The father has always been thinking of his son, and though he has been parted from him over fifty years, he has never spoken of the matter to anyone, only pondering it himself and cherishing regret in his heart as he reflects: 'Old and worn, I own much wealth-gold, silver, and jewels, granaries and treasuries overflowing--but I have no son. Someday my end will come and my wealth will be scattered and lost, for there is no one to whom I can leave it.' Thus does he earnestly, whenever he thinks of his son, repeat this reflection: 'If I could only get [back] my son and commit my wealth to him, how contented and happy should I be, with never any more anxiety!'

"World-honoured One! Meanwhile the poor son, hired for wages here and there, unexpectedly arrives at his father's house. Standing by the gate, he sees from afar his father seated on a lion couch, his feet on a jeweled footstool, revered and surrounded by Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and citizens, and with strings of pearl worth thousands and myriads adorning his body; attendants and young slaves with white fly whisks wait upon him right and left; he is covered by a precious canopy from which hang streamers of flowers; perfume is sprinkled on the earth, all kinds of famous flowers are scattered around, and precious things are placed in rows; some he accepts, others he rejects. Such is his glory, and the honour of his dignity. The poor son, seeing his father possessed of such great power, was seized with fear, regretting that he had come to this place, and secretly reflected thus: 'This must be a king or someone of royal rank; it is no place for me to obtain anything for the hire of my labour. I had better go to some poor hamlet, where there is a place to hire out my labour, and food and clothing are easier to get. If I tarry here long, I may suffer oppression and forced labour.'

"Having reflected thus, he hastily runs away. Meanwhile the rich elder on his lion seat has recognised his son at first sight and with great joy in his mind has thus reflected: 'Now I have the one to whom my treasuries of wealth are to be made over. Always have I been thinking of this my son, with no means of seeing him; but suddenly he himself has come and my longing is satisfied. Though worn with years, I still yearn for him.'

"Instantly he dispatches his attendants to rush after him and fetch him back. Thereupon the messengers hasten forth to seize him. The poor son, surprised and scared, loudly cries his complaint: 'I have committed no offense against you; why should I be arrested?' The messengers all the more hasten to lay hold of him and compel him to go back. Thereupon the poor son thinks to himself that though he is innocent yet he will be imprisoned, and that will certainly mean his death, so that he is all the more terrified, faints away, and falls on the ground. The father, seeing this from afar, gives the messengers his word: 'There is no need for this man. Do not fetch him by force. Sprinkle cold water on his face to restore him to consciousness and do not speak to him any further!' [Or "He sprinkles cold water . . . does not speak . . . " and so on.] Wherefore? The father, knowing that his son's disposition is inferior, knowing that his own lordly position has caused distress to his son, yet profoundly assured that he is his son, tactfully says nothing to others that this is his son. A messenger says to the son: 'I now set you free; go wherever you The poor son is delighted, thus obtaining the unexpected. He rises from the ground and goes to a poor hamlet in search of food and clothing.

"Then the elder, desiring to attract his son, sets up a device. Secretly he sends two men of doleful and undignified appearance, saying: 'You go and visit that place and gently say to the poor man: "There is a place for you to work here; you will be given double wages." If the poor man agrees, bring him back and give him work. If he asks what work do you wish him to do, then you may say to him: "It is for removing a heap of dirt that we hire you, and we both also would work along with you." Then the two messengers went in search of the poor son and, having found him, placed before him the above proposal. Thereupon the poor son, having received his wages beforehand, joins with them in removing the dirt heap. His father, beholding the son, is struck with compassion for and wonder at him.

"Another day he sees at a distance through a window his son's figure, gaunt, lean, and doleful, filthy and unclean from the piles of dirt and dust; thereupon he takes off his strings of jewels, his soft attire and ornaments, and puts on again a coarse, torn, and dirty garment, smears his body with dust, takes a dustpan in his right hand, and with an appearance of fear [or: "with an appearance of sternness."] says to the labourers: 'Get on with your work, don't be lazy.' By such a device he gets near his son, to whom he soon afterward says: 'Aye, my man, you stay and work here, do not go again elsewhere; I will increase your wages; whatever you need, bowls, utensils, rice, wheat flour, salt, vinegar, and so on; have no hesitation; besides, there is an old and worn-out servant whom you shall be given if you need him. Be at ease in your mind; I am as it were your father; do not be worried again. Wherefore? I am old and advanced in years, but you are young and vigorous; all the time you have been working, you have never been deceitful, lazy, angry, or grumbling; I have never seen you have such vices as these, like the other labourers. From this time forth you shall be as my own begotten son.'

"Thereupon the elder gives him a name anew and calls him a son. Then the poor son, though he rejoices at this happening, still thinks of himself as a humble hireling. For this reason, for twenty years he continues to be employed for removing dirt. After this period, there is confidence between them and he goes in and out and at his ease, though his abode is still the original place.

"World-honoured One! Then the elder becomes ill and, knowing that he will shortly die, says to the poor son: 'Now I possess abundant gold, silver, and precious things, and my granaries and treasuries are full to overflowing. The quantities of these things, and the amounts which should be received and given, I want you to understand in detail. Such is my mind. Do you agree to this my will. Wherefore? Because

now I and you are of the same mind. Be increasingly mindful so that there be no waste.'

"Then the poor son accepts his instructions and commands, and becomes acquainted with all the goods, gold, silver, and precious things, as well as all the granaries and treasuries, but has no idea of expecting to receive as much as a meal, while his abode is still the original place and his sense of inferiority too he is still unable to abandon.

"After a short time has passed, again the father, knowing that his son's ideas have gradually been enlarged and his will well developed, and that he despises his previous state of mind. on seeing that his own end is near, commands his son to come and at the same time gathers together his relatives, and the kings, ministers, Kshatriyas, and citizens. When they are all assembled, he thereupon addresses them, saying: "Know, gentlemen, this is my son begotten by me. It is over fifty years since, from a certain city, he left me and ran away to endure loneliness and misery. His former name was so and so and my name is so and so. At that time in that city I sought him sorrowfully. Suddenly in this place I met and regained him. This is really my son and I am really his father. Now all the wealth which I possess belongs entirely to my son, and all my previous disbursements and receipts are known by this son.'

"World-honoured One! When the poor son heard these words of his father, great was his joy at such unexpected news, and thus he thought: 'Without any mind for or effort on my part these treasures now come of themselves to me.'

World-honoured One! The very rich elder is the Tathagata and we all are as the Buddha's sons. The Tathagata has always declared that we are his sons. World-honoured One! Because of the three sufferings, in the midst of births and deaths we have borne all kinds of torments, being deluded and ignorant and enjoying our attachment to trifles. Today the Worldhonoured One has caused us to ponder over and remove the dirt of all diverting discussions of inferior laws or things. In these we have been diligent to make progress and have got but a day's pay for our effort to reach nirvana. [Or "[to make progress and] reach nirvana as our day's hire."] Having got , we greatly rejoiced and were contented, saying ourselves: 'For our diligence and progress in the Buddha-law what we have received is ample.' But the World-honoured One. knowing beforehand that our minds were attached to low desires and delighted in inferior things, lets us go our own way and does not discriminate against us, saying: 'You shall yet have control of the treasury of Tathagata-knowledge.' The World-honoured One by his tactful power tells of the Tathagata-wisdom, but we, though following the Buddha and receiving but a day's wage of nirvana. have deemed it a great gain and never devoted ourselves to seeking after this Great-vehicle.

We also have declared and expounded the Tathagatawisdom to bodhisattvas, but in regard to this Great-vehicle [great doctrine] we have never had a longing for it. Wherefore? The Buddha, knowing that our minds delight in inferior things, by his tactful power teaches according to our capacity. but still we do not perceive that we are really Buddha-sons. Now we have just realised that the World-honoured One does not begrudge the Buddha-wisdom. Wherefore? From of old we are really sons of the Buddha, but only have taken pleasure in minor matters; if we had had a mind to take pleasure in the great, the Buddha would have preached the Great-vehicle Law to us. Now he in this sutra preaches only the One-vehicle: and though formerly in the presence of bodhisattvas he spoke disparagingly of shravakas who were pleased with minor matters, yet the Buddha had in reality been instructing them in the Great-vehicle. Therefore we say that though we had no mind to hope or expect it, [yet] now the great treasure of the King of the Law has of itself come to us, and such things that Buddha-sons should obtain we have all obtained.

Then Maha-Kashyapa\*, desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, [\* Maha-Kashyapa may refer either to Buddha's secretary Devadatta (Ananda) or to Buddha's son Rahula. According to Buddhist tradition, Gautama Buddha (c. 563-483 BC\*) and Rahula (c. 534-? or 451-? BC), just like Buddha's uncle (or elder cousin), the philosopher Mahavira (599–527 BC), have belonged to the Kshatriya dynasty, among Jains and Buddhists better known as Solar dynasty (Suryavanshi) or Ikshvaku dynasty which originates from the Northeast of India. [The range of dating is an estimate, another estimation sets the dating about 80 years later.]

The Buddha's name Shakyamuni contains his Family name "Sage of the Shakyas." The Shakya are a clan of Iron age India (1st millennium BC), inhabiting an area in Greater Magadha, situated at present-day southern Nepal and northern India, near the Himalaya. The Shakyas have ruled an independent oligarchic republican state known as Shakya Ganarajya. The Shakya dynasty still rules Nepal today. Its ancient capital Kapilavastu may have been located either near Tilaurakot in the Lumbini Province of southern Nepal (the Buddha's place of Birth) or present-day Piprahwa nearby, India. In Piprahwa is the Buddha's tomb, a massive pyramid-like Stupa discovered by British engineer William Claxton Peppe on his own land in January 1898.] spoke thus in verse:

"We on this day Have heard the Buddha's voice teach And are ecstatic with joy at Having obtained the unprecedented. The Buddha declares that we shravakas Will become buddhas; His peerless collection of treasures We have received without seeking. It is like a youth, Immature and ignorant, Who leaves his father and runs away To other lands far distant, Wandering about in many countries For over fifty years. His father, with anxious care. Searches in all directions. Wearied with his search. He abides in a certain city. Where he builds a house, Enjoying the pleasures of life; [Literally, "enjoying the five desires."] Very rich in his house, With abundance of gold and silver, Moonstones and agates [a rock or semi-gem of chalcedony and quartz, glittering in a large variety of colours], Pearls and lapis lazuli, Elephants, horses, oxen, and sheep, Palanquins, litters, carriages, Husbandmen, young slaves, And a multitude of people; His revenues and investments Spread even to other countries; His traders and customers Are found everywhere; A thousand myriad kotis of people Surround and honour him; Constantly by the king He is held in affection; All the ministers and noble families Honour him highly; For all these reasons His guests are many; Such are the abundance of his wealth And the greatness of his power. But his years are wearing away And he grieves the more over his son; Morning and night he ponders: 'The time of my death is approaching; My foolish son has left me For over fifty years; These things in my storehouses--What shall I do [with them]?' At that time the poor son Seeks food and clothing From city to city, From country to country, Sometimes getting something, Sometimes nothing; Famished, weak, and gaunt, Covered with scabs and sores, Gradually he passes along To the city where his father dwells.

Hired for wages he roams about, At last reaching his father's house. At that very hour the elder Within his gates Has set up a great jeweled curtain And sits on a lion seat Surrounded by his attendants, Everybody taking care of him.

Some are counting Gold, silver, and precious things, Others incoming and outgoing goods, Noting and recording bonds. The poor son, seeing his father So noble and splendid, Thinks: 'This must be a king Or one of royal rank.'

Alarmed and wondering, [he says]: 'Why have I come here?' Again he thinks to himself: 'If I tarry [here] long, I may suffer oppression And be driven to forced labour.' Having pondered thus, He runs off in haste In search of some poor place, That he may go and hire his labour.

At that time the elder On the lion seat, Seeing his son from afar, Secretly recognises him And instantly orders servants To pursue and fetch him back. The poor son cries in alarm, Faints away, and falls on the ground, saying: 'These men have caught me; I shall certainly be killed. Why, for food and clothing, Did I come here?'

The elder, knowing that his son, Being foolish and inferior, Will not believe in his word, Nor believe that he is his father, With tactful method Again dispatches other men, One-eyed, squat, common, And unimposing, saying: 'You go and tell him, Saying: "You be hired along with us To remove dirt and rubbish And you shall be given double wages."' The poor son hearing this Is glad, and comes with them, For the purpose of removing dirt And cleansing outhouses. The elder, through a lattice, Continually sees his son, And thinks of him as foolish And pleased with humble things. Then the elder, Donning a tattered dirty garment, Takes a dirt hod, Goes to where his son is, And by this device gets near him, Bidding him be diligent, saying: I have decided to increase your wages, Besides oil for your feet, And plenty of food and drink, And thick warm mats.' Then with sharp words he thus chides: 'Get you on with the work.' Again he speaks gently: 'You are as if you were my son.' The elder, being wise, Gradually causes him to go in and out, And after twenty years Employs him in house affairs, Showing him gold and silver, Pearls and crystal, And the incoming and outgoing of things; All these he makes him know. Still he dwells without, Lodging in a hovel, For himself thinking of penurious things, Saying: 'These things are not mine.' The father, knowing his son's mind Has gradually developed, And wishing to give him his wealth, Gathers together his relatives, Princes and ministers, Kshatriyas and citizens. In this great assembly, He announces: This is my son, Who left me and went elsewhere Fifty years ago; Since I saw my son arrive, Twenty years have passed.

Long ago in a certain city I lost this son; In wandering round in search of him, At last I arrived here. All that I have, Houses and people, I entirely give to him; He is free to use them as he will.' The son thinks of his former poverty And inferior disposition, Yet anew from his father Obtains such great treasures, Together with houses and buildings And all this wealth, And so rejoices greatly On receiving such unexpected fortune. So it is with the Buddha; Knowing that we are pleased with trifles, He did not before proclaim, 'You will become buddhas.' But said that we Who are attaining faultlessness And perfect in Hinayana Are his shravaka disciples. The Buddha commands us: 'Preach the most high Way, And that these who practice it Will become buddhas. We, receiving the Buddha's teaching, For the sake of great bodhisattvas, By numerous reasonings, By various parables, And by so many expressions, Preach the supreme Way. The

sons of the Buddha, Hearing the Law from us, Day and night ponder over And with unflagging zeal practice it. Then the buddhas Will predict of them: You, in a future generation, Shall become buddhas.' The mystic Law Of all the buddhas Can only to bodhisattvas Be expounded in full reality, So not to us till now Was this truth preached.

Just as that poor son Who came to be near his father, Though he knew all the goods, Had no hope of possessing them, So we, though we proclaimed The treasury of the Buddha-law, Yet had no will or wish for it, Being also like him. We, with the extinction of inward [fires], [Literally, "inside extinction," that is, the annihilation of all the earthly cares in one's mind.] Considered ourselves satisfied; Having thus settled this matter, Nothing more remained to be done. Even if we had heard Of the purification of buddha-lands And the conversion of living beings, We would never have rejoiced. And wherefore? Because we fancied that all things Were altogether void, Without birth, without extinction, Nothing large, nothing small, Without fault, without effort. Thinking thus, With no conception of joy, We, for long, Neither coveted nor were attached To the Buddha-wisdom, Nor had we any will or wish for it. But we, in regard to the Law, Considered we had reached finality.

We, for a long time Practicing the Law of the Void, Obtained release from the triple world's Distressing troubles, Dwelling in the final bodily state Of nirvana [in which form still] remains; Being instructed by the Buddha, we thought We had, without a doubt, attained the Way And that we had therefore Repaid the Buddha's grace. Though we, for the sake Of all Buddha-sons, Have preached the Bodhisattva-law That they should seek the Buddha-way, Yet we, in regard to this Law, [Some Chinese copies do not have this line, but the Japanese copies do.] Had never any wish or pleasure. Our Leader saw and let us alone, Because he looked into our minds; So at first he did not stir up our zeal By telling of the true gain. Just as the rich elder, Knowing his son's inferior disposition, By his tactfulness Subdues his mind, And afterward gives him All his wealth, So is it with the Buddha In his display of rarities. Knowing those who delight in trifles, And by his tactfulness Subduing their minds, He instructs them in the greater wisdom. Today we have obtained That which we have never had before; What we have not previously looked for Now we have unexpectedly obtained, Just as that poor son Obtained inestimable treasures. World-honoured One! Now we Have got the Way and got the fruit, And, in the faultless Law, Attained to clear vision. [The Buddha-wisdom.] We for long Having kept the Buddha's pure commands, Today for the first time Obtain their fruit and reward. In the Law of the Law-king, Having long practised holy deeds, [Literally, "brahma-conduct."] Now we have attained to the faultless, Peerless great fruit; Now we are Really hearers of the sound [Shravakas, disciples], Who cause all beings to hear

The sound of the Buddha-way.

Now we are Really arhats, Who, in all the worlds Of gods, men, Maras, and Brahmans, Universally by them Are worthy of worship. The World-honoured One, in his great grace, By things which are rare Has compassion for and instructs And benefits us; Through countless kotis of kalpas, Who could repay him? Service by hands and feet, Homage with the head, All kinds of offerings, Are all unable to repay him. If one bore him on one's head, [Perhaps as a crown.] Or carried him on one's shoulders Through kalpas numerous as the sands of the Ganges; Or revered him with one's whole mind, Or with the best of food, Or garments of countless value And all kinds of bed things, Or every sort of medicament; Or with ox-head sandalwood\* And all kinds of jewels Erected stupas and monasteries; Or carpeted the ground with precious garments; With such things as these To pay homage Through kalpas as the sands of Ganges. Yet one would be unable to repay.

[Sandalwood from Uttarakuru; this continent is said to be shaped like the head of an ox. This is a reference to Australia and the text is talking about Australian sandalwood (Santalum spicatum); as opposed to the ordinary Indian sandalwood (Santalum album). The trade routes were run by Austronesian catamaran fleets. (See: Grand Bible, pp. 3666, The Weilüe by Yu Huan, The Xiyu Juan by Fan Ye, Zhufan Zhi by Zhao Rukuo.) Uttarakuru was already mentioned in The Aitareya Brahmana of the Rigveda, in the Ramayana, and The Mahabharata glorifies Uttarakuru as a fairy land. Neither Indians nor Chinese knew the location as the Austronesians did not reveal their trade routes to anyone, as a kind of antique copyright.]

Buddhas rarely appear with their Infinite and boundless, [Or "Buddhas [possess] rare, infinite . . ."] Inconceivably Great transcendent powers; They are faultless and effortless, The kings of the Law, Who are able, for inferior minds, Patiently to bide their time in this matter, And for common folk attached to externals To preach as is befitting.

Buddhas in the Law Attain to supreme power. Knowing all living beings, With their various desires and pleasures, And their powers, So according to their capacities, By innumerable parables, They preach the Law to them. According as all living beings In past lives have planted good roots. The buddhas, knowing the mature And the immature,

And taking account of each, Discriminating and understanding, In the One-vehicle, as may be belitting, They preach the three."

HERE ENDS THE SECOND BUNCH OF WORDS

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 5 The Parable of the Herbs

At that time the World-honoured One addressed Maha-Kashyapa and the other great disciples: "Good! Good! Kashyapa; you have well proclaimed the real merits of the Tathagata. Truly they are as you have said. The Tathagata, in addition, has infinite, boundless, innumerable merits, which if you spoke of for infinite kotis of kalpas you could not fully express. Know, Kashyapa! The Tathagata is the king of the Law. Whatever he declares is wholly free from falsity. He expounds all the laws by wise tactfulness. The Law preached by him all leads to the stage of perfect knowledge. The Tathagata sees and knows what is the good of all the laws and also knows what all living beings in their inmost hearts are doing; he penetrates them without hindrance. Moreover, in regard to all laws, having the utmost understanding of them, he reveals to all living beings the wisdom of perfect knowledge. [The state of all-knowing intelligence, that is, the Buddha-wisdom.]

'Kashyapa! Suppose, in the three-thousand-greatthousandfold world there are growing on the mountains, along the rivers and streams, in the valleys and on the land. plants, trees, thickets, forests, and medicinal herbs of various and numerous kinds, with names and colours all different. A dense cloud, spreading over and everywhere covering the whole three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, pours down its rain equally at the same time. Its moisture universally fertilizes the plants, trees, thickets, forests, and medicinal herbs, with their tiny roots, tiny stalks, tiny twigs, tiny leaves, their medium-sized roots, medium stalks, medium twigs, medium leaves, their big roots, big stalks, big twigs, and big leaves; every tree big or little, according to its superior, middle, or lower capacity, receives its share. From the rain of the one cloud each according to the nature of its kind acquires its development, opening its blossoms and bearing its fruit. Though produced in one soil and moistened by the same rain. vet these plants and trees are all different.

"Know, Kashyapa! The Tathagata is also like this; he appears in the world like the rising of that great cloud. Universally he extends his great call over the world of gods, men, and asuras, just as that great cloud everywhere covers the three thousand-great-thousandfold region. In the great assembly he sounds forth these words: 'I am the Tathagata the Worshipful, the All Wise, the Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, the Well Departed, the Understander of the World, the Peerless Leader, the Controller, the Teacher of Gods and Men, the Buddha, the World-honoured One. Those who have not yet been saved I cause to be saved; those who have not been set free to be set free; those who have not yet been comforted to be comforted: those who have not vet obtained nirvana to obtain nirvana. [These four acts correspond with the four universal vows of a bodhisattva: 1. "I vow to save all living beings without limit"; 2. "I vow to end the numberless distresses"; 3. "I vow to know all laws without end"; 4. "I vow to accomplish the supreme Buddha-way."] I know the present world and the world to come as they really are. I am the All Knowing, the All Seeing, the Knower of the Way, the Opener of the Way, the Preacher of the Way. Come to me, all you gods, men, and asuras, to hear the Law.' At that moment numberless thousand myriad kotis of classes of living beings came to the Buddha to hear the Law. Thereupon the Tathagata, observing the natural powers of all these beings, keen or dull, zealous or indifferent, according to their capacity preached to them the Law in varying and unstinted ways, causing them all to rejoice and joyfully obtain much profit. All these living beings, having heard this Law, are comforted in the present life and afterward will be born in happy states, where they will be made joyful by the Truth and also hear the Law. Having heard the Law, they are freed from hindrances, and according to their capacity in all the laws, they gradually enter the Way.

'Just as that great cloud, raining on all the plants, trees, thickets, forests, and medicinal herbs, and according to the nature of their seed perfectly fertilising them so that each grows and develops, so the Law preached by the Tathagata is of one form [meaning: all forms or appearances are manifestations of reality.] and flavour ["One flavour" is interpreted as the One-vehicle Law, or the Law of Equality.], that is to say, deliverance [from mortality.], abandonment [of attachments or of the view that nirvana means extinction.], extinction [here means the Middle Path, not mortal existence or total extinction.], and finally theattainment of perfect knowledge [the wisdom concerning all seeds.]. If there be living beings who hear the Law of the Tathagata and keep, read, recite, and practice it as preached by him, their achievements will not enable them to understand their own nature. Wherefore? Because there is only the Tathagata who knows the seed, the form, the embodiment, and the nature of all these living beings, what things they are reflecting over,

what things they are thinking, what things practicing, how reflecting, how thinking, how practicing, by what laws reflecting, by what laws thinking, by what laws practicing, and by what laws attaining to what laws. There is only the Tathagata who in reality sees, clearly and without hindrance, the stages in which all living beings are, just as those plants, trees, thickets, forests, medicinal herbs, and others do not know their own natures, superior, middle, or inferior.

The Tathagata knows this unitary essential Law, that is to say, deliverance, abandonment, extinction, final nirvana of eternal tranquillity, ending in return to the void. The Buddha, knowing this and observing the dispositions of all living beings, supports and protects them. For this reason he does not immediately declare to them the complete and perfect wisdom. Kashyapa! All of you! A most rare thing it is that you should be able to know the Law preached by the Tathagata as he sees fit, and be able to believe and able to receive it. Wherefore? Because the Law preached by buddhas, the world-honoured ones, as they see fit is difficult to discern and difficult to know." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in

"The Law-king who destroys existence Appears in this world; According to the natures of all living beings, He preaches the Law discriminately. The Tathagata is greatly to be honoured And profound in wisdom; For long has he kept secret this essential truth, Not endeavoring hastily to declare it. The wise, if they hear it, Are able to believe and discern; The ignorant doubt and turn away, Losing it perpetually. Therefore, Kashyapa, According to their powers I preach to them With varied reasonings To bring them to right views.

Know, Kashyapa! It is like a great cloud Rising above the world, Covering all things everywhere, A beneficent cloud full of moisture; Flashes of lightning shine and glint, The voice of thunder vibrates afar, Bringing gladness and ease to all.

The sun's rays are veiled, And the earth is coloured; The cloud lowers and spreads As if it might be caught and gathered; Its rain everywhere equally Descends on all sides, Streaming and pouring without stint, Enriching all the land. On mountains, by rivers, in steep valleys, In hidden recesses, there grow The plants, trees, and herbs; Trees, big or small, The shoots of all the ripening grain, Sugar cane and grapevine, All these by the rain are fertilised And abundantly enriched. The dry ground is all soaked, And herbs and trees flourish together. From the one water which Issued from that cloud, Plants, trees, thickets, forests, According to their need, receive moisture. All the trees, Superior, middle, inferior, all, Each according to its size, Grow and develop Roots, stalks, branches, and leaves, Blossoms and fruits in their brilliant colours; By the pouring of the one rain, All become fresh and glossy.

Just as their bodies, forms, And natures are divided into great and small, So the enriching rain, though one and the same. Yet makes each flourish. In the same manner the Buddha also Appears in the world, Like a great cloud Universally covering all things; And having appeared in the world, He, for the sake of all living beings, Discriminates and proclaims The reality of all the laws. The great holy Worldhonoured One Among the gods and men And all the other beings Proclaims this, saying: I am the Tathagata, The most honoured among men; I appear in the world Just like a great cloud, To pour enrichment on all Parched living beings, To free them all from misery And so attain the joy of peace, Joy in the world, And the joy of nirvana. Gods, men, and all! With all your mind hearken to me. Come all of you here And behold the peerless honoured one. I am the World-honoured One, Who cannot be equaled. To give peace to all creatures I appear in the world, And for the hosts of the living Preach the Law, pure as sweet dew: The one and only Law Of emancipation and nirvana.' With one transcendent voice I proclaim this meaning, Constantly taking the Great-vehicle As my subject.

I look upon all living beings Everywhere with equal eyes, Without distinction of persons, Or mind of love or hate. I have no predilections Nor limitations for partiality]; Ever to all beings I preach the Law equally; As I preach to noe person, So I preach to all. Constantly I proclaim the Law, Never occupied with aught else; Going or coming, sitting or standing, I never weary of Pouring it abundantly upon the world, Like the rain enriching universally. Honoured and humble, high and low, Law-keepers and law-breakers, Those of perfect character And those of imperfect, Orthodox and heterodox, Quick-witted and dull-witted, With equal mind I rain the rain of the Law Unwearyingly.

All living creatures On hearing my Law, According to their receptive powers, Find their abode in their several places; Some dwell amongst gods or men Or holy wheel-rolling kings, Or Shakra, Brahma, or other kings; These are like smaller herbs. Those who know the faultless Law And are able to attain nirvana, Who cultivate the six transcendent faculties And obtain the three clear views, Who dwell alone in mountain forests, Ever practicing meditation, And obtain pratyeka-buddhahood—These are the larger herbs.

Those who seek the World-honoured One, Resolving, 'We will become buddhas,' And practice zeal and meditation-These are the superior herbs. And these Buddha-sons Who single-minded walk the Buddha-way, Ever practicing compassion, Assured that they will become buddhas Certainly and without doubt--These are named shrubs. The firmly settled in the transcendent faculties, Who roll the unretreating wheel And save infinite hundred Thousand kotis of the living. Such bodhisattvas as these Are named trees. The Buddha's equal preaching Is like the one rain; But beings, according to their nature, Receive it differently, Just as the plants and trees Each take a varying supply. The Buddha by this parable Tactfully reveals And with various expressions Proclaims the One Law: But of the Buddha-wisdom It is as a drop in the ocean. I rain down the rain of the Law, Filling the whole world, The one essential Law, To be practised according to ability, Just as those thickets, forests, Herbs, and trees, According to their size, Luxuriantly develop. The Law of all buddhas Ever by its essential oneness Causes all the worlds Universally to gain perfect weal. Gradually by its observance All attain the Way's fruition. Shravakas ["disciples"] and pratyekabuddhas ["solitary buddhas"] Who dwell in the mountain forests, Are in the final bodily state, And, hearing the Law, reach fruition Are named herbs, Each progressing in growth.

As to the bodhisattvas Who are firm in wisdom, Penetrate the triple world, And seek the highest vehicle, These are named shrubs Which gain increasing growth. Again, those who practice meditation And gain transcendent powers, Who, hearing the doctrine of the Void, Greatly rejoice in their minds, And emitting innumerable rays Save all living beings, These are named trees Which gain increasing growth.

Like this, Kashyapa, Is the Law preached by the Buddha. It is just like a great cloud Which with the same kind of rain Enriches men and blossoms, So that each bears fruit. Know, Kashyapa! By numerous reasonings And various parables I reveal the Buddha-way; This is my tactful method. All buddhas do the same. What I have now said to you all Is the veriest truth. All shravakas [disciples] Have not yet attained nirvana. [According to the extant Sanskrit original, this line can be translated "come to attain nirvana."] The Way in which you walk Is the bodhisattva-way; By gradually practicing and learning, All of you will become buddhas." [The "herbs" of this chapter title can be translated as "medicinal herbs." Kern has "plants."]

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 6 Prediction

At that time the World-honoured One, after pronouncing this verse, addressed all the great assembly, uttering words "This my disciple Maha-Kashayapa in the world to come shall do homage to three hundred myriad kotis of the world-honoured buddhas, serving, revering, honouring, and extolling them and widely proclaiming the infinite great Law of the buddhas. In his final bodily state he will become a buddha, whose name will be called Radiance Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, Worldhonoured One, whose domain is named Radiant Virtue, and whose kalpa is named Great Magnificence. The lifetime of that buddha will be twelve minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for twenty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for twenty minor kalpas. His domain will be beautiful, devoid of dirt, potsherds, thorns, and unclean ordure; its land will be level and straight, with no uneven places, neither pitfalls nor mounds, its ground of lapis lazuli, lines of jewel trees, golden cords to bound the ways. strewn with precious flowers, and purity reigning everywhere. In that domain the bodhisattvas will be infinite thousand kotis, with shravakas numberless. No Mara deeds will be there, and though there are Mara and Mara's people, they all will protect the Buddha-law." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I say to you bhikshus That with my Buddha-eyes I see that this Kashyapa In the world to come After innumerable kalpas. Will become a buddha, And that in the world to come He will serve and pay homage to Three hundred myriad kotis Of world-honoured buddhas; For the sake of the Buddhawisdom He will purely practice the brahma-life, Serving the highest And most honoured of men, Putting into practice all The peerless wisdom, And in his final bodily state ecome a buddha.

His land will be pure, With lapis lazuli for ground, Abundance of jewel trees Lining the roadsides, Golden cords to bound the ways, Rejoicing the beholders, Ever-pervading fragrance, Rare flowers strewn everywhere, Every kind of rarity Adding to its splendour; Its land will be level, Free from mounds and hollows.

Many bodhisattvas, Of untold number And gentle mind, Will attain great transcendent powers And reverently keep the Buddha's Great-vehicle sutras.

His multitude of shravakas, Of faultless final form, Sons of the Law-king, Will be beyond count; Even the eyes of the gods Cannot know their number. That buddha's lifetime will be Twelve minor kalpas; His Righteous Law will abide in the world For twenty minor kalpas; The Counterfeit Law will abide For twenty minor kalpas. Such will be the history of The Radiant World-honoured One."

Thereupon Maha-Maudgalyayana, Subhuti, Maha-Katyayana, and others all tremblingly folded their hands with one mind, and gazing up into the World-honoured One's face, not for an instant lowering their eyes, with united voice spoke thus in verse: "Great Hero, World-honoured One, Law-king of the Shakyas!

Out of compassion for us Grant us the Buddhaannouncement! If thou dost know the depths of our minds And predict our future destinies, It will be like pouring sweet dew To change the heat to coolness, Like one from a famine land Suddenly finding a royal repast, Yet cherishing doubt and fear, Not daring at once to eat, But when instructed by the king, Then daring to eat.

Thus it is with us; While minding Hinayana error, We know not how to obtain The supreme wisdom of the Buddha. Though we hear the voice of the Buddha, Who says we shall become buddhas, Our hearts are still anxious and afraid, Like him who dare not eat.

But if we receive the Buddha's prediction, Then shall we be happy and at ease. Great Hero, World-honoured One! Thou dost ever desire to pacify the world; Be pleased to bestow our prediction, Like bidding the famished to feast!"

Thereupon the World-honoured One, knowing the thoughts in the minds of those senior disciples, addressed all the bhikshus: "This Subhuti, in the world to come, shall do homage to three hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of buddhas, serving, revering, honouring, and extolling them, practicing the brahma-life, and perfecting the bodhisattva-way. In his final bodily state he will become a buddha whose title will be Name Form Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, whose kalpa is named Possessing Jewels, and whose domain is named Jewel Producing. His land will be level and straight, with crystal for ground, adorned with jewel trees, devoid of mounds and pits, gravel, thorns, and unclean ordure, the earth covered with precious flowers, and purity reigning everywhere. All the people in that land will dwell on jeweled terraces and in pearly palaces. Shravaka disciples will be innumerable and limitless, they can be made known neither by figures nor by metaphors, and the bodhisattva host will be numberless thousand myriad kotis of nayutas. The lifetime of that buddha will be twelve minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for twenty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for twenty minor kalpas. That buddha will always dwell in the empyrean, preaching the Law to living beings and delivering innumerable bodhisattvas and shravakas." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"All you host of bhikshus! I have something to tell you. All with one mind Listen to what I say! My senior disciple Subhuti Will become a buddha Whose title will be Name Form. He will serve numberless Myriad kotis of buddhas, And following the practice of the buddhas, Will become perfect in the Great Way.

In his final bodily state He will obtain the thirty-two signs, And be erect and beautiful As a mountain of jewels. The domain of the buddha Will be peerless in pure splendour, So that all who behold it Will love and delight in it. The buddha in its midst Will save innumerable beings; In his Buddha-law Many will be the bodhisattvas, All of keen faculties, Who roll the never-receding wheel. His domain is ever Ornate with bodhisattvas; His shravaka host is Beyond expression and count, Who all attain the three clear views, Perfect the six transcendent faculties, Abide in the eight emancipations, And are greatly awe-inspiring. That Buddha preaches the law, Revealing himself in infinite Supernatural transformations Bevond conception.

Gods and people As the sands of the Ganges in number All with folded hands Hearken to that buddha's words. That buddha's lifetime will be Twelve minor kalpas, His Righteous Law will abide in the world For twenty minor kalpas, And the Counterfeit Law will also abide For twenty minor kalpas."

At that time the World-honoured One again addressed all the assembly of bhikshus, saying: "Now I announce to you that this Maha-Katyayana, in the world to come, will worship and serve eight thousand kotis of buddhas with many kinds of offerings, revering and honouring them. After those buddhas are extinct he for each of them will erect stupas a thousand yojanas in height, of equal length and breadth, five hundred yojanas, composed of the precious seven-gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, pearl, and carnelian--and will serve those stupas with garlands of flowers, perfume [Perfumed ointment made of ground sandalwood or aloes and water. It is used for painting or oiling.], sandal powder [Ground

sandalwood used for sprinkling.], burning incense, silk canopies, flags, and banners. After this he will again similarly serve two myriad kotis of buddhas; and, having served these buddhas, he will complete his bodhisattva-way and become a buddha whose title will be Jambunada Golden Light [Literally, "Luster of the River Jambu," The River Jambu is supposed to flow from the jambu trees on Mount Sumeru over golden sands.] Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. His land will be level and straight, with crystal for ground, adorned with jewel trees, with golden cords to bound the ways, its ground covered with wonderful flowers, and purity reigning everywhere, so that beholders rejoice. The four evil conditions will not be there-hells, hungry spirits, animals, and asuras--but gods and men will be many, and infinite myriad kotis of shravakas and bodhisattvas will adorn his domain. The lifetime of that buddha will be twelve minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for twenty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for twenty minor kalpas " At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"All of you host of bhikshus! Listen to me with one mind! The words that I speak Are true and infallible. This Katyayana Will, with various kinds Of excellent offerings, Pay homage to buddhas.

After the buddhas are extinct He will erect stupas of the precious seven And also, with flowers and perfumes, Pay homage to their relics; In his final bodily state He will obtain the Buddha-wisdom And accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. His land will be pure. And he will save innumerable Myriad kotis of the living, Being worshiped by all In every direction.

His buddha-luster None can surpass, And his buddha-title will be Jambunada Golden Light. Bodhisattvas and shravakas Free from all existence, Numberless, uncountable, Will adorn his domain."

Thereupon the World-honoured One again addressed the great assembly, saying: "Now I announce to you that Maha-Maudgalyayana will, with various kinds of offerings, serve eight thousand buddhas, revering and honouring them. After the extinction of these buddhas he for each of them will erect stupas a thousand yojanas in height, of equal length and breadth, five hundred yojanas, composed of the precious seven, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, pearl, and carnelian, and will serve them with garlands of flowers, perfume, sandal powder, burning incense, silk canopies, flags, and banners. After this he will again similarly serve two hundred myriad kotis of buddhas, and then become a buddha, whose title will be Tamalapattra Sandal Fragrance Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, Worldhonoured One. His kalpa will be named Joyful and his domain named Glad Mind. Its land will be level and straight with crystal for ground, adorned with jewel trees, strewn with pearly flowers, and purity [reigning] everywhere, so that beholders rejoice. There will be gods, men, bodhisattvas, and shravakas, countless in number. The lifetime of that buddha will be twenty-four minor kalpas, his Righteous Law will abide in the world for forty minor kalpas, and the Counterfeit Law will also abide for forty minor kalpas." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim the teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"This my disciple Maha-Maudgalyayana, After casting aside this body, Will see eight thousand Two hundred myriad of kotis Of world-honoured buddhas, And, for the sake of the Buddha-way, Will serve and revere them.

Among these buddhas, Ever practicing the brahma-life For innumerable kalpas, He will keep the Buddha-law. After these buddha are extinct, He will erect stupas of the precious seven, Displaying afar their golden spires, And, with flowers, perfumes, and music Pay homage to The stupas of the buddhas.

Having gradually accomplished The bodhisattva-way, In the domain Glad Mind He will become a buddha, Styled Tamalapattra Sandal Fragrance. The lifetime of that buddha Will be twenty-four kalpas. Constantly to gods and men He will preach the Buddha-way.

Shravakas will be innumerable As the sands of the Ganges, Having the three clear views, the six transcendent faculties, And awe-inspiring powers. Bodhisattvas will be numberless, Firm in their will, and zealous In the Buddha-wisdom, Who never backslide. After this buddha is extinct, His Righteous Law will abide For forty minor kalpas And the Counterfeit Law the same.

You my disciples Of perfect powers, Five hundred in number, All will receive their prediction To become buddhas In the world to come. Of my and your Development in previous worlds I will now make declaration. Do you all listen well!" [This chapter contains the announcement of the future destinies of the four great disciples of Shakyamuni Buddha, Kashyapa, Maudgalyayana, Subhuti, and Katyayana.]

THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 7

The Parable of the Magic City

The Buddha addressed the bhikshus, saying: "Of yore in the past, infinite, boundless, and inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there was then a buddha named Universal Surpassing Wisdom ["Great Pervading Surpassing Wisdom," or "He Whose Surpassing Wisdom Reaches Everywhere."]
Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One, whose domain was named Well Completed [Or: "Well Accomplished."], and whose kalpa was named Great Form. Bhikshus! Since that buddha became extinct, a very long time has passed. For instance, suppose the earth element in a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world were by someone ground into ink, and he were to pass through a thousand countries in an eastern direction, and then let fall one drop as large as a grain of dust; again, passing through another thousand countries, again let fall one drop; suppose he thus proceeds until he has finished the ink made of the earth element--what is your opinion? All these countries--is it possible for mathematicians or their disciples to find their end or confines so as to know their number?

"No, World-honoured One!"

"Bhikshus! Suppose all those countries which that man has passed, where he has dropped a drop and where he has not, ground to dust, and let one grain of the dust be a kalpa--[the time] since that buddha became extinct till now still exceeds those numbers by innumerable, unlimited hundred thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas. By the power of my Tathagata-wisdom, I observe that length of time as if it were only today." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I remember in a past world, Immeasurable infinite kalpas ago, A buddha, a [most] honoured man, Named Universal Surpassing Wisdom. Suppose someone by his power Ground a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world With its entire earth element Entirely into ink, And, passing a thousand countries, Then lets fall one drop; Proceeding in a like manner He drops all this atomized ink; Suppose all such countries as these, Those ink-dropped and those undropped, Again are entirely ground to dust, And a grain be as a kalpa--The number of those grains Are exceeded by his kalpas. Since that buddha became extinct, Such are the measureless kalpas. I, the Tathagata, by unhindered wisdom Know the extinction of that buddha And his shravakas and bodhisattvas As if it were now occurring. Know, bhikshus! The Buddha-wisdom is pure and minute, Faultless and unhindered, Penetrating through infinite kalpas.

The Buddha then addressed all the bhikshus, saying: "The life-time of the Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom is five hundred and forty myriad kotis of nayutas of kalpas. At the beginning when that buddha, seated on the wisdom throne, had destroyed the army of Mara, though he was on the point of attaining Perfect Enlightenment, the Buddha-laws were not yet revealed to him. So for a minor kalpa and then onward for ten minor kalpas he sat cross-legged with body and mind motionless; but the Buddha-laws were not yet revealed to him.

"Then the gods of the thirty-three heavens\* spread for that buddha a lion throne a yojana high under a Bodhi tree so that the buddha on this throne should attain Perfect Enlightenment. [\* The second highest of the six heavens of the Realm of Desire. The thirty-three heavens are situated on top of Mount Sumeru, eighty thousand joyanas above this world. They are ruled by Indra, whose own heaven is located on the central peak of Mount Sumeru; of the thirty-two other heavens, eight are located at each of the four cardinal points on the top of Mount Sumeru.] No sooner had he sat on that throne than the Brahma heavenly kings rained down celestial flowers over an area of a hundred yojanas. A fragrant wind from time to time arose, sweeping away the withered flowers and raining fresh ones. Thus incessantly during full ten minor kalpas they paid honour to the buddha and even till his extinction they constantly rained those flowers, while the gods belonging to the four heavenly kings to honour the buddha constantly beat celestial drums and other gods performed celestial music during fully ten minor kalpas and continued so to do until his extinction.

"Bhikshus! After the lapse of ten minor kalpas, the Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom attained the Buddha-laws, and Perfect Enlightenment was revealed to him. Before that buddha left home he had sixteen sons, the eldest of whom was named Wisdom Store. Each of his sons had various kinds of valued amusements, but on hearing that their father had accomplished Perfect Enlightenment, they all gave up the things they valued and went to pay their regards to the buddha, their weeping mothers escorting them. Their grandfather, Sacred Wheel-rolling King, with his one hundred ministers and also a hundred thousand myriad kotis of his people, all surrounded and followed them to the terrace of enlightenment, all desiring to draw near to the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom and to serve, revere, honour, and extol him. After their arrival they did homage before his

feet with their heads, and after making procession around him, with folded hands and in one mind, they gazed up to the world-honoured one and praised him in verse, saying:

"The World-honoured One of Great Might, To save all living beings, After measureless kotis of years Thou hast now become a buddha And perfected all thy vows. Good indeed is our fortune unsurpassed, For rarely do world-honoured ones appear. At one sitting ten minor kalpas have passed, Thy body and limbs Still, peaceful, and motionless, And with mind ever tranquil, Never distracted; Thou hast completed eternal nirvana And dost calmly dwell in the faultless Law. Now, seeing the world-honoured one Who has calmly accomplished the Buddha-way, We have attained good fortune And congratulate ourselves with great joy.

All the living are ever suffering, Blind and without a leader, Unaware of the way to end pain, Knowing not to seek deliverance. Through the long night evil ways have increased, Diminishing the heavenly throng; The world has passed from darkness into darkness, Never hearing a buddha's name. But now the Buddha has attained the supreme, Pacific, faultless Law, And we as well as gods and men Gain the great fortune. Therefore we all prostrate ourselves And offer our lives to the peerless honoured one.'

"Thereupon all these sixteen royal sons, when they had extolled the buddha in verse, entreated the world-honoured one to roll the Law-wheel on, saying: World-honoured One! Preach the Law, and abundantly comfort, have compassion for, and benefit both gods and men! Repeating it in verse, they said:

'Hero of the world! Incomparable! Adorned with a hundred auspicious signs! Who has attained to supreme wisdom: Be pleased to preach to the world, For deliverance to us And to all classes of the living; Discriminate and reveal it So that we may obtain this wisdom! If we attain buddhahood, All other living beings will also attain it. World-honoured One! Thou knowest what the living In their deepest minds are thinking, The ways in which they walk, Their capacities for wisdom, Their pleasures and past good works, The karma their former lives produced. World-honoured One! Thou knowest all these; [Pray] roll along the peerless wheel.'"

The Buddha then said to the bhikshus: "When the Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom attained Perfect Enlightenment, the five hundred myriad kotis of buddha-worlds in all directions were each shaken in different ways; even the dark places between those realms, where the august light of the sun and moon could not shine, all became brilliant. All the living beings in their midst could see each other and unitedly exclaimed: 'From where have all these living beings suddenly come?' Moreover, the palaces of the gods in all those regions, even Brahma palaces, shook in six different ways and a great light universally shone, filling all the worlds, surpassing the light of heaven.

"Then eastward, all the palaces of the Brahma heavens in five hundred myriad kotis of domains were brilliantly illuminated with double their normal brightness. And each of those Brahma heavenly kings reflected thus: 'For what reason does this sign appear, that our palaces are now illuminated as never of yore?' Then those Brahma heavenly kings all visited each other to discuss this affair. Meanwhile, amongst those assembled there was a great Brahma heavenly king named Saviour of All, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'In all our palaces Never has there been such shining; What can be its cause? Let us together investigate it. Is it that a great virtuous god is born, Is it that a buddha appears in the world, That this great shining Everywhere illuminates the universe?"

"Thereupon the Brahma heavenly kings in five hundred myriad kotis of domains, with all their palace train\*, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the western quarter to investigate this sign. [The Sanskrit version has "aerial cars" (Kern) instead of "palaces," and the Chinese commentaries describe them as being mobile like carriages.] There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragon kings, gandharvas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw his sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. Then all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before the buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were offered also to the buddha's Bodhi tree. That Bodhi tree was ten yojanas in height. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion for us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer!' 'Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saving:

'Rare is a world-honoured one, Hard it is to meet him, Perfect in infinite merit, Able to save all. Great teachers of gods and men, He has compassion for the world. All the living in the universe Everywhere receive his aid. The distance we have come Is five hundred myriad kotis of domains, Leaving deep meditative joys For the sake of serving the buddha. As rewards for our former lives Our palaces are magnificently adorned; Now we offer them to the world-honoured one And beg him in mercy to accept.'

"Then, when the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each spoke thus: 'Be pleased, World-honoured One, to roll the Law-wheel, deliver all the living, and open the nirvana-way!' "Then the Brahma heavenly kings with one mind and voice spoke in verse, saying:

'Hero of the world! Honoured of men! Be pleased to proclaim the Law! By the power of thy great compassion, Save wretched living beings!'

"Then the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom silently gave assent. "Again, bhikshus! The great Brahma kings in the southeastern quarter of five hundred myriad kotis of domains, each seeing his own palace radiant with light as never before, were ecstatic with joy and amazed. And instantly all visited each other to discuss together this affair. Meanwhile amongst those assembled there was a great Brahma heavenly king whose name was Most Merciful, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'What is the cause of this affair, That such a sign should appear? In all our palaces Never has there been such shining. Is it that a great virtuous god is born? Is it that a buddha appears in the world? We have never yet seen such a sign. Let us with one mind investigate it. Let us pass through a thousand myriad kotis of lands In search of the light and together explain it. It must be that a buddha has appeared In the world to save suffering beings.'

Thereupon the five hundred myriad kotis of Brahma heavenly kings, with all their palace train, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the northwestern quarter to investigate this sign. There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragons kings, gandharvas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw the sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. Then all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before the buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were offered also to the buddha's Bodhi tree. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion to us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer!' Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha, with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saving:

'Holy lord, king among gods, With voice [sweet as] the kalavinka's, Who has compassion for all living beings! We now respectfully salute thee. Rarely does a world-honoured one appear, But once in long ages; One hundred and eighty kalpas Have passed away empty, with never a buddha, The three evil regions becoming replete, While heavenly beings decreased.

Now the buddha has appeared in the world To become the eye of all living beings, The resort of all the world, Saviour of all, Father of all the living, Who has compassion for and does good to all. Happy through our former destinies, We now meet the world-honoured one.'

"Then, when the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each spoke thus: 'Be pleased, World-honoured One, to have compassion for all beings, roll the Law-wheel, and deliver the living!' "Then the Brahma heavenly kings with one mind and voice spoke in verse, saying:

'Most holy! Roll on the Law-wheel; Reveal the nature of thy laws; Deliver suffering beings, That they may obtain great joy. All the living, hearing this Law, Obtain the Way as if born in heaven; Evil processes of karma decrease, While endurers of goodness\* increase.' [Those who restrain bad thoughts and strive after good things.]

"Then the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom silently gave assent. "Again, bhikshus! The great Brahma kings in the southern quarter of five hundred myriad kotis of domains, each seeing his own palace radiant with light such as never was before, were ecstatic with joy and amazed. And instantly all visited each other to discuss together this affair, asking: 'What is the cause of this radiant light in our palaces?' In that assembly there was a great Brahma heavenly king whose name was Wonderful Law, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'That all our palaces Scintillate with brilliant rays Cannot be without reason. Let us investigate this sign! Through hundreds of thousands of kalpas, Never has such a sign been seen. Is it that a great virtuous god is born? Is it that a buddha appears in the world?'

"Thereupon the five hundred myriad kotis of Brahma heavenly kings, with all their palace train, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the northern quarter to investigate this sign. There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragon kings, gandharvas,

kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw his sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. The all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before the buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were offered also to the buddha's Bodhi tree. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion to us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer!' "Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha, with one mind and voice praised [him] in verse, saying:

'How hard it is to get sight of a world-honoured one, Who destroys all earthly cares! After a hundred and thirty kalpas, Now at length we have obtained the sight. To hungry and thirsty creatures He pours forth the rain of the Law.

He whom we have never seen before, The possessor of infinite wisdom, Rare as the udumbara flower, Today has been met by us. All our palaces are Made beautiful by thy light, World-honoured One! In thy great mercy, We pray thou wilt condescend to accept them.'

"Thereupon, when the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each spoke thus: 'Be pleased, Worldhonoured One, to roll the Law-wheel, and cause all the worlds of gods, Maras, Brahmas, monks, and Brahmans to be comforted and delivered!'

"Then all the Brahma heavenly kings with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saying:

'Be pleased, honoured of gods and men, To roll the supreme Law-wheel, To beat the drum of the Great Law, To blow the conch of the Great Law, Universally to pour the rain of the Great Law, And save innumerable creatures! We all devote ourselves to thee. Proclaim the reverberating news!' [Literally, "deep far-reaching sound."]

"Then the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom silently gave assent.

"The southwestern quarter down to the nadir also responded in like fashion.

"Then, in the upper quarter, the great Brahma kings of five hundred myriad kotis of domains, all beholding the palaces in which they rested become augustly radiant with light such as never was before, were ecstatic with joy and amazed. At once they visited each other to discuss together this affair, asking: 'What is the cause of this light in our palaces?' In that assembly there was a great Brahma heavenly king whose name was Shikhin, who addressed the host of Brahmas in verse:

'What is now the cause That all our palaces Are radiant with such august light And made beautiful as never before? Such a wonderful sign as this Of old we have never heard nor seen. Is it that a great virtuous god is born? Is is that a buddha appears in the world?'

"Thereupon the five hundred myriad kotis of Brahma heavenly kings, with all their palace train, each taking a sack filled with celestial flowers, went together to visit the nadir quarter to investigate this sign. There they saw the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom on the wisdom terrace under the Bodhi tree, seated on the lion throne, surrounded and revered by gods, dragon kings, gandharvas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others. And they saw his sixteen royal sons entreating the buddha to roll along the Law-wheel. Then all the Brahma heavenly kings bowed to the ground before buddha, made procession around him hundreds and thousands of times, and then strewed the celestial flowers upon him. The flowers they strewed rose like Mount Sumeru and were also offered to the buddha's Bodhi tree. When they had offered the flowers, each of them presented his palace to the buddha and spoke thus: 'Out of compassion to us and for our good, condescend to accept the palaces we offer! "Thereupon all the Brahma heavenly kings, before the buddha, with one mind and voice praised him in verse, saying:

'How good it is to see the buddhas, Holy honoured ones who save the world, Who can compel the hells of the triple world To deliver up the living. The all-wise, honoured of gods and men, Out of compassion for the crowds of young buds Can open the doors of the sweet dews For the extensive relief of all.

Innumerable kalpas of yore Have emptily passed without buddhas; While world-honoured ones did not appear, Darkness has everywhere reigned. Thriving were the three evil states, Flourishing also the asuras, While the heavenly host dwindled, And dying, fell into evil estates; Not hearing the law from buddhas, Ever following improper ways, Their bodies, strength, and wisdom, These all dwindled away; Because of sinful karma They lost their joy and joyful thoughts; Fixed in heretical views, Unconscious of the rules of goodness, Not receiving the correction of buddhas, They ever fell into evil ways.

The buddha is the eye of the world, And after long ages appears. Through pity for the living He is revealed in the world, Surpassing in his Perfect Enlightenment. Great is our felicity, And all other beings Rejoice as never before. All our palaces, Made beautiful through this light, Now we offer the

World-honoured One. Condescend in compassion to accept them! May this [deed of] merit Extend to all [creatures] That we with all the living May together accomplish the Buddhaway!

"Thereupon, when the five hundred myriad kotis of the Brahma heavenly kings had extolled the buddha in verse, each said to him: 'Be pleased, World-honoured One, to roll the Law-wheel; abundantly comfort; abundantly deliver!' "Then all the Brahma heavenly kings spoke in verse, saying:

'World-honoured One, roll the law-wheel, Beat the drum of the Law, sweet as dew, Save the suffering living, Reveal the nirvana-way! Be pleased to receive our entreaty And with thy great, mystic voice, Out of compassion spread abroad The Law thou hast practised for infinite kalpas.'

"At that time the Tathagata Universal Surpassing Wisdom, receiving the entreaty of the Brahma heavenly kings of the ten regions and of [his] sixteen royal sons, at once thrice rolled the Law-wheel [To roll the Law-wheel three times means 1. to show what the Four Noble Truths are, 2. to exhort others to practice the Four Noble Truths, and 3. to witness or prove that the Buddha has accomplished the Four Noble Truths 1 of twelve divisions [According to the T'ien-t'ai sect this is interpreted as "twelve turns" because of the three forms of presentation of each of the Four Noble Truths.], which neither shramanas, Brahmans, gods, Maras, Brahmas, nor other beings of the world are able to roll. His discourse was: 'This is suffering; this the accumulation of suffering; this the extinction of suffering; this the way to extinction of suffering'; and he extensively set forth the Law of the Twelve Causes. namely: 'Ignorance causes action; action causes consciousness; consciousness causes name and form; name and form cause the six entrances or sense organs; the six entrances cause contact; contact causes sensation; sensation causes desire or love; desire causes clinging; clinging causes existence; existence causes birth; birth causes old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, and distress. Ignorance annihilated, then action is annihilated; action annihilated, then consciousness is annihilated; consciousness annihilated, then name and form are annihilated; name and form annihilated, then the six entrances are annihilated; the six entrances annihilated, then contact is annihilated; contact annihilated, then sensation is annihilated; sensation annihilated, then desire is annihilated; desire annihilated, then clinging is annihilated; clinging annihilated, then existence is annihilated; existence annihilated, then birth is annihilated; birth being annihilated, then are annihilated old age and death, grief, lamentation, suffering, and distress.'

"When the buddha preached this law amidst the gods, men, and the great host, six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of people, without being subject to all the temporary laws, had their minds freed from faults, all obtaining the profound, mystic mediations, the three clear views, and the six transcendent faculties, and accomplishing the eight emancipations. Likewise at a second, a third, and a fourth time of preaching the Law, thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of living beings, numerous as the sands of the Ganges, without being subject to all the temporary laws, had their minds freed from all faults. From this time forth the host of his shravakas was immeasurable and boundless, beyond expression in numbers.

"Meanwhile the sixteen royal sons, all being youths, left their home and became shramaneras of keen natural powers, wise and intelligent. They had already served hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of buddhas, purely practised brahma-conduct, and sought Perfect Enlightenment. Together they addressed the buddha, saying: 'World-honoured One! All these innumerable thousand myriad kotis of great virtuous shravakas have already become perfect. World-honoured One! Preach also to us the Law of Perfect Enlightenment! And when we have heard it we will all put the lesson into practice. World-honoured One! We are longing for the tathagata's knowledge. The thought of our inmost hearts thou dost prove and know.'

"Then amongst the throng whom the holy wheel-rolling king led, eight myriad kotis of people, seeing that the sixteen royal sons had gone forth from their home, also sought to leave their homes, whereupon the king permitted them.

"Then that buddha, on the entreaty of the shramaneras, when two myriad kalpas had passed, in the presence of the four groups preached this Great-vehicle Sutra named the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. When he had preached this sutra, the sixteen shramaneras, for the sake of Perfect Enlightenment, all received, kept, recited, and penetrated it.

"While this sutra was being preached, the sixteen bodhisattva-shramaneras all received it in faith, and amongst the host of shravakas there were also [those who] believed and discerned it, but the other living beings of thousands of myriad kotis of kinds all cherished doubts and perplexities. [Hendrik Kern's translation reads: "... the disciples as well as the sixteen novices were full of faith, and many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of beings acquired perfect certainty" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, p. 175).

Dharmaraksha reads as Kern does, but Nanjio follows Kumarajiva's version, stating that he cannot find the prefix nir (not) in any of the extant Sanskrit texts that he has read, but only the word vicikitsa (doubt on perplexity). (See Nanjio's Japanese translation from the Sanskrit, p. 207 n.) Oka agrees with Nanjio in his translation from the Sanskrit. Kern notes this as a variant reading.]

"The buddha preached this sutra for eight thousand kalpas without cessation. When he had finished preaching it, he then entered a quiet room and remained in meditation for eighty-four thousand kalpas.

"Thereupon the sixteen bodhisattva-shramaneras, knowing that the buddha had entered the room and was absorbed in meditation, each ascended a Law throne and also for eighty-four thousand kalpas extensively preached and expounded to the four groups the Sutra of the Flower of the Wonderful Law. Each of them saved six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of living beings, as many as the sands of the Ganges, showing, teaching, benefiting, and gladdening them, and leading them to develop a mind of Perfect Enlightenment.

"The Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom, after eightyfour thousand kalpas had passed, arose from his meditation, went up to the Law throne, and quietly sat down on it.

"Universally addressing the great assembly, he said: 'Rare are such bodhisattva-shramaneras as these sixteen, keen in their natural powers and clear in their wisdom, who have paid homage to infinite thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, constantly practised brahma-conduct under those buddhas, received and kept the Buddha-wisdom, and revealed it to living beings, leading them to enter into it. Do you all, again and again, draw nigh and worship them. Wherefore? Because if shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, and bodhisattvas are able to believe the Law of the sutra preached by these sixteen bodhisattvas, and receive and keep it without spoiling it, all those people will attain the Tathagata-wisdom of Perfect Enlightenment."

The Buddha addressed all the bhikshus, saying: "These sixteen bodhisattvas ever take delight in preaching this Sutra of the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law. The six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of living beings, like the sands of the Ganges, whom each of these bodhisattvas converted, born generation by generation, all following these bodhisattvas, heard the Law from them and all believed and discerned it. For this cause they succeeded in meeting four myriad kotis of buddhas, world-honoured ones, and at the present time have not ceased to do so.

"Bhikshus! I tell you now: that buddha's disciples, the sixteen shramaneras have all attained Perfect Enlightenment and in all countries in every direction are at the present time preaching the Law and have infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas and shravakas as their followers. Two of those shramaneras became buddhas in the eastern quarter, one named Akshobhya in the Kingdom of Joy, the other named Sumeru Peak: of the two buddhas in the southeastern quarter, one is named Lion Voice, the other Lion Ensign; of the two buddhas in the southern quarter, one is named Space Dweller, the other Eternal Extinction; of the two buddhas in the southwestern quarter, one is named Imperial Ensign, the other Brahma Ensign; of the two buddhas in the western quarter one is named Amita, the other He Who Has Passed Through All the Sufferings of the World; of the two buddhas in the northwestern quarter, one is named Tamalapattra Spiritually Pervading Sandal Odour, the other Sumeru Sign; of the two buddhas in the northern quarter, one is named Sovereign Cloud, the other named Sovereign Cloud King; the buddha in the northeastern quarter is named Destroyer of All the World's Fear; and the sixteenth is I myself, Shakyamuni Buddha, who have accomplished Perfect Enlightenment in the saha-domain.

"Bhikshus! When we were shramaneras, each of us taught and converted infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of living beings, numerous as the sands of the Ganges; and those who heard the Law from me attained Perfect Enlightenment. Amongst these living beings down to the present there are some who still remain in the stage of shravakas. I constantly instruct them in Perfect Enlightenment, so that all these people will through this Law gradually enter the Way of buddhahood. Wherefore? Because the Tathagata-wisdom is hard to believe and hard to understand. All those living beings, innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, whom I converted at that time are yourselves, bhikshus, and will be wy shravaka-disciples in future worlds after my extinction.

"After my extinction there will also be disciples of mine who, not hearing this sutra, nor knowing nor apprehending the course which bodhisattvas pursue, will by their own merits conceive the idea of extinction and enter what they think is nirvana. But in other domains wherever they may go I shall still be Buddha though under different names. These people, though they conceive the idea of extinction and enter what they call nirvana, yet in those lands will seek after the Buddha-wisdom and succeed in hearing this sutra. Only by the Buddha-vehicle will they attain real extinction. There is no other vehicle except the tactful teachings of the Tathagata. Bhikshus! If the Tathagata himself knows that the time of

nirvana has arrived and the assembly is pure, firm in faith and discernment, penetrated with the Law of the Void, profound in meditation, then he will gather together all bodhisattvas and shravakas to preach this sutra to them. In the world there is no second vehicle to attain extinction; there is only the One Buddha-vehicle for attaining extinction. Know, bhikshus! The tact of the Tathagata reaches deeply into the natures of all living beings and knows that they are bent on the pleasures of trifling things and deeply attached to the five desires. For the sake of these he preaches nirvana. If they hear it, they will receive it in faith.

"Suppose there is a fearful region, five hundred yojanas in extent, through which lies a perilous and difficult road, far from the abodes of men. Suppose there is a large company wishing to pass along that road to the Place of Jewels. and they have a guide, wise and astute, who knows well the perilous road, where it is open and where closed, and who eads the company that wish to cross this arduous region. Suppose the company he leads become tired on the way and say to the leader: 'We are utterly exhausted and moreover afraid and cannot go any farther; the road before us stretches far; let us turn back.' The leader, [a man] of much tact, reflects thus: 'These people are to be pitied. How can they give up such great treasure and want to turn back?' Reflecting thus, by a device, in the midst of the perilous road, he mystically makes a city over three hundred yojanas in extent and says to the company: 'Do not fear, and do not turn back. Here is this great city in which you may rest and follow your own desires. If you enter this city, you will speedily be at rest; and if you then are able to go forward to the Place of Jewels, you

"Thereupon the exhausted company greatly rejoice in their minds and praise their unexampled fortune: 'Now indeed we escape this evil way; let us speedily be at ease.' Then the company proceed into the magic city, imagining they have arrived at their destination, and are settled in comfort. When the leader perceives that the company are rested and are no longer fatigued, he makes the magic city disappear, and says to the company: 'Come along, all of you, the Place of Jewels is at hand. I only created this past large city for you to rest in.'

"Bhikshus! So is it with the Tathagata. At present he is your great leader acquainted with all the distresses, the evils, the perils, and the long-continued processes of mortality, from which you must be rid and removed. If living beings only hear of One Buddha-vehicle, they will not desire to see the Buddha nor wish to approach him, but think thus: 'The Buddha-way is long and far; only after the long suffering of arduous labour can the end be reached! The Buddha knowing that their minds are feeble and low, by his tact, when they are on the way, to give them rest, preaches the two stages of nirvana. If those beings dwell in these two stages, then the Tathagata proceeds to tell them: 'You have not yet accomplished your task. The place where you are dwelling is near the Buddha-wisdom. Take note and ponder that the nirvana which you have attained is not the real one! It is only that the Tathagata, through his tactfulness, in the One Buddha-vehicle discriminates and speaks of three.' It is just as when that leader, in order to give rest to his company, magically makes a great city and after they are rested informs them, saying: 'The Place of Jewels is at hand; this city is not real, but only my magic production." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The Buddha Universal Surpassing Wisdom For ten kalpas sat on the wisdom throne, The Buddha-law still unrevealed, Still unaccomplished the Buddha-way. Heavenly gods and dragon kings, Asuras and other beings Constantly rained celestial flowers To pay homage to that buddha. The gods beat their celestial drums And made all kinds of music. Fragrant breezes sweep away the faded flowers, While raining others of fresh beauty.

When ten minor kalpas had passed, Then he accomplished the Buddha-way. Gods and men in the world All were ecstatic in mind. The sixteen sons of that buddha, All with their followers, Thousands of myriads of kotis around them, All went to the buddha, Bending low at the buddha's feet, They begged him to roll the Law-wheel: 'Holy Lion! With rain of the Law, Fill us and all others!' Hard it is to meet a world-honoured one; He appears but once in long ages, And then to awaken the living He shakes all things.

In the worlds of the eastern quarter, Five hundred myriad kotis of domains, Brahma palaces shone with light Such as never was before. All the Brahmas, seeing this sign, Sought till they reached the buddha. They honoured him, strewing flowers, And offered him their palaces, Entreating him to roll the Law-wheel And extolling him in verse. The buddha, knowing the time had not yet come, Received their entreaty but sat in silence. From three other quarters [West, south, and north.] and four directions [The intermediate points of the compass.], The zenith and the nadir they likewise came, Strewing flowers, offering their palaces, And begging the buddha to roll the Law-wheel: 'Hard it is to meet a world-honoured one; Be pleased, in thy great\* compassion, Widely to open the gates of the sweet dew And roll the supreme Law-

whee!!' [Some copies have the Chinese character of "original" instead of "great."]

The world-honoured one of infinite wisdom, Receiving the entreaty of that throng, Proclaimed for them the various laws of The Four Noble Truths and Twelve Causes: 'Ignorance on to age and death, All exist because of birth. All such distresses as these. All of you must know.'

While this law was being proclaimed, Six hundred myriad kotis of nayutas Of beings ended all their distresses, All becoming arhats. The second time he preached the Law Thousands of myriads, as the sands of the Ganges, Not following ordinary methods, Also became arhats. From that time forth the Way-attainers Were incalculable in number; To count them for myriads of kotis of kalpas Would not reach their end. Then the sixteen royal sons Who left home as shramaneras Unitedly entreated the buddha: 'Proclaim the Law of the Great-vehicle!

We and our companies of followers Would all accomplish the Buddha-way. We would be like the World-honoured One, With wise and perfectly pure eyes.' The Buddha, knowing his sons' mind And the doings of their former lives, By countless reasonings And various parables Preached the Six Paramitas And the supernatural things, Discriminated the real Law of The way bodhisattvas walk, And preached this Law-Flower Sutra In verses numerous as the sands of the Ganges.

When the buddha had preached the sutra, In a quiet room he entered meditation; With concentrated mind he sat in one place For eighty-four thousand kalpas. All those shramaneras, Perceiving he would not yet emerge from meditation, To infinite kotis of beings Expounded the buddha's wisdom, Each sitting on a Law throne, Preaching this Great-vehicle sutra; And, after the buddha's rest, Proclaimed and aided his teaching of the Law. The number of living saved by Each of those shramaneras was Six hundred myriad kotis of beings, As many as the sands of the Ganges.

After that buddha was extinct, Those hearers of the Law, In every one of the Buddha-lands, Were [re]born along with their teachers. [The sixteen royal sons.] These sixteen shramaneras, Perfectly practicing the Buddha-way, Now dwell in the ten directions, Each having attained Perfect Enlightenment. Those who then heard the Law All dwell with the buddhas.

Those who still remain shravakas Are gradually taught in the Buddha-way. I was amongst the sixteen And formerly preached to you. Therefore, by my tactfulness, I lead you on to Buddha-wisdom. Because of this former connection, I now preach the Law-Flower Sutra To cause you to enter the Buddha-way. Be careful not to harbor fear! Suppose there be a perilous way, Cut off and full of venomous beasts, Without either water or grass, A region of terror to men. An innumerable multitude, thousands of myriads, Wish to pass along this perilous way, A road indeed far-reaching, Through five hundred yojanas.

Then appears a leader Of strong sense and wise, Clear-headed and of resolute mind, Who in peril saves from all danger. But those people all become exhausted And speak to the leader, saying: 'We now are weary and worn And want to turn back from here.' The leader reflects thus: 'These fellows are much to be pitied. How can they want to turn back And miss such great treasure?'

At that instant he thinks of a device: 'Let me exert supernatural power And make a great magic city Splendidly adorned with houses, Surrounded with gardens and groves, Streamlets and bathing pools, Massive gates and lofty towers, Full of both men and women.'

Having made this transformation, He pacifies them, saying: Do not fear! Enter all of you into this city, And let each enjoy himself at will.' When those people had entered the city, Their hearts were full of joy; All thought only of rest and ease And considered they had been saved.

When the leader knew they were rested, He assembled and addressed them, saying: 'Let all of you push forward! This was only an illusory city. Seeing you all worn out And wanting to turn back midway, I therefore by a device Temporarily made this city. Do you now diligently advance Together to the Place of Jewels.' I, too, in like manner, Am the leader of all [beings]. Seeing the seekers of the Way Midway becoming wearied And unable to cross the perilous ways Of mortality and earthly cares, So I by my tactful powers For their relief preached nirvana, saying: 'Your sufferings are ended; You have finished your work.'

When I knew you had reached nirvana And all become arhats, Then I gathered you all together And preached to you the real Law. Buddhas by their tactful powers Separately preach the three vehicles; But there is only the One Buddhavehicle; It is for the resting-place that two are preached. [Or "Only for the sake of a temporary resting place is a second preached."]

Now I preach to you the truth; What you have reached is not the [real] extinction. For the sake of [obtaining] the Buddha's perfect knowledge, Exert yourselves with the utmost zeal! When you have proved the perfect knowledge, The ten powers, and so on of the Buddha-laws, And perfected the thirty-two signs, Then that is real extinction. The buddhas,

the leaders, For the sake of giving rest call it nirvana, But perceiving this rest should be ended, They lead them [on] into Buddha-wisdom."

HERE ENDS THE THIRD BUNCH OF WORDS

#### THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 8

The Five Hundred Disciples Receive the Prediction of Their Destiny At that time Purna, son of Maitrayani\*, having heard the Buddha preach in such wise, tactful, and opportune fashion, and having heard the prediction of the great disciples' Perfect Enlightenment; having, moreover, heard the stories of their former destinies, and also having heard of the sovereign, transcendent powers of the buddhas; having [thus] received such unexampled [teaching], his heart was purified and in ecstasy. [\* One of the ten disciples of the Buddha, noted for his eloquence. Purna means "full"; Maitrayani means 'benevolence" and is said to be his mother's name, but Kern suggests that it means the fifteenth day of the moon and that the whole title indicates the full moo (see Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 194 n).] Immediately he rose from his seat, went before the Buddha, prostrated himself at his feet, then withdrew to one side, gazing upon his honoured countenance without for a moment turning away his eyes, and reflected thus: "Wonderful is the Worldhonoured One. Rare are his doings according to the many kinds of earthly dispositions. By tactful wisdom, he preaches the Law to and lifts all beings out of every condition to let them get rid of selfish attachment. No words of ours can declare the Buddha's merits. Only the Buddha, the Worldhonoured One is able to know the natural inclinations of our inmost hearts." [After this paragraph Dharmaraksha's translation has a parable in prose and verse that is not found in the extant Sanskrit text.]

Thereupon the Buddha addressed the bhikshus, saying: "Do you see this Purna, son of Maitrayani? I have always styled him the very first among all the preachers of the Law and constantly praised his varied merits. He has been zealous in guarding and helping to proclaim my Law. Among the four groups he has been able to display and teach it with profit and delight to them. Perfectly interpreting the Righteous Law of the Buddha, he has greatly benefited his fellow followers of brahma-conduct. Aside from the Tathagata, no one is able to equal the lucidity of his discourse. Do not think that it is only my Law which Purna is able to guard and help to proclaim. He also under ninety kotis of buddhas in the past guarded and helped to proclaim the Righteous Law of the buddhas. Among those preachers of the Law he was also the foremost. And in regard to the Law of the Void preached by the buddhas, he was clear-minded and penetrating; he attained the four degrees of unhindered wisdom; he has ever been able to preach the Law with judgment and in purity, without doubt and perplexity. Perfect in transcendent bodhisattvaowers, he maintained brahma-conduct to the end of his life. All the people of those buddha-periods spoke of him as 'the true disciple' [shravaka]. Thus Purna, by such tactfulness, has benefited innumerable hundreds and thousands of living beings and converted innumerable asamkhyeyas of people to achieve Perfect Enlightenment. For the sake of purifying his buddha-land, he has constantly done a buddha's work and instructed the living. Bhikshus! Purna also was the foremost among the preachers of the Law under the Seven Buddhas\* and now is again the foremost among the preachers of the Law under me. [The Seven Buddhas are Vipashyin, Shikhin, Vishvabhu, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kashyapa, and Shakyamuni. The first three are the last three of a thousand buddhas who appeared during the Glorious kalpa in the past; the last four are the first four of a thousand buddhas who appear during the present kalpa of the sages. Kern writes: The seven so-called Manushi-Buddhas: a rather transparent disguise of the fact that in cosmological mythology there are seven Manus, rulers of certain periods" (see: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 193 n).]

"Among the preachers of the Law under future buddhas\* in this Virtuous kalpa (aeon)\*\*, he will also be the foremost and will guard and help to proclaim the Buddha-law. [The coming 996 buddhas (after Shakyamuni).]; [\*\* Or the kalpa of the sages. This is the present kalpa, during which a thousand buddhas appear.] Also in the future he will guard and help to proclaim the Law of incalculable, infinite buddhas, instructing and benefiting innumerable living beings to cause them to achieve Perfect Enlightenment. For the sake of purifying his buddha-land he will ever diligently and zealously instruct the living. Gradually fulfilling the bodhisattva-course, after infinite asamkhyeya kalpas, in that land he will attain Perfect Enlightenment and his title will be Radiance of the Law Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men Buddha World-honoured One

"That buddha will make his buddha-land of a three-thousand-great-thousandfold universe of worlds as many as the sands of the Ganges, with the precious seven for its earth, its ground level as the palm of the hand, free from hills and valleys, runnels and ditches, and its midst filled with terraces

of the precious seven. The palaces of its gods will be situated nearby in the sky, where men and gods will meet and behold each other. There will be no evil ways and no womankind, for all living beings will be born transformed and have no carnal passion. They will attain to the great transcendent powers: their bodies will emit rays of light; they will fly anywhere at will; their will and memory will be firm; they will be zealous and wise, all golden-hued, and adorned with the thirty-two signs. All the beings in his domain will always have two articles of food--one the food of joy in the Law, the other the food of gladness in meditation. There will be a host of infinite asamkhyeyas and thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of bodhisattvas who have attained the great transcendent faculties and the four degrees of unhindered wisdom, and who have excellent ability in instructing all kinds of beings. His shravakas cannot be told by counting and calculation, and all will attain perfection in the six transcendent faculties, the three clear views, and the eight emancipations. The domain of that buddha will be adorned and perfected with such boundless excellencies as these. His kalpa will be named Jewel Radiance and his domain named Excellent Purity. The lifetime of that buddha will be infinite asamkhyeva kalpas, and the Law will remain for long. After the extinction of that buddha, stupas of the precious seven will be erected throughout all that domain." At that time the Worldhonoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Bhikshus! Listen to me attentively! The Way my Buddhason has walked, Through well studying tactfulness, Is beyond conception. Knowing how all enjoy mere trifles And are afraid of the greater wisdom, The bodhisattvas therefore become Shravakas or pratyekabuddhas. By numberless tactful methods They convert the various kinds of beings, Saying: We are but shravakas, Far removed from the Buddha-way.' They release innumerable beings, All completing their course; Even the lowly disposed and the neglectful Gradually become buddhas. Inwardly hiding their bodhisattva-deeds, Outwardly they appear as shravakas. With few desires and disliking mortal life, They truly purify their buddha-land.

They show themselves possessed of human passions\* And seem to hold heretical views. [\*Or "They show to all they [too] have the three poisons."] Thus do my disciples Tactfully save all beings. If I fully explained The varied future transformations, Beings who heard of them Would be perplexed and puzzled.

Now this Purna Under thousands of kotis of former buddhas Has diligently maintained his course, And proclaimed and protected the Buddha-law. He has sought the superior disciple In learning and wisdom. In preaching he has been fearless, Able to cause all beings to rejoice; He has ever been tireless In aiding Buddha-tasks. Having achieved the great transcendent [faculties], Acquired the four unhindered powers of wisdom, And known the faculties of others, keen or dull. He has always preached the pure Law.

Expounding such principles as these, He has taught thousands of kotis of beings, Leading them to rest in the Great-vehicle Law, And himself purified his buddha-land. In future he shall also worship Infinite, numberless buddhas, Protect and aid in proclaiming the Righteous Law, And himself purify his buddha-land.

Constantly with tactful methods He shall fearlessly preach the Law And lead incalculable beings To attain perfect knowledge; And worshiping the tathagatas, And guarding the treasury of the Law, He shall afterward become a buddha Whose title will be Law Radiance. His domain, named Excellent Purity, Will be formed of the precious seven, And his kalpa be called Jewel Radiance. His bodhisattvas, a great host, Infinite kotis in number, All accomplished in great transcendent faculties And perfect in dread powers, Will fill that domain to the full.

Numberless also will be his shravakas With the three clear [views] and eight emancipations, Who have attained the four unhindered wisdoms. Such will be his monks. All the living in that domain Will be free from carnal passions, Pure and born by transformation, Adorned with all the signs. Joy in the Law and pleasure in meditation Shall be their food, with no thought of other; No womankind will be there, Nor any evil ways. The Bhikshu Purna, Complete in all his merits, Shall gain this pure land Where the wise and sages abound. Such are the boundless things of which I have now but briefly spoken."

Then the twelve hundred arhats of self-reliant mind reflected thus: "Delighted are we to gain this unprecedented experience. If the World-honoured One would predict for each of us our future destiny as for the other great disciples, how glad we should be!" The Buddha, knowing the thoughts in their minds, addressed Maha-Kashyapa, saying: "These twelve hundred arhats: let me now in their presence and in order predict for them Perfect Enlightenment. Amongst this assembly, my great disciple Kaundinya Bhikshu, after paying homage to sixty-two thousand kotis of buddhas, will become a buddha whose title will be Universal Light Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well

Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Of the rest of those arhats, five hundred-uruvilva-Kashyapa, Gaya-Kashyapa, Nadi-Kashyapa, Kalodayin, Udayin, Aniruddha, Revata, Kapphina, Vakkula, Cunda, Svagata, and others--all will attain to Perfect Enlightenment, all with the same title, namely, Universal Light." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Kaundinya Bhikshu Will see innumerable buddhas, And after asamkhyeya kalpas have passed, Accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. Ever emitting great light, Perfect in the transcendent [powers], His fame spread over the universe, Revered by all [beings], Ever preaching the supreme Way, His title will be Universal Light. Pure will be his domain; His bodhisattvas all will be brave; All mounted on wonderful buildings, They will travel through all lands With unsurpassed offerings, To present them to the buddhas. Having made these offerings, Their hearts will greatly rejoice And soon return to their own domain; Such will be their supernatural powers. That buddha's life will be six myriad kalpas; His Righteous Law will remain twice his lifetime, The Counterfeit Law double that. His Law ended, gods and men will sorrow. Five hundred other bhikshus One by one shall become buddhas With the same title, Universal Light; In turn [each] shall predict, [saying]: 'After my extinction So and so shall become buddha: The world which he instructs Shall be as mine of today.' The splendid purity of their domain And its transcendent powers. Its hodhisattvas and shravakas. Its Righteous Law and its Counterfeit, The length of its kalpa period, All will be as that above stated. Kashyapa! You now know Of these five hundred self-reliant ones. The other band of shravakas Will also be like them. To these, who are not in this assembly, Do you proclaim my words.'

Thereupon the five hundred arhats present before the Buddha, having received [this] prediction, esstatic with joy, instantly rose from their seats, went before the Buddha, made obeisance at his feet, repented their errors, and rebuked themselves, saying: "World-honoured One! We have constantly been thinking that we had attained final nirvana. Now we know that we were just like the foolish ones. Wherefore? Because we ought to have obtained the Tathagata-wisdom, and yet were content with the inferior knowledge.

"World-honoured One! It is as if some man goes to an intimate friend's house, gets drunk, and falls asleep. Meanwhile his friend, having to go forth on official duty, ties a priceless iewel within his garment as a present, and departs. The man, being drunk and asleep, knows nothing of it. On arising he travels onward till he reaches some other country, where for food and clothing he expends much labour and effort, and undergoes exceedingly great hardship, and is content even if he can obtain but little. Later, his friend happens to meet him and speaks thus: 'Tut! Sir, how is it you have come to this for the sake of food and clothing? Wishing you to be in comfort and able to satisfy all your five senses [Literally, "five desires."], I formerly in such a year and month and on such a day tied a priceless jewel within your garment. Now as of old it is present there and you in ignorance are slaving and worrying to keep yourself alive. How very stupid! Go you now and exchange that jewel for what you need and do whatever you will, free from all poverty and shortage.

"The Buddha also is like this. When he was a bodhisattva, he taught us to conceive the idea of perfect wisdom, but we soon forgot, neither knowing nor perceiving. Having obtained the arhat-way, we said we had reached nirvana [Literally, "extinction."]; in the hardship of gaining a living we had contented ourselves with a mere trifle. But our aspirations after perfect wisdom still remain and were never lost, and now the World-honoured One arouses us and speaks thus: 'Bhikshus! That which you have obtained is not final nirvana. For long I have caused you to cultivate the roots of buddha-goodness, and for tactful reasons have displayed a form of nirvana. But you have considered it to be the real nirvana you had obtained.' World-honoured One! Now we know we are really bodhisattvas predicted to attain Perfect Enlightenment. For this cause we greatly rejoice in our unprecedented gain.

Thereupon Ajnata-Kaundinya and the others, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"We, hearing his voice Predicting for us unsurpassed comfort [Perfect Enlightenment.], Rejoice in our unexpected [lot] And salute the all-wise Buddha. Now before the Worldhonoured One We repent our errors; Though countless Buddha-treasures [awaited], With but a trifle of nirvana We, like ignorant and foolish people, Were ready to be content.

It is like the case of a poor man Who goes to the house of a friend. That friend, being very rich, Sets much fine food before him. A priceless precious pearl He ties in his inner garment, Secretly giving it and departing While he sleeps on unaware. The man when he arises Travels on to another country In search of food and clothes to keep alive, Suffering great hardships for his living, Contented with ever so little,

Wishing for nothing better, Never perceiving that in his inner garment There is a priceless jewel.

The friend who gave him the jewel Afterward sees this poor man And, bitterly rebuking him, Shows where the jewel is bound. The poor man, seeing this jewel, Is filled with a great joy; Rich, in possession of wealth, He can satisfy his five senses. Such were also we.

For long has the Wonderful-honoured One Always pitied and taught us To cultivate the highest aspiration; But because of our ignorance, We neither perceived nor knew it; Gaining but a little of nirvana, Contented, we sought no more. Now the Buddha has awakened us, Saying this is not real nirvana; Only on attaining the highest Buddha-wisdom Is there real nirvana. Now, having heard from the Buddha The prediction and its glory [Some read: "The prediction and the splendid adornment of the land."], And the command\* we receive in turn, Body and soul are full of joy." [\* Literally, "decision; to determine to become a buddha." It is also translated as "prediction."]

#### THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 9

Prediction of the Destiny of Arhats, Training and Trained At that time Ananda and Rahula reflected thus: "We have thought to ourselves if our future were only foretold, how happy we should be." Thereupon they rose from their seats, went before the Buddha, made obeisance at his feet, and together spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! Let us in this also have a place. We have only the Tathagata in whom to trust. We are known to and acknowledged by all the worlds, including gods, men, and asuras. Ananda is always thy attendant, protecting and keeping the treasury of the Law, and Rahula is the Buddha's son. If the Buddha sees fit to predict for us Perfect Enlightenment our desires will be fulfilled and the hopes of many will be satisfied."

Thereupon the two thousand shravaka disciples who were under training and no longer under training all rose from their seats, bared their right shoulders, went before the Buddha, with one mind folded their hands, and gazed upon the World-honoured One, wishing as Ananda and Rahula had wished, and stood there in line.

Then the Buddha addressed Ananda, saying: "In a future world you will become a buddha with the title of Sovereign Universal King of Wisdom [great as] Mountains and Oceans Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. He shall pay homage to sixtytwo kotis of buddhas, protect and keep the treasury of the Law, and afterward attain Perfect Enlightenment, instructing twenty thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas like the sands the Ganges, causing them to accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. His domain will be named Never-lowered Victorious Banner. Its land shall be pure, with lapis lazuli for earth. His kalpa will be named World-filling Wonderful Sound That buddha's lifetime will be immeasurable thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeva kalpas, so that even if a man counts and calculates it for thousands of myriads of kotis of immeasurable asamkhyeya kalpas, it will be impossible to know it. [His] Righteous Law will abide in his world twice his lifetime and the Counterfeit Law again abide in his world double the time of the Righteous Law, Ananda! This buddha, Sovereign Universal King of Wisdom great as Mountains and Oceans, will be extolled and his merits praised by universal unlimited thousand myriad kotis of buddha-tathagatas like the sands of the Ganges." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in

"I now declare among [you] monks that Ananda, keeper of the Law\*, Shall pay homage to buddhas And afterward accomplish Perfect Enlightenment. [\* Ananda is especially honoured as the disciple who memorized and transmitted the teachings of the Buddha.] His title will be Wisdom great as Mountains and Oceans Sovereign Universal Buddha-King. His domain will be pure, Named Never-lowered Victorious Banner. He shall instruct bodhisattvas As sands of the Ganges in number. That buddha will have august powers, His fame filling the universe; His lifetime will be beyond calculation Because of his compassion for the living; His Righteous Law will be twice his lifetime And the Counterfeit double that. Many as the sands of the Ganges, Countless living creatures In that buddha's Law Shall cultivate the seed of the Buddhaway."

Thereupon the eight thousand bodhisattvas in the assembly who had newly started [on the road] all reflected thus: "We have not yet heard even senior bodhisattvas receive such predictions as these; what can be the cause of these shravakas obtaining such decisions as these?" Then the World-honoured One, knowing what the bodhisattvas were thinking in their minds, addressed them, saying: "Good sons! I and Ananda together under the Buddha Firmament King at the same time conceived the thought of Perfect Enlightenment. Ananda took constant pleasure in learning, while I was devoted to active progress. For this reason I have already attained Perfect Enlightenment, while Ananda has been taking care of

my Law, as he will take care of the Law-treasuries of future buddhas, and instruct and bring to perfection the host of bodhisattvas. Such was his original vow, and so he receives this prediction."

Ananda, face to face with the Buddha, hearing his own prediction and the adornment of his domain, and that his vow had been fulfilled, was filled with joy at obtaining such unprecedented news. Instantly he remembered the Lawtreasuries of unlimited thousand myriad kotis of buddhas in the past, and understood them without difficulty as if he were now hearing them, recalling also his original vow. Then Ananda spoke thus in verse:

"The rare and World-honoured One Recalls to my mind the Law Of innumerable buddhas in the past As if I were hearing it today. I now, having no more doubts, Peacefully abide in the Buddha-way. Tactfully will I serve In caring for the Buddha's Law."

Then the Buddha addressed Rahula: "In the world to come you will become a buddha entitled Teacher on Seven-Jeweled Lotuses Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men. Buddha, World-honoured One. He shall pay homage to buddha-tathagatas equal in number to the atoms of ten worlds, always becoming the eldest son of those buddhas, just as he is at present. The domain of this Trader on Seven-Jeweled Lotuses Buddha will be splendidly adorned; the number of kalpas of his lifetime, the disciples converted by him, the Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law, will be just the same as those of the Sovereign Universal King of Wisdom great as Mountains and Oceans; and of this buddha he will also become the eldest son. Afterward he will attain Perfect Enlightenment." Thereupon the World-honoured One [Buddha], desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"When I was a prince royal, Rahula was my eldest son. Now that I have accomplished the Buddha-way, He is the Law-heir receiving the Law. In worlds to come, Seeing infinite kotis of buddhas, To all he will be eldest son And with all his mind seek the Buddha-way. Of the hidden course of Rahula Only I am able to know. At present as my eldest son He is revealed to all. Infinite thousand myriad kotis Are his merits, beyond calculation. Peacefully abiding in the Buddha-law, He seeks the supreme Way."

At that time the World-honoured One looked upon the two thousand men under training and no longer under training, gentle in mind, tranquil and calm, who were observing the Buddha with all their mind. The Buddha addressed Ananda, [saying]: "Do you see these two thousand men under training and no longer under training?"

"Yes, I see them."

"Ananda! These men shall pay homage to buddhatathagatas innumerable as the atoms of fifty worlds, revere and honour them, and care for their treasuries of the Law; and finally, in the same hour, in domains in every direction, each will become a buddha. All will have the same title, namely, Jewel Sign Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Their lifetimes will be one kalpa, and the splendour of their domains, their shravakas and bodhisattvas, their Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law, all will be equal." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"These two thousand shravakas Who are now in my presence, I give to them the prediction that In the future they will become buddhas. The buddhas they worship will be Numerous as the aforementioned atoms. After caring for their Law-treasuries, They will reach Perfect Enlightenment. In domains in all directions Each will have the same title; Simultaneously sitting on the wisdom terrace, They shall prove the supreme wisdom. The name of all will be Jewel Sign; Their domains and disciples, Their Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law, Will all be equal without difference. All by transcendent [powers] Shall everywhere save the living; And their fame universally spreading, They shall progress into nirvana."

Thereupon the two thousand men under training and no longer under training, hearing the Buddha's prediction, became ecstatic with joy and spoke thus in verse:

"World-honoured One! Bright Lamp of Wisdom! We, hearing [his] voice of prediction, Are filled with joyfulness, As if sprinkled with sweet dews." ["Arhats, Training and Trained" means men studying and graduated, that is, under training and no longer under training.]

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 10

A Teacher of the Law

[The title of this chapter refers to a doctor, master, or teacher of the Law. Hendrik Kern's title is "The Preacher." At the beginning of this chapter Dharmaraksha's translation has the story of the holy wheel-rolling king Jeweled Canopy and one of his sons, Fine Canopy, who practised under the

Medicine King Tathagata in a former world. This story, written in prose and verse, is not found in the extant Sanskrit text 1

At that time the World-honoured One addressed the eighty thousand great leaders through the Bodhisattva Medicine King, saying: "Medicine King! Do you see in this assembly innumerable gods, dragon kings, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, as well as bhikshus, bhikshunis, male and female lay devotees, seekers after shravakaship, seekers after pratyekabuddhahood seekers after bodhisattvaship, and seekers after buddhahood? All such beings as these, in the presence of the Buddha, if they hear a single verse or a single word of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra and even by a single thought delight in it, I predict that they will all attain Perfect Enlightenment." The Buddha again addressed Medicine King: "Moreover, after the extinction of the Tathagata, if there be any people who hear even a single verse or a single word of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, and by a single thought delight in it, I also predict for them Perfect Enlightenment. Again, let there be any who receive and keep, read and recite, expound and copy even a single verse of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, and look upon this sutra with reverence as if it were the Buddha, and make offering to it in various ways with flowers, perfume, garlands, sandal powder, perfumed unguents, incense for burning, silk canopies, banners, flags, garments, and music, as well as revere it with folded hands: know, Medicine King, these people have already paid homage to ten myriad kotis of buddhas and under the buddhas performed their great yows: therefore, out of compassion for all living beings they are born here among men.

"Medicine King! If there be any people who ask you what sort of living beings will become buddhas in future worlds, you should show them that those are the people who will certainly become buddhas in future worlds. Wherefore? If my good sons and good daughters receive and keep, read and recite, expound, and copy even a single word of the Law-Flower Sutra, and make offerings to it in various ways with flowers, perfumes, garlands, sandal powder, fragrant unguents, incense for burning, silk canopies, banners, flags, garments, and music, as well as revere it with folded hands these people will be looked up to by all the worlds; and as you pay homage to tathagatas, so should you pay homage to them. Know! These people are great bodhisattvas who, having accomplished Perfect Enlightenment and out of compassion for all living beings, are willingly born in this world, and widely proclaim and expound the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra. How much more those who are perfectly able to receive. keep, and in every way pay homage to it! Know, Medicine King! These people will of themselves abandon the recompense of their purified karma, and after my extinction, out of pity for all living beings, will be born in the evil world and widely proclaim this sutra. If these good sons and daughters, after my extinction, should be able even by stealth to preach to one person even one word of the Law-Flower Sutra, know these people are Tathagata-apostles sent by the Tathagata to perform Tathagata-deeds. How much more so those who in great assemblies widely preach to others.

'Medicine King! Even if there be some wicked person who out of an evil mind, throughout a whole kalpa, appears before the Buddha and unceasingly blasphemes the Buddha, his sin is still light, but if anyone, even with a single ill word, defames the lay devotees or monks who read and recite the Law-Flower Sutra, his sin is extremely heavy. Medicine King! He who reads and recites the Law-Flower Sutra--know! man has adorned himself with the adornment of the Buddha, and so is carried by the Tathagata on his shoulder. Wherever he goes, he should be saluted with hands wholeheartedly folded, revered, worshiped, honoured, and extolled, and offerings made to him of flowers, perfumes, garlands, sandal powder, perfumed unguents, incense for burning, silk canopies, banners, flags, garments, edibles and dainties, and music; he should be served with the most excellent offerings found amongst men. He should be sprinkled with celestial jewels, and offerings made of celestial jewels in heaps. Wherefore? Because, this man delighting to preach the Law, they who hear it but for a moment thereupon attain Perfect Enlightenment." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Should one wish to abide in the Buddha-way And accomplish intuitive wisdom, He must always earnestly honour The keepers of the Flower of the Law. Should one wish quickly to attain Every kind of wisdom, He must receive and keep this sutra And honour those who keep it. Should one be able to receive and keep The Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, Know, he is the Buddha's apostle, Who has compassion for all living beings. He who is able to receive and keep The Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, Giving up his pure land, [Or "the pure (clear) position (he had attained)."] And, from pity for the living, being born here: Know, such a man as this, Free to be born where he will, Is able, in this evil world, Widely to preach the supreme Law.

You should, with celestial flowers and perfumes, Garments of heavenly jewels, And heaps of wonderful celestial jewels,

Pay homage to such a preacher of the Law. In evil ages after my extinction, Those who are able to keep this sutra Must be saluted and revered with folded hands, As if paying homage to the World-honoured One. With the best of dainties and abundant sweets, And every kind of garment, This son of the Buddha should be worshiped In the hope of even a momentary hearing.

In future ages, if anyone is able To receive and keep this sutra, I will send him to be amongst men To perform the task of the Tathagata. If anyone in the course of a kalpa Unceasingly cherishes a wicked heart And, with angry mien, rails at the Buddha, He commits an infinitely heavy sin. But anyone who reads, recites, and keeps This Sutra of the Law-Flower, Should one abuse him even a moment, His sin is still heavier.

Anyone who seeks after the Buddha-way And for a complete kalpa, With folded hands, in my presence Extols me in numberless verses, Because he thus extols the Buddha Will acquire infinite merit. But he who praises the bearers of the sutra, His happiness will be even greater.

During eighty kotis of kalpas, With the most excellent colour, sound, Scent, flavour, and touch, If one worships the sutra-bearers; If, having thus worshiped, He hears [it from them but] for a moment, Then let him joyfully congratulate himself, Saying: I have now obtained a great benefit.' Medicine King! Now I say to you: Of the sutras I have preached, Amongst all these sutras, The Law-Flower is the very foremost."

Thereupon the Buddha again addressed the Medicine King Bodhisattva-Mahasattva, saying: "Infinite thousand myriad kotis are the sutras I preach, whether already preached, now being preached, or to be preached in the future; and, among them all, this Law-Flower Sutra is the most difficult to believe and the most difficult to understand. Medicine King! This sutra is the mystic, essential treasury of all buddhas, which must not be distributed among or recklessly delivered to men. It is watched over by buddhas, world-honoured ones, and from of yore it has never been revealed and preached. And this sutra while the Tathagata is still here has aroused much enmity and envy; how much more after his extinction!

"Know, Medicine King! After the Tathagata is extinct those who are able to copy, keep, read, recite, worship, and preach it to others will be invested by the Tathagata with his robe, and will be protected and remembered by buddhas abiding in other regions. They shall have great powers of faith and the power of a resolute vow and the powers of virtuous character. Know, those people shall dwell with the Tathagata, and the Tathagata shall place his hand upon their heads.

"Medicine King! In every place where this sutra [teaching] is preached or read or recited or copied or its volumes are kept, one should erect a caitya\* of the precious seven, making it very high, spacious, and splendid. But there is no need to deposit relics. [\* A caitya is a pagoda in which sutras are deposited. From this chapter on, the erection of caityas instead of stupas, or pagodas for relics, is stressed.]

Wherefore? Because in it there is the whole body of the Tathagata. This caitya [The Sanskrit text has signifying that this caitya should be honoured as if it were a stupa.] should be served, revered, honoured, and extolled with all kinds of flowers, perfumes, garlands, silk canopies, banners, flags, music, and hymns. If any, seeing that caitya, salute and worship it, know that they all are near to Perfect Enlightenment. Medicine King! Many people there are, both laymen and monks, who walk in the bodhisattva-way, without, as it were, being able to see, hear, read, recite, copy, keep, and worship this Law-Flower Sutra. Know that those people are not yet rightly walking in the bodhisattva-way; but if any of them hear this sutra, then they shall be able to walk aright in the bodhisattva-way. If any living beings who seek after the Buddha-way either see or hear this Law-Flower Sutra, and after hearing it believe and discern, receive and keep it, you may know that they are near Perfect Enlightenment.

"Medicine King! It is like a man, extremely thirsty and in need of water, who searches for it by digging in a tableland. So long as he sees dry earth, he knows that the water is still far off. Continuing his labour unceasingly, he in time sees moist earth and then gradually reaches the mire. Then he makes up his mind, knowing that water is at hand. Bodhisattvas are also like this. If they have not heard, nor understood, nor been able to observe this Law-Flower Sutra, you may know that they are still far from Perfect Enlightenment. If they hear, understand, ponder, and observe it, you may assuredly know that they are near Perfect Enlightenment. Wherefore? Because the Perfect Enlightenment of every bodhisattva all belongs to this sutra. This sutra brings out the fuller meaning of the tactful or partial method in order to reveal the real truth\*. The treasury of this Law-Flower Sutra is so deep and strong, so hidden and far away that no human being has been able to reach it. Now the Buddha has revealed it for instructing and perfecting bodhisattvas. [\* That is, it opens wide the door, which has heretofore been only partially open, in order to reveal the truth in its reality; in other words, it opens the door to buddhahood for all--Hinayana, Mahayana, shravakas,

pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas—and is the only sutra that does so. This doctrine is called "opening the temporary truths and revealing the real [truth]" or "opening the three [vehicles, doctrines] and revealing the One [vehicle, doctrine]."]

"Medicine King! If any bodhisattva, on hearing this Law-Flower Sutra, is startled, doubts, and fears, you may know that this is a bodhisattva neophyte. If any shravaka, on hearing this sutra, is startled, doubts, and fears, you may know him for an arrogant person.

"Medicine King! If there be any good son or good daughter who after the extinction of the Tathagata desires to preach this Law-Flower Sutra to the four groups, how should he preach it? That good son or good daughter, entering into the abode of the Tathagata, wearing the robe of the Tathagata, and sitting on the throne of the Tathagata, should then widely proclaim this sutra to the four groups of hearers.

"The abode of the Tathagata is the great compassionate heart within all living beings; the robe of the Tathagata is the gentle and forbearing heart; the throne of the Tathagata is the voidness of all laws. Established in these, then with unflagging mind to bodhisattvas and the four groups of hearers he will preach this Law-Flower Sutra. Medicine King! I though dwelling in another realm will send spirit messengers\* to gather together hearers of the Law for that preacher and also send spirit bhikshus, bhikshunis, and male and female lay devotees to hear his preaching of the Law. [\* Literally, "transformed men": that is, men who have been made to appear expediently through the supernatural power of the Buddha.] All these spirit people, hearing the Law, shall unresistingly receive it in faith and obey it. If the preacher of the Law takes up his abode in a secluded place, then I will abundantly send gods, dragons, spirits, gandharvas, asuras, and others to hear him preach. Though I am in a different domain, I will from time to time cause the preacher of the Law to see me. If he forgets any detail of this sutra, I will return and tell him, that he may be in perfect possession of it." that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"In order to be rid of sloth, Hearken to this sutra! Rare is the chance of hearing it And rare are those who receive it in faith. It is like a thirsty man needing water, Who digs in a tableland; Still seeing dry and arid earth, He knows water is yet far off. Moist earth and mire gradually appearing, He is assured that water is near. Know, Medicine King! Such is the case with those Who hear not the Law-Flower Sutra; They are far from the Buddha-wisdom. Should they hear this profound sutra, Which determines the Law for disciples And is the king of all sutras, And, hearing, truly ponder it, Know that those people Are near the Buddha-wisdom.

Should anyone preach this sutra, Let him enter the Tathagata robe, Wear the Tathagata robe, And sit on the Tathagata throne; Undaunted amidst the multitude, Let him openly expound and preach it. With great compassion for his abode, Gentleness and forbearance for his robe, And the voidness of all laws for his throne, Abiding in these, let him preach the Law.

If, when he preaches this sutra, Some should with evil mouth abuse, Or lay on swords, sticks, shards, or stones, Think of the Buddha; let him be patient. In thousands of myriads of kotis of lands, I appear with pure imperishable bodies, And in infinite kotis of kalpas Preach the Law for all the living.

If anyone after my extinction Is able to proclaim this sutra, I will send him the four spirit groups Of bhikshus and bhikshunis, Pure-minded men and women, To worship him as teacher of the Law, While I will draw living beings And assemble them to hear this Law. Should men seek to assail with ill words, With swords, sticks, shards, or stones, I will send spirit people o act as his protectors. Should any preacher of this Law, Dwelling alone in a secluded place, In solitude where is no voice of man, Read and recite this sutra, Then I will appear to him With a pure and luminous body.

Should he forget sentences or words, I will tell him to his clear apprehension. Whenever such a man, perfect in these merits, Either preaches to the four groups Or in seclusion reads and recites the sutra, He will always see me. When such a man is in seclusion, I will send gods and dragon kings, Yakshas, demons, spirits, and others To be hearers of this Law. That man will delight to preach the Law And expound it without hindrance.

Because buddhas guard and mind him, He can cause multitudes to rejoice. Whoever is close to such a teacher of the Law Will speedily attain the bodhisattva-way; And he who becomes a pupil of that teacher Will behold buddhas numerous as the sands of the Ganges."

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 11

Beholding the Precious Stupa

At that time in front of the Buddha a stupa of the seven precious things, five hundred yojanas in height and two hundred and fifty yojanas in length and breadth, sprang up from the earth and abode in the sky.

[With regard to the Sanskrit vaihayasam antrarikshe here, Nanjio notes: "Hendrik Kern translated the word vaihayasam

as 'a meteoric phenomenon,' reading it as the neuter gender, subject, and singular, and besides, saying in the footnote: 'Here, it would seem, the rainbow of seven colours. We shall see that the Stupa has also another function, that of symbolising the celestial dhishnya in which sun and moon are standing' [Sacred Books of the East, Hendrik Kern vol. 21, p. 227 n]. But this has nearly the same meaning as the next word, antarikshe, and is used as an adverb. Therefore it is right to translate it as Kumarajiva did."]

It was decorated with all kinds of precious things, splendidly adorned with five thousand parapets, thousands of myriads of recesses, and countless banners and flags; hung with jewel garlands, with myriads of kotis of gem bells suspended on it; on every side exhaling the fragrance of tamalapattra sandalwood, filling the whole world. All its streamers and canopies were composed of the precious seven, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, pearl, and carnelian, reaching up to the palaces of the four heavenly kings. The thirty-three gods, raining celestial mandarava flowers, paid homage to the Precious Stupa. Other gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mohoragas, human and nonhuman beings, all these thousand myriad kotis of beings, paid homage to the stupa with all kinds of flowers, perfumes, garlands, streamers, canopies, and music, revered, honoured, and extolled it. Then from the midst of the Precious Stupa there came a loud voice, praising and saying\*: "Excellent! Excellent! World-honoured Shakyamuni! [\* The Tibetan version has a long preceding address, translated into Japanese by Oka, and then follows with the address given here. The former is not found in the extant Sanskrit text.] Thou art able to preach to the great assembly the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra of universal and great wisdom, by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas guard and mind. So is it, so is it, Worldhonoured Shakvamuni! All that thou sayest is true.

Then the four groups, beholding the great Precious Stupa abiding in the sky and hearing the sound which proceeded from the stupa, were all filled with delight in the Law and with wonder at these unheard-of happenings; they rose up from their seats and, reverently folding their hands, withdrew to one side. Meanwhile, a bodhisattva-mahasattva named Great Eloquence, perceiving uncertainty in the minds of all the world[s] of gods, men, asuras, and others, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! For what reason has this stupa sprung out of the earth and from its midst this voice proceeded?"

Then the Buddha told the Bodhisattya Great Eloquence: "In this stupa there is the whole body of the Tathagata. Of vore in the past, innumerable thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya worlds away in the east, there was a domain named Jewel Clear. In that domain there was a buddha entitled Abundant Treasures. When that buddha was treading the bodhisattva-way, he made a great vow, saying: 'After I become a buddha and am extinct, if in any country in the universe there be a place where the Law-Flower Sutra is preached, my stupa shall arise and appear there, in order that I may hearken to that sutra, bear testimony to it, and extol it, saying: "Excellent!" When that buddha had finished his course, he, his extinction approaching, in the midst of gods, men, and a great host, instructed his bhikshus: 'Those who after my extinction, desire to worship my whole body should erect a great stupa.' Wherever in the worlds of the universe the Law-Flower Sutra is preached, that buddha by the supernatural powers of his vow causes his stupa, containing his whole body, there to spring forth, and praises the sutra, saying: 'Excellent! Excellent!' Great Eloquence! It is because just now the Tathagata Abundant Treasures heard the Law-Flower Sutra preached that his stupa sprang up from the earth and he extolled the sutra, saving: 'Excellent! Excellent!'"

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Great Eloquence, because of the divine power of the Tathagata, said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! We earnestly desire to see this buddha's body." The Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Eloquence thus: "This Buddha Abundant Treasures has a profound and grave vow: When my stupa appears in the presence of any of the buddhas for the sake of hearing the Law-Flower Sutra, if he desires to show my body to the four groups, let the buddhas who have emanated from that buddha and who are preaching the Law in the worlds in all directions return all together and assemble in one place, and then shall my body appear.' So, Great Eloquence, I must now assemble the buddhas who have emanated from me and who are preaching the Law in the worlds in all directions."

Great Eloquence replied to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! We would also see the buddhas emanated from the World-honoured One and worship and pay homage to them."

Then the Buddha sent forth a ray from the circle of white hair between his eyebrows, whereupon eastward there became visible all the buddhas in five hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains numerous as the sands of the Ganges. All those domains had crystal for earth and jewel trees and precious cloth for adornment, were filled with countless thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas, had jeweled canopies stretched above them, and were covered with networks of jewels. All the

buddhas in those domains were preaching the laws with ravishing voices. And innumerable thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas were also seen, filling those domains and preaching to the multitude. So, too, was it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and the nadir, wherever shone the ray-signal from the circle of white hair.

Then the buddhas in all directions each addressed the host of his bodhisattvas, saying: "Good sons! We must now go to Shakyamuni Buddha in the saha-world and pay homage to the Precious Stupa of the Tathagata Abundant Treasures."

Thereupon the saha-world instantly became pure, with lapis lazuli for earth, adorned with jewel trees, cords made of gold marking the boundaries of its eight divisions, having no hamlets, villages, towns, cities, great seas, great rivers, mountains, streams, forests, and thickets, smoking with most precious incense, its ground strewn with mandarava flowers, spread with precious nets and curtains, and hung with all kinds of precious bells.

There only remained the assembled congregation, all other gods and men having been removed to other lands. Then those buddhas, each bringing a great bodhisattva as his attendant, arrived at the saha-world, and each went to the foot of a jewel tree. Each of the jewel trees was five hundred yojanas high, adorned in turn with boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit; under all those jewel trees there were lion thrones five yojanas high, also decorated with magnificent jewels. Then each of those buddhas sat cross-legged on those thrones.

Thus all around him the three-thousand-greatthousandfold world was filled with buddhas, though as yet, from but one point of the compass, the bodies which had emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha had not finished arriving. Then Shakyamuni Buddha, desiring to make room for the buddhas who had emanated from himself, in each of the eight directions of space transformed two hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains, all of them pure, without hells, hungry spirits, animals, and asuras, and moreover removed their gods and men to other lands. The domains thus transformed also had lapis lazuli for earth and were ornate with jewel trees five hundred vojanas high, adorned in turn with boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit; under every tree was a jeweled lion throne five yojanas high, decorated with all kinds of gems; and there were no great seas or great rivers, nor any Mount Mucilinda, Mount Maha-Mucilinda, Mount Iron Circle, Mount Great Iron Circle [Four mountains surrounding Mount Sumeru.], Mount Sumeru, and so on, all these kings of mountains which always form one Buddha-land; their jeweled ground was even and smooth; everywhere jewel-decked awnings were spread and streamers and canopies hung, while most precious incense was burning, and precious celestial flowers everywhere covered the ground.

Shakyamuni Buddha [the sage of the Shakya dynasty], in order that the buddhas who were coming might be seated, in each of the eight directions transformed two hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains, making them all pure, without hells, hungry spirits, animals, and asuras, and removing [their] gods and men to other lands. The domains thus transformed also had lapis lazuli for earth and were ornate with jewel trees five hundred yojanas high, adorned in turn with boughs, leaves, blossoms, and fruit; under every tree was a jeweled lion throne five joyanas high, decorated with great jewels; and there were no great seas or great rivers, nor any Mount Mucilinda, Mount Maha-Mucilinda, Mount Iron Circle, Mount Great Iron Circle, Mount Sumeru, and so on, these kings of mountains which always form one Buddha-land; their jeweled ground was even and smooth; everywhere jeweldecked awnings were spread, and streamers and canopies hung, while most precious incense was burning, and precious celestial flowers everywhere covered the ground.

At that moment the bodies which had emanated eastward from Shakyamuni, namely the buddhas who were each preaching the Law in a hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of eastern domains numerous as the sands of the Ganges, arrived and assembled. In like manner in turn the buddhas from all the ten directions all arrived and assembled and took their seats in the eight directions. Thereupon each direction was filled with buddha-tathagatas from its four hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of domains. Then all the buddhas, each under a jewel tree, seated on a lion throne, sent their attendants to make inquiries of Shakyamuni Buddha, each sending a double handful of jewel flowers, and saving to them: "Good sons! Do you go and visit Mount Gridhrakuta, the abode of Shakyamuni Buddha, and, according to our words, say: 'Art thou free from disease and distress? Art thou at ease in thy physical powers? And are all the groups of thy bodhisattvas and shravakas at peace?' Strew the Buddha in homage with these jewel flowers and say thus: 'Such and such a buddha joins in wishing that this Precious Stupa be opened." All the buddhas sent their messengers in like manner.

Then Shakyamuni Buddha, beholding the buddhas who had emanated from him assembled together, each seated on his lion throne, and hearing that those buddhas unitedly desired the Precious Stupa to be opened, straightway rose up from his throne and abode in the sky. All the four groups stood up, folded their hands, and with all their mind gazed at the Buddha. Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha with the fingers of his right hand opened the door of the Stupa of the Precious Seven, when there went forth a great sound, like the withdrawing of the bolt on opening a great city gate. Thereupon all the congregation saw the Tathagata Abundant Treasures sitting on the lion throne in the Precious Stupa, with his undissipated body whole and as if he were in meditation. And they heard him saying: "Excellent! Excellent! Shakyamuni Buddha! Speedily preach this Law-Flower Sutra. I have come hither in order to hear this sutra."

Then the four groups, seeing the buddha who had passed away and been extinct for immeasurable thousand myriad kotis of kalpas speak such words as these, praised this unprecedented marvel and strewed on the Buddha Abundant Treasures and on Shakyamuni Buddha heaps of celestial jewel flowers. Thereupon the Buddha Abundant Treasures within the Precious Stupa shared half his throne with Shakyamuni Buddha, speaking thus: "Shakyamuni Buddha! Take this seat!" Whereon Shakyamuni Buddha entered the stuna and sitting down on that half throne, folded his legs. Then the great assembly, seeing the two Tathagatas sitting cross-legged on the lion throne in the Stupa of the Precious Seven, each reflected thus: "The Buddhas are sitting aloft and far away. Would that the Tathagatas by their transcendent powers might cause us together to take up our abode in the sky.' Immediately Shakyamuni Buddha, by his transcendent powers, received all the great assembly up into the sky, and with a great voice universally addressed the four groups, saying: Who are able to publish abroad the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra in this saha-world? Now indeed is the time. The Tathagata not long hence must enter nirvana. The Buddha desires to bequeath this Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra so that it may ever exist." At that time the World-honoured One. desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, spoke thus in

"The holy world-honoured lord, Albeit for long extinct And in his Precious Stupa, Yet comes to hear the Law. How then should anyone not be Zealous for the Law's sake? This buddha has been extinct For countless kalpas (aeons), Yet in place after place he hears the Law Because of its rareness.

That buddha made a vow: 'After my extinction, I will go anywhere Forever to hear this Law.' And innumerable buddhas Emanated from my body, As the sands of the Ganges, Have come to hear the Law And to behold the extinct Tathagata Abundant Treasures.

Each, leaving his wonderful land And his host of disciples, Gods, men, and dragons, And all their offerings, Has come here to this place So that the Law may long abide. In order to seat these buddhas, By my transcendent powers I have removed innumerable beings And cleared [my] domain.

The buddhas, one by one, Have arrived under the jewel trees, As lotus flowers adorn A clear and cool pool. Under those jewel trees, On the lion thrones, The buddhas are seated, Brilliant and resplendent, As, in the darkness of night, Great torches gleam. From them proceeds a mystic fragrance Spreading afar over all lands; All beings perfumed thereby Are beside themselves with joy; It is just as when a great wind Blows over the fragrant bushes. By this expedient I cause the Law long to abide. To this great assembly I say: 'After my extinction, Whoever is able to guard and keep, Read and recite this sutra, Let him before the Buddha Himself declare his vow! The Buddha Abundant Treasures, Albeit extinct for long, By reason of his great vow Will sound forth the lion's roar [The buddha's voice.].

Let the Tathagata Abundant Treasures And also me myself And my assembly of emanated buddhas\* Know this resolve. [\* The Buddha Abundant Treasures, the Buddha Shakyamuni, and all the buddhas emanated from Shakyamuni are called the three groups of buddhas.] Of all my Buddha-sons, Let him who is able to protect the Law Sound forth a great vow To make it long abide!

He who is able to protect The Law of this sutra Will be deemed to have worshiped Me and Abundant Treasures, This Buddha Abundant Treasures, Who abides in the Precious Stupa And ever wanders everywhere For the sake of this sutra. He will moreover have worshiped All my emanated buddhas here, Who adorn and make resplendent All the worlds.

If he preaches this sutra, Then he is deemed to have seen me And the Tathagata Abundant Treasures, Also my emanated buddhas. All my good sons! Let each carefully ponder that! This is a difficult task, Needing the taking of a great vow. All the other sutras, Numerous as the sands of the Ganges, Though one expounded them, It still could not be counted hard.

If one took up (Mount) Sumeru And hurled it to another region Of numberless buddha-lands, Neither would that be hard. If one were with his toes To move a great-thousandfold world And hurl it afar to another land, That also would not be hard.

If one, standing on the Summit of All Beings [The highest heaven, called the Summit of All Existence.], Were to expound to all beings The countless other sutras, That also would not

be hard. But if one, after the Buddha's extinction, In the midst of an evil world Is able to preach this sutra, This indeed is hard. Though there be a man who Grasps the sky in his hand And wanders about with it, That is still not hard.

But after my extinction, Whether himself to copy and keep Or cause another to copy it, That indeed is hard. If one took the great earth. Put it on his toenail, And ascended to the Brahma heaven, That would still not be hard. But after the Buddha's extinction, In the midst of an evil world To read aloud this sutra for but a moment, That indeed will be hard.

Though one, in the final conflagration [The conflagration at the end of the world.], Carried a load of dry hay, And entered it unseared, That would still not be hard. But after my extinction, If anyone keeps this sutra And proclaims it but to one man. That indeed will be hard.

If one could keep the eighty-four thousand Sections of the Law [According to legend, all living beings have eighty-four thousand faults, so the Buddha taught the same number of laws or remedies.] And the twelve divisions of sutras\*, Expound them to others, And cause those who heard To gain the six transcendent powers, Though he had such power as this, That would still not be hard.

f\* The Mahayana sutras are classified into twelve divisions, while the Hinayana sutras are divided into nine. The twelve divisions of the Mahayana sutras are 1. sutras; 2. geya, or repetitional chants; 3. vyakarana, or predictions regarding the destiny of the Buddha's disciples; 4. gatha, or detached stanzas; 5. udana, or impromptu discourses; 6. nidana, or reasonings; 7. avadana, or parables; 8. itivrittaka, or former things; 9. jataka, or birth stories; 10. vaipulya, or amplified and diffuse scriptures; 11. adbhutadharma, or the unprecedented laws; and 12. upadesha, or dogmatic discussions.]

But after my extinction, if anyone Hears and receives this sutra And inquires into its meaning, That indeed will be hard. If one could preach the Law And cause thousands, myriads, kotis, Countless, innumerable beings, As many as the sands of the Ganges, To become arhats And perfect the six transcendent powers, Even to confer such a benefit as this Would still not be hard.

But after my extinction, If anyone is able to keep Such a sutra as this, That will indeed be hard. I, on account of the Buddha-way, In innumerable lands From the beginning till now Have widely preached many sutras; But amongst them all This sutra is the chief, and If anyone is able to keep it, Then he keeps the Buddha's body.

All my good sons! Let him who, after my extinction, Is able to receive and keep, Read and recite this sutra, Now in the presence of the Buddha Announce his own vow! This sutra so difficult to keep, If anyone keeps it a short time, I shall be pleased, And so will all the buddhas. Such a one as this Will be praised by all the buddhas; Such a one is brave; Such a one is zealous; Such a one is named Law-keeper And dhuta-observer: Speedily shall he attain The supreme Buddha-way.

He who, in coming generations, Can read and keep this sutra Is truly a Buddha-son Dwelling in the stage of pure goodness. After the Buddha's extinction, He who can expound its meaning Will be the eye of the world For gods and men. He who, in the [final] age of fear, Can preach it even for a moment By all gods and men Will be worshiped." [Hendrik Kern's title for this chapter is "Apparition of a Stupa," and the Chinese for Kern's "apparition" can be translated "manifestation" or "revelation," but the word is generally interpreted as meaning "beholding."]

HERE ENDS THE FOURTH BUNCH OF WORDS

#### THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 12 Devadatta / Ananda\*

[\* Devadatta, a Buddhist monk, also called Ananda, who was cousin. brother-in-law, and one of the Ten Disciples of Gautama Siddhartha Buddha. The name Devadatta means "god-given / gift of god" in Sanskrit and Pali, equal to Deodatus, or Deusdedit in Latin; Theodotos, Theodosios or Theodoure in Greek.]

At that time the Buddha addressed the bodhisattyas, the celestial beings, and the four groups [Meaning "gods, men, and the four groups"--monks, nuns, and male and female lay devotees.], saying: "Through innumerable kalpas of the past, I have tirelessly sought the Law-Flower Sutra; during many kalpas I was long a king and vowed to seek the supreme Bodhi [Perfect Enlightenment.], my mind never faltering. Desiring to fulfill the Six Paramitas, I earnestly bestowed alms with an unsparing mind--elephants, horses, the rare seven [The precious seven.], countries, cities, wives, children, male and female slaves, servants and followers, head, eyes, marrow, brain, the flesh of my body, hands, and feet, unsparing of body and life. At that time people's lifetime was beyond measure. For the sake of the Law, I gave up the throne of my domain, deputed my government to the crown prince, and with beating drum and open proclamation, sought everywhere for the truth, promising: 'Whoever is able to tell me of a Great-vehicle, I will all my life provide for him and be his footman.' At that time a certain hermit came to me the king and said: 'I have a Great-vehicle named Wonderful LawFlower Sutra. If you will not disobey me, I will explain it to you.' I the king, hearing what the hermit said, became ecstatic with joy and instantly followed him, providing for his needs, gathering fruit, drawing water, collecting fuel, laying his food, even turning my body into his seat and bed, yet never feeling fatigue of body or mind. While I thus served a millennium passed, and for the sake of the Law, I zealously waited on him that he should lack nothing." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"I remember in past kalpas (aeons), When, to seek the Great Law-Though I was a king in the world, Yet coveted not earthly pleasures [Literally, "the pleasures of the five desires." See Glossary.]--With toll of bell, I proclaimed to the four quarters: 'Whoever possesses the Great Law, If he will expound it to me, To him I will become servant.' Then there was the sage Asita, Who came and said to the great king: 'I possess the wonderful Law Rarely [heard] in the world.

If you are able to practice it, I will preach it to you.' Then the king, hearing the sage's word, Conceived great joy in his heart And thereupon followed him, Providing for his needs, Gathering fuel, fruit, and gourds, And in season reverently offering them. Keeping the Wonderful Law in my heart, Body and mind were unwearied; Universally for all living beings I diligently sought the Great Law, Not indeed for my own sake, Not for the delight of the five desires. So I, king of a great domain, By zealous seeking obtained this Law And as last became a buddha. Now, therefore, I preach it to you."

The Buddha said to all the bhikshus: "The former king was myself and the sage at that juncture was the present Devadatta himself. Through the good friendship of Devadatta I was enabled to become perfect in the Six Paramitas, in kindness, compassion, joy, and indifference [Maitri, kindness or benevolence; karuna, compassion; mudita, joy; and upeksha, indifference, or the state of absolute indifference attained by renouncing any exercise of the mental faculties. These four are termed the four kinds of infinite mind or infinite virtues.], in the thirty-two signs, the eighty kinds of excellence, the deep golden-hued skin, the ten powers, the four kinds of fearlessness, the four social laws\*, the eighteen special unique characteristics, the transcendent powers of the Way, the attainment of Perfect Enlightenment, and the widespread saving of the living--all this is due to the good friendship of Devadatta. [\* The four guiding rules for human society: almsgiving, kind speech, helpful conduct, and mutual service.] declare to all you four groups: Devadatta, after his departure and innumerable kalpas have passed, will become a buddha, whose title will be King of the Gods Tathagata. Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, Worldhonoured One, and whose world will be named Divine Way.

At that time the Buddha King of Gods shall dwell in the world for twenty intermediate kalpas. He shall widely preach the Wonderful Law for all the living, and living beings [numerous] as the sands of the Ganges will attain arhatship; innumerable beings will devote themselves to pratyekabuddhahood; and living beings numerous as the sands of the Ganges, devoting themselves to the supreme Way, will attain to the assurance of no [re]birth\* and reach the stage of never falling back into mortal life. [Literally, "the patience of no [re]birth," interpreted as the assurance of no (re]birth. This is the stage at which a bodhisattva has transcended life and death.]

Then after the parinirvana of the Buddha King of Gods, the Righteous Law will dwell in his world during twenty intermediate kalpas. For his complete body relic, a stupa of the precious seven shall be erected, sixty yojanas in height and forty yojanas in length and width. All the gods and people, with various flowers, sandal powder, incense for burning, perfumed unguents, garments, garlands, banners, flags, jeweled canopies, music, and song, shall respectfully salute and pay homage to the wonderful Stupa of the Precious Seven. Innumerable living beings will attain arhatship; incalculable living creatures will awaken to pratyekabuddhahood; and inconceivable numbers of the living will be aroused to Bodhi and reach the [stage] of never falling back into mortality."

The Buddha said to the bhikshus: "If there be in a future world any good son or good daughter to hear this Devadatta chapter of the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra with pure heart and believing reverence, and is free from doubt, such a one shall not fall into the hells or become a hungry spirit or animal, but shall be born into the presence of the buddhas of the universe. Wherever he be born he will always hear this sutra; and if he be born amongst men and gods, he will enjoy marvelous delight. As to the Buddha into whose presence [he is born], his birth shall be by emanation from a lotus flower."

Thereupon a bodhisattva-attendant, from a region beneath, of the World-honoured One Abundant Treasures, named Wisdom Accumulation, said to the Buddha Abundant Treasures: "Let us return to our own land!" But Shakyamuni Buddha said to Wisdom Accumulation: "Good son! Wait a while! Here is the Bodhisattva Manjushri.

First meet and discuss with him the Wonderful Law and then return to your own land." Thereupon Manjushri, sitting on a thousand-petal lotus flower as large as a carriage wheel, with the bodhisattvas who accompanied him also sitting on jeweled lotus flowers, unaided sprang up from the great ocean, out of the palace of the Sagara Dragon King. Taking up his place in the sky, he advanced to the Divine Vulture Peak, alighted from his lotus flower, went before the Buddha, and reverently made obeisance at the feet of the two Worldhonoured Ones. When he had expressed his reverence he went over to Wisdom Accumulation, and after they had asked after each other's welfare, they withdrew and sat to one side. The Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation asked Manjushri: "Virtuous sir! Since you went to the dragon palace how many beings have you converted?" Manjushri answered: "Their numbers are immeasurable; they cannot be calculated, nor expressed in words, nor fathomed by the mind. Just wait a moment! One must bring the proof." Before he had finished speaking numberless bodhisattvas sitting on jeweled lotus flowers sprang up from the sea, advanced to the Divine Vulture Peak, and took up their place in the sky. All these bodhisattyas had been converted and saved by Maniushri, had become perfect in bodhisattva-deeds, and together discussed and expounded the Six Paramitas. Those in the sky, who had formerly been shravakas, told of their former shravaka-deeds. But now they all maintained the spiritual principle of the Great-vehicle. Then said Maniushri to Wisdom Accumulation: "Such has been the result of my course of instruction in the ocean." Then the Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation extolled him thus in verse:

"Most wise, virtuous, brave, and strong one! Thou hast converted innumerable beings, As now this great assembly And I have all seen. Expounding the principle of Reality And revealing the One-vehicle Law, Extensively hast thou led living beings To attain with speed Bodhi."

Manjushri replied: "That which I in the midst of the ocean always proclaimed was no other than the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra." Wisdom Accumulation asked Manjushri: "This sutra is very profound and subtle, the pearl of all the sutras, a rare thing in the world. Is there any being who, diligently and zealously practicing this sutra, can attain speedily buddhahood?" Manjushri replied: "There is the daughter of the Dragon King Sagara, just eight years old, wise and of keen faculties [high scholarship], well acquainted with the karma arising from the roots of action of all creatures, who has obtained dharani, has been able to receive and keep all the most profound and mystic treasuries revealed by buddhas, and has deeply entered into meditations and penetrated into all laws. In a moment of time [Kshana, an instantaneous point of time.], she resolved on Bodhi and attained nonrelapse into mortality. She has unembarrassed powers of argument and a compassionate mind for all the living as if they were her children; her merits are complete and the thoughts of her mind and explanations of her mouth are both subtle and great. Kind and compassionate, virtuous and modest, gentle and beautiful in her disposition, she has been able to attain Bodhi.'

The Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation said: "I have seen how Shakyamuni Tathagata, during innumerable kalpas, in doing arduous and painful deeds, accumulating merit, and heaping up virtue, sought the Way of Bodhi ceaselessly and without rest. I have observed that in the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world there is not even a spot as small as a mustard seed where he has not laid down his body and life as a bodhisattva for the sake of the living; and only after that did he attain Bodhi. It is incredible that this girl, in but a moment, should become perfectly enlightened." Before he had ceased talking, the daughter of the dragon king suddenly appeared before them and after making reverent obeisance to the Buddha withdrew to one side, extolling him in verse:

"Profound of insight into sin and blessedness, He illuminates the universe; His spiritual body, ethereal and pure, Has the thirty-two perfect signs; With the eighty kinds of excellence is his spiritual body adorned: He to whom gods and men look up, Dragons and spirits pay reverence, And all species of living beings Do worship and honour. That, having heard the Truth, I attained Bodhi Only the Buddha may bear witness. I will reveal the teaching of the Great-vehicle Which delivers creatures from suffering."

Thereupon Shariputra said to the daughter of the dragon: "You state that in no length of time you attained the supreme Way [the highest level of Buddhist scholarship and experience]. This thing is hard to believe. Wherefore? Because the body of a women is filthy and not a vessel of the Law. How can she attain supreme Bodhi? The Buddha-way is so vast that only after passing through innumerable kalpas (aeons), enduring hardship, accumulating good works, and perfectly practicing the Perfections can it be accomplished. Moreover, a woman by her body still has five hindrances: she cannot become first, king of the Brahma-heaven; second, Shakra; third, a Maraking; fourth, a holy wheel-rolling king; and fifth, a buddha. How then could a woman's body so speedily become a buddha?"

Now, the dragon's daughter possessed a precious pearl worth a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, which she held up and presented to the Buddha, and which the Buddha immediately accepted. The dragon's daughter then said to the Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation and the honoured Shariputra: "I have offered my pearl, and the Worldhonoured One has accepted it—was this action speedy?" They answered: "Most speedy." The daughter said: "By your supernatural powers behold me become a buddha even more rapidly than that!"

At that moment the entire congregation saw the dragon's daughter suddenly transformed into a male, perfect in bodhisattva-deeds, who instantly went to the world Spotless in the southern quarter, where she sat on a precious lotus flower, attaining Perfect Enlightenment, with the thirty-two signs and the eighty kinds of excellence, and universally proclaiming the Wonderful Law to all living creatures in the universe

Then the saha-world of bodhisattvas, shravakas, the eight groups of gods and dragons, and human and nonhuman beings, all from afar beholding the dragon's daughter become a buddha and universally preach the Law to gods, men, and others amongst that congregation, all rejoiced greatly and made reverent salutation from afar. The countless multitude, on hearing her preach the Law, were aroused to apprehension and attained never sliding back into mortality. The countless multitude also received their prediction of the perfect Way. The world Spotless made the sixfold movement. Three thousand living beings in the saha-world took up their abode in the stage of never returning to mortality, while three thousand living beings set their minds on Bodhi and obtained their prediction of attaining it.

The Bodhisattva Wisdom Accumulation and Shariputra and all the congregation silently believed. [The extant Sanskrit text, two other Chinese translations, and the Tibetan version of the Lotus Sutra include the Devadatta section of the text in chapter 11. Kumarajiva's version divides chapter 11 into two parts, making a new chapter, the twelfth, begin here with the title "Devadatta." Some have asserted that Kumarajiva did not translate this chapter, and it is said not to have been included in his Chinese text for some time. But Chih-i, founder of the Tien-t'ai sect, supported the opposite view, saying that he had seen an old original copy of Kumarajiva's translation containing the translation of this portion

Devadatta, "gift of the devas," was one of Shakyamuni's cousins but became his rival and enemy. He is said to have fallen into hell because he committed the five worst sins. That the Buddha in this chapter predicts that Devadatta will become a buddha indicates that all beings, however evil, can become buddhas. In addition, in the latter half of this chapter it is also proclaimed that the daughter of a dragon king will become a buddha, indicating that all women can also attain buddhahood. Generally speaking, apart from this sutra Buddhism does not recognise that women can become buddhas. Thus two great doctrines, the possibility of the worst men and also of women attaining buddhahood, are taught in this chapter.]

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 13

Exhortation to Hold Firm

[The title of this chapter can also be translated "Exhortation to Firmness." Some copies have only "Firmness." In this chapter two themes are presented: first, the vow of the twenty thousand bodhisattvas to propagate this sutra, according to the Buddha's command; and second, the exhortation to propagate this sutra by which the eighty myriad kotis of nayutas of bodhisattvas are encouraged.]

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Medicine King and the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Eloquence, with their retinue of twenty thousand bodhisattvas, all in the presence of the Buddha, made this vow, saying: "Be pleased, World-honoured One, to be without anxiety! After the extinction of the Buddha we will keep, read, recite, and preach this sutra. In the evil age to come living beings will decrease in good qualities, while they will increase in utter arrogance [and] in covetousness of gain and honours, and will develop their evil qualities and be far removed from emancipation. Though it may be difficult to teach and convert them, we, arousing our utmost patience, will read and recite this sutra, keep, preach, and copy it, pay every kind of homage to it, and spare not our body and life."

Thereupon the five hundred arhats in the assembly, whose future had been predicted, addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! We also vow to publish abroad this sutra in other lands." Again the eight thousand arhats, training and trained, whose future had been predicted, rising up from their seats and folding their hands toward the Buddha, made this vow, saying: "World-honoured One! We also will publish abroad this sutra in other lands. Wherefore? Because in this saha-world men abound in wickedness, cherish the utmost arrogance, [and] are of shallow virtue, defiled with hatreds, crooked with suspicions, and insincere in mind."

Then the sister of the Buddha's mother, the Bhikshuni Mahaprajapati, with six thousand bhikshunis, training and trained, rose up from their seats, with one mind folded their hands, and gazed up to the honoured face without removing their eyes for a moment. Then the World-honoured One addressed the Gautami [Gautami is the general term for women of the Buddha's Shakya clan, while Gautama "Lord" is that for men. Here she is styled Gautami in the sense of 'Why, with sad countenance, do you gaze at the Tathagata? Are you not thinking to say that I have not mentioned your name and predicted for you Perfect Enlightenment? Gautami! I have already inclusively announced that [the future of] all shravakas is predicted. Now you, who desire to know your future destiny, shall, in the world to come, become a great teacher of the Law in the laws of the sixty-eight thousand kotis of buddhas\*," and these six thousand bhikshunis, training and trained, will all become teachers of the Law. [\* Literally, this seems to mean: "You shall, in the sixty-eight thousand kotis of Buddha-laws, be a great Law-teacher."] Thus you will gradually become perfect in the bodhisattva-way and will become a buddha entitled Loveliness Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Gautami! This Buddha Loveliness and the six thousand bodhisattvas will in turn be predicted to [attain] Perfect Enlightenment.'

Thereupon the mother of Rahula, the Bhikshuni Yashodhara, reflected thus: "The World-honoured One in his predictions has left my name alone unmentioned." Then the Buddha said to Yashodhara: "You, in the laws of the hundred thousand myriads of kotis of buddhas in the world to come, by your doing of bodhisattva-deeds shall become a great teacher of the Law, gradually become perfect in the Buddhaway, and in the domain Good become a buddha entitled The Perfect Myriad-rayed Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. The lifetime of that buddha will be innumerable asamkhyeya kalnas."

Then the Bhikshuni Mahaprajapati and the Bhikshuni Yashodhara, together with all their retinue, all rejoiced greatly, having obtained such unprecedented felicity, and immediately before the Buddha spoke thus in verse:

"World-honoured leader! Comforter of gods and men! We, hearing thy prediction, Have perfect peace in our hearts."

After uttering this verse the bhikshunis spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! We also are able to publish abroad this sutra in lands in other regions."

Thereupon the World-honoured One looked upon the eighty myriads of kotis of nayutas of bodhisattva-mahasattvas. All these bodhisattvas were of the stage avaivartika, who rolled the never-retreating Law-wheel and had attained to the dharanis. Immediately they rose from their seats, went before the Buddha, with one mind folded their hands, and reflected thus: "If the World-honoured One commands us to keep and expound this sutra, we will proclaim abroad this Law as the Buddha has taught it." Again they reflected thus: "The Buddha now is silent; we are not commanded; what shall we do?"

Then these bodhisattvas, respectfully obeying the Buddha's will and themselves desiring to fulfill their original vow, before the Buddha raised a lion's roar and uttered a vow, saying: "World-honoured One! After the extinction of the Tathagata we will compass and travel through the worlds in all directions, in order to lead all the living to copy this sutra, receive and keep, read and recite it, expound its meaning, practice it as their law, and rightly keep it in mind, all by the Buddha's might. Be pleased, World-honoured One, [though] in another quarter, to behold and guard us from afar!" Then the bodhisattvas all together unanimously raised their voices, speaking thus in verse:

"Be pleased to be without anxiety! After the Buddha's extinction, In the last dreadful evil age, We will proclaim abroad this sutra. Though in their ignorance many Will curse and abuse us And beat us with swords and staves, We will endure it all. Bhikshus in that evil age will be Heretical, suspicious, warped, Claiming to have attained when they have not, And with minds full of arrogance. Others in the aranya Will wear patched garments [Monk's garments made of patches.] in seclusion, Pretending that they walk the true path And scorning other people; Greedily attached to gain, They will preach the Law to laymen And be revered by the world As arhats of the six transcendent powers;

These men, cherishing evil minds, Ever thinking of earthly things, Assuming the name of aranyas, Will love to calumniate us, Saying such things of us as 'All these bhikshus, From love of gain, Preach heretical doctrine; They have themselves composed this sutra To delude the people of the world; For the sake of acquiring fame, They make a specialty of this sutra.'

Always in the assemblies, In order to ruin us, To kings and ministers, To Brahmans and citizens, And to the other groups of bhikshus, They will slanderously speak evil of us, Saying: 'These are men of false views, Who proclaim heretical doctrines.' But we, from reverence for the Buddha, Will endure all these evils. By these contemptuously addressed as 'All you buddhas!'--Even such scorn and arrogance We will patiently endure. In the evil age of the corrupt kalpa, Abounding in fear and dread, Devils will take possession of them To curse, abuse, and insult us. But we, revering and believing in the Buddha, Will wear the armor of perseverance; For the sake of preaching this sutra We will endure all these hard things. We will not love body and life, But only care for the supreme Way. We will, throughout all ages to come, Guard what the Buddha bequeaths. World-honoured One! Thou knowest that, In the corrupt age, vicious bhikshus, Knowing not the laws so tactfully preached As opportunity served by the Buddha, Will abuse and frown upon us; Repeatedly shall we be driven out, And exiled afar from the monasteries. Such evils will be our ills For remembering the Buddha's command, But we will endure all these things. Wherever in villages and cities There be those who seek after the Law, We will all go there and Preach the Law bequeathed by the Buddha. We are the World-honoured One's apostles And, amidst a multitude having nothing to fear, Will rightly preach the Law. Be pleased, O Buddha, to abide in peace. In the presence of the World-honoured One And the buddhas come from all directions, We thus make our vow, And the Buddha knows our hearts

#### THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 14 A Happy Life

[In this section, we can see in what ways Buddhism went wrong. The denial of worldly life, promoted by extremely rigid doctrines, the limitless asceticism and monasticism, the Buddhist mood against any worldly pleasure, against sex and family, basically anything that has to do with real life, brought the original doctrines of the Buddha in miscredit. Under Emperor Ashoka (reign: c. 268-232 BC), Buddhism was made a state religion by which he hoped for the unification of India in her entirety. Writing did not exist in India until it was introduced in form of the Brahmi Script, a kind of alphabet that was developed out of Aramaic and Greek and introduced by Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya (reign: 321-297 BC) and his prime minister Chanakya (c. 375-283 BC) following the humiliating conquests by Alexander the Great. They realised that a great and successful civilisation must be able to record everything in writing. We can be sure that Chandragupta ordered the most important Hindu texts to be written down. It is not a farfetched speculation that Ashoka did the same with Buddhist texts, especially as he intended to make Buddhism a state Written evidence was needed to justify Ashoka's political decisions and doctrines. We almost can be sure that Ashoka commissioned some Buddhist text to be written down. We cannot be sure, however, which parts of Buddhas teachings are the original ones but it is reasonable to suggest that the Four Noble Truths (the analysis of misery), the Noble Eightfold Path (the remedy to those miseries), as well as the Five Precepts, as a clearly formulated Golden Rule, belong to them. We also cannot be certain as to which texts were mingeled with Ashokas own convictions. There is some likelihood that the smaller Hinavana teachings, also known as Theravada texts, have their origins before the time of Emperor Ashoka while a great portion of the Mahayana text might have been composed in Ashoka's reign and shortly after. Not long after Ashoka's death, Buddhism was crushed in most regions of India. The over-exaggeration of peacefulness and pacifism has caused the demise of Buddhism in Persia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia. The violent teachings of the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith, caused Muslims to slaughter millions of Buddhists. The complacent Buddhists (just like the complacent Christians in the Mediterranean) had deprived themselves of the chance to fight against the merciless onsaught of Islam.]

At that time the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Manjushri, the Law-king's son, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! Rare indeed are such bodhisattvas as these! Reverently according with the Buddha, they have made great vows that in the evil age to come they will protect, keep, read, recite, and preach this Law-Flower Sutra. World-honoured One! How are these bodhisattva-mahasattvas to be able to preach this sutra in the evil age to come?"

The Buddha addressed Manjushri: "If any bodhisattvamahasattva desires to preach this sutra in the evil age to come,
he should be steadfast in the four methods: first, steadfast in
the bodhisattva's spheres of action and intimacy, so that he
may be able to preach this sutra to living beings. Manjushri!
Why is it called a bodhisattva-mahasattva's sphere of action?
If a bodhisattva-mahasattva abides in a state of patience, is
gentle and agreeable, is neither hasty nor overbearing, and his
mind is imperturbed; if, moreover, he has no laws by which to
act. [Literally, "in regard to laws, he has none by which to
act." Here "laws" is interpreted as meaning the extremes of
the realistic and nihilistic schools; thus the passage indicates
the Middle Path between these two extremes. I. but sees all

things in their reality, nor proceeds along the undivided way\*--this is termed a bodhisattya-mahasattya's sphere of action. [\* This can also be translated as "does not follow out or investigate these laws," but the T'ien-t'ai sect interpreted the sentence in the sense of not being bound by the Law of the Middle Path.] Why is the other termed a bodhisattvamahasattva's sphere of intimacy? A bodhisattva-mahasattva is not intimate with kings, princes, ministers, and rulers; nor intimate with heretics, the brahmacarins, Nirgranthas [These are nude ascetics, the Jains.], and so on; nor with composers of worldly and outside literature or poetry; nor with Lokayatas [Lokayatas are heretics who accord with the ways of the world.] and Anti-Lokayatas [The opposite of the Lokayata, being utterly opposed to the world.]; nor does he resort to brutal sports, boxing, and wrestling, nor to the various juggling performances of nartakas [Dancers, singers, and actors.] and others; nor does he consort with candalas [One who kills; a butcher, fisherman, hunter, and so on; one who belongs to the lowest caste.], keepers of pigs, sheep, fowl, and dogs, hunters, fishermen, and those engaged in these evil pursuits: whenever such people as these sometimes come to him, he preaches the Law to them expecting nothing in return Further, he does not consort with bhikshus, bhikshunis, and male and female lay devotees who seek after shravakaship, nor does he address them; neither in a room, nor in the place of promenade, nor in the hall does he dwell or stay with them; if at times they come to him he takes the opportunity of preaching the Law expecting nothing in return.

'Maniushri! Again a bodhisattya-mahasattya should not preach the Law to women, displaying an appearance capable of arousing passionate thoughts, nor have pleasure in seeing them; if he enters the homes of others, he does not converse with any girl, virgin, widow, and so forth, nor again does he become on friendly terms with any hermaphrodite; he does not enter the homes of others alone: if for some reason he must enter there alone, then with single mind he thinks of the Buddha; if he preaches the Law to women, he does not display his teeth in smiles nor let his breast be seen, nor even for the sake of the Law does he ever become intimate, how much less for other reasons. He takes no pleasure in keeping young pupils, shramaneras, and children, nor has he pleasure in being with them as teacher; but ever preferring meditation and seclusion, he cultivates and controls his mind. Manjushri! This is termed the first grade or sphere of intimacy [of a bodhisattva].

"Further, a bodhisattva-mahasattva contemplates all existences as void-appearances as they really are\*, neither upside down, nor moving, nor receding, nor turning, just like space, of the nature of nothingness, cut off from the course of all words and expressions, unborn, not coming forth, not arising, nameless, formless, really without existence, unimpeded, infinite, boundless, unrestrained, only existing by causation, and produced through perversion [of thought]. [\*
H. Kern reads: "duly established as they are in reality."
Burnouf adds: "privées de toute essence." Nanjio and Oka read: "established as they really are."]

"Therefore I say constantly to delight in the contemplation of things [or laws] such as these is termed a bodhisattva-mahasattva's second sphere of intimacy." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If there be any bodhisattva Who, in the future evil age, With fearless mind Desires to preach this sutra, He must occupy his proper sphere of action And his proper sphere of intimacy, Constantly avoiding kings And princes, Ministers and rulers, Brutal and dangerous performers, Candalas, Heretics, brahmacarins; Nor does he consort with Men of arrogance Who are fond of studying The Tripitaka of Hinayana, With commandment-breaking bhikshus, Arhats only in name, Or with bhikshunis Fond of jocularity, Or with female disciples Who, through sensuousness, Seek present nirvana. He consorts with none of them.

But if such people as these, In goodness of mind, Come to the bodhisattva To hear the Buddha-way, Then the bodhisattva, With fearless mind, Cherishing no expectation, [Not looking for reward.] Should preach the Law to them.

Widows and virgins And all sorts of eunuchs He never approaches For close friendship; Nor does he consort with Butchers and meat mincers, Hunters and fishermen, Who slaughter for gain; Those who vend meat for a living And procurators, With such people as these He should not consort.

With brutal wrestlings, Amusements and plays, Whores and so forth He should have no intimacy whatever. He should not, alone in a screened-off place, Preach the Law to a woman; If he has to preach the Law to her He will avoid jocularity.

When he enters a hamlet in quest of food, Let him take along Janother] bhikshu; If there be no other bhikshu, Let him with single mind think of the Buddha. These then are what are called The spheres of action and of intimacy

Maintaining these 'two spheres, He can teach with peace and joy. And again if he does not observe Laws, higher, middle, or lower, Active or passive, Laws real or unreal; Also if he does not discriminate, 'This is a man' or 'This is a woman'; If he discovers no laws Nor recognises nor sees them; This then is called A bodhisattva's sphere of action. All laws or things are Void and nonexistent, Without permanence, Neither beginning nor ending; This is named the sphere To which wise men resort

The perverse discriminate All laws as either existing or nonexisting, Real or unreal, Produced or unproduced. Let the bodhisattva abide in seclusion, Cultivate and control his mind, And be firmly fixed and immovable As Mount Sumeru; Contemplating all laws As though they were not, As if they were space, Without solidity, Neither produced nor coming forth, Motionless and unreceding, Ever remaining a unity.

This is named the proper sphere of intimacy. If any bhikshu, After my extinction, Enters this sphere of action And sphere of intimacy, When he preaches this sutra He will have no imidity or weakness. When the bodhisattva at times Enters a quiet room And in perfect meditation Contemplates things in their true meaning, And, rising up from his meditation, To kings of nations, Princes, ministers and people, Brahmans and others Reveals, expounds, And preaches this sutra, His mind shall be at ease And free from timidity and weakness. Maniushri!

This is called a bodhisattva's Steadfastness in the first method. [The first of the four methods, that is, of deed, word, thought, and vow. It is termed the pleasant practice or ministry of body or of deeds.] He is then able, in future generations, To preach the Law-Flower Sutra.

"Again, Manjushri! After the extinction of the Tathagata, in [the period of] the Decline of the Law, he who desires to preach this sutra should abide in the pleasant ministry [of speech]. [The second of the four methods, that is, the pleasant practice or ministry of the mouth, lips, or speech.] Wherever he orally proclaims or reads the sutra, he takes no pleasure in telling of the errors of others of the sutras; neither does he despise other preachers; nor speaks of the good and evil, the merits and demerits of other people; nor singles out shravakas by name and publishes their errors and sins, nor by name praises their excellences; nor does he beget an invidious mind. By keeping well such a cheerful heart as this, those who hear will offer no opposition to him. To those who ask difficult questions, he does not answer with the law of the small vehicle but only with the Great-vehicle, and explains it to them that they may obtain perfect knowledge.

Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The bodhisattva ever delights And is at ease in preaching the Law, In a clean and pure spot, Setting up his pulpit, He anoints himself with oil, Having bathed away uncleanliness, Puts on a new, clean robe, All clean within and without, Calmly seated on the Law throne, He teaches as he is questioned. If there be any bhikshus And bhikshunis, Male lay disciples And female lay disciples, Kings and princes, Their retainers and people, He preaches the mystic principle to them With a gentle countenance. If there be any difficult question, He answers according to its meaning. By reasonings and parables He expounds and discriminates it. By this tactful method, He stirs them all to earnestness, To steady advance And entry on the Buddha-way.

He rids [himself] of a lazy mind And slackness of thought; He is free from all worries And with kindly heart proclaims; Day and night he ever propounds The teaching of the supreme Way, By various reasonings And innumerable parables, Revealing it to the living, And causing them all to rejoice.

Garments and provision for sleep, Drink, food, and medicines--For all these things He has no anticipation. Only with single mind he thinks of The cause of his preaching the Law, Resolved on accomplishing the Buddha-way And causing all others likewise so to do; This then is [his] great profit And joy and service.

After my extinction, If there be any bhikshu Who is able to proclaim This Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, His mind will be free from envy, From distresses and obstacles, And from grief and sorrow, As well as from the abuse of men. Further, he will be free from fear, From laying on of swords and staves; Nor will he be driven away, Because he is steadfast in forbearance.

The wise man, in such ways as these, Rightly cultivates his mind, Being able to dwell at ease, As I have said above. The merit of that man, Though thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas ere reckoned in illustration, Is incapable of full expression.

"Again, Manjushri! The bodhisattva-mahasattva who, in the corrupt ages to come, when the Law is about to perish, receives and keeps, reads and recites this sutra, does not cherish an envious and deceitful mind; nor does he slight and abuse other learners of the Buddha-way and seek out their excesses and shortcomings. If there be bhikshus, bhikshunis, male and female lay disciples who seek after shravakaship, or seek after pratyeka-buddhahood, or seek after the bodhisattva-way, he does not distress them, causing them doubts and regrets, saying to them: 'You are far removed from the Way and will never be able to attain to perfect knowledge. Wherefore? Because you are unstable people and remiss in the Way.' Moreover, he should not indulge in discussions about the laws or engage in disputations; but in

regard to all the living he should think of them with great compassion; in regard to the tathagatas he should think of them as benevolent fathers; in regard to the bodhisattvas he should think of them as his great teachers; in regard to the universal great bodhisattvas he should ever from his deepest heart revere and worship them. In regard to all living beings, he should preach the Law equally, so as to accord with the Law, neither more nor less; even for those who deeply love the Law, he will not preach more than it.

"Manjushri! When this bodhisattva-mahasattva, in the last age when the Law is about to perish, has accomplished this third pleasant ministry of thought\*, and preaches this sutra, nothing will be able to disturb him. [\* The third pleasant practice or ministry is of the mind or thought.] He will find good fellow students who will read and recite this sutra with him. He will also find a great multitude come and hear him, who after hearing are able to observe it, after observing are able to recite it, after reciting are able to preach it, after preaching are able to copy or cause others to copy it, and who will pay homage to the sutra, revering, honouring, and extolling it."

Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If one would preach this sutra, Let him renounce an envious, angry, proud, Deceitful, or false mind, And ever do upright deeds; He should disparage none, And never for diversion discuss the laws, Nor cause others doubt or regret, Saying: You will never become buddhas.' This Buddha-son in preaching the Law Will ever be gentle, patient, And compassionate to all, With never a thought of slackness.

To the great bodhisattvas everywhere, Who walk the Way in pity for all, He should beget a reverent mind, Thinking: 'These are my great teachers.' To all world-honoured buddhas He should feel as to peerless fathers, And suppressing his haughty spirit, Should preach the Law without hindrance. Such is the third method. Let the wise man guard it. Such a single-hearted pleasant ministry Will be revered by countless hosts

"Again, Manjushri! The bodhisattva-mahasattva, in the last ages to come when the Law is about to perish, who keeps this Law-Flower Sutra should beget a spirit of great charity to laymen and monks, and beget a spirit of great compassion for those not [yet] bodhisattvas. And he should reflect thus: 'Such people as these have suffered great loss; the Law preached, as opportunity served, by the tactful method of the Tathagata they have neither heard nor known nor apprehended nor inquired for nor believed in nor understood. Though those people have not inquired for, nor believed in, nor understood this sutra, when I have attained Perfect Enlightenment, wherever I am, by my transcendental powers and powers of wisdom, I will lead them to abide in this Law.'

"Manjushri! This bodhisattva-mahasattva who, after the extinction of the Tathagata, has accomplished this fourth method\*, when he preaches this Law will be free from errors. He will ever be worshiped, revered, honoured, and extolled by bhikshus, bhikshunis, male and female lay devotees, by kings and princes, by their ministers and people, by Brahmans and citizens, and by others; all the gods in the sky also, in order to hear the Law, will always follow and attend on him; if he be in a village or city or secluded forest and someone comes desiring to put difficult questions to him, the gods day and night, for the sake of the Law, will constantly guard and protect him, so that he shall be able to cause all his hearers to rejoice. [\* The fourth method is termed the pleasant practice or ministry of the vow.] Wherefore? Because this sutra is that which all past, future, and present buddhas watch over by their divine powers.

"Manjushri! In countless countries even the name of this Law-Flower Sutra cannot be heard; how much less can it be seen, received, and kept, read and recited. "Manjushri! It is like a powerful holy wheel-rolling king who desires by force to conquer other domains. When minor kings do not obey his command, the wheel-rolling king calls up his various armies and goes to punish them.

The king, seeing his soldiers who distinguish themselves in the war, is greatly pleased and, according to their merit, bestows rewards, either giving fields, houses, villages, or cities, or giving garments or personal ornaments, or giving all kinds of treasures, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstones, agates, coral, amber, elephants, horses, carriages, litters, male and female slaves, and people; only the crown jewel on his head he gives to none. Wherefore? Because only on the head of a king may this sole jewel be worn, and if he gave it, all the king's retinue would be astounded. Manjushri! The Tathagata is also like this. By his powers of meditation and wisdom he has taken possession of the domain of the Law and rules as king over the triple world. But the Mara kings are unwilling to submit. The Tathagata's wise and holy generals fight with them. With those who distinguish themselves he, too, is pleased and in the midst of his four hosts preaches the sutras to them, causing them to rejoice, and bestows on them the meditations, the emancipations, the faultless roots and powers, and all the wealth of the Law. In addition, he gives them the city of nirvana, saying that they have attained extinction, and attracts their minds so that they all rejoice; yet he does not

preach to them this Law-Flower Sutra. Manjushri! Just as the wheel-rolling king, seeing his soldiers who distinguish themselves, is so extremely pleased that now at last he gives them the incredible jewel so long worn on his head, which may not wantonly be given to anyone, so also is it with the Tathagata. As the great Law-king of the triple world, teaching and converting all the living by the Law, when he sees his wise and holy army fighting with the Mara of the five mental processes, the Mara of earthly cares, and the Mara of death\*, and [doing so] with great exploits and merits, exterminating the three poisons, escaping from the triple world, and breaking [through] the nets of the Maras, then the Tathagata also is greatly pleased, and now [at last] preaches this Law-Flower Sutra which has never before been preached, and which is able to cause all the living to reach perfect knowledge, though all the world greatly resents and has difficulty in believing it. Manjushri! [\* These three--the five aggregates, cares, and death--and the fourthMara, who dwells in the highest heaven of the Realm of Desire, are called the four Maras.] This Law-Flower Sutra is the foremost teaching of the tathagatas and the most profound of all discourses. I give it to you last of all, just as that powerful king at last gives the brilliant jewel he has guarded for long. Manjushri! This Law-Flower Sutra is the mysterious treasury of the buddhatathagatas, which is supreme above all sutras. For long has it been guarded and not prematurely declared; today for the first time I proclaim it to you all." At that time the Worldhonoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Ever acting patiently, Pitying all beings, Such a one can proclaim The sutra the Buddha extols. In the last ages to come, They who keep this sutra, Whether laymen or monks Or not [yet] bodhisattvas, Must have hearts of compassion; For those who do not hear Nor believe this sutra Suffer great loss.

I, attaining the Buddha-way, By tactful methods Preach this sutra to them That they may abide in it. It is like a powerful Wheel-rolling king Who to his war-distinguished soldiers Presents many rewards, Elephants, horses, carriages, litters, Personal ornaments, As well as fields and houses, Villages and cities; Or bestows garments,

Various kinds of jewels, Slaves and wealth, Bestowing all with joy

But only for one heroic And of rare exploits Does the king take from his head The crown jewel to give him. Thus is it also with the Tathagata; He is the king of the Law, Possessed of great powers of patience And the treasury of wisdom; He, with great benevolence, Transforms the world with his Law. Seeing all human beings Suffering from pains and distresses, Seeking for deliverance, Fighting against the Maras, He to all these living beings Has preached various laws,

And in great tactfulness Has preached these numerous sutras; Finally knowing the creatures Have attained their developed powers, At last he to them Preaches this Law-Flower, As the king took from his head The jewel and gave it.

This sutra is preeminent Among all the sutras. I have always guarded And not prematurely revealed it. Now indeed is the time To preach it to you all. After my extinction, Whoever seeks the Buddha-way And desires imperturbedly To proclaim this sutra Should relate himself to The four rules\* such as these. [\* Hendrik Kern has "four qualities. . . The qualities are such as follows." In Chinese the four rules are generally interpreted as the aforementioned four methods relating to deed, word, thought, and vow. Nanjio's and Oka's translations agree with the Chinese interepretation.] He who reads this sutra Will be ever free from worry And free from pain and disease; His countenance will be fresh and white; He will not be born poor, Humble, or ugly.

All creatures will delight to see him As a longed-for saint; Heavenly cherubim Will be his servants. Swords and staves will not be laid on him; Poison cannot harm him. If anyone curses him, That man's mouth will be closed. Fearlessly he will roam Like a lion king. The radiance of his wisdom Will shine like the sun. If he should dream, He will see only the wonderful, Seeing the tathagatas Seated on lion thrones.

Preaching the Law to hosts Of surrounding bhikshus; Seeing also dragon spirits, Asuras, and others, In number as the sands of the Ganges, Who worship him with folded hands; And he sees himself Preaching the Law to them. He will also see the buddhas, With the sign of the golden body, Emitting boundless light, Illuminating all beings, And with Brahmavoice Expounding the laws. While the Buddha to the four groups is preaching the supreme Law, He will find himself in the midst, Extolling the Buddha with folded hands; He will hear the Law with joy, Pay homage to him, Attain the dharanis, And prove the truth of never retreating. [Literally, "the wisdom of not retreating," or not withdrawing, or nonapostasy. "Not retreating" is interpreted as the three kinds of not retreating, that is, in stage, practice, and memory.]

The Buddha, knowing his mind Has entered deep into the Buddha-way, Will then predict that he will accomplish Supreme, Perfect Enlightenment, Saying: 'You, my good son, Shall in the age to come Obtain infinite wisdom, The Great Way of the Buddha: A domain splendidly pure, Of extent

incomparable, And with its four hosts With folded hands hearing the Law.'

He will also find himself In mountain groves, Exercising himself in the good Law, Proving reality, And deep in meditation Seeing the universal buddhas. Golden coloured are those buddhas, Adorned with a hundred blessed signs; [He who] hears and preaches to others Ever has good dreams like these

Again he will dream he is a king Who forsakes his palace and kinsfolk And exquisite pleasures of the senses To go to the wisdom throne; At the foot of a Bodhi tree, He sits on the lion throne; After seeking the Way for seven days, He attains the wisdom of buddhas; Having attained the supreme Way, He arises and, rolling the Law-wheel, To the four hosts preaches the Law For thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas.

After preaching the faultless Wonderful Law And saving innumerable creatures, He shall then enter nirvana, As a lamp is extinct when its smoke ends. If anyone in the evil ages to come Preaches this preeminent Law, He will obtain the great blessing Of such rewards as the above."

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 15

Springing Up Out of the Earth

At that time the bodhisattva-mahasattvas who had come from other lands, numerous as the sands of eight Ganges, arose in the great assembly, and with folded hands saluted and spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! If the Buddha will allow us, after his extinction, diligently and zealously to protect and keep, read and recite, copy and worship this sutra in this saha-world, we would preach it abroad in this land." Thereupon the Buddha addressed all the host of those bodhisattva-mahasattvas: "Enough! My good sons! There is no need for you to protect and keep this sutra. Wherefore? Because in my saha-world there are in fact bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the sands of sixty thousand Ganges; each one of these bodhisattvas has a retinue numerous as the sands of sixty thousand Ganges; these persons are able, after my extinction, to protect and keep, read and recite, and preach abroad this sutra."

When the Buddha had thus spoken, all the earth of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold land of the saha-world trembled and quaked, and from its midst there issued together innumerable thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvamahasattvas. All these bodhisattvas with their golden-hued bodies, thirty-two signs, and boundless radiance had all before been dwelling in infinite space\* below this saha-world. [\* Sanskrit akasha (space, ether) is often used as a synonym of shunvata (void). All these bodhisattyas, hearing the voice of Shakyamuni Buddha preaching, sprang forth from below. Each one of these bodhisattvas was the commander of a great host, leading a retinue as the sands of sixty thousand Ganges; moreover, others led retinues [numerous] as the sands of fifty thousand, forty thousand, thirty thousand, twenty thousand, ten thousand Ganges; moreover, down to the sands of one Ganges, the sands of half a Ganges, a quarter of it, down to a fraction of a thousand myriads of kotis of navutas; moreover, a thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of followers; moreover, myriads of kotis of followers; moreover, a thousand myriad, a hundred myriad, or even a myriad; moreover, a thousand, a hundred, or even ten; moreover, those who lead five, four, three, two, or one disciples; moreover, one who is alone, happy in the practice of isolation. Such bodhisattvas as these are immeasurable, illimitable, beyond the powers of comprehension by calculation or comparison.

When these bodhisattvas had emerged from the earth, each went up to the wonderful Stupa of the Precious Seven in the sky, where were the Tathagata Abundant Treasures and Shakyamuni Buddha. On their arrival they made obeisance, with faces to the ground, to both the World-honoured Ones, and going to the buddhas seated on the lion thrones under the jewel trees, they also saluted them, three times making procession around them on their right, with folded hands revering them, and extolling them with all kinds of bodhisattva hymns. Then they stood to one side, with delight gazing upon both the World-honoured Ones.

From the time that these bodhisattva-mahasattvas first issued from the earth and extolled the buddhas with all kinds of bodhisattva hymns, in the interval there had passed fifty minor kalpas. During all this time Shakyamuni Buddha sat in silence, and silent also were the four groups; but the fifty kalpas, through the divine power of the Buddha, seemed to the great multitude as half a day. At that time the four groups, also by the divine power of the Buddha, saw the bodhisattvas who everywhere fill the space of innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of domains. Among the host of those bodhisattvas there were the four leading teachers: the first was named Eminent Conduct, the second named Boundless Conduct, the third named Pure Conduct, and the fourth named Steadfast Conduct. [These four bodhisattvas are called the four great primarily or eternally evolved bodhisattvas.] These four bodhisattvas are of their hosts the chief heads and leaders. In front of their great hosts, each of them with folded hands looked toward Shakyamuni Buddha and inquired of him, saying: "World-honoured One! Hast thou few ailments and few troubles, and art thou at ease? Are those whom thou must save readily receiving thy teaching? Do they cause the World-honoured One not to become weary?" Thereupon the four great bodhisattvas spoke thus in verse:

"Is the World-honoured One at ease, With few ailments and few troubles? In instructing all the living beings, Is he free from weariness? And are all the living Readily accepting his teaching? Do they cause the World-honoured One Not to get tired?"

Then the World-honoured One, in the great assembly of the bodhisattvas, spoke thus: "So it is, so it is, my good sons! The Tathagata is at ease, with few ailments and few troubles. These beings are easy to transform and I am free from weariness. Wherefore? Because all these beings for generations have constantly received my instruction and worshiped and honoured the former buddhas, cultivating roots of goodness. All these beings, from first seeing me and hearing my preaching, received it in faith and entered the Tathagata wisdom, except those who had previously practised and learned the small vehicle; [but] even such people as these I have now caused to hear this sutra and enter the Buddha-wisdom." Thereupon these great bodhisattvas spoke thus in verse:

"Good, good! Great Hero, World-honoured One! All these living creatures Are easily transformed by thee, Are able to inquire into The profound wisdom of buddhas, And, hearing, to believe and discern. We congratulate thee."

Then the World-honoured One extolled these supreme chiefs, the great bodhisattvas, [saying]: "Good, good! My good sons! You may rightly be minded to congratulate the Tathagata."

Then Maitreya Bodhisattva and the host of other bodhisattvas, numerous as the sands of eight thousand Ganges, all reflected thus: "From of old we have never seen nor heard of such a host of great bodhisattva-mahasattvas issuing from the earth, standing in the presence of the World-honoured Ones, with folded hands worshiping and inquiring of the Tathagata."

Then Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva, being aware of the thoughts in the minds of all the bodhisattvas, numerous as the sands of eight thousand Ganges, and desiring also to resolve his own doubt, folded his hands toward the Buddha and asked him thus in verse:

"These innumerable thousand myriad kotis, This great host of bodhisattvas, Are such as we have never seen before. Be pleased to explain, Honoured of Men, From what places they have come, For what reason they have assembled. Huge of body, of transcendent [power], Of wisdom inconceivable, Firm of will and memory, With great powers of long-suffering, Whom all the living rejoice to see: Whence have they come?

Each of these bodhisattvas Leads on a retinue Whose numbers are beyond compute, Like the sands of the Ganges.

There are also the great bodhisattvas Leading followers numerous as sixty thousand Ganges-sands. Such mighty hosts With one mind seek the Buddha-way. These great leaders in number As sixty thousand Ganges-sands All come and worship the Buddha And guard and keep this sutra.

Some, still more numerous, Lead followers numerous as fifty thousand Ganges-sands, As forty thousand, or thirty thousand, As twenty thousand, down to ten thousand, As a thousand or a hundred and so forth, Down to the sands of one Ganges, As half, one-third, one-fourth, As one part of the myriad kotis of a Ganges' sands: Those who lead a thousand myriad nayutas, Or a myriad kotis of disciples, Or even half a koti [of disciples]; These leaders are still more numerous than the above, The leaders of a million or ten thousand, A thousand or a hundred, Or fifty or ten, Or three, two, or one; Single ones with no following, Who enjoy solitariness, Have all come together to the Buddha, In numbers even greater than the leaders above. Such are these great hosts that If a man kept tally Through kalpas numerous as Ganges-sands, He still could not fully know them, These great, majestic, And zealous bodhisattva hosts.

Who has preached the Law to them, Instructed and perfected them? From whom did they get their start? What Buddha-law have they extolled? Whose sutra received, kept, and practised? What Buddha-way have they followed? Such bodhisattvas as these, With transcendent powers and great wisdom, In all quarters of the riven earth, All spring forth from its midst.

World-honoured One! From of yore We have never seen such things; Be pleased to tell us the name Of the domain from which they come. Roaming constantly in many domains, I have never seen such a host, And amid all this host I know not a single one Who suddenly springs from the earth. Be pleased to tell us its cause.

This great congregation now present, Innumerable hundred thousand kotis Of these bodhisattvas and others, All desire to know this matter. Of all these bodhisattva hosts, What is the course of their history? World-honoured One of measureless virtue! Be pleased to resolve our doubts!"

Meanwhile, the buddhas who had emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha and had come from innumerable thousand myriad kotis of domains in other quarters sat cross-

legged on the lion thrones under the jewel trees in every direction. The attendants of these buddhas each beheld the great host of bodhisattvas who, in every direction of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, issued from the earth and dwelt in space. And each spoke to his own buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! This great, countless, illimitable asamkhyeya host of bodhisattvas--whence have they come?"

Thereupon each of those buddhas told his own attendants: "Good sons! Wait a while! There is a bodhisattva-mahasattva whose name is Maitreya, and who has been predestined by Shakyamuni Buddha as the next buddha; he has already asked about this matter. The Buddha is now going to reply to him, and from his reply you will hear for yourselves."

Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva: "Good, good! Ajita! [Ajita, "unconquered," is a title of Maitreya, Maitreya, "The Kindly One," is a principal, though not historical, figure in the retinue of Shakyamuni Buddha. He is now in the Tushita heaven, awaiting his incarnation as the next Buddha.] You have well asked the Buddha concerning so great a matter. Do you all, with one mind, don the armor of zeal and exhibit a firm will, [for] the Tathagata now intends to reveal and proclaim the wisdom of buddhas, the sovereign supernatural power of buddhas, the lion-eagerness of buddhas, and the awe-inspiring forceful power of buddhas." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Be zealous and of one mind. I am about to expound this matter. Have no doubts or disquietude. Inconceivable is the Buddha-wisdom. Do you now exert your faith; Be steadfast in the virtue of endurance; For the Law never heard before, Now you all are about to hear. I now first put your minds at ease; Cherish neither doubt nor fear. The Buddha has no words but the true; His wisdom is beyond measure. The supreme Law attained by him Is profound and beyond discrimination. Such Law let me now expound, And do you all, with one mind, listen."

Then the World-honoured One, having spoken these verses addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva: "Now I, in this great assembly, declare to you all. Ajita! All these great bodhisattya-mahasattyas, in innumerable and numberless asamkhvevas, who have issued from the earth and whom you have never seen before, I in this saha-world, after attaining Perfect Enlightenment, instructed and led them, all these bodhisattvas, controlled their minds, and caused them to set their thoughts on the Way. All these bodhisattvas dwell in the space beneath this saha-world, where they read, recite, penetrate ponder and discriminate the sutras and correctly keep them in memory. Aiita! These good sons have not found pleasure in talking among the crowd but have found their pleasure in quiet places, in diligence and zeal; they have not relaxed, nor clung to abodes among men and gods, but have ever taken their pleasure in profound wisdom, without let or hindrance, have ever rejoiced in the law of buddhas, and with one mind have zealously sought supreme wisdom." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Ajita! Know thou! All these great bodhisattvas, From numberless kalpas, Have studied the Buddha-wisdom. All of them are my converts, Whom I have caused to desire the Great Way. These are my sons Who dwell in this Buddha-world, Ever practicing the dhuta deeds, Joyfully devoted to quiet places, Shunning the clamour of the crowds, With no pleasure in much talk. Such sons as these Are learning the Law of my Way, Always zealous day and night For the sake of seeking the Buddha-way; They dwell in space eneath the saha-world. Firm in their power of will and memory, Ever diligently seeking after wisdom, They preach all kinds of wonderful laws, Having no fear in their minds.

I, [near] the city of Gaya, Sitting beneath the Bodhi tree, Accomplished Perfect Enlightenment; And rolling the supreme Law-wheel, I have then taught and converted them And caused them first to aspire to the Way.

Now all abide in the never-relapsing state And all will become buddhas. What I now speak is the truth; Believe me with single minds! I from a long distant past Have instructed all this host."

Then the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Maitreya and the numberless bodhisattvas and others were seized with doubt and perplexity, wondering at this rare [thing], and reflected thus: "How has the World-honoured One, in so short a time, instructed such innumerable, countless asamkhyeyas of great bodhisattvas and caused them to abide in Perfect Enlightenment?" Then, addressing the Buddha, they said: "World-honoured One! The Tathagata, when he was a prince, left the Shakya palace and not far from the city of Gaya took his seat on the wisdom terrace, and attained to Perfect Enlightenment. From that time but forty years have passed. World-honoured One! In so short a time how hast thou done such great Buddha-deeds, and by Buddha-power and Buddhamerit taught such an innumerable host of great bodhisattvas to attain Perfect Enlightenment? World-honoured One! This host of great bodhisattvas, even if a man counted them through thousands of myriad kotis of kalpas, he could not

come to an end or reach their limit. All these from the far past under innumerable and countless buddhas have planted their roots of goodness and accomplished the bodhisattva-way, constantly living the noble life. World-honoured One! Such a matter as this the world will find it hard to believe.

"It is just as if there were a man of fine complexion and black hair, twenty-five years old, who pointed to centenarians and said: 'These are my sons,' and as if those centenarians also pointed to the youth and said: 'This is our father who begot and reared us.' This matter is hard of belief. So also is it with the Buddha, whose attainment of the Way is really not long since. Yet this great host of bodhisattvas, for numberless thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas, for the sake of the Buddha-way have devoted themselves with zeal; they have entered deep into, come out of, and dwelt in infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of contemplations, have attained the great transcendent faculties, and for long have practised brahma-conduct; have been well able, step by step, to learn all kinds of good laws; they are skillful in question and answer, are treasures amongst men and of extreme rareness in all worlds. Today the World-honoured One has just said that when he attained the Buddha-way he from the beginning caused them to aspire to enlightenment, instructed and led, and caused them to proceed toward Perfect Enlightenment. It is not long since the World-honoured One became a buddha, yet he has been able to do this great, meritorious deed. Though we still believe that what the Buddha opportunely preached and the words the Buddha uttered have never been false, and also the Buddha's knowledge is all perceived by us, yet if newly converted bodhisattvas hear this statement after the Buddha's extinction, they may not receive it in faith and this will give rise to causes of wrong action to the destruction of the Law. So, World-honoured One, be pleased to explain it, removing our doubts, and so that all thy good sons in future generations, on hearing this matter, shall also not beget Thereupon Maitreya Bodhisattva, desiring to announce this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The Buddha of old from the Shakya race Left his home and near Gaya Took his seat under the Bodhi tree; From then it has not been long. These sons of the Buddha, Immeasurable in their number, Have long pursued the Buddha-way, And are firm in transcendent wisdom power; They have ably learned the bodhisattva way, And are as untainted with worldly things As the lotus flower in the water; Issuing from the earth,

All have a reverent mind As they stand before the World-honoured One. This matter is hard to conceive; How can it be believed? It is but recently the Buddha has attained the Way, And the things he has accomplished abound. Be pleased to remove all doubts; Explain and tell us the real meaning! It is as if a young, strong man, Just twenty-five years old, Indicated centenarian sons With white hair and wrinkled faces, Saying, These are begotten by me, 'The sons also saying, 'This is our father.' The father young and the sons old—The whole world will not believe it.

So is it with the World-honoured One; Very recently he has attained the Way. [Yet] all these bodhisattvas are Firm in will, dauntless, and strong, And from innumerable kalpas Have followed the bodhisattva-way; Skilled in answering hard questions, Their minds are free from fear; Decided in their patient mind, Dignified and majestic, They are extolled by universal buddhas; Well able to reason and preach, They rejoice not in the crowd, But ever love to dwell in meditation; For the sake of seeking the Buddha-way, They dwell in the space [region] below. We, hearing it from the Buddha, Have no doubts on this matter; But we beg that the Buddha, for future [hearers], Will explain that they may understand.

If any should doubt And disbelieve this sutra, He would fall into the evil path. Be pleased to expound for them now How these innumerable bodhisattvas In so short a time Have been instructed and converted And abide in the never-retreating stage." [According to Chih-i, the first fourteen chapters of the sutra comprise the "subordinate or temporary doctrine" because the Primal or Eternal Buddha is not yet revealed. The following fourteen chapters, from chapter 15 to the end, are called the "fundamental doctrine" because the Eternal Buddha is revealed in chapter 16, "Revelation of the Eternal Life of the Tathagata," the essential and central teaching of this sutra. In the present chapter, which is the introduction to the fundamental doctrine, the so-called originally converted bodhisattvas appear as the chosen messengers who alone are able to preach this sutra in the latter days to come.]

HERE ENDS THE FIFTH BUNCH OF WORDS

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 16 Revelation of the Eternal Life of the Tathagata

At that time the Buddha said to the bodhisattvas and all the great assembly: "Believe and discern, all you good sons, the veracious word of the Tathagata." Again he said to the great assembly: "Believe and discern the veracious word of the Tathagata." And again he said to all the great assembly: "Believe and discern the veracious word of the Tathagata." Then the great host of bodhisattvas, Maitreya at their head, folded their hands and said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Be pleased to expound the matter, and we will

believingly receive the Buddha's words." Thus they spoke three times, repeating the words: "Be pleased to expound the matter, and we will believingly receive the Buddha's words."

Then the World-honoured One, perceiving that the bodhisattvas thrice without ceasing repeated their request, addressed them, saying: "Listen then all of you attentively to the secret, mysterious, and supernaturally pervading power of the Tathagata. [According to Chih-i, by "secret" is meant that the one body of the Buddha is three bodies, and by "mysterious" that the three bodies are in the one. Spiritually or supernaturally pervading power, or power of spiritual or supernatural pervasion, or ubiquity, is the function of the three bodies, or trikaya: the dharmakaya (truth-body or Lawbody), the sambhogakaya (reward-body or bliss-body), and the nirmanakaya (mutation-body or response-body). Dharmakaya indicates the buddhahood in its universality, nirmanakaya the buddhahood embodied or personalised, and sambhogakaya the buddhahood as spiritualised. Chih-i attributes the revelation of the trikaya in this form to this passage and emphasizes the unity of the trinity as constituting the only correct doctrine of the Buddha's person and reality.

All the worlds of gods, men, and asuras consider: 'Now has Shakyamuni Buddha come forth from the palace of the Shakya clan, and seated at the training place of enlightenment, not far from the city of Gaya, has attained Perfect Enlightenment.' But, my good sons, since I veritably became Buddha there have passed infinite, boundless hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of navutas of kalpas. For instance, suppose there were five hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya three thousand-greatthousandfold worlds; let someone grind them to atoms, pass eastward through five hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya countries, and then drop one of those atoms; suppose he thus proceeded eastward till he had finished those atoms--what do you think, my good sons, is it possible to imagine and calculate all those worlds so as to know their number?" Maitreya Bodhisattva and the others all said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Those worlds are infinite, boundless, beyond the knowledge of reckoning and beyond the reach of thought. Not all the shravakas and pratyekabuddhas, with their faultless wisdom, would be able to imagine and know the bounds of those numbers. And to us also, who are dwelling in the stage of avaivartika, these matters are beyond apprehension. World-honoured One! All such worlds as these are measureless and boundless.'

Thereupon the Buddha addressed all those bodhisattvamahasattvas: "Good sons! Now I must clearly announce and declare to you. Suppose you take as atomized all those worlds where an atom has been deposited or where it has not been deposited, and count an atom as a kalpa, [the time] since I became Buddha still surpasses these by hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya kalpas. From that time forward I have constantly been preaching and teaching in this saha-world, and also leading and benefiting all living beings in other places in hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of navutas of asamkhyeva domains. Good sons! During this time I have ever spoken of myself as the Buddha Burning Light and other buddhas, and also have told of their entering into nirvana. Thus have I tactfully described them all. Good sons! Whenever living beings come to me, I behold with a buddha's eves all the faculties, keen or dull, of their faith and so on. And I explain to them, in stage after stage, according to their capacity and degree of salvation, my different names and the length of my lives, and moreover plainly state that I must enter nirvana. I also, in various tactful ways, preach the Wonderful Law which is able to cause all the living to beget a joyful heart. Good sons! Beholding the propensities of all the living toward lower things, so that they have little virtue and much vileness, to these men the Tathagata declares: 'In my youth I left home and attained Perfect Enlightenment.' But since I verily became Buddha, thus have I ever been, and thus have I made declaration, only by my tactful methods to teach and transform all living beings, so that they may enter the Way of the Buddha. Good sons! All the sutras which the Tathagata preaches are for the deliverance of the living. Whether speaking of himself or speaking of others, whether indicating himself or indicating others, and whether indicating his own affairs or the affairs of others\*, whatever he says is all real and not empty air. Wherefore? [The Chinese text accords with Burnouf's translation. Kern has "either under his own appearance or another's, either on his own authority or under the mask of another" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 301).] Because the Tathagata knows and sees the character of the triple world as it really is: to him there is neither birth nor death, or going away or coming forth; neither living nor dead; neither reality nor unreality; neither thus nor otherwise. [This can also be read: "it is neither born nor dies, or disappears or comes forth; it has no secular existence and no extinction; it is neither real nor unreal, neither thus nor otherwise."] Unlike the way the triple world beholds the triple world, the Tathagata clearly sees such things as these without mistake. Because all the living have various natures, various desires, various activities, various

ideas and reasonings, so desiring to cause them to produce the roots of goodness, [the Tathagata] by so many reasonings, parables, and discourses has preached his various truths. The Buddha-deeds which he does have never failed for a moment. Thus it is, since I became Buddha in the very far distant past, that my lifetime is of infinite asamkhyeya kalpas, forever existing and immortal. Good sons! The lifetime which I attained by pursuing the bodhisattva-way is not even yet accomplished but will still be twice the previous number of kalpas. But now, in this unreal nirvana, I announce that I must enter the [real] nirvana. In this tactful way the Tathagata teaches all living beings. Wherefore? If the Buddha abides long in the world, men of little virtue who do not cultivate the roots of goodness and are spiritually poor and mean, greedily attached to the five desires, and are caught in the net of wrong reflection and false views--if they see the Tathagata constantly present and not extinct, they will then become puffed up and lazy, and unable to conceive the idea that it is hard to meet [the Buddha] or a mind of reverence for him. Therefore the Tathagata tactfully teaches: 'Know, bhikshus, the appearance of buddhas in the world is a rare occurrence.' Wherefore? In the course of countless hundreds of thousands of myriad kotis of kalpas, some men of little virtue may happen to see a buddha or none may see him. For this reason I say: 'Bhikshus! A tathagata may rarely be seen!' All these living beings, hearing such a statement, must certainly realise the thought of the difficulty of meeting a buddha and cherish a longing and a thirst for him; then will they cultivate the roots of goodness. Therefore the Tathagata, though he does not in reality become extinct, yet announces his extinction. Again, good sons! The method of all buddhatathagatas is always like this in order to save all the living, and it is altogether real and not false.

"Suppose, for instance, a good physician, who is wise and perspicacious, conversant with medical art, and skillful in healing all sorts of diseases. He has many sons, say ten, twenty, even up to a hundred. Because of some matter he goes abroad to a distant country. After his departure, his sons drink his other poisonous medicines, which send them into a delirium, and they lie rolling on the ground. At this moment their father comes back to his home. Of the sons who drank the poison, some have lost their senses, others are still sensible, but on seeing their father [approaching] in the distance they are all greatly delighted, and kneeling, salute him, asking; 'How good it is that you are returned in safety! We, in our foolishness, have mistakenly dosed ourselves with poison. We beg that you will heal us and give us back our lives.' The father, seeing his sons in such distress, in accordance with his prescriptions seeks for good herbs altogether perfect in colour. scent, and fine flavour, and then pounds, sifts, and mixes them and gives them to his sons to take, speaking thus: 'This excellent medicine, with colour, scent, and fine flavour altogether perfect, you may [now] take, and it will at once rid you of your distress so that you will have no more suffering. Those amongst the sons who are sensible, seeing this excellent medicine with colour and scent both good, take it immediately and are totally delivered from their illness. The others, who have lost their senses, seeing their father come, though they are also delighted, salute him, and ask him to heal their illness, yet when he offers them the medicine, they are unwilling to take it. Wherefore? Because the poison has entered deeply, they have lost their senses, and even in regard to this medicine of excellent colour and scent they acknowledge that it is not good. The father reflects thus: 'Alas for these sons, afflicted by this poison, and their minds all unbalanced. Though they are glad to see me and implore to be healed, yet they are unwilling to take such excellent medicine as this. Now I must arrange an expedient plan so that they will take this medicine.' Then he says to them: 'You should know that I am now worn out with old age and the time of my death has now arrived. This excellent medicine I now leave here. You may take it and have no fear of not being better. After thus admonishing them, he departs again for another country and sends a messenger back to inform them: 'Your father is dead.' And now, when those sons hear that their father is dead, their minds are greatly distressed and they thus reflect: 'If our father were alive he would have pity on us, and we should be saved and preserved. But now he has left us and died in a distant country. Now we feel we are orphans and have no one to rely on.' Continuous grief brings them to their senses, and they recognise the colour, scent, and excellent flavour of the medicine and thereupon take it, their poisoning being entirely relieved. The father, hearing that the sons are all recovered, seeks an opportunity and returns so that they all see him. All my good sons! What is your opinion? Are there any who could say that this good physician had committed the sin of falsehood?" 'No. World-honoured One!" The Buddha then said: "I also

"No, World-honoured One!" The Buddha then said; "I also am like this. Since I became Buddha, infinite boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas of asamkhyeya kalpas ago, for the sake of all living beings, by my tactful power, I have declared that I must enter nirvana, yet there is none who can lawfully accuse me of the error of falsehood."

At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:
"Since I attained buddhahood, The kalpas through which I have passed Are infinite thousands of myriads Of kotis of asamkhyeya years. Ceaselessly preached I the Law and taught Countless kotis of creatures To enter the Way of the Buddha; Since then are unmeasured kalpas. In order to save all creatures, By tactful methods I reveal nirvana, Yet truly I am not yet extinct But forever here preaching the Law. I forever remain in this world, Using all my spiritual powers So that all perverted creatures, Though I am near, yet fail to see me.

All looking on me as extinct Everywhere worship my relics, All cherishing longing desires, And beget thirsting hearts of hope. When all creatures have believed and obeyed, In character upright, in mind gentle, Wholeheartedly wishing to see the Buddha, Not caring for their own lives, Then I with all the Samgha Appear together on the Divine Vulture Peak.

And then I tell all creatures That I exist forever in this world, By the power of tactful methods Revealing myself extinct and not extinct. If in other regions there are beings Reverent and with faith aspiring, Again I am in their midst To preach the supreme Law. You, not hearing of this, Only say I am extinct. I behold all living creatures Sunk in the sea of suffering, Hence I do not reveal myself But set them all aspiring, Till, when their hearts are longing, I appear to preach the Law.

In such supernaturally pervading power, Throughout asamkhyeya kalpas [I am] always on the Divine Vulture Peak And in every other dwelling place. When all the living see, at the kalpa's end, The conflagration when it is burning, Tranquil is this realm of mine, Ever filled with heavenly beings, Parks, and many palaces With every kind of gem adorned, Precious trees full of blossoms and fruits, Where all creatures take their pleasure; All the gods strike the heavenly drums And evermore make music, Showering mandarava flowers On the Buddha and his great assembly.

My Pure Land will never be destroyed, Yet all view it as being burned up, And grief and horror and distress Fill them all like this. All those sinful creatures, By reason of their evil karma, Throughout asamkhyeya kalpas, Hear not the name of the Precious Three. But all who perform virtuous deeds And are gentle and of upright nature, These all see that I exist And am here expounding the Law. At times for all this throng I preach the Buddha's life is eternal; To those who at length see the Buddha I preach that a buddha is rarely met. My intelligence-power is such, My wisdom-light shines infinitely, My life is of countless kalpas, From long-cultivated karma obtained

You who have intelligence, Do not in regard to this beget doubt But bring it forever to an end, For the Buddha's words are true, not false. Like the physician who with clever device, In order to cure his demented sons,

Though indeed alive announces his own death, Yet cannot be charged with falsehood, I, too, being father of this world, Who heals all misery and affliction. For the sake of the perverted people, Though truly alive, say I am extinct; Lest, because always seeing me, They should beget arrogant minds, Be dissolute and set in their five desires, And fall into evil paths. I, ever knowing all beings, Those who walk or walk not in the Way, According to the right principles of salvation Expound their every Law, Ever making this my thought: 'How shall I cause all the living To enter the Way supreme And speedily accomplish\* their buddhahood?'' [The revelation of the eternal life of the Buddha in this chapter is among the most essential of the Buddha's teachings.]

#### THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 17 Discrimination of Merits

At that time when the great congregation heard the Buddha proclaim that such were the number of kalpas and the length of his lifetime, innumerable, countless living beings obtained

great benefit. Then the World-honoured One said to the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Maitreya: "Ajita! While I proclaimed the duration of the Tathagata's life, sixty-eight hundred thousand kotis of nayutas of living beings, [numerous as] the sands of the Ganges, have attained to the assurance of their nonrebirth; again a thousand times more bodhisattva-mahasattvas have attained the dharani-power of hearing and keeping the Law\*; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas, numerous as the atoms of a world, have attained the faculty of eloquent and unembarrassed discussion; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a world have attained to hundreds of thousands of myriad kotis of the dharani of infinite revolutions; [The dharani (chants) of numberless revolutions or evolutions is the power to discriminate manifold phenomena without error. [\*Literally, "the door, or method, of the hearing and keeping of dharani by means of which they hear and keep the Law." This is the first of the four fearlessnesses of a bodhisattva.] By this discrimination a bodhisattva destroys all his perplexities and exhibits many Buddha-laws.] again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world have been enabled to roll forward the never-retreating Law-wheel;

again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a middle-two-thousandfold domain have been enabled to roll forward the pure Law-wheel; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of a small-thousandfold domain after eight rebirths will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of four fourcontinent worlds\* after four births will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of three four-continent worlds after three births will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattvamahasattvas numerous as the atoms of two four-continent worlds after two births will attain Perfect Enlightenment; again, bodhisattva-mahasattvas numerous as the atoms of one four-continent world after one birth will attain Perfect Enlightenment: again, living beings numerous as the atoms of eight worlds have all aspired to Perfect Enlightenment." [\* A world of four continents surrounding its central mountain, Sumeru. The four continents are Purvavideha in the east, Avaragodaniya in the west, Jambudvipa in the south, and Uttarakuru in the north.]

When the Buddha had told of those bodhisattvamahasattvas obtaining [such] great benefits of the Law, from the sky there rained down mandarava and maha-mandarava flowers, scattering over the innumerable hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of buddhas on lion thrones below the jewel trees, scattering also over Shakyamuni Buddha and the long-extinct Abundant Treasures Tathagata seated on the lion throne in the Stupa of the Precious Seven, and also scattering over all the great bodhisattvas and the host of the four groups; it also rained incense of fine sandalwood, aloes, and so forth; in the sky the heavenly drums resounded of themselves with exquisite deep resonance; there rained down also thousands of kinds of celestial garments. and in every direction [Literally, "in the nine quarters," that is, the eight points of the compass and the center.] there hung down necklaces, pearl necklaces, mani necklaces, and felicitous-pearl necklaces; censers of many jewels, burning priceless incense, moved everywhere of their own accord to pay homage to the great congregation. Over each buddha, bodhisattvas held canopies, one above another, right up to the Brahma heaven. All these bodhisattyas with exquisite voices sang countless praise-hymns extolling the buddhas. Thereupon Maitreya Bodhisattva rose from his seat and humbly bared his right shoulder, folded his hands toward the Buddha, and spoke thus in verse:

"The Buddha has preached the rare Law Never heard [by us] before. Great is the power of the World-honoured One And his lifetime beyond estimation. Numberless Buddha-sons, Hearing the World-honoured One in detail Tell of those who obtained the Law-benefit, Have been filled with joy. Some are steadfast in the never-retreating stage, Some have attained to the dharanis, Some to unembarrassed eloquence Or to controlling myriads of kotis of revolutions. There are bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of a great-thousandfold world, Each of them able to roll The unretreating Law-wheel; And bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of a middle-thousandfold world, Each of them able to roll The unsullied Law-wheel; And bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of a small-thousandfold world, Each of whom, after eight rebirths, Will accomplish the Buddha-way.

Again there are bodhisattvas, Numerous as the atoms of four, three, two Worlds of four continents like this, Who will become buddhas after those numbers of rebirths. Or bodhisattvas numerous as the atoms Of one four-continent world, Who after one more birth Will accomplish perfect knowledge. Such living beings as these, Hearing the duration of the Buddha's life, Will obtain infinite, perfect, And pure reward. Also there are the living, numerous As the atoms of eight worlds, who, Hearing the Buddha's announcement of his lifetime, Have all aspired to the supreme truth.

The World-honoured One, by preaching the infinite And inconceivable Law, Has benefited many, Boundlessly as space. Divine mandarava flowers rain down And maha-mandaravas. Shakras and Brahmas numerous as sands of the Ganges From countless buddha-lands have come, Raining sandal and aloes, which Fall blended and commingled; Like birds flying below the sky They reverently bestrew the buddhas.

The celestial drums in space Roll forth of themselves their wondrous sounds. A thousand myriad kinds of divine robes Whirl around in their descent. Exquisite bejeweled censers, Burning priceless incense, Move all around of their own accord in homage to the world-honoured ones.

Hosts of great bodhisattvas Hold canopies of the precious seven, Of wondrous height and of myriads of kotis of varieties, One above another up to the Brahma heaven. Before each one of the buddhas Jeweled streamers hang fluttering; Also with thousands of myriads of stanzas They [celebrate] the tathagatas in song. Such a variety of things as these We have never known before. Hearing the Buddha's lifetime is infinite, All beings are gladdened. The Buddha's fame throughout the universe Widely refreshes the roots of goodness Of all living beings, Aiding their desire for supreme truth."

Thereupon the Buddha addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva: "Ajita! Those living beings who have heard that

the lifetime of the Buddha is of such long duration and have been able to receive but one thought of faith and discernment—the merits they will obtain are beyond limit and measure. Suppose there be any good son or good daughter who, for the sake of Perfect Enlightenment, during eight hundred thousand kotis of nayutas of kalpas practices the five paramitas: dana-paramita, sila-paramita, kshanti-paramita being excepted; these merits compared with the above-mentioned merits are not equal to even the hundredth part, the thousandth part, or one part of a hundred thousand myriad kotis of it; indeed, neither numbers nor comparisons can make it known. If any good son or good daughter possesses such merit as this, there is no such thing as failing to obtain Perfect Enlightenment." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Though a man, seeking the Buddha-wisdom, During eighty myriad kotis Of nayutas of kalpas Were to perform the five paramitas, And during those kalpas Give alms and offerings to buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas, and disciples, As well as to bodhisattvas--Rare and precious food and drink, Superior clothing and bed furniture, Monasteries built of sandalwood and Adorned with gardens and groves, Such alms as these, Wonderful in variety--Were he to maintain them through all those kalpas As meritorious gifts to the Buddhaway; Moreover, though he were to keep the commandments Purely, without flaw or fault, And seek the supreme Way Which all buddhas praise; Or were he patiently to endure insult, Stand firm in the stage of gentleness, And though evils came upon him, Keep his mind undisturbed; Were he by other believers Filled with utmost arrogance To be scorned and distressed, Yet able to bear even this; Or were he to be diligent and zealous, Ever strong in will and memory, And during measureless kotis of kalpas With all his mind continue unremitting, And during numberless kalpas Dwell in secluded places, Whether resident or vagrant, Avoiding sleep and ever concentrating his mind; Were [he], by this means, To be able to beget meditations And for eighty myriad kotis of kalpas Calmly remain in them with unperturbed mind; Were he, maintaining this single-minded happiness, Willingly to seek the supreme Way, saying: 'I will attain all knowledge And go on to the utmost point of meditation': Were such a man for hundreds of thousands of Myriads of kotis of kalpas To perform such deeds of merits As those above expounded; Yet any good son or daughter Who, hearing me declare my [eternal] life, Believes it with but a single thought, This one's reward surpasses his If anyone he entirely free From all doubts and misgivings And in his deepest heart believes it but a moment, Such shall be his reward.

If there be bodhisattvas Who have followed [good] ways for innumerable kalpas And hear of my announcement of my eternal life, They will be able to receive it in faith; Such men as these Will bow their heads in receiving this sutra And say: May we in the future Have long life to save all the living; And just as the present World-honoured One Who, King of Shakyas, On his wisdom terrace raises the lion's roar, Preaching the Law without fear, So may we in future ages, Honoured and received by all, When sitting on the wisdom terrace, In like manner tell of the duration of life!' If there be any of profound spirit, Pure and upright, Learned and able to uphold [the truth], Who understand the meaning of the Buddha's word, Such men as these Will have no doubts about this teaching.

"Again, Ajita! If anyone hears of the duration of the Buddha's lifetime and apprehends its meaning, the merit obtained by this man will be beyond limit and he will advance to the supreme wisdom of tathagatas; how much more will [this be the case with] the one who is devoted to hearing this sutra, or causes others to hear it, or himself keeps it, or causes others to keep it, or himself copies it, or causes others to copy it, or with flowers, incense, garlands, banners, flags, silk canopies, and lamps of fragrant oil and ghee pays homage to the sutra: this man's merit will be infinite and boundless and able to bring forth perfect knowledge. Ajita! If any good son or good daughter, hearing of my declaration of the duration of my lifetime, believes and discerns it in his inmost heart, such a one will see the Buddha always on Mount Gridhrakuta surrounded by a host of great bodhisattvas and shravakas, and preaching the Law. And he will see this saha-world whose land is lapis lazuli, plain and level, its eight roads marked off with jambunada gold, lined with jewel trees; it has towers, halls, and galleries all made of jewels, in which dwell together its bodhisattva host. If anyone is able so to behold, you may know that this is the sign of profound faith and discernment.

"And again, if [anyone], after the extinction of the Tathagata, hears this sutra, and does not defame but rejoices over it, you may know that he has had the sign of deep faith and discernment; how much more the one who reads and recites, receives and keeps it—this man carries the Tathagata on his head. [Hendrik Kern has "carries it on his shoulder," that is, holds it in high esteem and treats it with care.] Ajital Such a good son or good daughter need no more erect stupas, temples, or monasteries for me, nor make offerings of the four

requisites to the monks. [Garments, food and drink, bed furnishings, and medicines.] Wherefore? Because this good son or good daughter who receives and keeps, reads and recites this sutra has already erected stupas, built monasteries, and made offerings to the monks, that is to say, has erected for the Buddha's relics, stupas of the precious seven, high and broad, and tapering up to the Brahma heaven, hung with flags and canopies and precious bells, and with flowers, perfumes, garlands, sandal powder, unguents, incense, drums, instruments, pipes, flutes, harps, all kinds of dances and plays--singing and lauding with wondrous notes -- he has already made these offerings for innumerable thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas. Ajita! If anyone, after my extinction, hears this sutra, and is able either to receive and keep, or himself copy or cause others to copy it, he has [already] erected monasteries and built red sandalwood temples of thirty-two shrines, tall as eight tala trees, lofty, spacious, splendid, in which abide hundreds, thousands of bhikshus; [adorned also with] gardens, groves, and bathing pools, promenades and meditation cells; with clothing, victuals, bedding, medicaments, and all aids to pleasure provided to the full therein. Such monasteries and such numbers of temples, hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis, countless in their number, he has here in my presence offered to me and [my] bhikshus. Therefore I say if anyone after the extinction of the Tathagata receives and keeps, reads and recites it, preaches it to others, either himself copies it or causes others to copy it, and pays homage to the sutra, he need no longer erect stupas and temples or build monasteries and make offerings to the monks. How much less he who is able to keep this sutra and add thereto almsgiving, morality, forbearance, zeal, concentration, and wisdom. His merit will be most excellent, infinite and boundless; even as space, which, east, west, south, and north, the four intermediate directions, the zenith and nadir, is infinite and boundless, so also the merit of this man will be infinite and boundless, and he will speedily reach perfect knowledge. If anyone [The Chinese can also be translated "such a man," but the reading given is that which is usual in Japan. See: Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, Hendrik Kern, 1884, p. 323.] reads and recites, receives and keeps this sutra, preaches it to other people, or himself copies it, or causes others to copy it; moreover, is able to erect caityas and build monasteries, and to serve and extol the shravaka-monks, and also, with hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of ways of extolling, extols the merits of the bodhisattvas; also if he to other people, with various reasonings according to its meaning, expounds this Law-Flower Sutra; again if he is able to keep the commandments in purity, amicably to dwell with the gentle, to endure insult without anger, to be firm in will and thought, ever to value meditation, to attain profound concentration, zealously and boldly to support the good, to be clever and wise in ably answering difficult questionings; Ajita, again, if after my extinction there be good sons and good daughters who receive and keep, read and recite this sutra, who possess such excellent merits as these, you should know that those people have proceeded toward the wisdom terrace and are near Perfect Enlightenment, sitting under the tree of enlightenment. Ajita! Wherever those good sons or good daughters sit or stand or walk in that place, [you] should erect a caitya; all gods and men should pay homage to it as a stupa of [the relics of] the Buddha." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If anyone, after my extinction, is able respectfully to keep this sutra, This man's happiness will be infinite As is above explained. Such a one will have made perfectly All kinds of offerings And erected stupas for relics, Adorned with the precious seven, With banner towers, high and broad, Tapering up to the Brahma-heaven, With thousands of myriads of kotis of gem-bells, Stirred by the wind to mystic music

For innumerable kalpas He will have paid homage to these stupas With flowers, incense, and garlands, With celestial garments and playing of music, With perfumed oil and ghee lamps burning And illuminating all around. In the evil ages of the Law's decay, He who can keep this sutra Will have, as above [shown], Perfectly made all kinds of offerings.

If anyone can keep this sutra, It will be as if the Buddha were present And he, with ox-head sandalwood, Built monasteries to serve him, Consisting of thirty-two halls, Eight tala trees in height, With superior food and fine garments, Beds and all complete, With abodes for hundreds and thousands; With gardens, groves, and bathing pools, With walks and meditation cells, All beautifully adorned.

If anyone has the mind of faith and discernment, Receives, keeps, reads, recites, and copies, Or moreover causes others to copy, And pays homage to the sutra, Strewing flowers, incense, and sandal powder, And uses perfumed oil of sumana And campaka and atimuktaka For constant burning; He who pays such homage to it Will obtain infinite merit; Just as space is boundless, So will it be with his merits; How much more with one who keeps this sutra, Gives alms and keeps the commandments, Is long-suffering and delights in meditation, Not irascible, nor speaking ill, Reverent to caityas and

sanctuaries, Humble toward the bhikshus, Far removed from haughtiness, Ever pondering on wisdom, Not angry when asked about difficulties But compliantly explaining them; If he is able to do these deeds, His merits cannot be estimated.

If one meets such a Law-teacher Who has accomplished such virtues, Let him strew divine flowers upon him, Cover him with divine clothing, And salute him by bowing to his feet, With a mind as if thinking of the Buddha. Moreover, let him reflect thus: 'Soon he will be going to the Bodhi tree To achieve perfection and effortlessness, Widely benefiting gods and men'

Wherever he dwells and stays, Walks, sits, or lies, Or preaches but a stanza [of this sutra], In that place erect a stupa, Adorn it and make it beautiful, And in all ways pay homage to it. When a Buddha-son dwells in such a place, It means that the Buddha himself uses it And ever abides in it, Walking, or sitting, or lying down." [When the eternal life of the Buddha was revealed in chapter 16, all the hearers, whether the former converts who issued from the earth or his immediate disciples, attained various degrees of meritoriousness according to the difference in their capacities. This chapter defines the degrees of merit.]

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 18

The Merits of Joyful Acceptance

At that time Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! If there be a good son or good daughter who, hearing this Law-Flower Sutra, accepts it with joy, how much happiness will he obtain?" And he spoke [it again] in verse:

"After the extinction of the World-honoured One, If anyone, hearing this sutra, Is able to accept it with joy, How much happiness will he obtain?"

Then the Buddha addressed Maitreya Bodhisattva-Mahasattva: "Ajita! If, after the extinction of the Tathagata, any bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, upasika, or other wise person, whether old or young, on hearing this sutra has accepted it with joy, and coming out of the assembly goes elsewhere to dwell either in a monastery or solitary place, or in a city, street, hamlet, or village, to expound what he has heard, according to his ability, to his father, mother, kindred, good friends, and acquaintances; and all these people, having heard it, accept it with joy and again go on to transmit the teaching; these others, having heard it, also accepting it with joy, and transmitting the teaching, and so on in turn to the fiftieth person—Ajita! I will now tell you about the merit of that fiftieth good son or good daughter, who joyfully receives the truth. Do you hearken well!

"It is as the number of all the living creatures in the six states of existence, in four hundred myriad kotis of asamkhyeyas of worlds, born in the four ways, egg-born, womb-born, humidity-born, or born by metamorphosis, whether they are formed or formless, whether conscious or unconscious, or neither conscious nor unconscious; footless, two-footed, four-footed, or many-footed--it is as the sum of all these living creatures. Suppose someone, seeking their happiness, provides them with every article of pleasure they may desire, giving each creature the whole of a Jambudvipa, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstone, agate, coral, amber, and all sorts of wonderful jewels, with elephants, horses, carriages, and palaces and towers built of the precious seven, and so forth. This great master of gifts thus bestows gifts for full eighty years and then reflects thus: 'I have bestowed on all these beings articles of pleasure according to their desires, but now they have all grown old and worn, over eighty years of age, with hair gray and faces wrinkled, and death is not far off--I ought to instruct and guide them in the Buddha-law. Thereupon, gathering together those beings, he proclaims to them the Law's instruction; and by his revealing, teaching, benefiting, and rejoicing, they all in a moment become srotaapannas, sakridagamins, anagamins, and arhats\*, free from all imperfections, having all acquired mastery of profound meditation and completed the eight emancipations. [\* These are the four merits or fruits: 1. srota-apanna, literally, "one who has entered the stream [leading to nirvana]"; 2. sakridagamin, literally, "returning," or being reborn once more; 3. anagamin, literally, "not returning," or no more rebirth: and 4. arhat.l

What is your opinion? May the merits obtained by this great master of gifts be considered many or not?" Maitreya said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! The merits of this man are very many, infinite and boundless. Even though this master of giving had only made gifts of all those articles of pleasure to those creatures, his merits would be infinite; how much more when he causes them to attain arhatship?"

Then said the Buddha to Maitreya: "I will now speak clearly to you. The merits attained by this man in bestowing those means of happiness to all beings in the six states [of existence] of four hundred myriad kotis of asamkhyeyas of worlds and causing them to attain arhatship do not compare with the merits of that fiftieth person who, hearing a single verse of the Law-Flower Sutra, receives it with joy, they are not up to one hundredth, or one thousandth, or one fraction of a hundred thousand myriad kotis; the power of figures or

comparisons cannot express it. Ajita! If the merits of such a fiftieth person who in turn hears the Law-Flower Sutra and accepts it with joy are indeed so infinite, boundless, and numberless, how much more is the happiness of him who among the first hearers in the assembly receives it joyfully, surpassing happiness still more infinite, boundless, and beyond number or compare.

"Again, Ajita! If anyone, for the sake of this sutra, goes to a monastery and, either sitting or standing, hears and receives it even for a moment, by reason of that merit in his next bodily rebirth he will acquire the most excellent kind of elephants, horses and carriages, jeweled palanquins and litters, and ride in celestial cars. If again there be anyone who sits down in the place where this Law is preached, and when others come persuades them to sit down and hear it, or shares his seat with others, that person's merit, on his bodily rebirth, will give him a Shakra's seat, or a Brahma's, or the seat of a sacred wheel-rolling king. Ajita! If, moreover, anyone says to another: 'There is a sutra named the Flower of the Law; let us go together and listen to it,' and if he who is persuaded hears it but for a moment, that person's merit, after his bodily rebirth, will cause him to be born in the same place with bodhisattvas who have attained dharani. He will be of keen faculties and wise; for hundreds of thousands of myriads of ages he will never be dumb nor have unpleasant breath; [will] ever be free from ailments of the tongue or ailments of the mouth; his teeth will never be dirty and black, nor yellow, nor in gaps, nor fall out, nor irregular, nor crooked; his lips will not be pendulous or twisted and shrunk, not coarse and rough. nor have sores and pustules, not be cracked and broken or awry and out of shape, neither thick nor big, neither sallow nor black, having nothing loathsome; his nose will not be flat or crooked and distorted; the colour of his face will not be black, nor will it be narrow and long or ever be hollow and crooked, having nothing whatever unpleasing; his lips, tongue, and teeth all will be beautiful; his nose long, high, and straight; his face round and full; his eyebrows high and long; his forehead broad, even, and upright. His sign of manhood will be perfect. In whatever age he is born, he will see the Buddha, hear the Law, and receive the teaching in faith. Ajita! Just notice this--if the merit obtained from persuading one person to go and hear the Law is such as this. how much more is that of one who with his whole mind hears and reads it, in the assembly interprets it to the people, and practices what it preaches." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus

"If anyone in an assembly Hears this sutra, Though only one stanza, And joyfully proclaims it to others, And thus its teaching rolls on Till it reaches the fiftieth hearer. The happiness obtained by this last I now will explain. Suppose a great benefactor Who provides for a countless throng During full eighty years According to all their desires, Then sees them decayed and old, Gray-haired and faces wrinkled, Teeth sparse and forms withered, And thinks their death approaches; 'Now,' says he, 'I must teach them To obtain the fruits of the right way.'

Then by tactful methods he Teaches them the true Law of nirvana: 'All worlds are unstable, Like water bubbles or will-o'-the-wisp. Do you all hasten to beget A spirit turning in disgust from them.' All of them on hearing this truth Attain arhatship, Perfect in the six transcendent faculties, Three clear [views], and eight emancipations.

The last, the fiftieth person, Who hears one verse and rejoices—This man's felicity surpasses that benefactor's Beyond the power of comparison. If a hearer whose turn is so remote Has such boundless felicity, How much greater his who, in the congregation, First hears it with joyfulness.

Let a man exhort but one person And bring him to listen to the Law-Flower, Saying: This sutra is profound and wonderful, Hard to meet in thousands of myriads of kalpas.' Persuaded, he goes to listen And hears it but for a moment; The reward of such a persuader Let me now define.

Age by age his mouth will never suffer, His teeth not be gapped, yellow, or black, Nor his lips thick, awry, or cracked, With no loathsome appearance; His tongue neither dried up, black, nor shrunk; His nose high, long, and straight; His forehead broad, level, and upright; A joy for men to behold; No fetid breath from his mouth, but The scent of the utpala flower Ever exhaling from his lips.

Or suppose one on purpose visits a monastery To hear the Law-Flower Sutra, And hearing it but a moment rejoices; Let me now tell of his happiness. He will hereafter be born among gods and men, Have fine elephants, horses and carriages, Jeweled palanquins and litters, And ride in celestial aerial cars. If, in the place of preaching, He begs men to sit and hear the sutra,

Because of this felicity he will attain The seat of a Shakra, a Brahma, a wheel-rolling king. How much more with him who single-minded Hears and expounds its meaning And practices according to its teaching--His happiness is beyond limit." THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 19

The Merits of the Preacher

Then the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Ever Zealous: "If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this Law-Flower Sutra, or reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, that person will obtain eight hundred merits of the eye, twelve hundred merits of the ear, eight hundred merits of the nose, twelve hundred merits of tongue, eight hundred merits of the body, and twelve hundred merits of the mind; with these merits he will dignify his six organs, making them all serene. That good son or good daughter, with the natural pure eyes received at birth from his parents, will see whatever exists within and without the threethousand-great-thousandfold world, mountains, forests, rivers, and seas, down to the Avici hell and up to the Summit of Existence, and also see all the living beings in it, as well as see and know in detail all their karma causes and rebirth states of retribution." Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in

"If one, in the great assembly, With fearless mind, Preaches this Law-Flower Sutra-Hearken [listen] to his merits. That man will obtain eight hundred Surpassing merits of vision; Because of these endowments His eyes will be entirely serene. With the eyes received from his parents He will see all the three-thousandfold world, Within and without, Mount Meru, Sumeru and its Iron Circle, And the other mountains and forests, Great oceans, rivers, and waters, Down to the Avici hell, Up to the Summit of Existence; The living beings in its midst All will be seen by him; Though not yet having attained divine vision, His eyes of flesh have powers like these.

"And again, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, or reads or recites or expounds or copies it, he will obtain twelve hundred merits of the ear. With this serene ear he will hear, in the threethousand-great-thousandfold world, downward to the Avici hell, upward to the Summit of Existence, within and without, all various words and sounds, the sounds of elephants, of horses, of cows, of carriages, of wailing, of lamentation, of conchs, of drums, of gongs, of bells, of laughter, of speech, of men, of women, of boys, of girls, of the lawful, of the unlawful, of suffering, of pleasure, of common people, of holy men, of comfort, of discomfort, of gods, of dragons, of yakshas, of gandharvas, of asuras, of garudas, of kimnaras, of mahoragas, of fire, of water, of wind, of the hells, of the animals, of hungry spirits, of bhikshus, bhikshunis, of shravakas, of pratyekabuddhas, of bodhisattvas, and of buddhas-essentially speaking, whatever sounds there may be within and without the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world; though he has still not obtained the heavenly ear, yet by the natural pure ears received at birth from his parents all these he will hear and know. And thus he discriminates all these various sounds without harm to his organ of hearing.' Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"His ears, received from parents, Are serene and untainted. By these ordinary ears he hears The sounds in the three-thousandfold world, The sounds of elephants, horses, carts, and oxen, The sounds of gongs, bells, conchs, and drums, The sounds of lutes and harps, The sounds of pipes and flutes, The sounds of pure and lovely song; He can listen without being under their control.

He hears the sounds of countless kinds of men, And can understand all he hears; He hears also the sounds of gods, And mystic voices of singing; Hears sounds of men and women, And sounds of youths and maidens. In mountains, streams, and gorges, The sounds of kalavinkas, Jivakajivakas and other birds, All these sounds he hears.

The bitter pains of the hosts in hell And the sounds of their sufferings; The hungry spirits driven by hunger And the sounds of their importunity; The asuras and others Inhabiting the ocean shores, When they converse together, Bellow forth their cries. Such a preacher as this, Calmly dwelling amidst this, Hears from afar all these sounds Without harm to his organ of hearing.

In the worlds in all directions, Birds and beasts cry to each other, And the preacher here abiding Hears them in every detail. All the Brahma heavens above, From those of Light Sound\* and Universal Purity\* [The highest of the third realm of meditation heavens.] To the heaven called the Summit of Existence-The sounds of their conversation The preacher here abiding Hears in every detail.

All the host of bhikshus And of bhikshunis Reading or reciting the sutra, Or preaching it to others, The preacher here abiding Hears them in every detail. Again there are the bodhisattvas Who read and recite this sutra Law Or preach it unto others, Collating and expounding its meaning—All such sounds as these He hears in every detail. The buddhas, great and holy honoured ones, Transformers of all living beings, Who, in their great assemblies, Proclaim the mystic Law—He who keeps this Law-Flower Hears in every detail.

In the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, Its sounds within and without, Downward to the Avici hell, Upward to the Summit heaven. All these sounds he will hear Without harm to his organ of hearing, And because his ears are acute, He can discriminate and know them all. He who keeps this Law-Flower, Though not yet possessed of heavenly ears And only using his natural ears, Has already such merits as these.

"Moreover, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, or reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will attain eight hundred merits of the nose; and by means of this serene organ, in the threethousand-great-thousandfold world, zenith and nadir, within and without, he will smell all kinds of fragrance, the fragrance of sumana flowers, of jatika flowers, of mallika flowers, of campaka flowers, of patala flowers, of red lotus flowers, of blue lotus flowers, of white lotus flowers, of flowering trees, of fruit-bearing trees, of sandalwood, of aloes, of tamalapattras, of tagaras, and of thousands of myriads of blended perfumes, powdered, granular, or in unguents. He who keeps this sutra, while abiding in this place, can discern all these. Again, he will discern the odours of all living beings, the odour of elephants, of horses, of cattle, goats, and so on; of men, of women, of youths, of maidens, and of grass, trees, bushes, and woods; near or far, whatever odour there be, he will perceive it all and discern without mistake. He who keeps this sutra, though abiding here, will also perceive the odour of the gods in the heavens, of parijata and kovidara, of mandarava flowers, of maha-mandarava flowers, manjushaka flowers, of maha-manjushaka flowers, of all kinds of powdered sandalwood and aloes, and of many mingled flowers--all the odours exhaled from such mingled celestial perfumes he will never fail to perceive and know. And he will perceive the odour of the bodies of gods, the odour of Shakra Devendra in his Surpassing Palace, indulging his five desires and disporting himself joyfully; or when he is in his Wonderful Law Hall preaching the Law to the gods of the Trayastrimsha; or when he wanders for pleasure in his gardens; also the odour of the bodies of the other male and female gods: from afar will be perceive them. Thus proceeding to the Brahma world, up to the Summit of Existence, he will also smell all the odours of the bodies of the gods. Besides, he will smell the incense burned by the gods; and the odour of shravakas, of pratyekabuddhas, of bodhisattvas, and of the bodies of buddhas--from afar will he smell all these and know where they abide. Though he smells these odours, yet his organ of smell will not be harmed nor mistaken; and if he wishes to define them to others, his memory will not err.' Thereupon the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The nose of this man being serene, The odour of everything in this world, Be it fragrant or be it fetid, In full detail he smells and knows. Sumana and jatika, Tamalapattra and sandal, Aloes and cinnamon, Odours of flowers and fruits, Odours of all the living, Odours of men and women: The preacher, dwelling afar, Smells them and knows their place.

All-powerful wheel-rolling kings, Minor wheel-rollers and their sons, All their ministers and courtiers: He, by smell, knows their place. The jewels they wear upon them, The treasures hidden in the earth, The precious queens\* of wheel-rolling kings: He, by smell, knows their place. [\* Literally, "the precious women"; one of the seven treasures of a wheel-rolling king. A wheel-rolling king's seven treasures are the precious wheel, the elephant, the horse, the jewel, the queen, the treasurer, and the head of the army.] From the things adorning people, Their clothes and necklaces, And the perfumes they use for anointing, He, by smell, knows their persons. The gods, whether walking or seated, Their playing and magic powers, He who keeps this Law-Flower, By smell, can know in detail.

The scent of tree flowers and fruits And the fragrance of ghee oil: He who keeps this Law-Flower, Abiding here, well knows their place. Mountain gorges and clifts, Diffusion of sandal-tree blossoms, And all the beings there dwelling He, by smell, can perfectly know. The oceans within the iron rim, The living within their lands: He who keeps this sutra By [their] smell knows their place.

Asuras, male and female, And all their tribe and followers, When they quarrel or play together He, by smell, is able to discern. Prairies or ravines where [roam] Lions, elephants, tigers, wolves, Bisons, buffaloes, and their kind: He, by smell, knows their place.

If there be a woman with child, Who discerns not yet its sex, Male, female, organless, or inhuman, He, by smell, can discern it. By his power of smell He knows if the newly pregnant Will succeed or not in being Joyfully delivered of happy children. By his perceptive power of smell He knows the thoughts of men and women, Their minds of lust, foolishness, or anger, And also knows the doers of goodness.

All the treasures hidden in the earth, Gold, silver, and jewels Heaped in copper vessels, By smell he can clearly distinguish. All sorts of fjeweled] necklaces, Of price beyond all knowledge—By smell he knows their value, Their source, and their location. The flowers of the [various] heavens, Mandaravas, manjushakas, And parijata trees, By smell he can clearly distinguish.

The palaces of the heavens, Whether upper, middle, or lower, Adorned with every precious flower, By smell he can

clearly distinguish. The heavenly gardens, groves, surpassing palaces, Studies, and Wonderful Law halls, And those who take their pleasure in them, By smell he can clearly distinguish. Whenever the gods are hearing the Law, Or indulging the five desires, Coming, going, walking, sitting, lying-By smell he can clearly distinguish. The garments the goddesses wear, Adorned and perfumed with beautiful flowers, As they ramble about for pleasure, By smell he can clearly distinguish.

So is it in turn ascending Even up to the Brahma worlds; Those in meditation and out of it By smell he can clearly distinguish. From the gods Light Sound and Universal Purity To the god Summit of All Existence, From their birth to their disappearance: By smell he can all distinguish. All the host of bhikshus Ever progressing in the Law, Whether seated or walking about, Reading and reciting the sutra, Or, beneath trees in the forest, Devoting themselves to meditation—The keeper of [this] sutra, by smell, Knows their every location.

Bodhisattvas firm of will, In meditation, or reading the sutra. Or preaching the Law to others—By smell he can all distinguish. The world-honoured in every direction, By all beings revered, Who pity all and preach the Law—By smell he can all distinguish.

The living who, in a buddha's presence, Hear the sutra and rejoice together, And act according to the Law-By smell he can all distinguish. Though not yet possessed of a bodhisattva's Faultless, Law-begotten organ of smell, Yet this keeper of the sutra First obtains this faculty of smell.

"Further, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, and either reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will obtain twelve hundred merits of the tongue. Whatever pleasant or unpleasant, sweet or not sweet, bitter or astringent things meet his tongue will become of the finest flavour, like celestial nectar; nothing will be unpleasant. If, in the assembly, he uses his organ of the tongue to preach, it will send forth a profound and beautiful voice that can enter their hearts, giving them pleasure and joy; and celestial sons and daughters, Shakras, Brahmas, and the gods, hearing what this profound and beautiful voice proclaims and the order of his discourse, will all come and listen to him; dragons also and female dragons, yakshas and female yakshas, gandharvas and female gandharvas, asuras and female asuras. garudas and female garudas, kimnaras and female kimnaras, mahoragas and female mahoragas will all come to hear the Law, to approach, revere, and pay homage to him; bhikshus also and bhikshunis, upasakas and upasikas, kings and princes with their ministers and followers, minor wheel-rolling kings and great wheel-rolling kings with their seven treasures and their thousand princes and with their internal and external retinue, riding in their palatial chariots, will all come to listen to his Law. Because this bodhisattva so excellently preaches the Law, Brahmans, citizens, and the people in his country will follow, attend on, and pay homage to him to the end of their bodily life. And shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and buddhas will always delight to see him. In whatever quarter this man abides, the buddhas will all preach toward him, and he will be able to receive and keep all the Buddha-law and also to utter the profound and beautiful sound of the Law." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"Pure is this man's organ of tongue, Never receiving ill flavours: Whatsoever he eats, All becomes as nectar. With lovely voice, profound and pure, In the assembly he preaches the Law; With reasonings and parables, He leads on the minds of the living. All his hearers rejoice And make him the best of offerings.

Gods, dragons, and yakshas, Asuras and others, All with reverent minds Come in company to hear his Law. If this preacher desires To make his lovely voice Fill the threethousandfold world, He is able at will to achieve it. Great and minor wheel-rolling kings With their thousand princes and followers, With folded hands and reverent minds, Constantly come to hear his Law.

Gods, dragons, and yakshas, Rakshasas and pishacakas Also with joyful mind Constantly rejoice to come and worship. Brahma and Mara, Ishvara and Maheshvara And all such heavenly host Come constantly to him. Buddhas and disciples, Hearing the sound of his preaching, Ever mind and protect him, At times revealing themselves to him.

"Further, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter receives and keeps this sutra, and either reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will obtain eight hundred merits of the body; he will obtain a pure body like pure crystal which all the living delight to see. Because of the purity of his body, the living beings of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, as they are born or die, superior or inferior, fine or ugly, born in good or in bad conditions, all will be displayed in [his body]. And Mount Iron Circle, Mount Great Iron Circle, Mount Meru, Mount Maha-Meru, and other royal mountains, and the living beings in them, will all be displayed in [his body]. Downward to the Avici hell, upward to the Summit of All Existence, all things and living beings will be displayed [in his body]. Shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and buddhas preaching the Law will all display their forms and images in his body." Then the World-

honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"If anyone keeps the Law-Flower Sutra, His body will be utterly pure, As that pure lapis lazuli; All the living will delight to see it. And as in a pure, bright mirror Every image is seen, The bodhisattva, in his pure body, Sees everything in the world

He himself alone sees clearly What others do not see. In the three-thousandfold world All the common multitude, Gods, men, asuras, Beings in hell, demons, animals--All such forms and images Appear there in his body.

The palaces of the gods, To the Summit of All Existence, The Iron Circle and Meru, Mount Maha-Meru, Great oceans and waters, All appear in his body. Buddhas and shravakas, Buddha-sons, bodhisattvas, Alone or preaching among the multitude, All appear [in him]. Though not yet possessed of the flawless, Mystic, spiritual body, Yet in his pure ordinary body Everything is revealed.

"Further, Ever Zealous! If any good son or good daughter, after the extinction of the Tathagata, receives and keeps this sutra, or reads, or recites, or expounds, or copies it, he will obtain twelve hundred merits of thought. With this pure organ of thought, on hearing even a single verse or sentence he will penetrate its infinite and boundless meanings. Having discerned those meanings, he will be able to preach on that single sentence or verse for a month, four months, even a year. And that which he preaches, according to its several meanings, will not be contrary to the truth. If he refers to popular classics, maxims for ruling the world, means of livelihood, and so forth, all will coincide with the True Law. The beings in the six destinies of the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world, whatever is passing through their minds, whatever are the movements of their minds, whatever arguments are diverting their minds--he knows them all. Though such a one has not yet obtained faultless wisdom, yet his organ of thought will be pure like this. Whatever he ponders, estimates, and speaks, all will be the Buddha-law, nothing but truth, and also that which former buddhas have taught in the sutras." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this meaning over again, spoke thus in verse:

"The thought of this man is pure, Lucid, acute, unturbid; By this mystic organ of thought He knows all laws, high, low, and mean; On hearing a single verse He penetrates its infinite meanings, And orderly preaches them as Law For a month, four months, or a year. All the living creatures of This world, within and without, Gods, dragons, human beings, Yakshas, demons, spirits, others, Those in the six destinations: Whatever they may be thinking-In reward for keeping the Law-Flower. Instantly he knows them all.

The numberless buddhas of the universe, With their hundreds of felicitous signs, Who preach to all the living—He hears and retains it all. He ponders the infinite And preaches the Law without limit, Never forgets or makes a mistake, Because he keeps the Law-Flower. Knowing the form of all laws, Perceiving their ordered meaning, Comprehending the terms and words. He explains them according to knowledge.

Whatever this man preaches Is the Law of former buddhas; And because he proclaims this Law, He is fearless of the throng. A keeper of the Law-Flower Sutra Has an organ of thought like this. Though not yet possessed of faultlessness, He has such a foretoken as this.

This man, keeping this sutra, Stands firm on a rare foundation; By all living beings rejoiced in, Beloved and reverenced, He is able, with thousands of myriads Of kinds of skillful expressions, To interpret and preach to them Through keeping the Law-Flower Sutra."

HERE ENDS THE SIXTH BUNCH OF WORDS

#### THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 20 The Bodhisattva Never Despise

At that time the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Great Power Obtained\*: "Now you should know that if bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas keep the Law-Flower Sutra, and if anyone curses, abuses, and slanders them, he will receive such great punishment as before announced; but those who attain merits such as those previously announced, their eyes, ears, noses, tongues, bodies, and thoughts will be clear and pure. [\* He who has obtained or is endowed with great power or authority.]

"Great Power Obtained! In a past period of olden times, infinite, boundless, inconceivable, and asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there was a buddha named King of Majestic Voice Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, Worldhonoured One, whose kalpa was named Free from Decline and his domain All Complete. That buddha, King of Majestic Voice, in that world preached to gods, men, and asuras. To those who sought to be shravakas he preached response to the Law of the Four Noble Truths for escape from birth, old age, disease, and death, leading finally to nirvana; to those who sought to be pratyekabuddhas he preached response to the Law of the Twelve Causes; to bodhisattvas he by means of Perfect Enlightenment preached response to the Six

Paramitas for the perfecting of Buddha-wisdom. Great Power Obtained! The lifetime of this buddha, King of Majestic Voice, was forty myriad kotis of navutas of kalpas, as many as the sands of the Ganges. The number of kalpas during which the Righteous Law remained in the world was equal to the atoms in a Jambudvipa; and the number of kalpas during which the Counterfeit Law remained was equal to the atoms in four continents. After that buddha had abundantly benefited all living beings, he became extinct. After the Righteous Law and Counterfeit Law had entirely disappeared, in that domain there again appeared a buddha. He was also entitled King of Majestic Voice Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. Thus in succession there were twenty thousand kotis of buddhas who all had the same title. After the extinction of the first Tathagata King of Majestic Voice and after the end of the Righteous Law, during the period of the Counterfeit Law bhikshus of utmost arrogance obtained the chief power. At that period there was a bodhisattva-bhikshu named Never Despise. Great Power Obtained! For what reason was he named Never Despise? [Because] that bhikshu paid respect to and commended everybody whom he saw, bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, upasika, speaking thus: 'I deeply revere you. I dare not slight and contemn you. Wherefore? [Because] you all walk in the bodhisattva-way and are to become buddhas.' And that bhikshu did not devote himself to reading and reciting the sutras but only to paying respect, so that when he saw afar off a member of the four groups, he would specially go and pay respect to them, commending them, saying: 'I dare not slight you, because you are all to become buddhas.' Amongst the four groups, there were those who, irritated and angry and muddy-minded, reviled and abused him, saying: 'Where did this ignorant bhikshu come from, who takes it on himself to say, "I do not slight you," and who predicts us as destined to become buddhas? We need no such false prediction.' Thus he passed many years, constantly reviled but never irritated or angry, always saying, 'You are to become buddhas.' Whenever he spoke thus, the people beat him with clubs, sticks, potsherds, or stones. But, while escaping to a distance, he still cried aloud: 'I dare not slight you. You are all to become buddhas.' And because he always spoke thus, the haughty bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas styled him Never Despise.

"When this bhikshu was drawing near his end, from the sky he heard and was entirely able to receive and retain twenty thousand myriad kotis of verses of the Lotus-Flower Sutra which the Buddha King of Majestic Voice had formerly preached. Whereupon he obtained as above clearness and purity of the eye-organ and of the organs of ear, nose, tongue, body, and thought. Having obtained the purity of these six organs, he further prolonged his life for two hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of years, and widely preached this Law-Flower Sutra to the people. Then the haughty four orders of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas who had slighted and contemned this man and given him the [nick]name Never Despise, seeing him possessed of great transcendent powers, of power of eloquent discourse, and of power of excellent meditation, and having heard his preaching, all believed in and followed him. This bodhisattva again converted thousands of myriads of kotis of beings to Perfect Enlightenment.

"After the end of his lifetime, he met two thousand kotis of buddhas who were all entitled Sun Moon Light, and under their Law he preached this Law-Flower Sutra. Because of this, he again met two thousand kotis of buddhas, all equally entitled Sovereign Light King of the Clouds. [That is, Lightning King. Chapter 7 gives his name as Sovereign Cloud King. In the extant Sanskrit text, Dundubhisvararaja (literally, "Drum Sound King," that is, "Thunder") comes between the two kings Candrasvararaja (literally, Sound King)" and Meghasvararaja (literally, "Cloud Sound King"). He is also included in Dharmaraksha's translation. Because under the Law of those buddhas he received, kept, read, recited, and preached this sutra to all the four groups, he obtained clearness and purity of the common eye and of the organs of ear, nose, tongue, body, and thought, and among the four groups preached the Law fearlessly.

"Great Power Obtained! This Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Never Despise paid homage to such numerous buddhas as these, revering, honouring, and extolling them; and after cultivating the roots of goodness, again he met thousands of myriads of kotis of buddhas and also under the Law of those buddhas preached this sutra; his merits being complete, he then became a buddha. Great Power Obtained! What is your opinion? Can it be that the Bodhisattva Never Despise was at that time somebody else? He was [really] I myself. If I in my former lives had not received and kept, read and recited this sutra and preached it to others, I should not have been able so soon to attain Perfect Enlightenment. Because under former buddhas I received and kept, read and recited this sutra and preached it to others, I so soon attained Perfect Enlightenment.

"Great Power Obtained! At that time the four groups, bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, with angry minds slighted and contemned me, therefore for two hundred kotis of kalpas they never met a buddha, never heard the Law, never saw a samgha, and for a thousand kalpas underwent great sufferings in the Avici hell. After their sin was brought to an end, they again met the Bodhisattva Never Despise, who taught and converted them to Perfect Enlightenment. Great Power Obtained! What is your opinion? Those four groups at that time, who constantly slighted that bodhisattva--can they indeed be somebody else? They are now in this assembly--the five hundred bodhisattvas Bhadrapala and the others, the five hundred bhikshunis Lion Moon and the others, the five hundred upasakas Thinking of Buddha and the others\*, who will never retreat from Perfect Enlightenment. I\* Some read this as "the five hundred bhikshus Lion Moon and others, and the five hundred upasakas Buddha Thinking Nun and others.' The extant Sanskrit text has "upasikas" instead of "upasakas." Kern has "lay devotees," saying in a note, "upasaka, masculine; this does not suit" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol 21, 1884, p. 360.).] Know, Great Power Obtained! This Law-Flower Sutra greatly benefits all bodhisattva-mahasattvas and enables them to reach Perfect Enlightenment. Therefore all bodhisattva-mahasattvas, after the extinction of the Tathagata, should ever receive and keep, read and recite, expound and copy this sutra." Then the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in

"In the past there was a buddha Styled King of Majestic Voice, Boundless in divine wisdom, Leader of all creatures; Gods, men, dragons, spirits All paid homage to him. After this buddha's extinction, When the Law drew near its end, There existed a bodhisattva Whose name was Never Despise.

At that time the four groups Were devoted to material things. The Bodhisattva Never Despise On approaching them Would address them thus: I may not despise you; You are followers of the Way And will all become buddhas.' When they had heard it, they Contemned or reviled him. Bodhisattva Never Despise Bore it all patiently. When his sins were expiated And his end was drawing near, He heard this sutra And his organs were clarified. By his transcendent power He prolonged his period of life And again, to all the people, Widely preached this sutra.

The groups formerly devoted to things All received from this bodhisattva Instruction and perfection, Being led to abide in the Buddha-way. Never Despise, his lifetime ended, Met with countless buddhas, And through his preaching of this sutra Obtained inestimable happiness.

Gradually perfecting his merits. He soon accomplished the Buddha-way. The Never Despise of that time Is really I myself. The four groups of that time, Attached to [earthly] things, Who heard Never Despise say, 'You are to become buddhas,' And who because of this Met with countless buddhas Are the bodhisattvas of this assembly, The host of five hundred, And also the four sections Of pure believers, men and women, Who are now before me Listening to the Law.

I, in my former lives, Exhorted these people To hear and receive this sutra, The peerless Law, And revealed and taught it to men, That they might abide in nirvana. Age by age have I received and kept This so wonderful a sutra [teaching]. During myriads of kotis and kotis of kalpas Of inconceivable reach, Rare are the times that have heard This Law-Flower Sutra.

During myriads of kotis and kotis of kalpas Of inconceivable reach, Buddhas, world-honoured ones, At rare times preach this sutra. Therefore let his followers, After the Buddha's extinction, On hearing such a sutra as this, Not conceive doubt or perplexity. But let them wholeheartedly Publish abroad this sutra, And age by age meeting buddhas, They will speedily accomplish the Buddha-way."\*

[\* The translation of the name of the Bodhisattva Never Despise follows the Tien-t'ai tradition. Kern translated the bodhisattva's Sanskrit name, Sadaparibhuta, as "always contemned" (sada and paribhuta) and "always not-contemned, never contemned" (sada and aparibhuta; see Sacred Books of the East vol. 21, p. 357 n). Dharmaraksha's Chinese translation reads "always contemned or despised." Here, according to the Tien-t'ai reading, the name is rendered as "never despise."]

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 21

The Divine Power of the Tathagata

At that time the bodhisattva-mahasattvas, equal to the atoms of a [great-]thousandfold world, who had sprung up from the earth, all before the Buddha with one mind folded their hands, looked up into his noble countenance, and spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! After the extinction of the Buddha, in whatever lands the transformed body of the World-honoured One exists, wherever he is extinct, we will widely preach this sutra. Wherefore? Because we also ourselves wish to obtain this truly pure Great Law in order to receive and keep, read and recite, explain, copy, and make offerings to it."

Thereupon the World-honoured One, before Manjushri and the other countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattva-mahasattvas, as well as of bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and so on\*, before all these creatures, revealed his great divine power, putting forth his broad and far-stretched tongue till it reached upward to the Brahma world, every pore radiating the light of infinite and numberless colours, all shining everywhere throughout all directions of the universe. Under all the jewel trees the buddhas, each seated on a lion throne, also in like manner put forth their broad and far-stretched tongues radiating infinite light.

[\* The extant Sanskrit text here has the following sentences, not found in any Chinese translation, as the words of these countless beings to the World-honoured One: ". . . said unto the Lord: We also, O Lord, will promulgate this Dharmaparyaya after the complete extinction of the Tathagata. While standing with an invisible body in the sky, O Lord, we will send forth a voice, and plant the roots of goodness of such creatures as have not (vet) planted roots of goodness. Then the Lord addressed the Bodhisattva Mahasattva Vishishtacaritra, who was the very first of those afore-mentioned Bodhisattva Mahasattvas followed by a troop, a great troop, masters of a troop: Very well, Vishishtacaritra, very well; so you should do; it is for the sake of this Dharmaparyaya that the Tathagata &c., and the wholly extinct Lord Prabhutaratna, the Tathagata, &c., both seated on the throne in the centre of the Stupa, commenced smiling to one another and . . ." (Quoted from Kern, Sacred Books of the East vol. 21, pp. 363-64).]

While Shakyamuni Buddha and all the other buddhas under jewel trees were revealing their divine powers, hundreds of thousands of years had fully passed. After that they drew back their tongues, coughed simultaneously, and snapped their fingers in unison. These two sounds reached through every direction of buddha worlds, all their lands being shaken in six ways. In the midst of these worlds all living beings, gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and the other creatures, by reason of the divine power of the Buddha, all saw in this saha-world the infinite, boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas seated on the lion thrones under all the jewel trees, and saw Shakyamuni Buddha together with the Tathagata Abundant Treasures seated on lion thrones in the midst of the stupa, and also saw the infinite, boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvamahasattvas, and the four groups who reverently surround Shakvamuni Buddha. After beholding this they were all greatly delighted, obtaining that which they had never experienced before. At the same time all the gods in the sky sang with exalted voices: "Beyond these infinite, boundless hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of asamkhyeya worlds, there is a realm named saha. In its midst is a buddha, whose name is Shakvamuni Now for the sake of all bodhisattva-mahasattvas, he preaches the Great-vehicle Sutra called the Lotus Flower of the Wonderful Law, the Law by which bodhisattvas are instructed and which the buddhas watch over and keep in mind. You should with all your utmost heart joyfully follow it and should pay homage and make offerings to Shakyamuni Buddha."

All those living beings, after hearing the voice in the sky, folded their hands toward the saha-world and thus exclaimed: "Namah Shakyamuni Buddha! Namah Shakyamuni Buddha!" Then with various flowers, incense, garlands, canopies, as well as personal ornaments, gems, and wonderful things, they all from afar strewed the saha-world. The things so strewn from every quarter were like gathering clouds, transforming into a jeweled canopy, covering all the place above the buddhas. Thereupon the worlds of the universe were united as one buddha-land.

At that time the Buddha addressed Eminent Conduct and the host of other bodhisattvas: "The divine powers of buddhas are so infinite and boundless that they are beyond thought and expression. Even if I, by these divine powers, through infinite, boundless hundred thousand myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas, for the sake of entailing it, were to declare the merits of this sutra, I should still be unable to reach the end of those [merits]. Essentially speaking, all the laws belonging to the Tathagata, all the sovereign, divine powers of the Tathagata, all the mysterious, essential treasuries of the Tathagata, and the very profound conditions of the Tathagata, all are proclaimed, displayed, revealed, and expounded in this sutra. Therefore you should, after the extinction of the Tathagata, wholeheartedly receive and keep, read and recite, explain and copy, cultivate and practice it as the teaching. In whatever land, whether it be received and kept, read and recited, explained and copied, cultivated and practised as the teaching; whether in a place where a volume of the sutra is kept, or in a temple, or in a grove, or under a tree, or in a monastery, or in a lay devotee's house, in a palace or a mountain, in a valley or in the wilderness, in all these places you must erect a caitya and make offerings. Wherefore? You should know that [all] these spots are the thrones of enlightenment. On these [spots] the buddhas attain Perfect Enlightenment; on these [spots] the buddhas roll the wheel of the Law; on these [spots] the buddhas [enter] parinirvana." At that time the World-honoured One, desiring to proclaim this teaching over again, spoke thus in verse:

"All the buddhas, Saviours of the world, Dwelling in mighty divine penetration, In order to gladden all creatures Reveal their infinite powers divine. Their tongues extend to the Brahma heavens, Their bodies emit countless rays of light; For those who seek the Way of the Buddha They show this rare phenomenon. The sound when the buddhas cough And that of the snap of their fingers Are heard throughout the whole universe, And the earth in six ways shakes.

Because, after the Buddha's extinction, It is possible to possess this sutra, The buddhas all rejoice And show infinite powers divine. Now that this sutra is entailed To him who keeps it, let praise, Through kalpas infinite, Be inexhaustible. The merits of this man Shall be boundless and without end As space in every direction, Which cannot find a limit.

He who can keep this sutra Is one who already beholds me And also the Buddha Abundant Treasures, And all buddhas emanated from me.

And sees besides the bodhisattvas Whom I have instructed until now. He who can keep this sutra Will cause me and the buddhas emanated from me, And the Buddha Abundant Treasures in nirvana, All of us entirely to rejoice; And the buddhas now in the universe, And those of the past and the future, He shall also see and serve And cause to rejoice.

The mysterious laws that have been attained By the buddhas each on his wisdom throne, He who can keep this sutra Must surely gain ere long. He who can keep this sutra Shall the meaning of the laws, With their terms and expressions, Delightedly expound without end, Like the wind in the sky, Which never has impediment.

After the Tathagata is extinct [such a one], Knowing [this] sutra that the Buddha has taught, Together with its reasoning and process, Shall expound it according to its true meaning. Just as the light of the sun and moon Can dispel the darkness, So this man, working in the world, Can disperse the gloom of the living And cause numberless bodhisattvas Finally to abide in the One-vehicle.

Therefore he who has wisdom, Hearing the benefits of this merit, After I am extinct, Should receive and keep this sutra. This man shall in the Way of the Buddha Be fixed and have no doubts."

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 22 The Final Commission

At that time Shakyamuni Buddha rose from his Law seat, manifesting supernatural powers, laid his right hand on the heads of the innumerable bodhisattva-mahasattvas, and spoke thus: "I, for incalculable hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of kalpas, have practised this rare Law of Perfect Enlightenment. Now I entrust it to you. Do you wholeheartedly promulgate this Law and make it increase and prosper far and wide."

In like manner three times he laid his hand upon the heads of the bodhisattva-mahasattvas and spoke thus: "I, for incalculable hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of kalpas, have practised this rare Law of Perfect Enlightenment. Now I entrust it to you. Do you receive and keep, read and recite, and proclaim this Law abroad that all living beings universally may hear and know it. Wherefore? The Tathagata is most benevolent and compassionate, not mean and stingy, and is able fearlessly to give the Buddhawisdom, the Tathagata-wisdom, and the Self-existent wisdom to all living beings. The Tathagata is the great lord of giving to all living beings. Do you also follow and learn the Tathagata's example, not being mean and stingy. If good sons or good daughters in ages to come believe in the Tathagatawisdom, do you proclaim this Law-Flower Sutra to them that they may hear and know it, in order that they may obtain the Buddha-wisdom. If there be living beings who do not believe in it, do you show, teach, benefit, and rejoice them with the other [tactful] profound laws of the Tathagata. If you are able thus to act, then you will have repaid the grace of the

Thereupon all the bodhisattva-mahasattvas, having heard the Buddha give this address, were all filled with great joy and paid him added reverence, bowing themselves, bending their heads, and with folded hands saluting the Buddha, crying with united voice: "We will do all as the World-honoured One has commanded. Yea, World-honoured One! Have no anxiety." Three times in such manner did all the host of bodhisattva-mahasattvas cry with united voice: "We will do all as the World-honoured One! Have no anxiety."

honoured One! Have no anxiety."

Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha caused all the emanated buddhas, who had come from all directions, each to return to his own land, saying: "Buddhas! Peace be unto you. Let the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures be restored as before"

As these words were spoken, the innumerable emanated buddhas from all directions, who were seated on lion thrones

under the jewel trees, as well as the Buddha Abundant Treasures, the host of infinite asamkhyeyas of bodhisattvas, Eminent Conduct and others, also the four groups of hearers, Shariputra and others, and all the worlds, gods, men, asuras, and so on, hearing the preaching of the Buddha, rejoiced greatly. [The extant Sanskrit text and all other Chinese translations place this chapter last in this sutra, but internal evidence supports the idea that Kumarajiva's version is correct in placing it here. This chapter contains the final sermon to the assembly in the sky, which begins in chapter 11; the remaining six chapters of the sutra give the later sermons on Mount Gridhrakuta, the early sermons there being given in chapters 1 to 10. The sutra includes three assemblies in two places: two on Mount Gridhrakuta and one in the sky.]

CHAPTER 23 The Story of the Bodhisattva Medicine King At that time the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! Why does the Medicine King Bodhisattva wander in the sahaworld? World-honoured One! What hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of distresses the Bodhisattva Medicine King has to suffer! Excellent will it be, World-honoured One, if you will be pleased to explain a little, so that the gods, dragon spirits, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and the bodhisattvas who have come from other lands, as well as these shravakas, hearing it will all rejoice."

Thereupon the Buddha addressed the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower: "Of yore, in the past, kalpas ago incalculable as the sands of the Ganges River, there was a buddha entitled Sun Moon Brilliance Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha, World-honoured One. That buddha had eighty kotis of great bodhisattvamahasattvas and a great assembly of shravakas [numerous] as the sands of seventy-two Ganges rivers. The lifetime of that buddha was forty-two thousand kalpas, and the lifetime of his bodhisattvas was the same. His domain had no women, no hells, no hungry ghosts, no animals, no asuras, and no disasters; its land was level as one's palm and made of lapis lazuli; it was adorned with jewel trees, covered with jewel curtains, hung with flags of jewel flowers, and jeweled vases and censers were [seen] everywhere in the country. Terraces were there of the precious seven, with trees for each terrace, the trees distant from it a full arrow's flight. [An arrow's flight is considered to be 120 to 150 steps.] Under all these iewel trees bodhisattvas and shravakas were seated. Above each of these platforms were a hundred kotis of gods performing celestial music and singing praises to the buddha in homage to him. Then that buddha preached the Law-Flower Sutra to the Bodhisattva Loveliness\* and all the bodhisattvas and host of shravakas. [\* Literally, "whom all creatures delight to see."] This Bodhisattva Loveliness had rejoiced to follow the course of suffering and in the Law of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance had made zealous progress, wandering about single-mindedly seeking the Buddha for fully twelve thousand years, after which he attained the contemplation of revelation of all forms. [In this contemplation the bodies or forms of all beings appear.] Having attained this contemplation he was very joyful and reflected thus, saying: 'My attainment of the contemplation of revelation of all forms is entirely due to the power resulting from hearing the Law-Flower Sutra. Let me now pay homage to the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance and the Law-Flower Sutra.' No sooner did he enter into this contemplation than he rained from the sky mandarava flowers, maha-mandarava flowers, and fine dust of hard and black sandalwood, which filled the sky and descended like a cloud; [he] rained also incense of inner-sea-shore sandalwood\*; six karshas of this incense are worth a saha-world. [All this he did] in homage to the Buddha. [\* Literally, "this south shore of the inner sea of Mount Sumeru," where this kind of sandalwood is said to be found.]

"Having made this offering, he arose from contemplation and reflected within himself, thus saying: 'Though I by my supernatural power have paid homage to the Buddha, it is not as good as offering my body.' Thereupon he partook of many kinds of incense--sandalwood, kunduruka, turushka, prikka, aloes, and resin incense--and drank the essential oil of campaka and other flowers. After fully twelve hundred years, he anointed his body with perfumed unguents, and in the presence of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance wrapped himself in a celestial precious garment, bathed in perfumed oil, and by his transcendent vow burned his own body. Its brightness universally illuminated worlds fully numerous as the sands of eighty kotis of Ganges rivers, whose buddhas simultaneously extolled him, saying: 'Good, good! Good son! This is true zeal It is called the True Law Homage to the Tathagata, Offerings of flowers, scents, necklaces, incense, sandal powder, unguents, flags and canopies of celestial silk, and incense of inner-seashore sandalwood, offerings of such various things as these cannot match it, nor can the giving of alms, countries, cities, wives, and children match it. My good son! This is called the

supreme gift, the most honoured and sublime of gifts, because it is the Law homage to the tathagatas.' After making this statement they all became silent. "His body continued burning for twelve hundred years, after which his body came to an end.

"The Bodhisattva Loveliness, after making such a Law offering as this, on his death was again born in the domain of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance, being suddenly metamorphosed, sitting cross-legged in the house of King Pure Virtue, to whom as his father he forthwith spoke thus in verse."

'Know, O great king! Sojourning in that other abode, I instantly attained the contemplation of The revelation of all forms, And devotedly performed a deed of great zeal By sacrificing the body I loved.'

"After uttering this verse, he spoke to his father, saying: 'The Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance is still existing as of yore. Having first paid homage to that buddha, I obtained the dharani of interpreting the utterances of all the living, and moreover heard this Law-Flower Sutra [in] eight hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas, kankaras, bimbaras, akshobhyas of verse. Great King! I ought now to return and pay homage to that buddha.' Having said this, he thereupon took his seat on a tower of the precious seven, arose in the sky as high as seven tala trees, and on reaching that buddha, bowed down to his feet, and folding his ten fingers, extolled the buddha in verse:

'Countenance most wonderful, Radiance illuminating the universe: Formerly I paid homage to thee, Now again I return to behold.'

"Then the Bodhisattva Loveliness, having uttered this verse, spoke to that buddha, saying: 'World-honoured One! The World-honoured One is still present in the world.'

"Thereupon the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance addressed the Bodhisattva Loveliness: 'My good son! The time of my nirvana has come. The time of my extinction has arrived. You may arrange my bed. Tonight I shall enter parinirvana.' Again he commanded the Bodhisattva Loveliness: 'My good son! I commit the Buddha-law to you. And I deliver to you all my bodhisattvas and chief disciples, my Law of Perfect Enlightenment, also my three-thousand-great-thousandfold world made of the precious seven, its jewel trees and jewel towers, and my celestial attendants. I also entrust to you whatever relics may remain after my extinction. Let them be distributed and paid homage to far and wide. Let some thousands of stupas be erected.' The Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance, having thus commanded the Bodhisattva Loveliness, in the last division of the night entered into nirvana

"Thereupon the Bodhisattva Loveliness, seeing the buddha was extinct, mourned, was deeply moved and distressed, and ardently longed for him. Then piling up a pyre of inner seashore sandalwood, he paid homage to the body of that buddha and burned it. After the fire died out he gathered the relics, made eighty-four thousand precious urns, and erected eighty-four thousand stupas high as a threefold world, adorned with banner towers, hung with flags and canopies and with many precious bells. Then the Bodhisattva Loveliness again reflected within himself, saying: 'Though I have paid this homage, my mind is not yet satisfied. Let me pay still further homage to the relics.' Thereupon he addressed the bodhisattvas and chief disciples, as well as gods, dragons, yakshas, and all the host, saying: 'Pay attention with all your mind, for I am now about to pay homage to the relics of the Buddha Sun Moon Brilliance.' Having said this, he thereupon before the eighty-four thousand stupas burned his arms, with their hundred felicitous signs, for seventy-two thousand years in homage to him, and led a numberless host of seekers after shravakaship and countless asamkhyevas of people to set their mind on Perfect Enlightenment, causing them all to abide in the contemplation of revelation of all forms.

"Then all those bodhisattvas, gods, men, asuras, and others, seeing him without arms, were sorrowful and distressed and lamented, saying: This Bodhisattva Loveliness is indeed our teacher and instructor, but now his arms are burned off and his body is deformed.' Thereupon the Bodhisattva Loveliness in the great assembly made this vow, saying: 'Having given up both my arms, I shall yet assuredly obtain a buddha's golden body. If this assurance be true and not false, let both my arms be restored as they were before.' As soon as he had made this vow, his arms were of themselves restored, all brought to pass through the excellence of this bodhisattva's felicitous virtue and wisdom. At that moment the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world was shaken in the six ways, the sky rained various flowers, and gods and men all attained that which they had never before experienced."

The Buddha then addressed the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower: "In your opinion what say you, was the Bodhisattva Loveliness some other person? It was indeed the present Medicine King Bodhisattva. His self-sacrifice and gifts were of such countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of nayutas in number as these. Star Constellation King Flower! If anyone with his mind set on and aiming at Perfect Enlightenment is able to burn the fingers of his hand or even a toe of his foot in homage to a buddha's stupa he will

surpass him who pays homage with domains, cities, wives, children, and his three-thousand-great-thousandfold land with its mountains, forests, rivers, pools, and all its precious things.

"Again, if anyone offers a three-thousand-greatthousandfold world full of the seven precious things in homage to buddhas, great bodhisattvas, pratyekabuddhas, and arhats, the merit this man gains is not equal to the surpassing happiness of him who receives and keeps but a single fourfold verse of this Law-Flower Sutra.

Star Constellation King Flower! Suppose just as amongst all brooks, streams, rivers, canals, and all other waters the sea is the supreme, so is it also with this Law-Flower Sutra; amongst all the sutras preached by tathagatas it is the profoundest and greatest. And just as amongst all mountains--the earth mountains, the Black Mountains\*, the Small Iron Circle Mountains, the Great Iron Circle Mountains, the ten precious mountains, and all other mountains--it is Mount Sumeru which is the supreme, so is it also with the Law-Flower Sutra; [\* According to the Abhidharma Kosha, there are three such mountains in the northern quarter of the continent of Jambudvipa.] amongst all sutras it is the highest. Again, just as amongst all stars the princely moon is the supreme, so is it also with this Law-Flower Sutra; amongst thousands of myriads of kotis of kinds of sutra-law it is the most illuminating. Further, just as the princely sun is able to disperse all darkness, so is it also with this sutra; it is able to dispel all unholy darkness. Again, just as amongst all minor kings the holy wheel-rolling king is supreme, so is it also with this sutra; amongst all the sutras it is the most honourable. Again just as what Shakra is amongst the gods of the thirtythree heavens, so is it also with this sutra; it is the king of all sutras. Again, just as the Great Brahma Heavenly King is the father of all living beings, so is it also with this sutra; it is the father of all the wise and holy men, of those training and the trained, and of bodhisattva-minded. Again, just as amongst all the common people srota-apanna, sakridagamin, anagamin, arhat, and pratyekabuddha are the foremost, so is it also with this sutra; amongst all the sutras preached by tathagatas, preached by bodhisattvas, or preached by shravakas, it is the supreme. So is it also with those who are able to receive and keep this sutra--among all the living they are supreme. Amongst all shravakas and pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas are supreme; so is it also with this sutra; amongst all the sutras, it is the supreme. Just as the buddha is king of the laws, so is it also with this sutra; it is king amongst the sutras.

"Star Constellation King Flower! This sutra is that which can save all the living; this sutra can deliver all the living from pains and sufferings; this sutra is able greatly to benefit all the living and fulfill their desires. Just as a clear, cool pool is able to satisfy all those who are thirsty, as the cold who obtain a fire are satisfied, as the naked who find clothing, as [a caravan of] merchants who find a leader, as children who find their mother, as at a ferry one who catches the boat, as a sick man who finds a doctor, as in the darkness one who obtains a lamp, as a poor man who finds a jewel, as people who find a king, as merchant venturers who gain the sea, and as a torch which dispels the darkness, so is it also with this Law-Flower Sutra; it is able to deliver all the living from all sufferings and all diseases, and is able to unloose all the bonds of mortal life.

"If anyone, hearing this Law-Flower Sutra, either himself copies or causes others to copy it, the limits of the sum of merit to be obtained cannot be calculated even by the Buddha-wisdom. If anyone copies this sutra and pays homage to it with flowers, scents, necklaces, incense, sandal powder, unguents, flags, canopies, garments, and various kinds of lamps, ghee lamps, oil lamps, lamps of scented oil, lamps of campaka oil, lamps of sundana oil, lamps of patala oil, lamps of varshika oil, and lamps of navamalika oil, the merit to be obtained by him is equally inestimable.

"Star Constellation King Flower! If there be anyone who hears this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva, he will also obtain infinite and boundless merits. If there be any woman who hears this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva and is able to receive and keep it, she, after the end of her present woman's body, will not again receive one. If, after the extinction of the Buddha, in the last five hundred years\*, there be any woman who hears this sutra and acts according to its teaching, at the close of this life she will go to the Happy World, where Amita Buddha dwells, encompassed by his host of great bodhisattvas, and will [there] be born in the middle of a lotus flower upon a jeweled throne. [According to the Mahasamnipata Sutra, after the parinirvana of Shakyamuni Buddha there would be five periods of five hundred years each: 1. the period in which people's minds are fixed on and devoted to salvation; 2. the period devoted to meditation; these two are the periods in which the Righteous Law in its purity is maintained; 3. the period of devotion to reading and intoning, or the letter of the Law; 4. the period of devotion to erecting stupas and temples; these two are the periods of the Counterfeit Law; and 5. the period of the disappearance of the White, or True, Law and of devotion to strife and division; this final five hundred

years is the beginning of the period of the Decay of the Law.] Never again will "he" [The transformed woman. Following the extant Sanskrit text, the feminine gender now changes to the masculine. See: The Gospel of Didinus Judas Thomas, The Grand Bible, p. 758-760.] be harassed by desire, nor be harassed by anger and foolishness, nor again be harassed by pride, envy, or uncleanliness, [but] will attain transcendent [powers] and the assurance of no [re]birth; and having obtained this assurance, his organ of the eye will be serene, by which serene organ of the eye he will see seven million two thousand kotis of nayutas of buddha-tathagatas equal to the sands of the Ganges river, when these buddhas from afar will unite in lauding him, saying: 'Excellent, excellent!

Good son! You have been able to receive and keep, read and recite, and ponder this sutra in the Law of Shakyamuni Buddha and to expound it to others. The blessed merit you have obtained is infinite and boundless; fire cannot burn it, water cannot wash it away. Your merit is beyond the powers of a thousand buddhas to explain. You have now been able to destroy the Mara-marauders, to overthrow the hostile forces of mortality, and to crush all other enemies. Good son! Hundreds of thousands of buddhas, with their transcendent powers, together guard and protect you. Among the gods and men of all worlds none can equal you except the Tathagata. The wisdom and meditation of shravakas, pratyekabuddhas, or even bodhisattvas does not equal yours.' Star Constellation King Flower! Such is the power of the merit and wisdom attained by this bodhisattva.

"If there be anyone who, hearing this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva, is able joyfully to receive and applaud it, that man during his present life will ever breathe out the fragrance of the blue lotus flower, and from the pores of his body will ever emit the fragrance of oxhead sandalwood; and his merit will be as above stated Therefore, Star Constellation King Flower, I commit to you this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King. In the last five hundred years, after my extinction, proclaim and spread it abroad in Jambudvipa, lest it be lost and Mara the Evil One, his Mara-people, gods, dragons, yakshas, kumbhandas, and others gain their opportunity. Star Constellation King Flower! Guard and protect this sutra by your transcendent powers. Wherefore? [Because] this sutra is good medicine for the diseases of the Jambudvipa people. If a man be sick, on hearing this sutra his sickness will instantly disappear and he will neither grow old nor die. Star Constellation King Flower! If you see anyone who receives and keeps this sutra, you should strew upon him blue lotus flowers full of sandal powder and after strewing them thus reflect: 'This man ere long will accept the bundle of grass\* and take his seat on the wisdom plot; he will break the Mara host, and blowing the conch of the Law and beating the drum of the Great Law, he will deliver all living beings from the sea of old age, disease, and death.' [As the Buddha is said to have accepted a bundle of grass from Svastika the grass-cutter when on his way to the Bodhi tree prior to his enlightenment.] Therefore he who seeks the Buddha-way, on seeing a man who receives and keeps this sutra, should thus beget a reverent

While this chapter of the former deeds of the Medicine King Bodhisattva was being preached, eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas attained the dharani of interpreting the utterances of all the living. The Tathagata Abundant Treasures in the Precious Stupa extolled the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower, saying "Excellent, excellent, Star Constellation King Flower! You have accomplished inconceivable merits, for you have been able to ask Shakyamuni Buddha such things as these and have infinitely benefited all the living." [The title of this chapter, literally, is "the chapter of the former [fundamental] deed of the Bodhisattva Medicine King."]

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 24

The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound

Then Shakyamuni Buddha emitted a ray of light from the protuberance [on his cranium]\*, the sign of a great man, and emitted a ray of light from the white hair-circle sign between his eyebrows, everywhere illuminating eastward a hundred and eight myriad kotis of nayutas of buddha-worlds, equal to the sands of the Ganges. [\* A protuberance on a buddha's cranium forming a natural hair tuft; this is the first of the thirty-two signs of a buddha.] Beyond those numbers of worlds is a world named Adorned with Pure Radiance, [Kern has "embellish by the rays of the sun."] In that domain there is buddha styled King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation\* Tathagata, Worshipful, All Wise, Perfectly Enlightened in Conduct, Well Departed, Understander of the World, Peerless Leader, Controller, Teacher of Gods and Men, Buddha. World-honoured One. Revered and surrounded by a great host of incalculable and countless bodhisattvas, he preached the Law to them. The ray of light from the white hair-circle of Shakyamuni Buddha shone throughout their domain. [\* Literally, "the king of the constellation called pure flower and buddha of wisdom."]

At that time in the domain Adorned With All Pure Radiance there was a bodhisattya whose name was Wonder Sound\*, who for long had cultivated many roots of virtue, paid homage to and courted innumerable hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, and perfectly acquired profound wisdom. [The Sanskrit gadgada means "stammering, stuttering" but is also used with the opposite meaning, 'sounding beautiful or wonderful."] He had attaincontemplation of the wonderful banner sign, the contemplation of the Law-Flower, the contemplation of pure virtue, the contemplation of the Constellation King's sport, the contemplation of causelessness [Not caused but causing; universal benevolence.], the contemplation of the knowledge seal, the contemplation of interpreting the utterances of all beings, the contemplation of collection of all merits, the contemplation of purity, the contemplation of supernatural sport, the contemplation of wisdom torch, the contemplation of the king of adornment, the contemplation of pure luster, the contemplation of the pure treasury, the contemplation of the unique, and the contemplation of sun revolution: such hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of great contemplations as these had he acquired, equal to the sands of the Ganges. No sooner had the ray from Shakyamuni Buddha shone upon him than he said to the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation: "World-honoured One! I should go to visit the saha-world to salute, approach, and pay homage to Shakyamuni Buddha, as well as to see the Bodhisattva Manjushri, son of the Law-king, the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Courageous Giver, the Bodhisattva Star Constellation King Flower, the Bodhisattva Mind for Higher Deeds\*, the Bodhisattva King of Adornment, and the Bodhisattva Medicine Lord." [\* The extant Sanskrit text has "Vishishtacaritra," which is rendered by Kumarajiva as "Eminent Conduct" in chapters 15, 21, and 22. According to his version Vishishtacaritra disappears with the close of the assembly in chapter 22. This Bodhisattva Mind for Higher Deeds may therefore be another Vishishtacaritra. Dharmaraksha's version has "Honourable Thought Conduct."]

Then the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation addressed the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound: "Do not look lightly on that domain or conceive a low opinion of it. Good son! That saha-world with its high and low places is uneven and full of earth, stones, hills, and filth; the body of the Buddha is short and small, and all the bodhisattvas are small of stature, whereas your body is forty-two thousand yojanas [high] and my body six million, eight hundred thousand yojanas. Your body is of the finest order, blessed with hundreds of thousands of myriads of felicities, and of a wonderful brightness. Therefore on going there do not look lightly on that domain, nor conceive a low opinion of the Buddha, nor of the bodhisattvas, nor of their country."

The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound replied to that buddha: "World-honoured one! That I now go to visit the saha-world is all due to the Tathagata's power, the Tathagata's magic play, and the Tathagata's adornment of merit and wisdom."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound, without rising from his seat and without stirring his body, entered into contemplation. By the power of his contemplation, on Mount Gridhrakuta, not far distant from the Law seat, there appeared in transformation eighty-four thousand precious lotus flowers with stalks of jambunada gold, leaves of white silver, stamens of diamond, and cups of kimshuka gems.

Thereupon Manjushri, son of the Law-king, seeing those lotus flowers, said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! For what reason does this auspicious sign first appear? There are some thousands and myriads of lotus flowers with stalks of jambunada gold, leaves of white silver, stamens of diamond, and with cups of kimshuka gems." Then Shakyamuni Buddha informed Manjushri: "It is the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound who desires to come from the domain of the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation, with his company of eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas, to this saha-world in order to pay homage to, draw nigh to, and salute me, and who also desires to pay homage to and hear the Law-Flower Sutra." Manjushri said to the Buddha: "Worldhonoured One! What roots of goodness has that bodhisattva planted, what merits has he cultivated, that he should be able to have such great transcendent power? What contemplation does he practice? Be pleased to tell us the name of this contemplation; we also desire diligently to practice it, for by practicing this contemplation, we may be able to see that bodhisattva--his colour, form, and size, his dignity and behaviour. Be pleased, World-honoured One, by transcendent power, to let us see the coming of that bodhisattva.'

Thereupon Shakyamuni Buddha told Manjushri: "The Tathagata Abundant Treasures, so long extinct, shall display to you the sign." Instantly the Buddha Abundant Treasures addressed that bodhisattva: "Come, good son! Manjushri, son of the Law-king, wishes to see you."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound disappeared from that domain and started out along with his eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas. The countries through which they passed were shaken in the six different ways, lotus flowers of the precious seven rained everywhere, and hundreds of thousands of heavenly instruments resounded of themselves. That bodhisattva's eyes were like broad big leaves of the blue lotus. His august countenance surpassed the combined glory of hundreds of thousands of myriads of moons. His body was of pure gold colour, adorned with infinite hundreds of thousands of meritorious [signs]; he was of glowing majesty, radiant and shining, marked with the perfect signs, and of a body strong as Narayana's. ["Firm and solid" or "the original man"; a title of Brahma as creator.] Entering a seven-jeweled tower, he mounted the sky seven tala trees above the earth and, worshiped and surrounded by a host of bodhisattvas, came to Mount Gridhrakuta in this saha-world. Arrived, he alighted from his seven-ieweled tower and, taking a necklace worth hundreds of thousands, went to Shakyamuni Buddha, at whose feet he made obeisance and to whom he presented the necklace, saying to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! The Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation inquires after the World-honoured One: 'Hast thou few ailments and few worries? Art thou getting on at ease and in comfort? Are thy four [component] parts\* in harmony? [\* The four elements of which every body is composed: earth, water, fire, and wind.] Are thy worldly affairs tolerable? Are thy creatures easy to save? Are they not overcovetous, angry, foolish, envious, arrogant; not unfilial to parents or irreverent to shramanas; not having perverted views or being of bad mind, unrestrained in their five passions? Worldhonoured One! Are thy creatures able to overcome the Maraenemies? Does the Tathagata Abundant Treasures, so long extinct, still abide in the Stupa of the Precious Seven and come to listen to the Law?' King Wisdom also inquires of the Tathagata Abundant Treasures: 'Art thou at ease and of few worries? Wilt thou be content to remain long?' Worldhonoured One! We now would see the body of the Buddha Abundant Treasures. Be pleased, World-honoured One, to show and let us see him.

Then said Shakyamuni Buddha to the Buddha Abundant Treasures: "This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound desires to see you." Instantly the Buddha Abundant Treasures addressed Wonder Sound: "Excellent, excellent, that you have been able to come here to pay homage to Shakyamuni Buddha, to hear the Law-Flower Sutra, and to see Manjushri and the others."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Flower Virtue said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound--what roots of goodness has he planted, what merits has he cultivated, that he possesses such transcendent powers?" The Buddha answered the Flower Virtue Bodhisattva: "In the past there was a buddha named King of Cloud Thundering\* Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi, whose domain was named Display of All Worlds and whose kalpa named Joyful Sight. [\* "Cloud Thunder-sound King" or "King of Thundering in the Clouds." Kern has "the king of the drum-sound of the clouds."

The Bodhisattya Wonder Sound for twelve thousand years with a hundred thousand kinds of music, paid homage to the Buddha King of Cloud Thundering and offered up eightyfour thousand vessels of the precious seven. Being rewarded for this reason, he has now been born in the domain of the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation and possesses such transcendent powers. Flower Virtue! What is your opinion? The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound who at that time paid homage to the Buddha King of Cloud Thundering with music and offerings of precious vessels--was it some other person? It was indeed the present Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound. Flower Virtue! This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound had before paid homage to and been close to innumerable buddhas, for long had cultivated roots of virtues, and had met hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of buddhas, [numerous] as the sands of the Ganges. Flower Virtue! You merely see here one body of the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound. But this bodhisattva appears in many kinds of bodies everywhere preaching this sutra to the living. Sometimes he appears as Brahma, or appears as Shakra, or appears as Ishvara, or appears as Maheshvara, or appears as a divine general, or appears as the divine king Vaishrayana. or appears as a holy wheel-rolling king, or appears as one of the ordinary kings, or appears as an elder, or appears as a citizen, or appears as a minister, or appears as a Brahman, or appears as a bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, or upasika, or appears as the wife of an elder or a citizen, or appears as the wife of a minister, or appears as the wife of a Brahman, or appears as a youth or maiden, or appears as a god, dragon, yaksha, gandharva, asura, garuda, kimnara, mahoraga, man, or nonhuman being, and so on, and preaches this sutra. He is able to rescue whatever beings are in the hells, or hungry ghosts, or animals, and all in distress. Even in the inner courts of a king, transforming himself into a woman he preaches this sutra Flower Virtue! This Bodhisattya Wonder Sound is one who is able to save and protect all the living in the saha-world. This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound, thus transforming himself and appearing in these various ways, in this saha-land preaches this sutra to all the living. In his powers of supernatural transformation and wisdom there is never any

diminution. This bodhisattva in so many ways of wisdom has enlightened the saha-world, so that every one of the living has obtained knowledge [of him]. In other worlds in every direction, [numerous] as the sands of the Ganges, he also does the same. To those whom he must save in the form of a shravaka, he appears in the form of a shravaka and preaches the Law. To those whom he must save in the form of a pratyekabuddha, he appears in the form of a pratyekabuddha and preaches the Law. To those whom he must save in the form of a bodhisattva, he appears in the form of a bodhisattva and preaches the Law. To those whom he must save in the form of a buddha, he then appears in the form of a buddha and preaches the Law. In such various ways as these, according to the way in which he should save [men] he appears to them. Even to those whom he must save by extinction, he reveals himself as extinct. Flower Virtue! Such is the great supernatural power and wisdom attained by the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound."

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Flower Virtue said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! This Bodhisattva Wonder Sound has indeed deeply planted his roots of goodness. World-honoured One! In what contemplation does this bodhisattva abide, that he is able thus to transform and manifest himself according to circumstances, to save the living?" The Buddha answered Flower Virtue Bodhisattva: "Good son! That contemplation is named revelation of all forms. The Bodhisattva Wonder Sound, abiding in this contemplation, is able thus to benefit countless beings."

While this chapter of the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound was preached the eighty-four thousand who had come with the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound all attained the contemplation of revelation of all forms, and countless bodhisattvas in this saha-world also attained this contemplation and dharani.

Then the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Wonder Sound, having paid homage to Shakyamuni Buddha and to the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, returned to his own land. The countries through which he passed were agitated in the six different ways, raining precious lotus flowers and performing hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of kinds of music Having arrived at his own domain, he, with the eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas around him, went to the Buddha King Wisdom of the Pure Flower Constellation and said to him: "World-honoured One! I have been to the saha-world, done good to its living beings, seen Shakyamuni Buddha, also seen the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, and worshiped and paid homage to them; I have also seen the Bodhisattva Manjushri, son of the Law-king, as well as the Bodhisattva Medicine King the Bodhisattya Attainer of Earnestness and Zeal\*, the Bodhisattva Courageous Giver, and others, and caused those eighty-four thousand bodhisattvas to attain the contemplation of revelation of all forms." [\* In the extant Sanskrit text this is an adjectival phrase modifying "the Bodhisattva Medicine King," so that it reads: "the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the attainer of earnestness and zeal "1

While this chapter on the going and coming of the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound was preached, the forty-two thousand heavenly sons attained the assurance of no [re]birth, and the Bodhisattva Flower Virtue attained the contemplation termed Law-Flower.

HERE ENDS THE SEVENTH BUNCH OF WORDS

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 25

The All-Sidedness of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World

At that time the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought rose up from his seat, and baring his right shoulder and folding his hands toward the Buddha, spoke thus: "World-honoured One! For what reason is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara named Regarder of the Cries of the World?"

The Buddha answered the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought: "Good son! If there be countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of living beings suffering from pain and distress who hear of this Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, and with all their mind call upon his name, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World will instantly regard their cries, and all of them will be delivered.

"If there be any who keep the name of that Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, though they fall into a great fire, the fire will not be able to burn them, by virtue of the supernatural power of that bodhisattva's majesty. If any carried away by a flood, call upon his name, they will immediately reach the shallows. If there be hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of beings who in search of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, moonstones, agate, coral, amber, pearls, and other treasures go out on the ocean, and if a black gale\* blows their ships to drift upon the land of the rakshasa demons, and if amongst them there be even a single person who calls upon the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, all those people will be delivered from the throes of the rakshasas. It is for this reason that he is named Regarder of the Cries of the World. [\* Literally, "a black wind." There are six kinds of wind: black, red, blue, of heaven, of earth, and of fire.]

"If, again, there be any man on the verge of deadly harm who calls upon the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, the sword of the attacker will instantly snap asunder and he will be set free. Even if the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world were full of yakshas and rakshasas seeking to afflict people, these wicked demons, hearing them call upon the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, would not be able to see them with their wicked eves. how much less to hurt them.

"If, moreover, there be anyone, guilty or not guilty, loaded with manacles, fetters, cangues, or chains, who calls on the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they shall all be snapped and broken off and he shall be freed.

"If the three-thousand-great-thousandfold world were full of enemies and robbers, and there were a merchant chief who led many merchants having charge of costly jewels along a perilous road, and among them one man speaks forth: 'Good sons! Be not afraid. With one mind do you invoke the title of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, for this bodhisattva is able to give courage to all the living. If you invoke his name, you will be freed from these enemies and robbers.' On hearing this, if all the traders together with one voice cry, 'Namah! Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World!' then, by invoking his name, they will be delivered. Infinite Thought! Such is the awe-inspiring supernatural power of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World.

"If any living beings much given to carnal passion keep in mind and revere the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they will be set free from their passion. If any much given to irascibility keep in mind and revere the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they will be set free from their irascibility. If any much given to infatuation keep in mind and revere the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, they will be set free from their infatuation. Infinite Thought! Such are the abundant benefits conferred by the supernatural power of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World. Consequently, let all the living ever keep him in mind

"If any woman desiring a son worships and pays homage to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, she will bear a son happy, virtuous, and wise. If she desires a daughter, she will bear a daughter of good demeanor and looks, who of old has planted virtuous roots, beloved and respected by all. Infinite Thought! Such is the power of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World! If any of the living revere and worship the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, blessings will not be rudely rejected.

"Therefore, let all the living cherish the title of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, Infinite Thought! Suppose anyone cherishes the names of bodhisattvas [numerous as] the sands of sixty-two kotis of the Ganges, who all his life makes them offerings of food, drink, garments, bedding, and medicaments--what is your opinion--are not the merits of that good son or good daughter abundant?" Infinite Thought replied: "Extremely abundant!" The Worldhonoured One, the Buddha, proceeded: "But if [anylone cherishes the title of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, or only for a moment worships and reveres him, the blessings of these two men will be exactly equal without difference, and cannot be exhausted in hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas. Infinite Thought! Such is the immeasurable, boundless degree of blessedness he will obtain who cherishes the name of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World."

The Bodhisattva Infinite Thought again said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! How is it that the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World wanders in this saha-world? How does he preach the Law to the living? What is the character of his tactfulnes?"

The Buddha replied to the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought: "Good son! If the living in any realm must be saved in the body of a buddha, the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World appears as a buddha and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a pratyekabuddha, he appears as a pratyekabuddha and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a shrayaka, he appears as a shravaka and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Brahma, he appears as Brahma and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Shakra, he appears as Shakra and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Ishvara, he appears as Ishvara and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Maheshvara, he appears as Maheshvara and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a great divine general, he appears as a great divine general and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of Vaishravana, he appears as Vaishravana and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a minor king, he appears as a minor king and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of an elder, he appears as an elder and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a citizen, he appears as a citizen and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be

saved in the body of a minister of state, he appears as a minister and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a Brahman, he appears as a Brahman and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, or upasika, he appears as a bhikshu, bhikshuni, upasaka, or upasika and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of the wife of an elder, citizen, minister, or Brahman, he appears as a woman and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a youth or maiden, he appears as a youth or maiden and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in the body of a god, dragon, yaksha, gandharva, asura, garuda, kimnara, mahoraga, human or nonhuman being, he appears in every such form and preaches to them the Law. To those who must be saved in [the shape of] a diamondholding god\*, he appears as a diamond-holding god and preaches to them the Law. [\* The god who holds the vajra, or diamond club. Five hundred such gods guard a buddha, protecting him from all foes.] Infinite Thought! Such are the merits acquired by this Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World and the various forms in which he rambles through many lands to save the living. Therefore, do you with single mind pay homage to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World. This Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Regarder of the Cries of the World is able to make fearless those in anxiety and distress. For this reason all in this saha-world give him the title Bestower of Fearlessness.'

The Bodhisattva Infinite Thought said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! Let me now make an offering to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World."

Thereupon he unloosed from his neck a necklace of pearls worth a hundred thousand pieces of gold and presented it to him, making this remark: "Good sir! Accept this pious gift of a pearl necklace." But the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World would not accept it.

Again the Bodhisattva İnfinite Thought addressed the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World: "Good sir! Out of compassion for us, accept this necklace." Then the Buddha said to the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World: "Out of compassion for this Bodhisattva Infinite Thought and the four groups, and for the gods, dragons, yakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, human and nonhuman beings, and others, accept this necklace." Then the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, having compassion for all the four groups and the gods, dragons, human and nonhuman beings, and others, accepted the necklace, and dividing it into two parts, offered one part to Shakyamuni Buddha and offered the other to the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures.

"Infinite Thought! With such sovereign supernatural powers does the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World wander through the saha-world."

Then the Bodhisattva Infinite Thought made inquiry thus in verse [The following verses are not given by either Kumarajiva or Dharmaraksha. They are found in Kumarajiva's version as the interpolation of a later translator, Jnanagupta, who used a Sanskrit text written on palm leaves, while Kumarajiva had used a text written on silk from Khotan. The Nepalese text has the poetry section, but it differs widely from Jnanagupta's. Chih-i has no comment on the verses, indicating that the version of the sutra that he used did not contain them. This section may have been an independent song in praise of Avalokiteshvara that was later incorporated into the sutra.]:

"The World-honoured One with all the mystic signs! Let me now again inquire of him: For what cause is this Buddha-son named Regarder of the Cries of the World?" The Honoured One with all the mystic signs answered Infinite Thought in verse: "Listen to the deeds of the Cry Regarder, Who well responds to every quarter; His vast vow is deep as the sea, Inconceivable in its eons. Serving many thousands of kotis of buddhas, He has vowed a great pure vow. Let me briefly tell voll.

[He who] hears his name, and sees him, And bears him unremittingly in mind, Will be able to end the sorrows of existence. Though [others] with harmful intent Throw him into a burning pit, Let him think of the Cry Regarder's power And the fire pit will become a pool.

Or driven along a great ocean, In peril of dragons, fishes, and demons, Let him think of the Cry Regarder's power And waves cannot submerge him. Or if, from the peak of Sumeru, Men would hurl him down, Let him think of the Cry Regarder's power And like the sun he will stand firm in the sky. Or if, pursued by wicked men, And cast down from Mount Diamond, [The same as Mount Iron Circle.] He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, Not a hair shall be injured.

Or if, meeting with encompassing foes, Each with sword drawn to strike him, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, All their hearts will turn to kindness. Or if, meeting suffering by royal [allusion to Ashoka?] command, His life is to end in execution, And he thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, The executioner's sword will break in pieces. Or if, imprisoned, shackled, and chained, Arms and legs in gyves and stocks, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, Freely he shall be released.

Or if by incantation and poisons One seeks to hurt his body, And he thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, All will revert to their originator.

Or if, meeting evil rakshasas, Venomous dragons, and demons, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, At once none will dare to hurt him. If, encompassed by evil beasts, Tusks sharp and claws fearful, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, They will flee in every direction. If, scorched by the fire-flame Of the poisonous breath Of boas, vipers, and scorpions, He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power, Instantly at his voice they will retreat. Clouds thunder and lightning flashes, Hail falls and rain streams: He thinks of the Cry Regarder's power And all instantly are scattered. The living, crushed and harassed, Oppressed by countless pains: The Cry Regarder with his mystic wisdom Can save such a suffering world. Perfect in supernatural powers, Widely practised in wisdom and tact, In the lands of the universe there is no place Where he does not manifest himself

All the evil states of experience, Hells, ghosts, and animals, Sorrows of birth, age, disease, death, All by degrees are ended by him. True regard, serene regard, Far-reaching wise regard, Regard of pity, compassionate regard, Ever longed for, ever looked for!

Pure and serene in radiance, Wisdom's sun destroying darkness, Subduer of woes of storm and fire, Who illumines all the world! Law of pity, thunder quivering, Compassion wondrous as a great cloud, Pouring spiritual rain like nectar, Quenching the flames of distress! In disputes before a magistrate. Or in fear in battle's array. If he thinks of the Cry Regarder's power All his enemies will be routed.

His is the wondrous voice, voice of the world-regarder, Brahma-voice, voice of the rolling tide, Voice all worldsurpassing, Therefore ever to be kept in mind, With never a doubting thought. Regarder of the World's Cries, pure and holy, In pain, distress, death, calamity, Able to be a sure reliance, Perfect in all merit, With compassionate eyes beholding all, Boundless ocean of blessings! Prostrate let us revere him." [The extant Sanskrit text here adds other verses, for which see Kern's translation; Grand Bible, Scriptures of India.]

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Stage Holder [Or "Earth Holder."] rose from his seat, and went before and said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! If any living being hears of the sovereign work and the all-sided transcendent powers shown in this chapter of the Bodhisattva Regarder of the Cries of the World, it should be known that the merits of this man are not a few.'

While the Buddha preached this chapter of the All-sided One, the eighty-four thousand living beings in the assembly all set their minds upon Perfect Enlightenment, with which nothing can compare

# THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 26

Dharanis (Buddhist Chants)

At that time the Medicine King Bodhisattva rose from his seat and, humbly baring his right shoulder, folded his hands toward the Buddha and spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! If there be any good son or good daughter who is able to receive and keep the Law-Flower Sutra, either reading or reciting or studying or copying the sutra, what is the extent of the blessings obtained?'

The Buddha answered the Medicine King: "Suppose any good son or good daughter pays homage to eight hundred myriad kotis of nayutas of buddhas, equal to the sands of the Ganges, in your opinion are not the blessings so obtained rather numerous?"

'Very numerous, World-honoured One!" was the reply. The Buddha continued: "If any good son or good daughter is able, in regard to this sutra, to receive and keep but a single fourline verse, read and recite, understand its meaning, and do as it says, his merits will be still more numerous."

Thereupon the Medicine King Bodhisattva said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! To the preachers of the Law I will now give dharanis spells\* for their guard and protection." [A spell or talismanic word, one of the four kinds of dharanis. There are four kinds of spells: 1st. to heal disease, 2nd. to put an end to the consequences of sin, 3rd. to protect the sutras, and 4th for wisdom. The following spell is for the protection of this sutra.] Whereupon he delivered the following spell:

"Anye manye mane mamane citte carite same samita vishante mukte muktame same avishame samasame jaye [kshaye] akshaye akshine shante samite dharani alokabhashe pratyavekshani nidhiru abhyantaranivishte abhyantaraparishuddhi utkule mutkule arade parade sukankshi asamasame buddhavilokite dharma-parik-shite sam-ghanir-ghoshani [nirghoshani] bhayabhayavishodhani mantre mantrakshavate rute rutakaushalve akshave akshavavanatave [vakkule] valoda amanyanatave [svaha]. [The lists in Burnouf and Kern are somewhat different. Kern adds: "All these words are, or ought to be, feminine words in the vocative. I take them to be epithets of the Great Mother, Nature or Earth, differently called Aditi, Prajna, Maya, Bhavani, Durga. Anya may be identified with the Vedic anya,

inexhaustible, and synonymous with aditi. More of the other terms may be explained as synonymous with praina (e.g. pratyavekshani), with nature (kshaye akshaye), with the earth (dharani)." Dharmaraksha translated the spell into Chinese and Oka into Japanese according to one of several interpretations.]

"World-honoured One! These supernatural dharani spells have been spoken by buddhas numerous as the sands of sixtytwo kotis of Ganges rivers. If anyone does violence to the teacher of this Law, then he will have done violence to these

Then Shakyamuni Buddha extolled the Medicine King Bodhisattva, saying: "Good, good, O Medicine King! Because you are compassionate and protect these teachers of the Law. you have pronounced these dharanis, which will abundantly benefit the living.'

Thereupon the Bodhisattva Courageous Giver spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I, too, for the protection of these who read and recite, receive and keep the Law-Flower Sutra, will deliver dharanis. If these teachers of the Law possess these dharanis, neither vakshas, nor rakshasas, nor putanas, nor kriityas, nor kumbhandas, nor hungry ghosts, nor others spying for their shortcomings can find a chance." Then, in the presence of the Buddha, he delivered the following spell:

"Jvale mahajvle ukke [tukku] mukku ade adavati nritye nrityavati ittini vittini cittini nrityeni nrityavati [svaha]. [Kern writes: "These terms are obviously names of the flame. mythologically called Agni's wife, the daughter of Daksha. As Shiva may be identified with Agni, the feminine words again are epithets of Durga. Jvala and mahajvala are perfectly clear; ukka is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit ulka."]

"World-honoured One! These supernatural dharani spells have been spoken by buddhas numerous as the sands of the Ganges, and all approved. If anyone does violence to the teachers of this Law, he will have done violence to these

Thereupon the Divine King Vaishravana, protector of the world, spoke to the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I, too, in compassion for the living and for the protection of these teachers of the Law, will deliver these dharanis.' Whereupon he delivered the following spell:

"Atte [tatte] natte vanatte anade nadi kunadi [svaha].

"World-honoured One! By these supernatural spells I will protect the teachers of the Law. I will also myself protect those who keep this sutra, so that no corroding care shall come within a hundred yojanas."

Thereupon the Divine King Domain Holder [The extant Sanskrit text has "Virudhaka" (Divine King Growth).], who was present in this congregation, with a host of thousands of myriads of kotis of nayutas of gandharvas [The extant Sanskrit text has "kumbhandas."] reverently encompassing him, went before the Buddha, and folding his hands said to the Buddha, "World-honoured One! I, too, with supernatural dharani spells, will protect those who keep the Law-Flower Sutra." Whereupon he delivered the following spell: "Agane gane gauri gandhari candali matangi [pukkashi] samkule vrusali sisi [svaha].

"World-honoured One! These supernatural dharani spells have been spoken by forty-two kotis of buddhas. If anyone does violence to these teachers of the Law, he will have done violence to these buddhas."

Thereupon there were female rakshasas\*, the first named Lamba, the second named Vilamba, the third named Crooked Teeth, the fourth named Flowery Teeth, the fifth named Black Teeth, the sixth named Many Tresses, the seventh named Insatiable, the eighth named Necklace Holder, the ninth named Kunti, and the tenth named Spirit Snatcher. [\*The wives and daughters of rakshasa demons.] These ten female rakshasas, together with the Mother of Demon Sons\* and her children and followers, all went to the Buddha and with one voice said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! We, too, would protect those who read and recite, receive and keep the Law-Flower Sutra, and rid them of corroding care. [\* Also called "Joyful Mother" or "Mother Who Loves Her Children." She is a female rakshasa, or rakshasi, who devoured others' babies every day until her own five hundred babies were hidden by Shakyamuni Buddha and she was converted. After her conversion she vowed to protect the Buddha-law and especially to guard babies.] If any spy for the shortcomings of these teachers of the Law, we will prevent their obtaining any chance." Whereupon in the presence of the Buddha they delivered the following spell: "Iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me, iti me; ni me, ni me, ni me, ni me, ni me; ruhe, ruhe, ruhe, ruhe, [ruhe]; stuhe, stuhe, stuhe, stuhe, stuhe

"Let troubles come on our heads, rather than on the teachers of the Law; neither yakshas, nor hungry ghosts, nor putanas nor kriityas nor vetadas nor kashyas nor umarakas nor apasmarakas, nor yaksha-kriityas [A kriitya in the form of a yaksha.], nor man-kriityas [A kriitya in human form.]; nor fevers, whether for a single day, or quotidian, or tertian, or quartan, or weekly, or unremitting fevers; whether in male form, or female form, or form of a youth, or form of a maiden,

even in dreams shall ever cause distress." Whereupon before the Buddha they spoke thus in verse:

"Whoever resists our spell And troubles a preacher, May his head be split in seven epithets of Durga. Jvala and mahajvala are perfectly clear; ukka is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit ulka"

Like an arjaka sprout [Either the Symplocos racemosa, or Ocinum gratissimum.]; May his doom be that of a parricide, His retribution that of an oil-expresser\* Or a deceiver with [false] measures and weights, Or of Devadatta who brought schism into the Samgha; He who offends these teachers of the Law, Such shall be his retribution." [\* The crime of producing worms by grinding sesame and at the same time squeezing the worms. This is the crime of taking life.]

After these female rakshasas had uttered this stanza, they addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! We ourselves will also protect those who receive and keep, read and recite, and practice this sutra, and give them ease of mind, freedom from corroding care and from all poisons.

The Buddha addressed the rakshasa women: "Good, good! Even if you are only able to protect those who receive and keep the name of the Law-Flower, your happiness will be beyond calculation; how much more if you protect those who perfectly receive, keep, and pay homage to the sutra with flowers, necklaces, sandal powder, perfumes, incense, flags, canopies, and music, burning various kinds of lamps--ghee lamps, oil lamps of scented oil, lamps of oil of campaka flowers, lamps of oil of varshika flowers, and lamps of oil of udumbara flowers, such hundreds of thousands of kinds of offerings as these. Kunti! You and your followers should protect such teachers of the Law as these.'

While this chapter of the dharanis was preached, sixty-eight thousand people attained the assurance of no [re]birth.

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTR A CHAPTER 27

The Story of King Resplendent [The literal translation of the title of this chapter is "The original affair of King Wonderfully Adorned."]

At that time the Buddha addressed the great assembly: "Of yore, in a former eon, infinite, boundless, and inconceivable asamkhyeya kalpas ago, there was a buddha named Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom [Or "Constellation King of Flowery Wisdom with the Voice of Thunder."], Tathagata, Arhat, Samyaksambodhi, whose domain was named Adorned with Radiance, and whose kalpa was named Joyful Sight. Under the spiritual rule of that buddha there was a king named Resplendent. The wife of that king was called Pure Virtue, who had two sons, one named Pure Treasury, the other named Pure-Eved. Those two sons possessed great supernatural power, blessedness, and wisdom, and had for long devoted themselves to the ways in which bodhisattvas walk, that is to say, donation paramita, keeping the precepts paramita, perseverance paramita, assiduity paramita, meditation paramita, wisdom paramita, tactfulness paramita, benevolence, compassion, joy, indifference, and the thirty-seven kinds of aids to the Way--all these they thoroughly understood. They had also attained the bodhisattva contemplation--the pure contemplation, the sun constellation contemplation, the pure light contemplation, the pure colour contemplation [This contemplation is not found in the extant Sanskrit text.], the pure illumination contemplation, the ever resplendent contemplation, and the contemplation of the treasury of great dignity, in which contemplations they were thoroughly accomplished.

"Then that buddha, desiring to lead King Resplendent and having compassion for the living, preached this Law-Flower Sutra. Meanwhile the two sons, Pure Treasury and Pure-Eyed, went to their mother and, putting together their ten-fingered hands, spoke to her, saying: 'We beg you, mother, to go and visit the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom. We also would wait on, approach, serve, and worship him. Wherefore? Because that buddha among the host of gods and men is preaching the Law-Flower Sutra, and we ought to hear it.' The mother replied to her sons: 'Your father believes in the heretics and is deeply attached to the Brahman law. Do you go and speak to your father that he may go with us.' [The Chinese can be read "that he may grant [us] to go together." Kern has "you will not obtain the permission."] Pure Treasury and Pure-Eyed, putting together their ten-fingered hands, said to their mother: 'We are sons of the Law-king, though born in this home of heretical views. The mother spoke to her sons, saying: 'You should have sympathy for your father, and show him some supernatural deed so that seeing it his mind will become clear and he will perhaps permit us to go to that buddha.'

"Thereupon the two sons, with a mind for their father, sprang up into the sky seven tala trees high, and displayed many kinds of supernatural deeds, walking, standing, sitting, and lying in the sky; the upper part of their bodies emitting water, the lower emitting fire, or the lower emitting water and the upper emitting fire; or enlarging themselves till they filled the sky, and again appearing small, or small and again appearing large; then vanishing from the sky and suddenly appearing on the earth, or entering into the earth as into water, or walking on water as on the earth; displaying such

various supernatural deeds, they led their father, the king, to cleanse his mind to faith and discernment.

"When their father saw his sons possessed of such supernatural powers he was greatly delighted at so unprecedented an experience and with joined hands [saluted] his sons, saying: 'Who is your master? Whose pupils are you?' The two sons replied: 'Great king! That Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom, who is now under the seven-jeweled Bodhi tree, seated on the throne of the Law, preaching abroad the Law-Flower Sutra in the midst of the world-host of gods and men-he is our master, we are his pupils.' The father then said to his sons: 'I also would now like to see your master; let us go together.'

"On this the two sons descended from the sky, went to their mother, and with folded hands said to her: 'Our father the king has now believed and understood, and been able to set his mind on Perfect Enlightenment. We have done a buddhadeed for our father. Be pleased, mother, to permit us to leave home and under that buddha pursue the Way.' "Then the two sons, desiring again to announce their wish, said to their mother in verse."

'Be pleased, mother, to release us To leave home and become shramanas. Hard it is to meet the buddhas, And we would be followers of a buddha. As the blossom of the udumbara, Even harder is it to meet a buddha, And hard it is to escape from hardships. Be pleased to permit us to leave home.'

"Then the mother spoke, saying: 'I grant you permission to leave home; and why? Because a buddha is hard to meet.'

"On this the two sons said to their parents: 'Good, father and mother! We beg that you will now go to the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom, approach [him], and pay him homage. Wherefore? Because a buddha is as hard to meet as an udumbara flower, or as the one-eyed tortoise meeting the hole in the floating log. [According to chapter 15 of the Samyutta Nikaya, in the ocean there is a blind tortoise infinite kalpas old, who rises to the surface once a century. In that ocean there is also a floating log with only one hole. What are the chances of the two meeting?] But we, richly blessed through a former lot, have met the Buddha-law in this life. Therefore, father and mother, listen to us and let us go forth from home. Wherefore? Because buddhas are hard to meet and the occasion is also hard to encounter.'

"At that juncture all the eighty-four thousand court ladies of King Resplendent became capable of receiving and keeping this Law-Flower Sutra. The Bodhisattva Pure-Eyed had for long been thorough in the Law-Flower contemplation. The Bodhisattva Pure Treasury had for infinite hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of kalpas been thorough in the contemplation of free from evil paths, which sought to lead all the living away from all evil states of existence. The queen of that king had attained the contemplation of assemblage of buddhas and was able to know the secret resources of buddhas. Thus did the two sons with tact wisely convert their father, bringing his mind to believe, discern, and delight in the Buddha-law.

"Thereupon King Resplendent\* accompanied by his ministers and retinue, Queen Pure Virtue accompanied by her fine court ladies and retinue, and the two sons of that king, accompanied by forty-two thousand people, at once set out together to visit the buddha. [\* This can also be read: "The two sons having thus with tact wisely converted their father, . . . then King Resplendent . . . "] Arriving and prostrating themselves at his feet, they made procession around the buddha three times and then withdrew to one side.

"Then that buddha preached to the king, showing, teaching, profiting, and rejoicing him, so that the king was greatly delighted. Then King Resplendent and his queen unloosed the necklaces of pearls worth hundreds and thousands from their necks, and threw them upon the buddha, which in the sky were transformed into a four-columned jeweled tower; on the tower was a large jeweled couch spread with hundreds of thousands of myriads of celestial coverings, on which was the buddha sitting cross-legged, emitting a great [ray of] light. Whereupon King Resplendent reflected thus: 'Rare, dignified, extraordinary is the buddha's body, perfect in its supreme, refined colouring!'

"Then the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom addressed the four groups, saying: 'You see this King Resplendent standing before me with folded hands? This king, having become a bhikshu within my rule, and being zealous in observing the laws which aid the Buddha-way, shall become a buddha entitled Shalendra Tree King, whose domain will be named Great Luster, and his kalpa named Great High King. This Buddha Shalendra Tree King will have countless bodhisattvas and countless shravakas, and his domain will be level and straight. Such will be his merits."

"The king at once made over his domain to his younger brother; the king together with his queen, two sons, and retinue forsook his home and followed the Way under the rule of [that] buddha. Having forsaken his home, for eighty-four thousand years the king was ever diligent and zealous in observing the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra, and after these [years] passed attained the contemplation of adorned with all pure merits. "Whereupon he arose in the sky to a height of seven tala trees and said to that buddha: 'World-honoured One! These my two sons have already done a buddha-deed by their supernatural transformations, changing my heretical mind, establishing me in the Buddha-law, and causing me to see the World-honoured One. These two sons are my good friends, for out of a desire to develop the roots of goodness planted in my former lives and to benefit me, they came and were born in my home.'

"Thereupon the Buddha Thunder Voice Constellation King of Wisdom addressed King Resplendent, saying: 'So it is, so it is, it is as you say. Any good son or good daughter, by planting roots of goodness, will in every generation obtain good friends, which good friends will be able to do buddhadeeds, showing, teaching, profiting, and rejoicing him, and causing him to enter into Perfect Enlightenment. Know, great king! A good friend is the great cause whereby men are converted and led to see the buddha and aroused to Perfect Enlightenment. Great king! Do you see these two sons? These two sons have already paid homage to buddhas sixty-five times the hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of navutas of the sands of the Ganges, waiting upon and revering them: and among those buddhas received and kept the Law-Flower Sutra, having compassion for the living with their false views, and establishing them in right views.

"King Resplendent thereupon descended from the sky and said to the buddha: 'World-honoured One! Rare indeed is the sight of the tathagata; by his merits and wisdom the protuberance on his head shines brilliantly; his eyes are wide open and deep blue; the tuft between his eyebrows is white as the pearly moon; his teeth are white, even, close, and ever shining; his lips are red and beautiful as bimba fruit.' Then, when King Resplendent had extolled that buddha's so many merits, countless hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of them, with all his mind he folded his hands before the tathagata and again addressed that buddha, saying: 'Unprecedented is the World-honoured One. The Tathagata's teaching is perfect in its inconceivable and wonderful merits. The moral precepts which he promulgates are comforting and quickening. From this day onward I will not again follow my own mind, nor beget false views, nor a haughty, angry, or any other sinful mind.' Having uttered these words, he did reverence to the buddha and went forth.

[Shakyamuni] Buddha then said to the great assembly: What is your opinion? This King Resplendent--could he be any other person? He is indeed the present Bodhisattva Flower Virtue. That Queen Pure Virtue is the Bodhisattva Shining Splendour now in the presence of the Buddha, who out of compassion for King Resplendent and his people was born amongst them. [The Japanese version reads: "the Bodhisattva Splendour Sign, whom the present Buddha formerly illuminated with his ray." She is said to be identical with the Bodhisattva Wonder Sound.] These two sons are the present Medicine King Bodhisattva and Medicine Lord Bodhisattva. Those bodhisattvas Medicine King and Medicine Lord, having perfected such great merits, under countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of buddhas, planted virtuous roots and perfectly attained qualities of goodness beyond conception. If there be anyone who is acquainted with the names of these two bodhisattvas, gods and men in all the world will pay him homage."

While the Buddha preached this chapter, "The Story of King Resplendent," the eighty-four thousand people departed from impurity and separated themselves from uncleanliness, and acquired pure spiritual eyes in regard to spiritual things.

## THREEFOLD LOTUS SUTRA CHAPTER 28 -

 $Encouragement\ of\ the\ Bodhisattva\ Universal\ Virtue$ 

At that time the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, with sovereign supernatural power, majesty, and accompanied by great bodhisattvas, unlimited, infinite, incalculable, came from the eastern quarter; the countries through which he passed were shaken, jeweled lotus flowers rained down, and countless hundred thousand myriad kotis of kinds of music were performed. Encompassed also by a great host of countless gods, dragons, vakshas, gandharvas, asuras, garudas, kimnaras, mahoragas, men, nonhuman beings, and others, all displaying majestic supernatural powers, he arrived at Mount Gridhrakuta in the saha-world. Having prostrated himself before Shakyamuni Buddha, he made procession around him to the right seven times and addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured One! I, in the domain of the Buddha Jeweled Majestic Superior King, hearing afar that the Law-Flower Sutra was being preached in this sahaworld, have come with this host of countless, infinite hundred thousand myriad kotis of bodhisattvas to hear and receive it. Be pleased, World-honoured One, to preach it to us, and tell how good sons and good daughters will be able to obtain this Law-Flower Sutra after the extinction of the Tathagata.

The Buddha replied to the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue: "If any good son or good daughter acquires the four requisites, such a one will obtain this Law-Flower Sutra after the extinction of the Tathagata: first, to be under the guardianship of the buddhas; second, to plant the roots of

virtue; third, to enter the assembly of [people of] correct resolution\*; fourth, to aspire after the salvation of all the living. [\* Kern's translation reads "come under 'the mass of disciplinary regulations,"" but the above is the generally accepted interpretation.] Any good son or good daughter who acquires such four requisites will certainly obtain this sutra after the extinction of the Tathagata."

Then the Bodhisattya Universal Virtue said to the Buddha: "World-honoured One! In the latter five hundred years of the corrupt and evil age, whoever receives and keeps this sutra I will guard and protect, eliminate the anxiety of falling away, and give ease of mind, so that no spy shall find occasion-neither Mara, nor Mara-sons, nor Mara-daughters, nor Mara-people, nor Mara-satellites, nor yakshas, nor rakshasas, nor kumbhandas, nor pishacakas, nor kriityas, nor putanas, nor vetadas, nor other afflicters of men--that none may find occasion. Wherever such a one walks or stands, reading and reciting this sutra, I will at once mount the six-tusked white elephant king and with a host of great bodhisattvas go to that place and, showing myself, will serve and protect him, comforting his mind, also thereby serving the Law-Flower Sutra. Wherever such a one sits, pondering this sutra, I will at once again mount the white elephant king and show myself to him. If such a one forgets be it but a single word or verse of the Law-Flower Sutra, I will teach it to him, read and recite it with him, and again cause him to master it. Thereupon he who receives and keeps, reads and recites the Law-Flower Sutra on seeing me will greatly rejoice and renew his zeal. Through seeing me, he will thereupon acquire the contemplation and dharanis named the dharani of revolution\*. the dharani of hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of revolutions, and the dharani of skill in Law-sounds; such dharanis as these will he acquire. [\* This is interpreted as "unhindered revolution," meaning to contemplate all phenomena as the void. It is the contemplation of the void.]

World-honoured One! If in the latter age, in the last five hundred years of the corrupt and evil age, the bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, and upasikas, seekers, receivers, and keepers, readers and reciters, or copiers desire to put in practice this Law-Flower Sutra, they must with single mind devote themselves to it for three times seven days. After the three times seven days are fulfilled. I will mount the six-tusked white elephant and, together with countless bodhisattvas surrounding me, appear before those people in the form all the living delight to see, and preach to them, revealing, instructing, benefiting, and rejoicing them. Moreover, I will give them dharanis, and obtaining these dharanis, no human or nonhuman being can injure them, nor any woman beguile them. I myself also will ever protect them. Be pleased, Worldhonoured One, to permit me to announce these dharani spells." Then in the presence of the Buddha he uttered a spell, saying:

"Adande dandapati dandavartani dandakushale dandasudhari sudhari sudharapati buddhapashyane dharani avartani samvartani samghaparikshite samghanirghatani dharmaparikshite sarva-sattva-rutakaushalyanugate simhavikridite [anuvarte vartani vartali svaha]. [Kern comments: "All terms are, or ought to be, vocatives of feminine words in the singular. Pati, as in Pali pajapati, Buddhistic Sansk. prajapati, interchanges with the ending vati; not only in prajavati (e.g. in Lalita-vistara), but in some of the words occurring in the spell; so for dandapati the Tibetan text has dandavati. As Shiva in Mahabharata 12:10361 is represented as the personified Danda, we may hold that all the names above belong to Shiva's female counterpart, Durga. The epithet of Simhavikridita is but a variation of Simhika, one of the names of Dakshayani or Durga in in her quality of mother to Rahu."]

'World-honoured One! If there be any bodhisattvas who hear these dharanis, they shall be aware of the supernatural power of Universal Virtue. If while the Law-Flower Sutra proceeds on its course through Jambudvipa there be those who receive and keep it, let them reflect thus: 'This is all due to the majestic power of Universal Virtue.' If any receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember it, comprehend its meaning, and practice it as preached, let it be known that these are doing the works of Universal Virtue and have deeply planted good roots under numberless countless buddhas, and that their heads will be caressed by the hands of the tathagatas. If they only copy it, these when their life is ended will be born in the Heaven Trayastrimsha; on which occasion eighty-four thousand nymphs, performing all kinds of music, will come to welcome them, and they, wearing seven-jeweled crowns, will joy and delight among those beautiful nymphs; how much more those who receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember it, comprehend its meaning, and practice it as preached! If there be any who receive and keep, read and recite it, and comprehend its meaning, when their life is ended the hands of a thousand buddhas will be proffered, that they fear not, neither fall into any evil destiny, [but] go straight to Maitreya Bodhisattva in the Tushita heaven, where Maitreya Bodhisattva, possessed of the thirty-two signs, is surrounded by a host of great bodhisattvas and has hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of nymph-followers, amongst whom they

will be born. Such are their merits and benefits. Therefore the wise should with all their mind themselves copy it, or cause others to copy it, receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember it, and practice it as preached. World-honoured One! I now by my supernatural power will guard and protect this sutra so that, after the extinction of the Tathagata, it may spread abroad without cease in Jambudvipa.'

Then Shakyamuni Buddha extolled him, saying: "It is well, it is well. Universal Virtue, that you are able to protect and assist this sutra, and bring happiness and weal to the living in many places. You have already attained inconceivable merits and profound benevolence and compassion. From a long distant past have you aspired to Perfect Enlightenment and been able to make this supernatural vow to guard and protect this sutra. [And] I, by my supernatural power, will guard and protect those who are able to receive and keep the name of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue. Universal Virtue! If there be any who receive and keep, read and recite, rightly remember, practice, and copy this Law-Flower Sutra, know that such are attending on Shakyamuni Buddha as if they were hearing this sutra from the Buddha's mouth; know that such are paying homage to Shakyamuni Buddha; know that the Buddha is praising them--'Well done'; know that the heads of such are being caressed by the hands of Shakyamuni Buddha; know that such are covered by the robe of Shakyamuni Buddha [There is no indication of the tense in the Chinese text. Kern has "have seen Shakyamuni," "have heard," "have paid "have paid "the Tathagata Shakyamuni will have laid his homage," hands upon their head, and they will have decked the Lord Shakyamuni with their robes." Such as these not again be eager for worldly pleasure, nor be fond of heretical scriptures and writings, nor ever again take pleasure in intimacy with such men or other evil persons, whether butchers, or herders of pigs, sheep, fowl, and dogs, or hunters, or panderers. But such as these will be right-minded, have correct aims, and be auspicious. Such will not be harassed by the three poisons, nor be harassed by envy, pride, haughtiness, and arrogance. Such will be content with few desires, and able to do the works of Universal Virtue. Universal Virtue! After the extinction of the Tathagata, in the latter five hundred years, if anyone sees one who receives and keeps, reads and recites the Law-Flower Sutra, he must reflect thus: 'This man will ere long go to the wisdom-floor, destroy the host of Mara, attain Perfect Enlightenment, and rolling onward the Law-wheel, beating the Law-drum, blowing the Law-conch, and pouring the rain of the Law, shall sit on the lion throne of the Law amidst a great assembly of gods and men.' Universal Virtue! Whoever in future ages shall receive and keep, read and recite this sutra. such persons will no longer be greedily attached to clothes, bed things, drink, food, and things for the support of life; whatever they wish will never be in vain, and in the present life they will obtain their blessed reward. Suppose anyone slights and slanders them, saying, 'You are only madmen, pursuing this course in vain with never a thing to be gained. The doom for such a sin as this is blindness generation after generation. If anyone takes offerings to and praises them, he will obtain visible reward in the present world. Again, if anyone sees those who receive and keep this sutra, and proclaims their errors and sins, whether true or false, such a one in the present life will be smitten with leprosy. If he ridicules them, generation after generation his teeth will be sparse and missing, his lips vile, his nose flat, his hands and feet contorted, his eyes asquint, his body stinking and filthy with evil scabs and bloody pus, dropsical and short of breath, and with every evil disease. Therefore, Universal Virtue, if one sees those who receive and keep this sutra, he should stand up and greet them from afar just as if he were paying reverence to the Buddha.'

While this chapter of the encouragement of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue was being preached, innumerable incalculable bodhisattvas equal to the sands of the Ganges attained the dharani of the hundreds of thousands of myriads of kotis of revolutions, and bodhisattvas equal to the atoms of a three-thousand-great-thousandfold world became perfect in the Way of Universal Virtue.

When the Buddha preached this sutra, Universal Virtue and the other bodhisattvas, Shariputra and the other shravakas, and the gods, dragons, human and nonhuman beings, and all others in the great assembly greatly rejoiced together and, taking possession of the Buddha's words, made salutation to him and withdrew

HERE ENDS THE EIGHTH BUNCH OF WORDS

EPILOGUE, ALSO KNOWN AS THE SUTRA OF MEDITATION ON THE BODHISATTVA UNIVERSAL VIRTUE

The Sutra of Meditation on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue

Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha was staying at the twostoried assembly hall in the Great Forest Monastery, Vaishali; then he addressed all the bhikshus, saying: "After three months, I shall surely enter parinirvana." Thereupon the honoured Ananda rose from his seat, straightened his garment, and with joined palms and folded hands he made procession around the Buddha three times and saluted him, kneeling with folded hands, and attentively gazed at the Tathagata without turning away his eyes for a moment. The elder Maha-Kashyapa and the Bodhisattva-Mahasattva Maitreya also rose from their seats, and with folded hands saluted and gazed up at his honoured face. Then the three great leaders with one voice spoke to the Buddha, saying: World-honoured One! After the extinction of the Tathagata. how can living beings raise the mind of the bodhisattva, practice the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, and ponder the world of one reality with right thought? How can they keep from losing the mind of supreme buddhahood? How, without cutting off their earthly cares and renouncing their five desires, can they also purify their organs and destroy their sins? How, with the natural pure eyes received at birth from their parents and without forsaking their five desires, can they see things without all impediment?

The Buddha said to Ananda: "Do you listen to me attentively! Do you listen to me attentively, ponder, and remember it! Of yore on Mount Gridhrakuta and in other places the Tathagata had already extensively explained the way of one reality. But now in this place, to all living beings and others in the world to come who desire to practice the supreme Law of the Great-vehicle, and to those who desire to learn the works of Universal Virtue and to follow the works of Universal Virtue, I will now preach the Law that I have entertained. I will now widely make clear to you the matter of eliminating numerous sins from anyone who may happen to see or not see Universal Virtue. Ananda! The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue was born in the eastern Pure Wonder Land, whose form I have already clearly and extensively explained in the Sutra of Miscellaneous Flowers [Another name for the Avatamsaka Sutra.]. Now I, in this sutra, will briefly explain it again.

"Ananda! If there be bhikshus, bhikshunis, upasakas, upasikas, the eight groups of gods and dragons, and all living beings who recite the Great-vehicle, practice it, aspire to it, delight to see the form and body of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, have pleasure in seeing the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, take joy in seeing Shakyamuni Buddha and the buddhas who emanated from him, and rejoice to obtain the purity of the six organs, they must learn this meditation. The merits of this meditation will make them free from all hindrances and make them see the excellent forms. Even though they have not yet entered into contemplation, just because they recite and keep the Great-vehicle they will devote themselves to practicing it, and after having kept their minds continuously on the Great-vehicle for a day or three times seven days, they will be able to see Universal Virtue: those who have a heavy impediment will see him after seven times seven days; again, those who have a heavier one will see him after one birth; again, those who have a much heavier one will see him after two births; again, those who have a still heavier one will see him after three births. Thus the retribution of their karma is various and not equal. For this reason, I preach the teaching variously.

"The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue is boundless in the size of his body, boundless in the sound of his voice, and boundless in the form of his image. Desiring to come to this world, he makes use of his free transcendent powers and shrinks his stature to the small size of a human being. Because the people in Jambudvipa have the three heavy hindrances [Arrogance, envy, and covetousness.], by his wisdom-power he appears transformed as mounted on a white elephant. The elephant has six tusks and, with its seven legs\*, supports its body on the ground. Under its seven legs seven lotus flowers grow. [\* Suggesting the absence of the seven evils: killing, stealing, committing adultery, lying, speaking ill of others, improper language, and having a double tongue.] The elephant is white as snow, the most brilliant of all shades of white, so pure that even crystal and the Himalaya Mountains cannot be compared with it. The body of the elephant is four hundred and fifty yojanas in length and four hundred yojanas in height. At the end of the six tusks there are six bathing pools. In each bathing pool grow fourteen lotus flowers exactly the size of the pools. The flowers are in full bloom as the king of celestial trees. On each of these flowers is a precious daughter whose countenance is red as crimson and whose radiance surpasses that of nymphs. In the hand of that daughter there appear, transformed of themselves, five harps, and each of them has five hundred musical instruments as accompaniment. There are five hundred birds including ducks, wild geese, and mandarin ducks, all having the colour of precious things, arising among flowers and leaves. On the trunk of the elephant there is a flower, and its stalk is the colour of a red pearl. That golden flower is still a bud and has not yet blossomed. Having finished beholding this matter, if one again further repents one's sins, meditates on the Greatvehicle attentively with entire devotion, and ponders it in his mind incessantly, he will be able to see the flower instantly blossom and light up with a golden colour. The cup of the lotus flower is a cup of kimshuka gems with wonderful Brahma jewels, and the stamens are of diamond. A transformed buddha\* is seen sitting on the petals of the lotus

flower with a host of bodhisattvas sitting on the stamens of the lotus flower. I\* The transformed body in which a buddha manifests himself in order to save sentient beings.] From the eyebrows of the transformed buddha a ray of light is sent forth and enters the elephant's trunk. This ray, having the colour of a red lotus flower, emanates from the elephant's trunk and enters its eyes; the ray then emanates from the elephant's eyes and enters its ears; it then emanates from the elephant's ears, illuminates its head, and changes into a golden cup. On the head of the elephant there are three transformed men: one holds a golden wheel, another a jewel, and yet another a diamond-pounder. When he raises the pounder and points it at the elephant, the latter walks a few steps immediately. The elephant does not tread on the ground but hovers in the air seven feet above the earth, vet the elephant leaves on the ground its footprints, which are altogether perfect, marking the wheel's hub with a thousand spokes. From each mark of the wheel's hub there grows a great lotus flower, on which a transformed elephant appears. This elephant also has seven legs and walks after the great elephant. Every time the transformed elephant raises and brings down its legs, seven thousand elephants appear, all following the great elephant as its retinue. On the elephant's trunk, having the colour of a red lotus flower, there is a transformed buddha who emits a ray from his eyebrows. This ray of light, as mentioned before, enters the elephant's trunk; the ray emanates from the elephant's trunk and enters its eyes; the ray then emanates from the elephant's eyes and again enters its ears: it then emanates from the elephant's ears and reaches its head. Gradually rising to the elephant's back, the ray is transformed into a golden saddle which is adorned with the precious seven. On the four sides of the saddle are the pillars of the precious seven, which are decorated with precious things, forming a jewel pedestal. On this pedestal there is a lotus-flower stamen bearing the precious seven, and that stamen is also composed of a hundred jewels. The cup of that lotus flower is made of a great jewel.

"[On the cup] there is a bodhisattva called Universal Virtue who sits cross-legged. His body, pure as a white jewel, radiates fifty rays of fifty different colours, forming a brightness around his head. From the pores of his body he emits rays of light, and innumerable transformed buddhas are at the ends of the rays, accompanied by the transformed bodhisattvas as their retinue.

"The elephant walks quietly and slowly, and goes before the follower [of the Great-vehicle], raining large jeweled lotus flowers. When this elephant opens its mouth, the precious daughters, dwelling in the bathing pools on the elephant's tusks, play music whose sound is mystic and extols the way of one reality in the Great-vehicle. Having seen [this wonder], the follower rejoices and reveres, again further reads and recites the profound sutras, salutes universally the innumerable buddhas in all directions, makes obeisance to the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures and Shakvamuni Buddha and salutes Universal Virtue and all the other great bodhisattvas. Then the follower makes this vow: 'Had I received some blessings through my former destinies, I could surely see Universal Virtue. Be pleased, honoured Universal Fortune\*, to show me your form and body! [\* Another name for the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue.]

"Having thus made his vow, the follower must salute the buddhas in all directions six times\* day and night, and must practice the law of repentance; he must read the Great-vehicle sutras and recite them, think of the meaning of the Greatvehicle and reflect over its practice, revere and serve those who keep it, see all people as if he were thinking of the Buddha, and treat living beings as if he were thinking of his father and mother. [\* The worship of the Buddha six times a day: at sunset, at the beginning of the night, in the middle of the night, at the end of the night, in the early morning, and at midday.] When he finishes reflecting thus, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will at once send forth a ray of light from the white hair-circle, the sign of a great man, between his eyebrows. When this ray is displayed, the body of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will be dignified as a mountain of deep gold, so well ordered and refined that it possesses all the thirty-two signs. From the pores of his body he will emit great rays of light which will illuminate the great elephant and turn it to the colour of gold. All transformed elephants will also be coloured gold and all transformed bodhisattvas will be coloured gold. When these rays of light shine on the innumerable worlds in the eastern quarter, they will turn them all to the colour of gold. So, too will be it in the southern, western, and northern quarters, in the four intermediate directions, in the zenith and the nadir.

"Then in each quarter of all directions there is a bodhisattva who, mounting the six-tusked white elephantking, is exactly equal to Universal Virtue. Like this, by his transcendent powers, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will enable all the keepers of the Great-vehicle sutras to see transformed elephants filling the infinite and boundless worlds in all directions. At this time the follower will rejoice in body and mind, seeing all the bodhisattvas, and will salute them and speak to them, saying: 'Great merciful and great

compassionate ones! Out of compassion for me, be pleased to explain the Law to me!' When he speaks thus, all the bodhisattvas and others with one voice will each explain the pure Law of the Great-vehicle sutras and will praise him in various verses. This is called the first stage of mind, in which the follower first meditates on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue.

"Thereupon, when the follower, having beheld this matter, keeps the Great-vehicle in mind without forsaking it day and night, even while sleeping, he will be able to see Universal Virtue preach the Law to him in a dream. Exactly as if the follower were awake, the Bodhisattva will console and pacify the follower's mind, speaking thus: 'In the sutras you have recited and kept, you have forgotten this word or have lost this verse.' Then the follower, hearing Universal Virtue preach the profound Law, will comprehend its meaning and keep it in his memory without forgetting it. As he does like this day by day, his mind will gradually acquire spiritual profit. The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will cause the follower to remember the buddhas in all directions. According to the teaching of Universal Virtue, the follower will rightly think and remember everything, and with his spiritual eyes he will gradually see the eastward buddhas, whose bodies are gold coloured and very wonderful in their majesty. Having seen one buddha, he will again see another buddha. In this manner, he will gradually see all the buddhas everywhere in the eastern quarter, and because of his profitable reflection, he will universally see all the buddhas in all directions.

"Having seen the buddhas, he conceives joy in his heart and utters these words: 'By means of the Great-vehicle, I have been able to see the great leaders. By means of their powers, I have also been able to see the buddhas. Though I have seen these buddhas, I have yet failed to make them plain. Closing my eyes I see the buddhas, but when I open my eyes I lose [sight of] them.' After speaking thus, the follower should universally make obeisance, prostrating himself down to the ground toward the buddhas in all directions. Having made obeisance to them, he should kneel with folded hands and should speak thus: 'The buddhas, the world-honoured ones, posses the ten powers, the fearlessnesses, the eighteen unique characteristics, the great mercy, the great compassion, and the three kinds of stability in contemplation. [That is, the buddhas remain undisturbed regardless of the faith or lack of faith of those who hear the doctrine.] These buddhas, forever remaining in this world, have the finest appearance of all forms. By what sin do I fail to see these buddhas?'

"Having spoken thus, the follower should again practice further repentance. When he has achieved the purity of his repentance, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will again appear before him and will not leave his side in his walking, standing, sitting, and lying, and even in his dreams will ceaselessly preach the Law to him. After awaking from his dreams, this person will take delight in the Law. In this manner, after three times seven days and nights have passed. he will thereupon acquire the dharani of revolution. Through acquiring the dharani, he will keep in his memory without losing it the wonderful Law which the buddhas and bodhisattvas have taught. In his dreams, he will also see constantly the Seven Buddhas of the past, among whom only Shakyamuni Buddha will preach the Law to him. These world-honoured ones will each praise the Great-vehicle sutras At that time the follower will again further rejoice and universally salute the buddhas in all directions. After he salutes the buddhas in all directions, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, abiding before him, will teach and explain to him all karmas and environments of his former lives, and will cause him to confess his black and evil sins. Turning to the world-honoured ones, he should confess [his sins] with his own mouth

"After he finishes confessing his sins, then he will attain the contemplation of the revelation of buddhas to men. [The contemplation in which the buddhas always reveal themselves to everyone.] Having attained this contemplation, he will plainly and clearly see the Buddha Akshobhya and the Kingdom of Wonderful Joy in the eastern quarter. In like manner he will plainly and clearly see the mystic lands of the buddhas in each of all directions. After he has seen the buddhas in all directions, he will have a dream: on the elephant's head is a diamond-man pointing his diamondpounder at the six organs; after pointing it at the six organs, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will preach to the follower the law of repentance to obtain the purity of the six organs. In this way the follower will do repentance for a day or three times seven days. Then by the power of the contemplation of the revelation of Buddhas to men and by the adornment of the preaching of the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, the follower's ears will gradually hear sounds without impediment, his eyes will gradually see things without impediment, and his nose will gradually smell odours without impediment. This is as preached extensively in the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra. Having obtained the purity of the six organs, he will have joy of body and mind and freedom from evil ideas, and will devote himself to this Law so that he can conform to it. He will again

further acquire a hundred thousand myriad kotis of the dharani of revolution and will again see extensively a hundred thousand myriad kotis of innumerable buddhas. These worldhonoured ones will all stretch out their right hands, laying them on head of the follower, and will speak thus: 'Good! Good! You are a follower of the Great-vehicle, an aspirant to the spirit of great adornment, and one who keeps the Greatvehicle in his mind. When of old we aspired to buddhahood, we were also like you. Do you be zealous and do not lose the Great-vehicle! Because we practised it in our former lives, we have now become the pure body of the All Wise. Do you now be diligent and not lazy! These Great-vehicle sutras are the Law-treasury of the buddhas, the eyes of the buddhas from all directions in the past, present, and future, and also the seed which produces the tathagatas in the past, present, and future. He who keeps these sutras has the body of a buddha and does the work of a buddha; know that such is the apostle sent by the buddhas; such is covered by the robes of the buddhas, the world-honoured ones; such is a true Law-heir of the buddhas, the tathagatas. Do you practice the Great-vehicle and do not cut off the Law-seeds! Do you now attentively behold the buddhas in the eastern quarter!"

"When these words are spoken, the follower sees all the innumerable worlds in the eastern quarter, whose lands are as even as one's palm, with no mounds or hills or thorns, but with ground of lapis lazuli and with gold to bound the ways. So, too, is it in the worlds of all directions. Having finished beholding this matter, the follower will see a jewel tree which is lofty, wonderful, and five thousand yojanas high. This tree will always produce deep gold and white silver, and will be adorned with the precious seven; under this tree there will be a jeweled lion throne of itself; the lion throne will be two thousand yojanas high and from the throne will radiate the light of a hundred jewels. In like manner, from all the trees, the other jewel thrones, and each jewel throne will radiate the light of a hundred jewels. In like manner, from all the trees, the other jewel thrones, and each jewel throne will emerge of themselves five hundred white elephants on which all the Bodhisattva Universal Virtues mount. Thereupon the follower, making obeisance to all Universal Virtues, should speak thus: 'By what sin have I only seen jewel grounds, jewel thrones, and iewel trees, but have been unable to see the

"When the follower finishes speaking thus, he will see that on each of the jewel thrones there is a world-honoured one sitting on a jewel throne and very wonderful in his majesty. Having seen the buddhas, the follower will be greatly pleased and will again further recite and study the Great-vehicle sutras. By the power of the Great-vehicle, from the sky there will come a voice, praising and saying: 'Good! Good! Good! Good! Good! Good edit of the Great-vehicle, you have acquired practicing the Great-vehicle, you have seen the buddhas. Though you have now been able to see the buddhas, the world-honoured ones, you cannot yet see Shakyamuni Buddha, the buddhas who emanated from him, and the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures.'

"After hearing the voice in the sky, the follower will again zealously recite and study the Great-vehicle sutras. Because he recites and studies the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, even in his dreams he will see Shakyamuni Buddha staying on Mount Gridhrakuta with the great assembly, preaching the Law-Flower Sutra and expounding the meaning of one reality. After the teaching is preached, with repentance and a thirsting heart of hope, he will wish to see the Buddha. Then he must fold his hands, and kneeling in the direction of Mount Gridhrakuta, he must speak thus: Tathagata, the world's hero forever remains in this world. Out of compassion for me, please reveal yourself to me.'

"After he has spoken thus, he will see Mount Gridhrakuta adorned with the precious seven and filled with countless bhikshus, shravakas, and a great assembly; this place is lined with jewel trees, and its jewel ground is even and smooth; there a wonderfully jeweled lion throne is spread. On it sits Shakyamuni Buddha, who sends forth from his eyebrows a ray of light, which shines everywhere throughout all directions of the universe and passes through the innumerable worlds in all directions. The buddhas emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha in all directions where this ray reaches assemble like a cloud at one time, and preach extensively the Wonderful Law--as [it is said] in the Wonderful Law-Flower Sutra. Each of these emanated buddhas, having a body of deep gold, is boundless in the size of his body and sits on his lion throne, accompanied by countless hundreds of kotis of great bodhisattvas as his retinue. The practice of each bodhisattva is equal to that of Universal Virtue. So, too, is it in the retinue of the countless buddhas and bodhisattvas in all directions. When the great assembly have gathered together like a cloud, they will see Shakyamuni Buddha, who from the pores of his whole body emits rays of light in each of which a hundred kotis of transformed buddhas dwell. The emanated buddhas will emit rays of light from the white hair-circles, the sign of a great man, between their eyebrows, streaming on the head of Shakyamuni Buddha. Beholding this aspect, the emanated buddhas will also emit from all the pores of their bodies rays of light in each of which transformed buddhas, numerous as the atoms of the sands of the Ganges, abide.

"Thereupon the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will again emit the ray of light, the sign of a great man, between his eyebrows, and put it into the heart of the follower. After this ray has entered into his heart, the follower himself will remember that under the countless hundreds and thousands of buddhas in the past he received and kept, read and recited the Great-vehicle sutras, and he will himself plainly and clearly see his former lives. He will possess the very faculty of transcendent remembrance of former states of existence. [One of the six transcendent powers. These are mysterious powers of the Buddha and arhats that can be gained by meditation and wisdom.] Immediately attaining a great enlightenment, he will acquire the dharani [the Buddhist chant, also known as a Parittas.] of revolution and a hundred thousand myriad kotis of dharanis. Rising from his contemplation, he will see before himself all the emanated buddhas sitting on lion thrones under all the jewel trees. He will also see the ground of lapis lazuli springing up from the lower sky like heaps of lotus flowers: between each flower there will be bodhisattyas numerous as the atoms of the sands of the [River] Ganges and sitting cross-legged. He will also see the bodhisattvas who emanated from Universal Virtue, extolling and expounding the Great-vehicle among their assembly. Then the bodhisattvas with one voice will cause the follower to purify his six organs.

"One bodhisattva's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the Buddha'; another's preaching will say; 'Do you reflect on the Law'; yet another's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the Samgha'; still another's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the precepts'; still another one's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on gift-giving'; yet another's preaching will say: 'Do you reflect on the heavens.' And the preaching will further say: 'Such six laws are the aspiration to buddhahood and are the ones that beget the bodhisattvas. Before the buddhas, do you now confess your previous sins and repent them sincerely.'

"In your innumerable former lives, by reason of your organ of the eye, you have been attached to all forms. Because of your attachment to forms, you hanker after all dust. [Suggesting illusions, because the illusions preventing living beings from attaining knowledge are as innumerable as atoms of dust.] Because of your hankering after dust, you receive a woman's body and you are pleasurably absorbed in all forms everywhere you are born age after age. Forms harm your eyes and you become a slave of human affections. Therefore forms cause you to wander in the triple world. Such fatigue of your wandering there makes you so blind that you can see nothing at all. You have now recited the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle. In these sutras the buddhas of all directions preach that their forms and bodies are not extinct. You have now been able to see them--is this not true? The evil of your eye-organ often does much harm to you. Obediently following my words, you must take refuge in the buddhas and Shakyamuni Buddha, and confess the sins due to your organ of the eye, saying: 'Law-water of wisdom-eye possessed by the buddhas and the bodhisattvas! Be pleased, by means of it, to wash me and to let me become pure!

"Having finished speaking thus, the follower should universally salute the buddhas in all directions, and turning to Shakyamuni Buddha and the Great-vehicle sutras, he should again speak thus: 'The heavy sins of my eye-organ of which I now repent are such an impediment and are so tainted that I am blind and can see nothing at all. May the Buddha be pleased to pity and protect me by his great mercy! The Bodhisattva Universal Virtue on board the ship of the great Law ferries the company of the countless bodhisattvas everywhere in all directions. Out of compassion for me, be pleased to permit me to hear the law of repenting the evil of my eye-organ and the impediment of my bad karma!'

'Speaking thus three times, the follower must prostrate himself down to the ground and rightly reflect on the Greatvehicle without forgetting it. This is called the law repenting the sin of the organ of the eye. If there be anyone who calls upon the names of the buddhas, burns incense, strews flowers, aspires to the Great-vehicle, hangs silks, flags, and canopies, speaks of the errors of his eyes, and repents his sins, such a one in the present world will see Shakyamuni Buddha, the buddhas who emanated from him, and countless other buddhas, and will not fall into the evil paths for asamkhyeva kalpas. Thanks to the power and to the vow of the Greatvehicle, such a one will become an attendant [of the buddhas], together with all the bodhisattvas of dharani. Anyone who reflects thus is one who thinks rightly. If anyone reflects otherwise, such is called one who thinks falsely. This is called the sign of the first stage of the purification of the eye-organ.

"Having finished purifying the organ of the eye, the follower should again further read and recite the Great-vehicle sutras, kneel and repent six times day and night, and should speak thus: 'Why can I only see Shakyamuni Buddha and the buddhas who emanated from him, but cannot see the Buddha's relics of his whole body in the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures? The stupa of the Buddha Abundant

Treasures exists forever and is not extinct. I have defiled and evil eyes. For this reason, I cannot see the stupa.' After speaking thus, the follower should again practice further repentance.

After seven days have passed, the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures will spring out of the earth. Shakyamuni Buddha with his right hand opens the door of the stupa. where the Buddha Abundant Treasures is seen deep in the contemplation of the universal revelation of forms. From each pore of his body he emits rays of light as numerous as the atoms of the sands of the Ganges. In each ray there dwells one of the hundred thousand myriad kotis of transformed buddhas When such a sign appears, the follower will rejoice and make procession around the stupa with praising verses. When he has finished making procession around it seven times, the Tathagata Abundant Treasures with a great voice praises him, saying: "Heir of the Law! You have truly practised the Greatvehicle and have obediently followed Universal Virtue, repenting the sins of your eye-organ. For this reason, I will go to you and bear testimony to you.' Having spoken thus, the Tathagata extols the Buddha, saying: 'Excellent! Excellent! Shakyamuni Buddha! Thou art able to preach the Great Law. to pour the rain of the Great Law, and to cause all the defiled living to accomplish their buddhahood.' Thereupon the follower, having beheld the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, again goes to the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, and folding his hands and saluting him, speaks to him, saying 'Great Teacher! Please teach me the repentance of my errors.

"Universal Virtue again speaks to the follower, saying: Through many kalpas, because of your ear-organ, you dangle after external sounds; your hearing of mystic sounds begets attachment to them; your hearing of evil sounds causes the harm of one hundred and eight illusions. Such retribution of your hearing evils brings about evil things and your incessant hearing of evil sounds produces various entanglements. Because of your perverted hearing, you will fall into evil paths, faraway places of false views, where the Law cannot be heard. At present you have recited and kept the Great-vehicle, the ocean-store of merits. For this reason, you have come to see the buddhas in all directions, and the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures has appeared to bear testimony to you. You must yourself confess your own errors and evils and must repent all your sins.'

Then the follower, having heard thus, must again further fold his hands, and prostrating himself down to the ground, he must speak thus, saying: 'All Wise, World-honoured One! Be pleased to reveal yourself and bear testimony to me! The sutras of Great Extent are the masters of compassion. Be pleased to look upon me and hear my words! Until my present life, for many kalpas, because of my ear-organ, I have been attached to hearing [evil] sounds, like glue sticking to grass; my hearing of evil sounds causes the poison of illusions which are attached to every condition and I am not able to rest even for a little while; my raising evil sounds fatigues my nerves and makes me fall into the three evil ways. Now having for the first time understood this, I confess and repent it, turning to the world-honoured ones.' Having finished repenting thus, the follower will see the Buddha Abundant Treasures emitting a great ray of light which is gold-coloured and universally illuminates the eastern quarter as well as the worlds in all directions, where the countless buddhas appear with their bodies of pure gold colour. In the sky of the eastern quarter there comes a voice uttering thus: 'Here is a buddha, the world-honoured one named Excellent Virtue, who also possesses innumerable emanated buddhas sitting cross-legged on lion thrones under jewel trees. All these world-honoured ones who enter into the contemplation of the universal revelation of forms speak to the follower, praising him and saving: "Good! Good! Good son! You have now read and recited the Great-vehicle sutras. That which you have recited is the mental stage of the Buddha."

"After these words have been spoken, the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue will again further preach to the follower the law of repentance, saying: 'In the innumerable kalpas of your former lives, because of your attachment to odours, your discrimination and your perception are attached to every condition and you fall into birth and death. Do you now meditate on the cause of the Great-vehicle! The cause of the Great-vehicle is the Reality of All Existence.'

"Having heard these words, the follower should again further repent, prostrating himself down to the ground. When he has repented, he should exclaim thus: 'Namah Shakyamuni Buddha! Namah stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures! Namah all the buddhas emanated from Shakyamuni Buddha!' Having spoken thus, he should universally salute the buddhas in all directions, exclaiming: 'Namah the Buddha Excellent Virtue in the eastern quarter and the buddhas who emanate from him!' The follower should also make obeisance to each of these buddhas as wholeheartedly as if he saw them with his naked eyes, and should pay homage to them with incense and flowers. After paying homage to the buddhas, he should kneel with folded hands and extol them with various verses. After extolling them, he should speak of the ten evil karmas and repent all his

sins. Having repented, he should speak thus, saying: 'During the innumerable kalpas of my former lives, I yearned after odours, flavours, and contacts and produced all manner of evils. For this reason, for innumerable lives I have continuously received states of evil existence including hells, hungry spirits, animals, and faraway places of false views. Now I confess such evil karmas, and taking refuge in the buddhas, the kings of the Righteous Law, I confess and repent my sins.'

"Having repented thus, the follower must again read and recite the Great-vehicle sutras without negligence of body and mind. By the power of the Great-vehicle, from the sky there comes voice saying: 'Heir of the Law! Do you now praise and explain the Law of the Great-vehicle, turning to the buddhas in all directions, and before them do you yourself speak of your errors! The buddhas, the tathagatas, are your merciful fathers. Do you yourself speak of the evils and bad karmas produced by your organ of the tongue, saying: "This organ of the tongue, moved by the thought of evil karmas, causes me to praise false speaking, improper language, ill speaking, a double tongue, slandering, lying, and words of false views, and also causes me to utter useless words. Because of such many and various evil karmas I provoke fights and dissensions and speak of the Law as if it were not the Law. I now confess all such sins of mine.

"Having spoken thus before the world's heroes, the follower must universally revere the buddhas in all directions, prostrating himself down to the ground, and folding his hands and kneeling salute them, and he must speak thus, 'The errors of this tongue are numberless and boundless. All the thorns of evil karmas come from the organ of the tongue. This tongue causes the cutting off of the wheel of the Righteous Law. Such an evil tongue cuts off the seeds of merits. Preaching of meaningless things is frequently forced upon others. Praising false views is like adding wood to a fire and further wounding living beings who already suffer in raging flames. It is like one who dies drinking poison without showing sores or pustules. Such reward of sins is evil, false, and bad, and causes me to fall into the evil paths during a hundred or a thousand kalpas. Lying causes me to fall into a great hell. I now take refuge in the buddhas of the southern quarter and confess my errors and sins.

"When the follower reflects thus, there will come a voice from the sky saying: 'In the southern quarter there is a buddha named Sandalwood Virtue who also possesses countless emanated buddhas. All these buddhas preach the Great-vehicle and extinguish sins and evils. Turning to the innumerable buddhas and the great merciful world-honoured ones in all directions, you must confess such sins, false evils, and repent them with a sincere heart.' When these words have been spoken, the follower should again salute the buddhas, prostrating himself down to the ground.

"Thereupon the buddhas will send forth rays of light which illuminate the follower's body and cause him naturally to feel joy of body and mind, to raise a great mercy, and to reflect on all things extensively. At that time the buddhas will widely preach to the follower the law of great kindness, compassion, joy, and indifference, and also teach him kind words to make him practice the six ways of harmony and reverence. [The six ways of harmony and reverence practised by those who seek enlightenment.] Then the follower, having heard this royal teaching, will greatly rejoice in his heart and will again further recite and study it without laziness.

"From the sky there again comes a mystic voice, speaking thus: 'Do you now practice the repentance of body and mind! The sins of the body are killing, stealing, and committing adultery, while [the sins of] the mind are entertaining thoughts of various evils. Producing the ten evil karmas and the five deadly sins is just like [living as] a monkey, like birdlime and glue, and the attachment to all sorts of conditions leads universally to the passions of the six sense organs of all living beings. The karmas of these six organs with their boughs, twigs, flowers, and leaves entirely fill the triple world, the twenty-five abodes of living beings, and all places where creatures are born. Such karmas also increase ignorance, old age, death, and the twelve sufferings, and infallibly reach through to the eight falsenesses and the eight circumstances. [Eight places or circumstances in which one is unable to see the Buddha or to listen to the Law. These are the conditions of hell, animals, hungry spirits, the heaven of long life, remote places, the state of being blind or deaf, secular prejudice, and the period of the absence of the Buddha. Do you now repent such evil and bad karmas!' Then the follower, having heard thus, asks the voice in the sky, saying: 'At what place may I practice the law of repentance?

"Thereupon the voice in the sky will speak thus, saying: Shakyamuni Buddha is called Vairocana Who Pervades All Places, and his dwelling place is called Eternally Tranquil Light\*, the place which is composed of permanency-paramita, and stabilised by self-paramita, the place where purity-paramita extinguishes the aspect of existence, where bliss-paramita does not abide in the aspect of one's body and mind, and where the aspects of all laws cannot be seen as either existing or nonexisting, the place of tranquil emancipation or

prajna-paramita. Because these forms are based on permanent law, thus you must now meditate on the buddhas in all directions.' [\* The expressions "Vairocana Who Pervades All Places" and "Eternally Tranquil Light," like those that follow, signify the transcendence of all limitations of time and space, based on the idea of shunya, or the void. Positively, it means the absolute universality of the Buddha and the Buddha-land.

'Then the buddhas in all directions will stretch our their right hands, laying them on the head of the follower, and will speak thus: 'Good! Good! Good son! Because you have now read and recited the Great-vehicle sutras, the buddhas in all directions will preach the law of repentance. The bodhisattva practice is not to cut off binding and driving\* nor to abide in the ocean of driving. [\* This is a term denoting defilement because defilement binds human beings to transmigration and also drives them to the world of suffering. The bodhisattva practice is the middle way between excessive austerity and excessive indulgence.] In meditating on one's mind, there is no mind one can seize, except the mind that comes from one's perverted thought. The mind presenting such a form rises from one's false imagination like the wind in the sky, which has no foothold. Such a form of the law neither appears nor disappears. What is sin? What is blessedness? As one's own mind is void of itself, sin and blessedness have no existence. [The state of nonattachment, that is, shunya. When a person reaches the state of nonattachment the problem of good and evil is eliminated.] In like manner all the laws are neither fixed nor going toward destruction. If one repents like this, meditating on his mind, there is no mind he can seize. The law also does not dwell in the law. All the laws are emancipation, the truth of extinction, and quiescence. Such an aspect is called the great repentance, the greatly adorned repentance, the repentance of the non-sin aspect, and the destruction of discrimination. He who practices this repentance has the purity of body and mind not fixed in the law [but free] as flowing water. Through each reflection, he will be able to see the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue and the buddhas in all directions.'

"Thereupon all the world-honoured ones, sending forth the ray of light of great mercy, preach the law of nonaspect to the follower. He hears the world-honoured ones preaching the Void of the first principle. When he has heard it, his mind becomes imperturbable. In due time, he will enter into the real bodhisattva standing." The Buddha addressed Ananda: "To practice in this manner is called repentance. This is the law of repentance which the buddhas and great bodhisattvas in all directions practice."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "After the extinction of the Buddha, if all his disciples should repent their evil and bad karmas, they must only read and recite the Great-vehicle sutras. These sutras of Great Extent are the eyes of the buddhas. By means of the sutras the buddhas have perfected the five kinds of eyes. [The five kinds of eyes are 1st. the eye of those who have a material body; 2nd. the divine eye of celestial beings in the Realm of Form; 3rd, the eye of wisdom, by which the followers of the two vehicles perceive the nonsubstantiality of things; 4th. the eye of the Law, by which the bodhisattvas perceive all teachings in order to lead human beings to enlightenment; and 5th. the Buddha's eye, the four kinds of eyes enumerated above existing in the Buddha's body.] The three kinds of the Buddha's bodies grow out of the sutras [the teachings] of Great Extent. This is the seal of the Great Law with which the ocean of nirvana is sealed. From such an ocean are born the three kinds of pure bodies of the Buddha. These three kinds of the Buddha's bodies are the blessing-field for gods and men, and the supreme object of worship. If there be any who recite and read the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, know that such are endowed with the Buddha's merits and, having extinguished their longstanding evils, are born of the Buddha's wisdom." At that time the Worldhonoured One spoke thus in verse:

"If one has evil in his eye-organ And his eyes are impure with the impediment of karmas, He must only recite the Great-vehicle And reflect on the first principle. This is called the repentance of the eye, Ending all bad karmas. His ear-organ hears disordered sounds And disturbs the principle of harmony. This produces in him a demented mind, Like [that of] a foolish monkey. He must only recite the Great-vehicle And meditate on the void nonaspect of the Law, Ending all the longstanding evils, So that with the heavenly ears he may hear sounds from all directions. His organ of smell is attached to all odours, Causing all contacts according to lusts.

His nose thus deluded Gives birth to all dust of illusions according to his lusts. If one recites the Great-vehicle sutras And meditates on the fundamental truth of the Law, He will become free from his longstanding evil karmas, And will not again produce them in his future lives. His organ of the tongue causes five kinds Of bad karmas of evil speech.

Should one wish to control them by himself, He must zealously practice mercy, And considering the true principle of quiescence of the Law, He should not conceive discriminations. His organ of thought is like that of a monkey, Never resting even for a little while. Should one desire to

subdue this organ, He must zealously recite the Great-vehicle, Reflecting on the Buddha's greatly enlightened body, The completion of his power, and his fearlessness.

The body is the master of its organs, As wind causes dust to roll, Wandering in its six organs, Freely without obstacles. If one desires to destroy these evils, To be removed from the longstanding illusions of dust, Ever dwelling in the city of nirvana, And to be at ease with mind tranquil, He should recite the Great-vehicle sutras And reflect on the mother\* of bodhisattvas. f\* The doctrine of the Great-vehicle as the mother and supporter of the bodhisattvas.] Innumerable surpassing means of tactfulness Will be obtained through one's reflection on reality.

Such six laws Are called the purification of the six sense organs. The ocean of impediment of all karmas Is produced from one's false imagination.

Should one wish to repent of it Let him sit upright and meditate on the true aspect [of reality]. All sins are just as frost and dew, So wisdom's sun can disperse them. Therefore with entire devotion Let him repent of his six sense organs."

Having spoken these verses, the Buddha addressed Ananda: "Do you now repent of these six organs, keep the law of meditating on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, and discriminate and explain it widely to all the gods of the universe and men. After the extinction of the Buddha, if all his disciples receive and keep, read and recite, and expound the sutras of Great Extent, whether in a quiet place or in a graveyard, or under a tree, or in a place of the aranva. they must read and recite [the sutras of] Great Extent, and must think of the meaning of the Great-vehicle. By virtue of the strong power of their reflecting on the sutras, they will be able to see myself, the stupa of the Buddha Abundant Treasures, the countless emanated buddhas from all directions. the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, the Bodhisattva Manjushri, the Bodhisattva Medicine King, the Bodhisattva Medicine Lord. By virtue of their revering the Law, these buddhas and bodhisattvas, abiding in the sky with various wonderful flowers, will extol and revere those who practice and keep the Law. By virtue of their only reciting the sutras of Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, the buddhas and bodhisattvas will day and night pay homage to those who keep the Law."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "I as well as the

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "I as well as the bodhisattvas in the Virtuous kalpa and the buddhas in all directions, by means of our thinking of the true meaning of the Great-vehicle, have now rid ourselves of the sins of birth and death during hundreds of myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas. By means of this supreme and wonderful law of repentance, we have each become the buddhas in all directions. If one desires to accomplish Perfect Enlightenment rapidly and wishes in his present life to see the buddhas in all directions and the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, he must take a bath to purify himself wear clean robes, and burn rare incense, and must dwell in a secluded place, where he should recite and read the Great-vehicle sutras and think of the meaning of the Great-vehicle."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "If there are livings beings who desire to meditate on the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue, they must meditate thus. If anyone meditates thus, such is called one who meditates rightly. If anyone meditates otherwise, such is called one who meditates falsely. After the extinction of the Buddha, if all his disciples obediently follow the Buddha's words and practice repentance, let it be known that these are doing the work of Universal Virtue. Those who do the work of Universal Virtue see neither evil aspects nor the retribution of evil karmas. If there be any living beings who salute the buddhas in all directions six times a day and night, recite the Great-vehicle sutras, and consider the profound Law of the Void of the first principle, they will rid themselves of the sins of birth and death [produced] during hundreds of myriad kotis of asamkhyeya kalpas in the [short] time it takes one to snap his fingers. Anyone doing this work is a real Buddha-son who is born from the buddhas. The buddhas in all directions and the bodhisattvas will become his preceptors. This is called one who is perfect in the precepts of the bodhisattvas. Without going through the ceremony of confession, he will of himself accomplish bodhisattvahood and will be revered by all the gods and men."

"At that time, if the follower desires to be perfect in the precepts of the bodhisattva, he must fold his hands, dwell in the seclusion of the wilds, universally salute the buddhas in all directions, and repent his sins, and must himself confess his errors. After this, in a calm place, he should speak to the buddhas in all directions, saying thus: 'The buddhas, the world-honoured ones, remain forever in this world. Because of the impediments of my karmas, though I believe in the sutras of Great Extent, I cannot clearly see the buddhas. I have now taken refuge in the buddhas. Be pleased, Shakyamuni Buddha, All Wise and World-honoured One, to be my preceptor! Manjushri, possessor of great compassion! With your wisdom, be pleased to bestow on me the laws of pure bodhisattvas! Bodhisattva Maitreya, supreme and great merciful sun! Out of your compassion for me, be pleased to permit me to receive the laws of the bodhisattvas! Buddhas in all directions! Be pleased to reveal yourselves and bear

testimony to me! Great bodhisattvas! Through calling each upon your names, be pleased, supreme great leaders, to protect all living beings and to help us! At present I have received and kept the sutras of Great Extent. Even if I should lose my life, fall into hell, and receive innumerable sufferings, I would never slander the Righteous Law of the buddhas. For this reason and by the power of this merit, Shakyamuni Buddha! Be now pleased to be my preceptor! Manjushri! Be pleased to be my teacher! Maitreya in the world to come! Be pleased to bestow on me the Law! Buddhas in all directions! Be pleased to be my friends! I now, by means of the profound and mysterious meaning of the Great-vehicle sutras, take refuge in the Buddha, take refuge in the Law, and take refuge in the Samgha.

'The follower must speak thus three times. Having taken refuge in the Three Treasures, next he must himself vow to receive the sixfold laws [The five Buddhist precepts (not to take life, not to steal, to refrain from wrong sexual activity, not to lie, and not to drink intoxicants) and not to speak of other people's faults. See: The Ten Commandments and The Instructions of Shuruppak; Grand Bible.]. Having received the sixfold laws, next he must zealously practice the unhindered brahma-conduct, raise the mind of universally saving all living beings, and receive the eightfold laws. [The 5 + 1 precepts shown above plus "not to conceal one's faults" "not to emphasise other people's shortcomings" rather than their good points.] Having made such vows in the seclusion of the wilds, he must burn rare incense, strew flowers, pay homage to all the buddhas, the bodhisattvas, and [the sutras of] Great Extent, the Great-vehicle, and must speak thus, saying: 'I have now raised the aspiration to buddhahood: may this merit save all the living!

"Having spoken thus, the follower should again further prostrate himself before all the buddhas and the bodhisattyas. and should think of the meaning of [the sutras of] Great Extent. During a day or three times seven days, whether he be a monk or a layman, he has no need of a preceptor nor does he need to employ any teacher; even without [attending the ceremony of] the jnapti-karman, because of the power [coming] from his receiving and keeping, reading and reciting the Great-vehicle sutras and because of the works which the Bodhisattva Universal Virtue helps and inspires him to do-they are in fact the eyes of the Righteous Law of the buddhas in all directions--he will be able, through this Law, to perform by himself the five kinds of Law-bodies: precepts, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, and knowledge of emancipation. All the buddhas, the tathagatas, have been born of this Law and have received the prediction [of their enlightenment] in the Great-vehicle sutras. Therefore, O wise man! Suppose that a shravaka breaks the threefold refuge, the five precepts, and the eight precepts\*, the precepts of bhikshus, of bhikshunis, of shramaneras, of shramanerikas, and of shikshamanas and their dignified behaviour, and [also supposed that because of his foolishness, evil, and had and false mind he infringes many precepts and the rules of dignified behaviour. [\* The five precepts shown avove plus the following three: "to avoid perfume, dancing, and the theatre; not to sit or sleep in an adorned chair; and not to eat after noon."] If he desires to rid himself of and destroy these errors, to become a bhikshu again and to fulfill the laws of monks, he must diligently read the sutras of Great Extent, considering the profound Law of the Void of the first principle, and must bring this wisdom of the Void to his heart; know that in each one of his thoughts such a one will [gradually] end the defilement of all his longstanding sins without any remainder--this is called one who is perfect in the laws and the precepts of monks and fulfills their dignified behaviour. Such a one will be served by all gods and men. Suppose any upasaka violates his dignified behaviour and does bad things. To do bad things means, namely, to proclaim the errors and sins of the Buddhalaws, to discuss evil things perpetrated by the four groups, and not to feel shame even in committing theft and adultery. If he desires to repent and rid himself of these sins, he must zealously read and recite the sutras of Great Extent and must think of the first principle. Suppose a king, a minister, a Brahman, a citizen, an elder, a state official, all of these persons seek greedily and untiringly after desires, commit the five deadly sins, slander the sutras of Great Extent, and perform the ten evil karmas. Their recompense for these great evils will cause them to fall into evil paths faster than the breaking of a rainstorm. They will be sure to fall into the Avici hell. If they desire to rid themselves of and destroy these impediments of karmas, they must raise shame and repent all

The Buddha spoke, saying: "Why is it called a law of repentance of Kshatriyas and citizens? The law of repentance of Kshatriyas and citizens is that they must constantly have the right mind, not slander the Three Treasures nor hinder the monks nor persecute anyone practicing brahma-conduct; they must not forget to practice the law of the six reflections; they must again support, pay homage to, and surely salute the keeper of the Great-vehicle; they must remember the profound doctrine of sutras and the Void of the first principle. One who

thinks of this law is called one who practices the first repentance of Kshatriyas and citizens. Their second repentance is to discharge their filial duty to their fathers and mothers and to respect their teachers and seniors--this is called one who practices the law of the second repentance. Their third repentance is to rule their countries with the Righteous Law and not to oppress their people unjustly--this is called one who practices the third repentance. Their fourth repentance is to issue within their states the ordinance of the six days of fasting\* and to cause their people to abstain from killing wherever their powers reach. One who practices such a law is called one who practices the fourth repentance. [\* The days of purification, on which offerings are made to the dead. The eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty-third, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth days of the month, on which laymen observe the eight precepts, are called the roku sainichi, or six days of fasting, in Japanese. There are a lot of such rules in Hinduism as well as Buddhism which are similar to Jewish rules.] Their fifth repentance is to believe deeply the causes and results of things, to have faith in the way of one reality, and to know that the Buddha is never extinct--this is called one who practices the fifth repentance."

The Buddha addressed Ananda: "If, in future worlds, there be any who practices these laws of repentance, know that such a man has put on the robes of shame, is protected and helped by the buddhas, and will attain Perfect Enlightenment before long." As these words were spoken, ten thousand divine sons acquired pure spiritual eyes, and also the great bodhisattvas, the Bodhisattva Maitreya and others, and Ananda, hearing the preaching of the Buddha, all rejoiced and did as the Buddha commanded

# APPENDICES

These Appendices have been added after the editing deadline

A P P E N D I X A Additional Maps

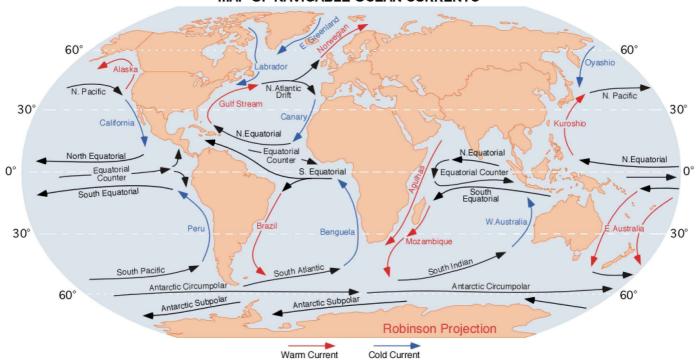
A P P E N D I X B Additional Images

APPENDIX C Additional Texts

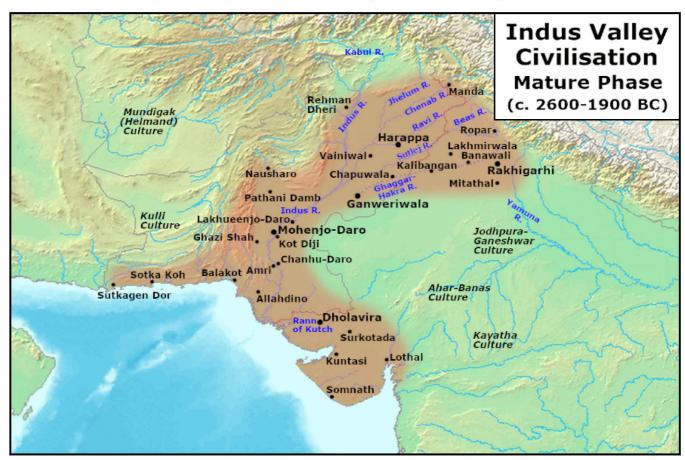
APPENDIX D Bibliographies

# APPENDIX A THE ADDITIONAL MAPS

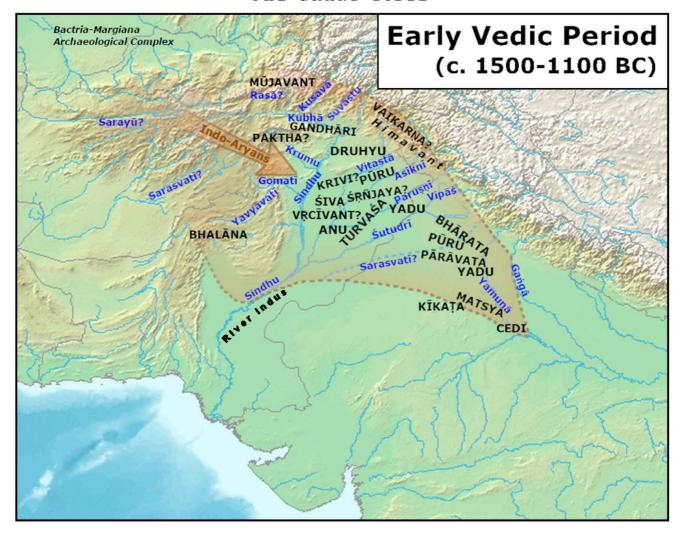
## MAP OF NAVIGABLE OCEAN CURRENTS



The fastest (and therefore the cheapest) trade routes in Antiquity did not cross land but the sea. With the knowledge of sea currents, favourable wind and weather conditions, the most advanced shipbuilding technology in form of speedy catamarans, the Austronesians crossed not only entire oceans in a matter of weeks but built a sea empire that streched from East Africa in the west to the Easter Islands (or even to the Americas) in the east.



The Indus Civilisation, was a Bronze Age civilisation in the northwest of ancient India, lasting from c. 3300 BC to 1300 BC, and in its mature form from c. 2600 BC to 1900 BC. Together with Egypt and Mesopotamia, it was one of three early civilisations of the Middle East and West Asia. Canals and the dockyard at Lothal (Gujarat) reveal that the Indus people were accomplished seafarers with contacts to Sumer. This has been comfirmed by carnelian beads (produced by the Indus people) found in Susa (a city in Iran and under control by the Sumerians), and inscribed with the Sumerian king's name "Shulgi" in cuneiform script. The Sumerians were connected with the Indus people through the Elamites who had a kingdom in the southwest of Iran right between Sumer and India. All three peoples spoke so-called language isolates which were presumably related to one another. In his 18th regnal year, king Shulgi gave his daughter to King Libanukshabash of Marhashi, referring to a country east of Elam. What if this country is not in Turkmenstan (which is northeast-north of Sumer) as some experts suggest but really in the east, in the territory of the Indus Civilisation?

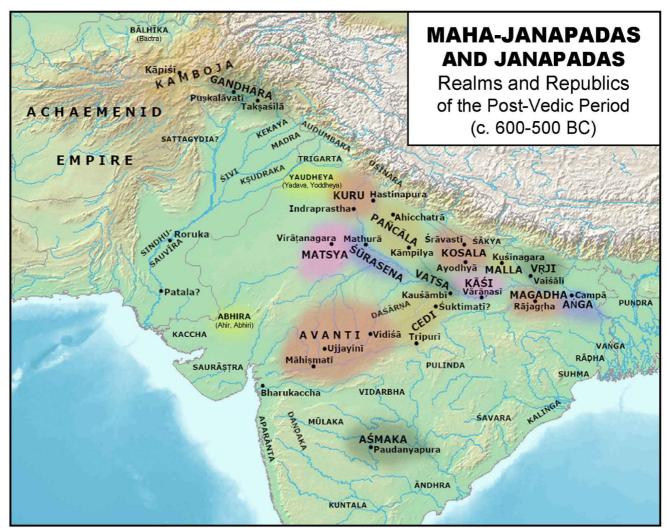


## APPROXIMATE TIMELINE

(The periods [\*] before the Maurya Empire are a matter of great uncertainty; particularly the estimated datings of the Vedic and the Mahabharata periods. Reason: Writing came to India [the Indus Area] with the Persians, Aramaeans and Hebrews in the 6th century BC under the command of Kurush (Cyrus the Great). However, it was introduced not before the conquest of Alexander the Great by Chanakya the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya in the 3rd century BC. In other words: None of the known Hindu texts were written down before 300 BC; they were learned by heart in "memorising factories," the monasteries. Time and again, the estimated and proclaimed datings had to be dated foreword to younger dates. Therefore, more and more, it becomes quite feasible that the events described in the [northwestern Indian] Mahabharata and the [northeastern Indian] Ramayana occured at the time of the early Achaemenid Persian Empire). Somewhere, at around 1950 BC, a lot of civilisations and states near the eastern Mediterranean collapsed. When something like a massive Volcano eruption occures, people beginn to migrate in all direction in order to find food. The consequences of a VEI 6 or 7 eruption, in which the entire mountain explodes and its pulverised material is shot into the stratosphere, are dramatic because the dust veil reduces harvests to almost zero for years. The migrations trigger wars and civil wars, famine and plague. Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Indus Valley Civilisation became victims of such a volcano eruption. They were severely weakened or even vanished entirely. Groups of Indo-Aryan peoples migrated into north-western India and started to inhabit the northern Indus Valley. The Indus Valley Civilisation held out for 3 or 4 centuries before it was entirely subjugated by the newcomers, and this is the time historians call the begin of the "Vedic Age, refering to the most antique Indian text compositions such as the Rigveda. The knowledge about the Aryans comes mostly from these parts of the Rigveda which were composed at perhaps 1000 BC. According to archaeological findings, the Indo-Arvans represented a sub-group that diverged from other Indo-Iranian tribes at the Andronovo horizon before the middle of the 2nd millennium BC. The Indo-Iranians originated in the Sintashta culture, from which arose the subsequent Andronovo horizon. The Indo-Aryans migrated through the adjacent Bactria-Margiana area (present-day northern Afghanistan) to northwest India, followed by the rise of the Iranian Yaz culture at c. 1500 BC, and the Iranian migrations into Iran at c. 800 BC. Funeral sacrifices from the Sintashta-culture show close parallels to the sacrificial funeral rites of the Rigveda, while the Old Indic religion probably emerged among Indo-European immigrants in the contact zone between the Zeravshan River (present-day Uzbekistan) and (present-day) Tajikistan. It was "a syncretic mixture of old Central Asian and new Indo-European elements", which borrowed "distinctive religious beliefs and practices" from the Bactria-Margiana culture, including the god Indra and the ritual drink Soma.

- 1. Prehistoric era (until c. 3300 BC)
- 2. Bronze Age first urbanisation (c. 3300 c. 1800 BC)
  - 2.1 Indus Valley Civilisation
  - 2.2 Ochre Coloured Pottery Culture
- 3. Iron Age (1500 200 BC)
  - 3.1 Early Vedic period (c. 1500 [1200\*] 900 BC 3.2 Late Vedic period 900 600 [400\*] BC)

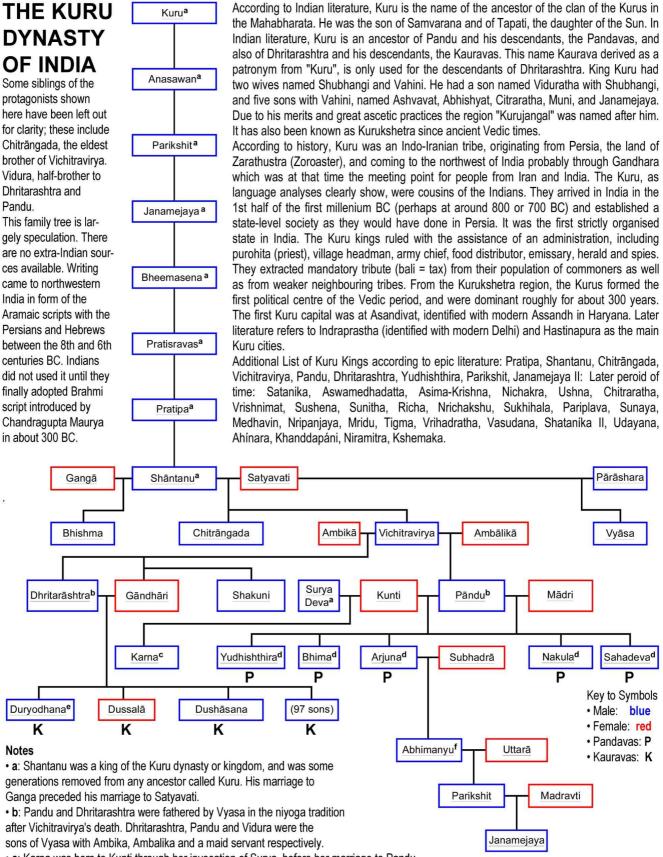
  - 3.3 Post-Mahabharata Era to the Mauryas (600 [400\*] 200 BC)
- 4. Classical and early medieval periods (c. 200 BC c. 1200 AD)
  - 4.1 Early classical period (c. 200 BC c. 320 AD)
  - 4.2 Classical period: Gupta Empire (c. 320 650 AD)
  - 4.3 Early medieval period (mid 6th c.-1200 AD)
- 5. Late medieval period (c. 1200-1526 AD)
  - 5.1 Delhi Sultanate
  - 5.2 Vijayanagara Empire
  - 5.3 Mewar Dynasty (728-1947 AD)
- 6. Early modern period (c. 1526-1858 AD)
  - 6.1 Sikh Confederation and Sikh religion founded as reaction to Islamic artrocities (1540s AD)



## MAHA-JANAPADAS AND JANAPADAS

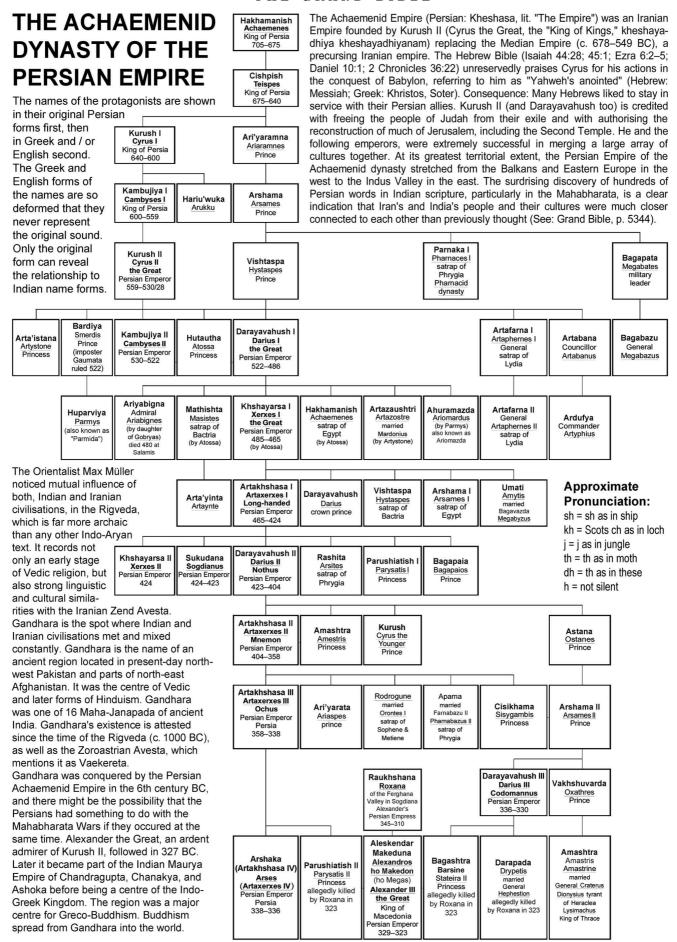
The Janapadas (1100-500 BC) were the realms (saamarajya) and republics (ganapada) of the Vedic period on the Indian subcontinent. The Vedic period reaches from the late Bronze Age into the Iron Age: from about 1500 BC (date debated) to the 6th century BC. With the rise of sixteen Maha-Janapadas ("Great Janapadas"), most of the states were annexed by more powerful neighbours, although some remained independent. In the Vedic samhitas, the term jana (people) denotes a tribe, whose members believed in a shared ancestry. The janas were originally semi-nomadic pastoral communities, but gradually came to be associated with specific territories as they became less mobile. Various kulas (clans) developed within the jana, each with its own chief. Gradually, the necessities of defence and warfare prompted the janas to form military groupings headed by janapadins (Kshatriya warriors). This model ultimately evolved into the establishment of political units known as the janapadas. New kingdoms were formed when a major clan produced more than one King in a generation. The Kuru clan (probably refering to Kurush / Cyrus) of Kings was very successful in governing throughout North India with their numerous kingdoms, which were formed after each successive generation. Similarly, the Yadava (Yaudheya, Yoddhaya; meaning Judaea) clan of kings formed numerous kingdoms in Central India, probably also Abbira (meaning Habiru, Hebrew). Janapadas were gradually dissolved between 600 and 500 BC. Their disestablishment can be attributed to the rise of imperial powers (such as Magadha) in Northern India, as well as foreign invasions (such as those by the Persians and the Greeks) in the north-western part of India. Short description of the states:

Anga: The first reference to the Angas is found in the Atharva-Veda where they find mention along with the Magadhas, Gandharis and the Mujavats, apparently as a despised people. The Jaina Prajnapana ranks Angas and Vangas in the first group of Aryan people. It mentions the principal cities of ancient India. Assaka: The country of Assaka or the Ashmaka tribe was located in Dakshinapatha or southern India. It included areas in present-day Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Maharashtra. In Gautama Buddha's time, many of the Assakas were located on the banks of the Godavari River (south of the Vindhya mountains). Avanti: The country of the Avantis was an important kingdom of western India and was one of the four great monarchies in India in the post era of Mahavira and Buddha, the other three being Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha. Avanti was divided into north and south by the river Narmada. Chedi Kingdom: The Chedis, Chetis or Chetyas had two distinct settlements of which one was in the mountains of Nepal and the other in Bundelkhand near Kausambi. According to old authorities, Chedis lay near Yamuna midway between the kingdom of Kurus and Vatsas. Gandhara: is referred to in the Rigveda. The Gandhari and their king figure prominently as strong allies of the Kurus against the Pandavas in the Mahabharata War which is not surprising as both were related to the Persians. The Gandharas were furious people, well-trained in the art of war. Kamboja (See: Kambujiya = Cambyses): The original Kamboja was located in eastern Oxus country as neighbour to Bahlika (Mahabharata, Bactria), but with time, some clans of the Iranian Kambojas appear to have crossed the Hindukush and planted colonies on its southern side also. They are associated with the Daradas and Gandharas in Indian literature and also find mention in the Edicts of Ashoka. Kingdom of Kashi: The kingdom was located in the region around its capital Varanasi, bounded by the Varuna and Asi rivers in the north and south which gave Varanasi its name. Before Buddha, Kasi was the most powerful of the sixteen Maha-Janapadas. Kosala: The country of Kosala was located to the north-west of Magadha, with its capital at Ayodhya. Its territory corresponded to the modern Awadh (or Oudh) in Central and Eastern Uttar Pradesh. According to Ramayane and Mahbharata, Koshala was the most powerful and biggest kingdom ever in the recorded history. Kururashtra: The Vayu Purana attests that Kuru, son of Samvarsana of the Puru lineage, was the ancestor of the Kurus and the founder of Kururashtra (Kuru Janapada) in Kurukshetra. The country of the Kurus roughly corresponded to the modern Thanesar, state of Delhi, and Meerut district of Uttar Pradesh. The Kurus had matrimonial relations with the Yadavas (Yaudheya, Yoddhaya, another branch of the Abhira, the Habiru or Hebrew), the Bhojas, Trigratas, and the Panchalas. There is a Jataka reference to king Dhananjaya, introduced as a prince from the race of Yudhishtra. Magadha: One of the most prominent and prosperous of Maha-Janapadas. The capital city Pataliputra (Patna, Bihar) was situated on the confluence of major rivers like the Ganga, Son, Punpun and Gandak. It was later the centre of the Maurya Empire. Malla: The Mallas are frequently mentioned in Jain and Buddhist works. According to Mahabharata, Panduputra Bhimasena is said to have conquered the chief of the Mallas/Malls in the course of his expedition in Eastern India. Matsya Kingdom: The country of the Matsya or Meena tribe lay to the south of the Kurus and west of the Yamuna, which separated them from the Panchalas. It roughly corresponded to the former state of Jaipur in Rajasthan. Panchala: The Panchalas occupied the country to the east of the Kurus between the mountains and river Ganges. It roughly corresponded to modern Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of Uttar Pradesh. The Panchals appear to have switched to republican corporation in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. In the 4th century BC, Chanakya's political-strategic treatise "Arthashastra" also attests the Panchalas as following the (king consul) constitution. Surasena: The country of the Surasenas lay to the east of Matsya and west of Yamuna. This corresponds roughly to the Brij region of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Rajasthan. and Gwalior region of Madhya Pradesh. Vajji or Vrijji: was a confederacy of neighbouring clans including the Licchavis and one of the principal mahājanapadas of Ancient India. The area they ruled constitutes the region of Mithila in northern Bihar and their capital was the city of Vaishali. This clan is mentioned by Pāṇini, Chanakya and Xuan Zang. Vatsa: The Vatsas or Vamsas are called to be a branch of the Kurus. The Vatsa or Vamsa country corresponded with the territory of modern Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh. Udayana was the ruler of Vatsa in the 6th-5th century BC. Udayana's mother, Queen Mrigavati, is known for being one of the earliest female rulers in Indian history.

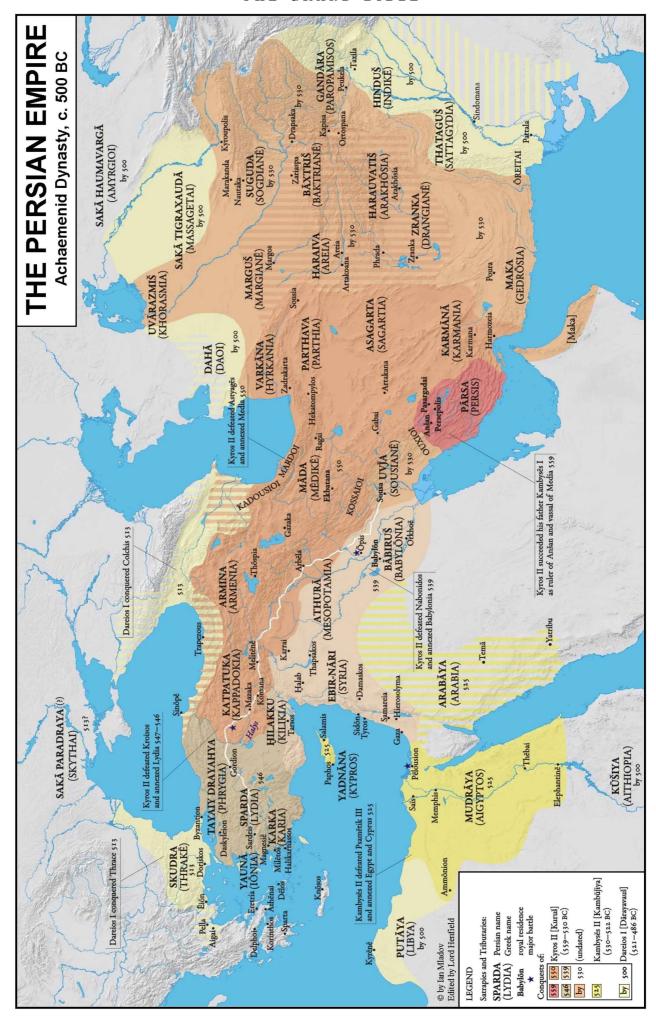


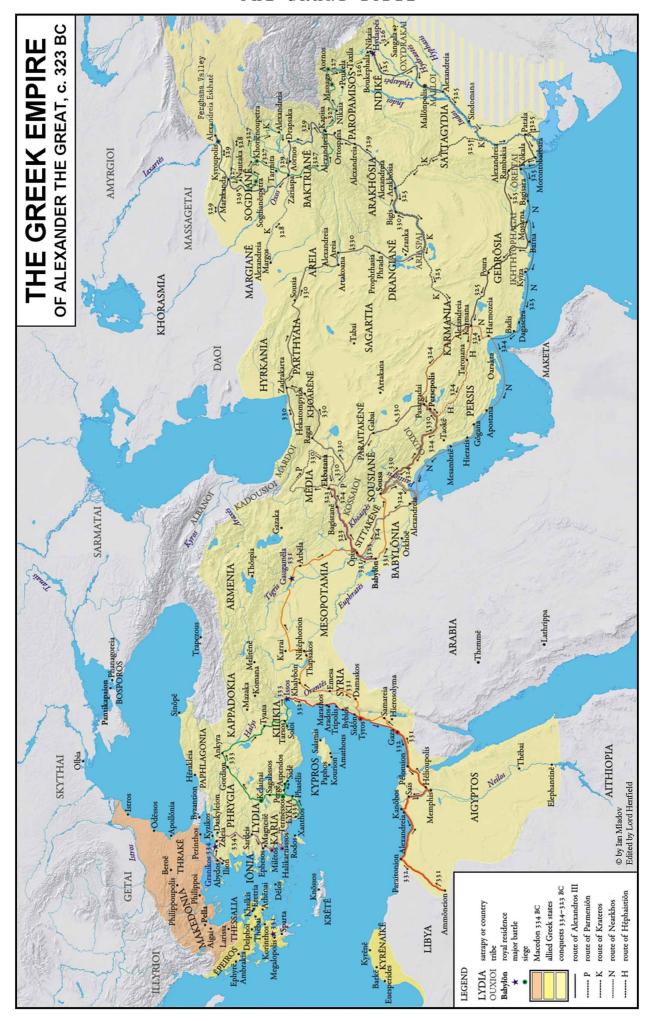
- c: Karna was born to Kunti through her invocation of Surya, before her marriage to Pandu.
- d: Yudhishthira, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva were acknowledged sons of Pandu but were begotten by the invocation by Kunti and Madri of various deities. They all married Draupadi (not shown in tree).
- e: Duryodhana and his siblings were born at the same time, and they were of the same generation as their Pandava cousins.
- fr. Although the succession after the Pandavas was through the descendants of Arjuna and Subhadra, it was Yudhishthira and Draupadi who occupied the throne of Hastinapura after the great battle.

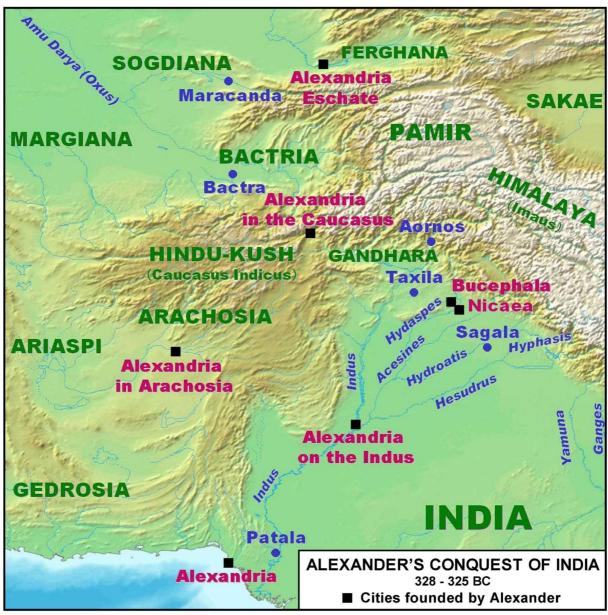
The birth order of siblings is correctly shown in the family tree (from left to right), except for Vyasa and Bhishma whose birth order is not described, and Vichitravirya and Chitrangada who were born after them. The fact that Ambika and Ambalika are sisters is not shown in the family tree. The birth of Duryodhana took place after the birth of Karna, Yudhishthira and Bhima, but before the birth of the remaining Pandava brothers.



SIGNIFICANT FACTS: The Persian Empire was larger than any previous empire in history, spanning a circa 5.5 million square kilometres (2.1 million square miles). By 500 BC, 20-40 million people lived in it. CAPITAL CITIES: Babylon, Pasargadae, Ecbatana, Susa, Persepolis (Ceremonial); RELIGIONS: Zoroastrianism (Official), Vedic Hinduism, Ancient Judaism, others: Babylonian religion, Egyptian Religion, Greek Religion and Philosophy, Early Buddhism; LANGUAGES: Persian (official), Aramaic (official, lingua franca), Sanskrit, Prakrit, Babylonian (Akkadian), Median, Elamite (related to Sumerian and Indus culture language), Egyptian, Greek. SCRIPT: (Akkadian, Elamite, Persian) cuneiform, (Hebrew or Imperial) Aramaic, Karoshti (the Aramaic "script of Kurush" used in Bactria and northwestern India).







The Mahabharata, tells us of a conflict between the Kauravas (the Kuru, related to Kurush = Cyrus) and the Pandavas, according to the Mahabharata two branches of the same clan in the 1st half of the 1st millenium BC. However, archaeology has not given conclusive proof as to whether the specific events described have any historical basis. The Mahabharata itself, however, tells us names of Persian and Aramaic origin and it tells us about religious practices and customs that reminds us of similar practices and customs in Judaism as well as in Zoroastrianism, particularly when it comes to purity laws and purfication practices. The large amount of similarities of all these cultures does not indicate just a pure coincidence. Assuming that the Mahabharata reflects real events in the past, then we can even give a rough estimation of dating which may range somewhere between 800 and 500 BC. If the names Kuru or Kaurava are of Iranian origin, it could suggest that the Mahabharata tells us in reality the story of Indians (the Pandavas) who have been fighting for their homeland against their Indo-Aryan cousins, the Persian invaders who tried to take over the Indians from within. The Pandavas have won the war but not the future. Even if the given numbers in the Mahabharata may be exaggerated, it seems clear that after the Kurukshetra Wars (mainly fought around the City of Kurukshetra in today's Indian state of Haryana), the surviving kingdoms in the entire northwestern part of India have been crumbling due to exhaustion. New dynasties appeared next in the northwest, not in the northwest. King Brihadratha, also known as Maharatha. was the initiator of the Barhadratha (Brihadratha) dynasty.

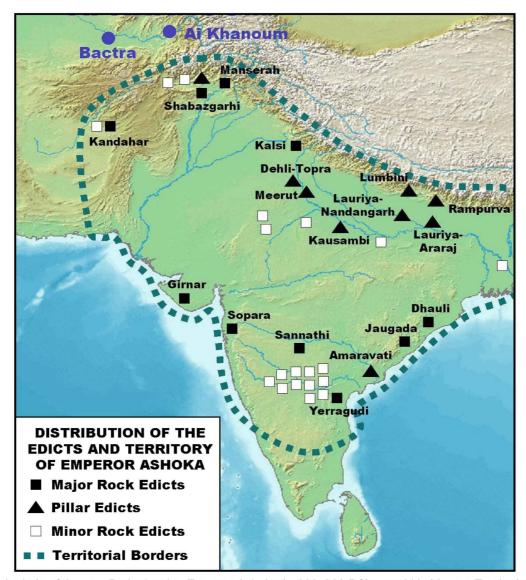
New dynasties appeared next in the northeast, not in the northwest. King Brihadratha, also known as Maharatha, was the initiator of the Barhadratha (Brihadratha) dynasty, the earliest ruling dynasty of Magadha in the 7th or 6th century BC. The Pradyota dynasty is an ancient Indian dynasty, which ruled over Avanti and Magadha at about the same time, though most of the Puranas say that this dynasty succeeded (probably gradually) the Barhadratha dynasty in Magadha. The dynasty ruled for 138 years, according to legend. The Haryanka dynasty (544–413 BC) was the third ruling dynasty of Magadha, a small empire of northeastern India, which succeeded the Pradyota dynasty and Barhadratha dynasty. Initially, the capital was Rajagriha. Later, it was shifted to Pataliputra, near the present-day Patna in India.

Meanwhile, the many small kingdoms in the northwest of India were engaging in power struggles leaving the region defenceless. King Darayavahush I (Darius I.) of the Achaemenid Persian Empire took advantage of the opportunity and launched an invasion of India's northwest. In 518 BC, He led his army through the Khyber Pass and southwards in stages, eventually reaching the coast of the Indian Ocean in Sindh by 516 BC. The Persians stayed for almost 200 years.

In India's east, the Shaishunaga dynasty (413–345 BC) is believed to have been the fouth ruling dynasty of Magadha, an empire of ancient India. Shishunaga, the founder of the dynasty, was initially an amatya or "minister" of the last Haryanka dynasty ruler Nāgadāsaka and ascended to the throne after a popular rebellion. This dynasty was succeeded by the large Nanda Empire in c. 345 BC. The Nanda dynasty ruled in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent during c. 345–322 BC. The Nandas overthrew the Shaishunaga dynasty in the Magadha region of eastern India, and expanded their empire over a larger part of northeastern India.

Chasing after the last survivors of the Persian Army, Alexander the Great arrived in Sogdiana and the Ferghana Valley (today Tajikistan), reaching almost the Chinese sphere of influence, in 329 BC, where he stayed with his vast army until 327. There he married the Ferghana princess Roxana (Raoxshna) and founded Alexandria Eschate. He entered the Punjab region in the same year. From 327 to 325 BC, The Greeks were following the River Indus southwards like Darius before, subjugating one small kingdom after another. Many Greeks stayed in the region when Alexander returned to the City of Babylon where he unexpectedly died in 323 BC.

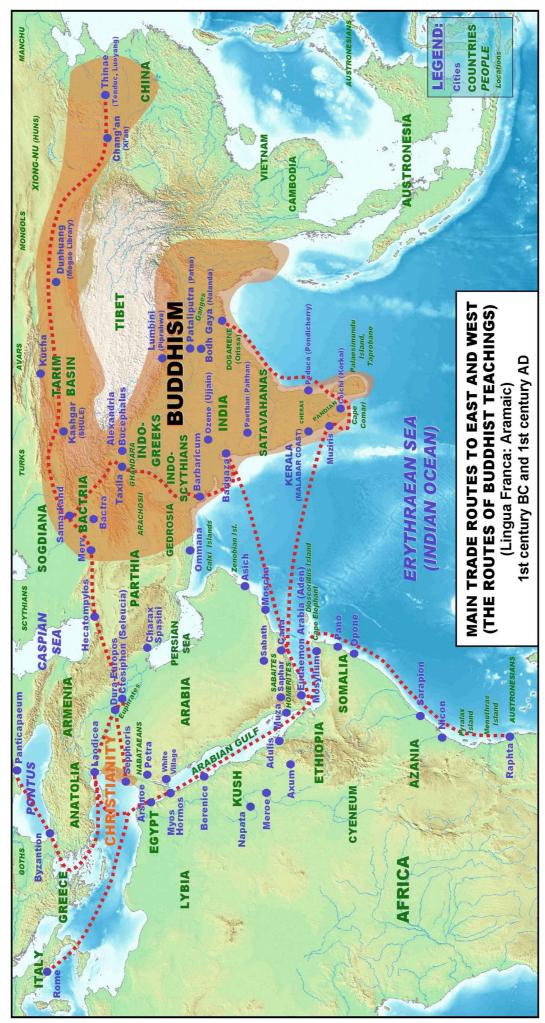
In the following year, 322 BC, Chandragupta Maurya raised an army, with the assistance of his very capable prime minister Chanakya, author of Arthasastra (and perhaps also the creator of the Brahmi script, the first Indian writing system based on Aramaic in a Greek style of clarity), and overthrew the Nanda Empire. Chandragupta rapidly expanded his power westwards across central and western India by conquering the satraps (provinces) left by Alexander the Great, and by 317 BC the empire had fully occupied northwestern India. The Mauryan Empire then defeated Seleukos I Nikator, one of Alexander's generals and founder of the Seleucid Empire, during the Seleucid Mauryan war, thus acquiring territory west of the Indus River. He, however, seemed to have maintained diplomatic contacts. Megasthenes was the Greek ambassador of Seleukos I Nikator at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. Lucius Flavius Arrianus explains in his "Anabasis" that "Megasthenes lived with Sibyrtius, satrap (governor) of Arachosia (near the Indian border), and often speaks of his visiting Sandracottus (Chandragupta), the king of the Indians." Megasthenes compiled information about India in his book Indika, which is now a lost, but survives in form of quotations by the later writers such as Arrianus [See Grand Bible, Artefacts].

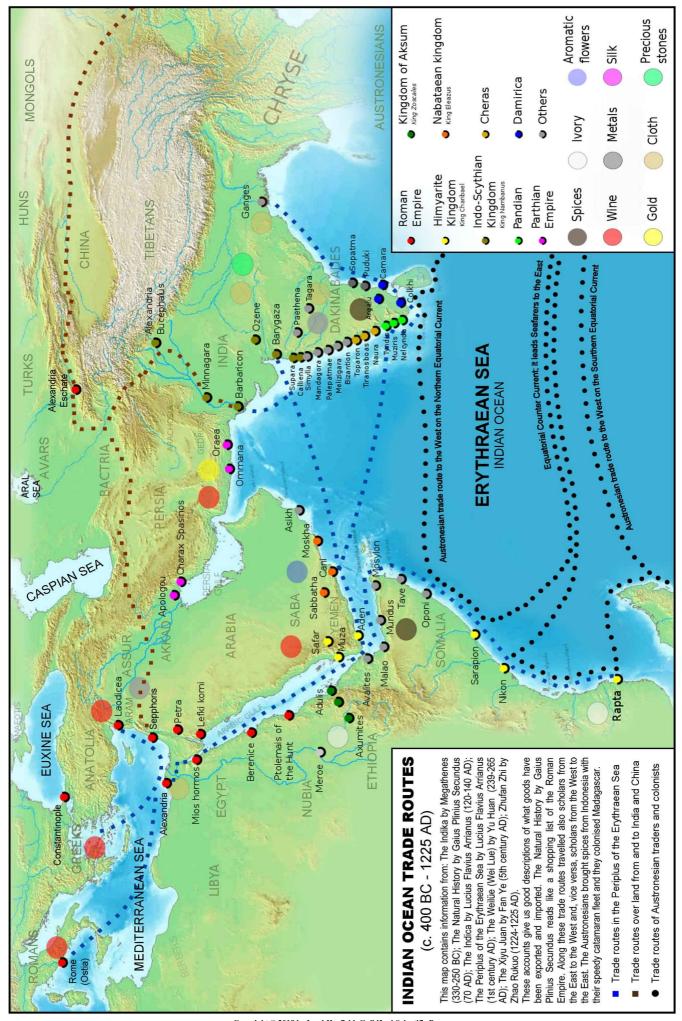


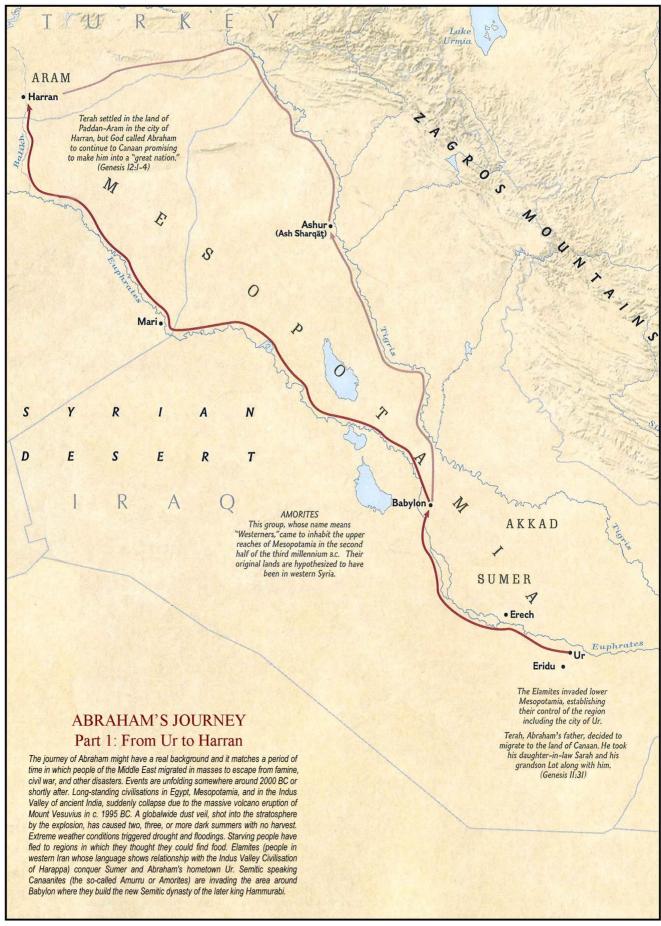
With the help of the new Brahmi script, Emperor Ashoka (c. 268–232 BC) turned his Maurya Empire into the first large Buddhist state and all the stelae and rocks, inscribed in Brahmi, Greek, and Aramaic, tell us about it.



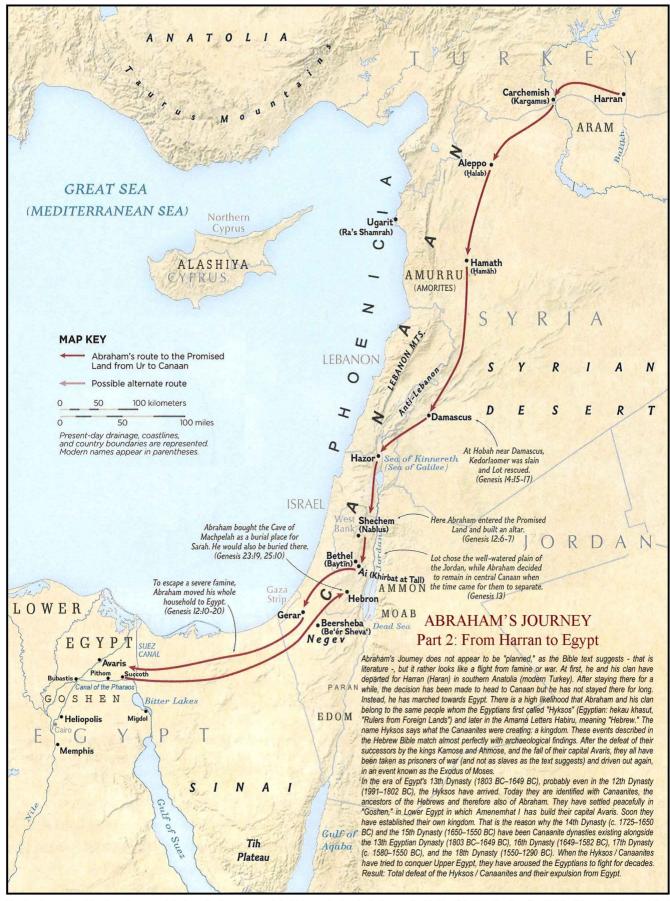
100 years later, King Menander, in India known as Milinda (c. 165–130 BC), turns his Greek-Bactrian Kingdom likewise into a large Buddhist state, and lots of coins with their Greek and Aramaic texts tell us also about that.







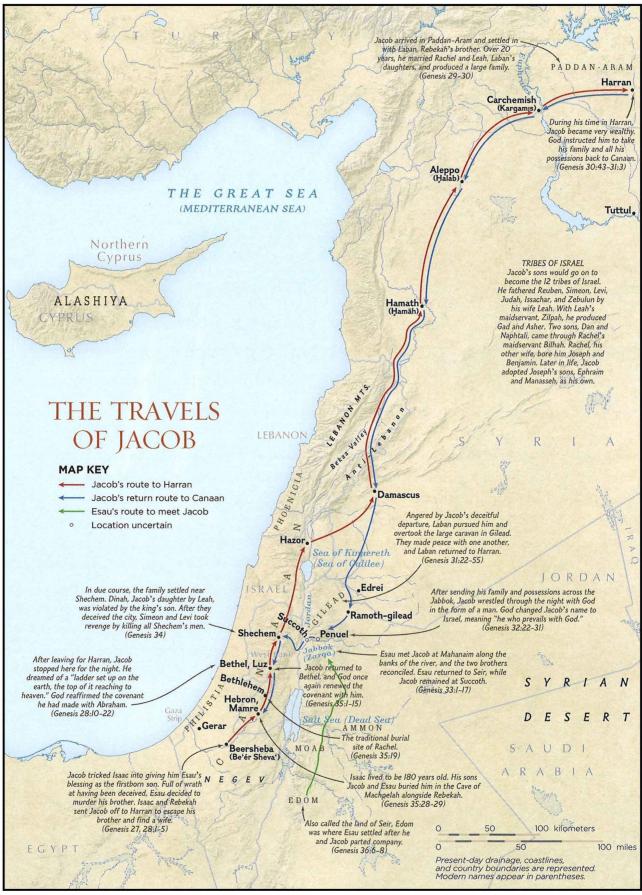
The stories of the Bible, or other scriptures for that matter, are often rejected as pure fantasy. The stories of Abraham contain some amount of historicity nevertheless. When Abraham left his Sumerian hometown Ur for Harran, on the first part of his journey, he had good reasons for it. Harran, (Akkadian: Harranu, meaning "crossroad") also known as Carrhae, was an important strategic centre and a major ancient city in Upper Mesopotamia whose site is in the modern village of Harran, Turkey, 44 km / 18 mi southeast of Sanliurfa. The settlement that would become Harran began as a typical Halaf Culture village established circa 6200 BC. The archaeological remains in ancient Harran show clearly why Abraham came here, it was one of the largest commercial, cultural, and religious centres of the region. The Greeks called the city Hellenopolis (meaning "Greek city") in the Early Christian period. (The grey line along the River Tigris represents an alternative route of Abraham and his clan.)



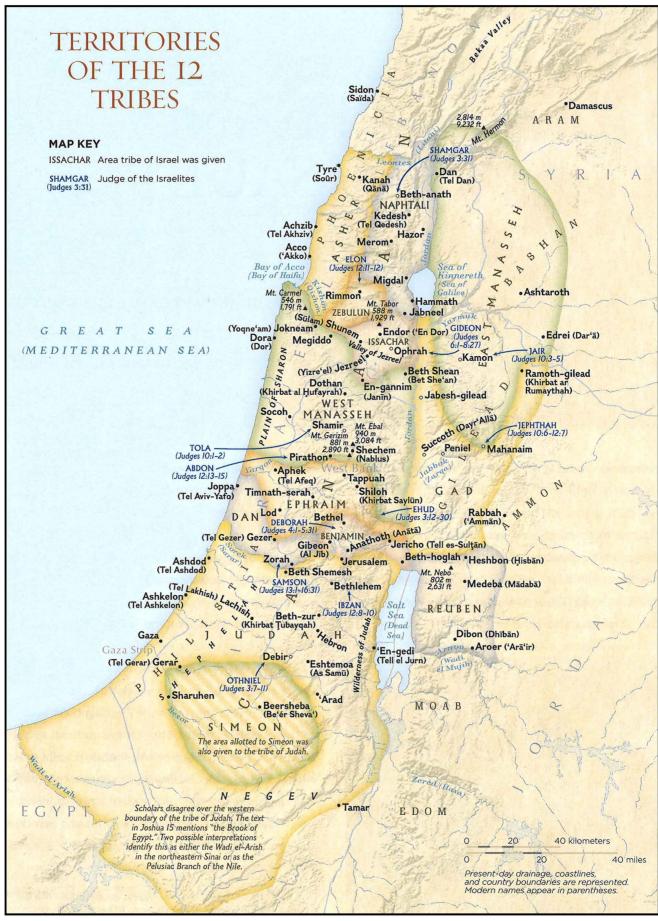
The Exodus or Expulsion from Egypt stuck in the collective memory of the Hebrews for hundred of years. Ezekiel (c. 622-570BC) writes (30:13-17): "Thus saith the Lord God; I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph; and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt: and I will put a fear in the land of Egypt. And I will make Pathros [Upper Egypt, Thebes] desolate, and will set fire in Zoan [Tanis], and will execute judgements in No [Aunu, Awnu and Annu or No in short, meaning Heliopolis]. And I will pour my fury upon Sin [the Desert of Sin or Tsin: between Elim and Mount Sinai], the strength of Egypt; and I will cut off the multitude of No. And I will set fire in Egypt: Sin shall have great pain, and No shall be rent asunder, and Noph\* shall have distresses daily. [\* Noph or Moph was the Hebrew name for Aven [Avaris, the former Hebrew capital in Egypt; in Egyptian: Hu'et-waret] and of Pibeseth [Bubastis] shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity."

If the Habiru (ancient Hebrews) were no Canaanites, as they claimed, they would have had no need for such a grudge against exactly those places the Canaanites once

have been expulsed from, would they?

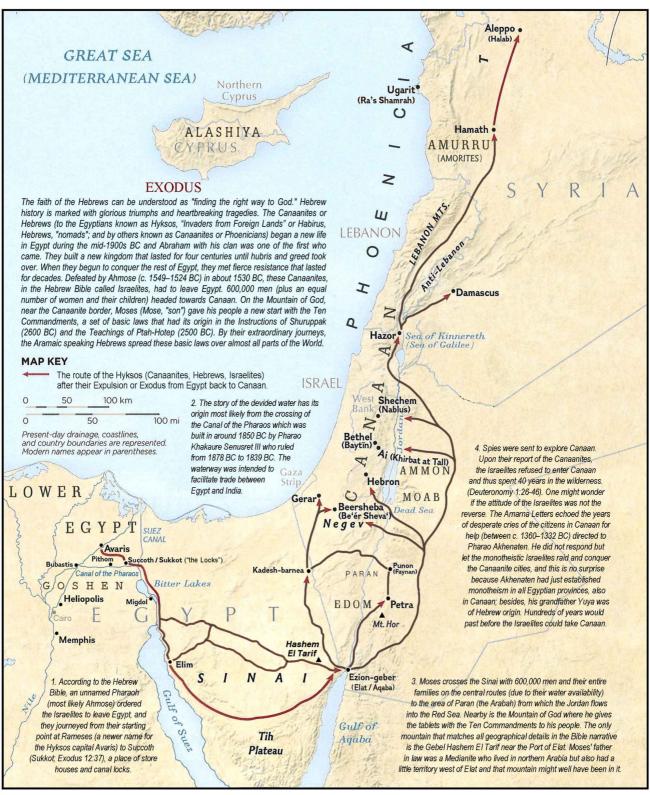


The history of the "Israelites" begins with *Jacob*: According to the folk etymology found in Genesis 25:26, the name Ya'aqov is derived from aqev "heel", as Jacob was born grasping the heel of his twin brother Esau. The historical origin of the name is uncertain, although similar names have been recorded. Yaqub-Har is recorded as a place name in a list by Thutmose III (15th century BC), and later as the nomen (the personal name of Ancient Egyptian pharaohs) of a Hyksos pharaoh. The hieroglyphs are ambiguous, and can be read as "Yaqub-Har", "Yaqubaal", or "Yaqub El". The same name is recorded earlier still, in c. 1800 BC, in cuneiform inscriptions (spelled ya-ah-qu-ub-el). The suggestion that the personal name may be shortened from this compound name, which would translate to "may El protect". The name *Israel* (Canaanite / Aramaic: Yisra'el) given to Jacob following the episode of his wrestling with the angel (Genesis 32:22–32 and 35:10), is a composition of the root sarah "to rule" and el "god," meaning all together "God rules" or more precise "Ruled by God." The given name is already attested in Canaanite documents from Ugarit (14th-12th century BC) (Yshr'il) and Ebla (Ishrail) and the name also appears on the Merneptah Stele (Ysri'r), (reign: 1213–1203 BC), referring to a foreign group of people (the Hyksos).



Jacob first appears in the Book of Genesis, where he is described as the son of Isaac and Rebecca, and the grandson of Abraham, Sarah and Bethuel, Abrahams Aramaic nephew. According to the Bible, he was the second-born of Isaac's children, the elder being Jacob's twin brother, Esau. Jacob bought Esau's birthright and, with his mother's help, deceived his aging father to bless him instead of Esau. Later in the narrative, following a severe drought in his homeland of Canaan, Jacob and his descendants, with the help of his son Joseph (who had become a confidante of the pharaoh), moved to Egypt where Jacob died at the age of 147.

Jacob is said to have had twelve sons by four women, his wives, Leah and Rachel, and his concubines, Bilhah and Zilpah, who were, in order of their birth, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, and Benjamin, all of whom became the heads of their own family groups, later known as the *Twelve Tribes of Israel*, and it is also known that he had a daughter, Dinah.

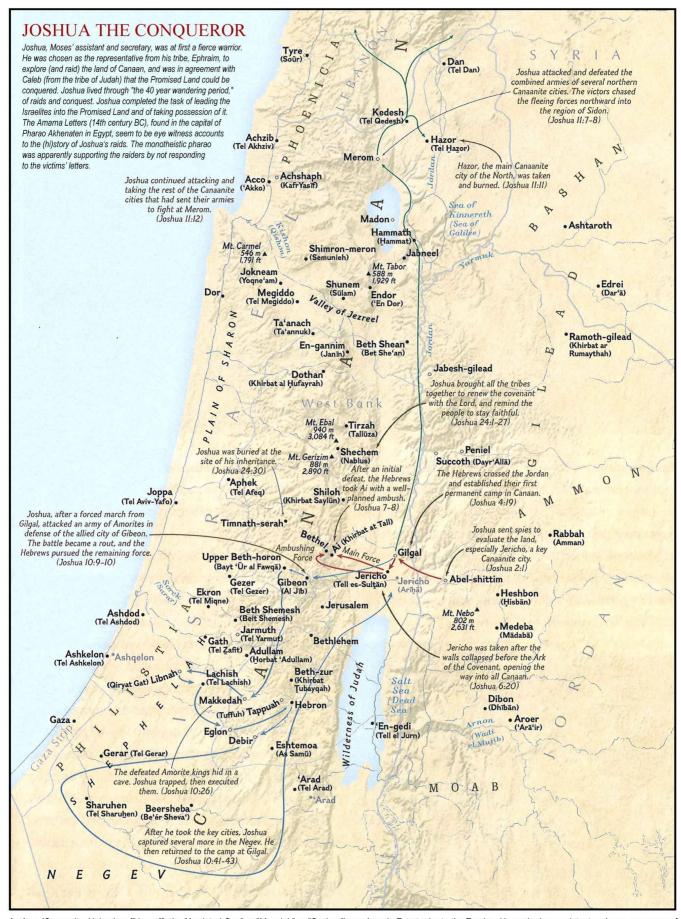


The Canadian historian Simcha Jacobovici explored (in the James Cameron documentary "The Exodus Decoded") several mountains as possible candidates for the **Biblical Mount Sinai**. Potential candidates had to meet the following criteria: **1.** The mountain must have at its base a large plateau that could accommodate hundreds of thousands of Israelites. **2.** It must have a water source to support the people. **3.** It must be accessible and easy to climb (due to the old age of Moses). **4.** It must have symbols of worship; archaeological evidence proving that the mountain was "holy" even before the time of Moses. (He claims the plateau of Hashem El Tarif contains 33 open-air sanctuaries; the largest number of open-air sanctuaries next to a mountain in the eastern Sinai ever found.) **5.** It must be located somewhere along the ancient route of the Exodus. **6.** It must have a natural spring at its top.

In addition to these criteria, Jacobovici claimed that, according to biblical text, the mountain must also: 1. Be a fourteen-day journey from "Elim" (Exodus 16:1). For a mass of people, a days journey was assumed to be 15 km per day. A fourteen-day journey would be about 210 km. 2. Be an eleven-day journey from Kadesh Barnea (Deuteronomy 1:2), approximately 165 km. 3. Be within "goat grazing distance" of Midianite territory. *Moses* (Egyptian: Mose, "son.") was tending his father-in-law's goats at the time of his first encounter on Mount Sinai (Exodus 3). Based on modern Bedouin practises, this was assumed to be 45 to 60 or 70 km from a camp (or further in the event of drought). Midianite pottery and art have been found at Timna (west of Elat), assumed to be the only Midianite enclave in the Sinai.

Using these points of reference to triangulate possible locations, Jacobovici claims that Hashem El Tarif is the most likely candidate for the biblical Mount Sinai [with which he is probably right as all archaeological findings match with the Bible texts. An investigation well done and with common sense.].

Criticisms against the proposal that Hashem El Tarif is Mount Sinai are: 1. There is no mention in history nor tradition of Hashem El Tarif as Mount Sinai. [A weak argument as Christians and Muslims have deliberately destroyed almost all texts that contradicted their doctrine.]. 2. There is no widespread Rabbinic-era Jewish tradition about the location of Mount Sinai. [Also weak because "Rabbinic Literature" was edited by the Romans after the 1st Roman-Jewish War, 66-73 AD, and therefore cannot really be called authoritative.]. 3. The Sinai was controlled by the Egyptian Empire [Also a weak point because the Egyptians controlled all their provinces between the Nile and southern Anatolia anyway, including all of Canaan and Phoenicia.]



Joshua (Canaanite: Yehoshua ["Jesus"], the "Anointed One" or "Messiah" or "Saviour") was born in Egypt prior to the Exodus. He worked as assistant and was successor of Moses in the books of Exodus and Numbers. The Hebrew Bible identifies Joshua as one of the "twelve spies of Israel" sent by Moses to explore (and raid) the land of Canaan. The word "spies" may be a wrong translation as the Hebrew word "meraglim" in the Torah means "spies, men, princes or warriors". He and Caleb believed that the Promised Land could be conquered and they lived through the "40 year wandering period," which seem to be the counterpart of the Amarna Letters (See: Grand Bible, Artefacts), narrated from the viewpoint of the victims. This makes him (after Abraham and Moses) the 3rd figure in the Bible with some historicity. It seems as if Joshua and Caleb could have been, at least the spiritual, precursors of the states of Israel and Judah. Joshua's real name was *Hoshea* (Hosea) the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, but Moses called him "Joshua", the name used in English. In the Septuagint (3rd century BC), all instances of the word Yehoshua, are rendered as lesous), the closest Greek pronunciation of the Aramaic Yeshua. Thus, in modern Greek, Joshua is called "Jesus son of Naue" to differentiate him from Jesus the Nazorean (in the New Testament).



Kingdoms of Saul, David, and Solomon --- The Books of Samuel tell us of Saul's life. Saul (Hebrew: Sha'ul, Greek: Saoul, meaning "prayed for") was the first king of the United Kingdom of Israel and Judah. Saul died at the Battle of Mount Gilboa and his sons were killed by the Gibeonites. His reign, traditionally placed in the late 11th century BC, supposedly marked a transition from a tribal society to statehood, meaning: the Israelites did not wander in the wilderness for 40 but for 400 years. The historicity of Saul's kingdom is debated due to insufficient extrabiblical evidence. I. Finkelstein thinks it to be a late ideological construct and if it ever existed, Saul's kingdom was small. The next significant ruler of the United Monarchy of Israel and Judah, after Saul, was **David** (Hebrew for: "beloved by family"). Samuel describes David is a young shepherd who gains fame by killing the Philistine giant Goliath. He becomes a favourite of King Saul and a close friend of Saul's son Jonathan. According to archaeological evidence, David ruled only as a chieftain over an area which was a chiefdom rather than a kingdom, much smaller and overshadowed by the older and more powerful kingdom of Israel to the north. **Solomon** (Hebrew: Shlomoh from shalom, "peace"), also called Jedidiah (Hebrew: Yedidyah from "beloved of Jah, Yahweh, God"), was, according to the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament a fabulously wealthy and wise king of the United Kingdom of Israel who succeeded his father, King David from c. 970 to 931 BC. (See: Kebra Nagast and 1 Kings 10; Queen of Sheba / Saba, Queen Makeda). Following the split in c. 930 BC, his patrilineal descendants ruled over Judah alone.



The next significant Hebrew ruler was *Hezekiah* (reign c. 715-686 BC; Hebrew: Hizkiyyahu, Hizqiyyahu, Khizkiyahu, Yehizqiyyahu, or Y'khizkiyahu, meaning "Yahweh strengthens" or "Yahweh is my strength"; Greek: Ezekias). He was a king of Judah who appears in 2 Chronicles 18-32, in 2 Kings 18-20, Proverbs 25:1, and in Jeremiah, Hosea, and Micah. He was compared favourably with David and Solomon. Undoubtedly, Hezekiah was a historical figure as his story is one of the best to cross-reference with the rest of the Mid Eastern world's historical documents. The Hebrew Bible (Kings 19:35) states that the Assyrians attempted to conquer Judah and lost 185,000 soldiers. This might be an exaggeration but Hezekiah was a fierce warrior and documents such as the Siloam inscription, Lachish relief, Sennacherib's Prism of Nineve, bear witness to that. He is the first Hebrew ruler who made monotheism the official doctrine of the state. In an effort to abolish the Canaanite idolatry from his kingdom, he destroyed the high places (or bamot) and the "bronze serpent" (or Nehushtan), recorded as being made by Moses, which had become objects of idolatrous worship.



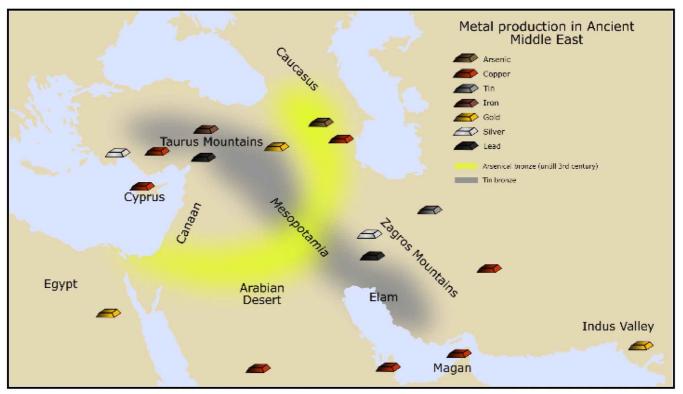
With first religious reforms, King Hezekiah began a political process that was finally concluded by King *Josiah* (or Yoshiyahu, c. 640–609 BC) and it split Israelites from the rest of all Canaanites. Triggered was this reform probably by the ruthless conquests of Canaan by Assyria and Babylonia (also Semites). Statecraft was deliberately replaced by zeal as religious weapon. Greeks and Romans should experience that weapon some centuries later. The Books of 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles record about the programme and its execution in quite some detail. Josiah began the destruction of (Canaanite) Baalist altars and images throughout Jerusalem and Judah. While restoring the Temple of Jerusalem, the High Priest Hilkiah discovered a scroll described in 2 Kings as "the book of the Law", and in 2 Chronicles as "the book of the Law of the Lord given by Moses". Meant is most likely a collection of manuscripts that included The Instructions of Shuruppak (with c. 100 precepts and laws), the Code of Ur-Nammu (or Shulgi, 32 laws), the Code of Eshnunna (61 laws), the Code of Lipit-Ishtar (37 laws) and The Code of Hammurabi (282 laws), the Code of the Nesilim (Hittite, 200 laws), [Look for these law texts in the Grand Bible, see also: the 5 Precepts, the 10 Commandments, the 613 Mitzvot]. Many of these ancient law texts became directly a part of the Torah. The compilation of the Torah took place at c. 600 BC, may be by decree of Josiah.



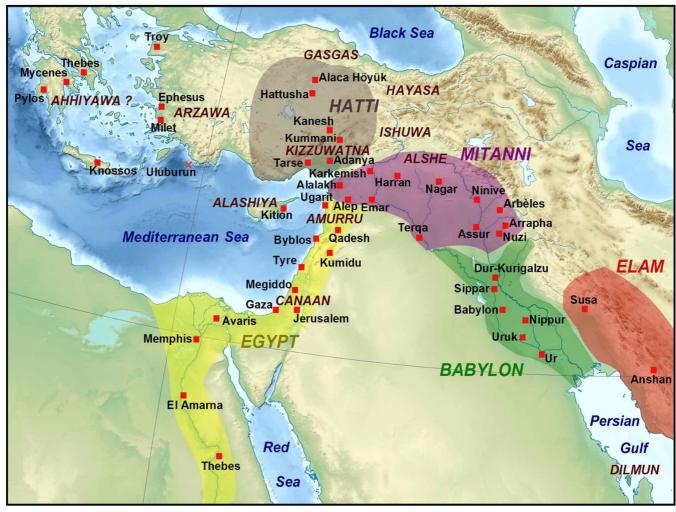
During the occupation of Judah and Israel, Israelites and Judaeans became prisoners of war, particularly the educated ones. All their leaders were taken hostage by Aramaic speaking Assyrians (8th century BC) and later by Akkadian and Aramaic speaking Babylonians (6th century BC), as it was general custom of that time. It ensured that the remaining population stayed leaderless and obeyed the laws of the new rulers. When the Persian king *Kurush II* (Cyrus the Great, hailed by Hebrews as "Messiah") conquered Mesopotamia, the Israelite leaders were freed. Many of the Aramaic speaking sx-captives began to work as scribes for the Persians, some of them moved to Bactria and India, some others went to Egypt, Greece and Rome. The conquest of *Alexander the Great* triggered a cultural revolution spreading to Rome and India. Some Jews felt happy in the new culture. Their opponents took Josiah's fundamentalism to heart and fought against the Greeks. In 166 BC, *Judah Maccabee* led an Jewish army to victory over the Seleucid dynasty, which at first was directed against the many *Greek Jews*, of whom there were many. The Maccabean (Hasmonean) dynasty ruled until the Roman Army under *General Gnaeus Pompeius* crushed them in 63 BC. The Hasmonean dynasty ended in 37 BC when *Herod the Great* became king of Israel. The Hebrews did not like him because he was an Edomite (Arab) and he worked for the Romans.



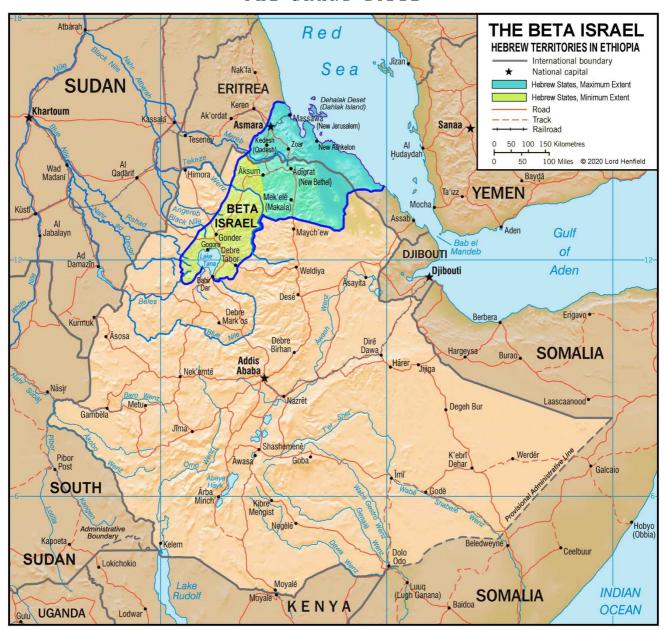
The Biblical scholars Joseph Atwill and Robert Eisenman have compared the text of the **Gospel of Matthew** with the text of **The Jewish War** by **Titus Flavius Josephus** and made a revolutionary discovery. In his book "Caesar's Messiah," Atwill, outlines a series of events in **Jesus' ministry**, described in the Gospels, are exact, sequential parallels to the **battle campaign of General Titus** (Flavius Vespasianus, son of Emperor Vespasian). The origins of Christianity seem far different than we have been led to believe. Remarkable is also how close Jewish families were connected to Roman families on a private basis. **Philo of Alexandria**, known as Philo Judaeua, 2.20 BC–50 AD), was a Greek Jewish philosopher who lived in Alexandria, Egypt. His family had social ties to the **priesthood in Judaea**, the **Hasmonean dynasty**, the **Herodian dynasty**, the **Julio-Claudian dynasty**, and the **Flavian dynasty** in Rome. Philo had two brothers, Alexander the Alabarch and Lysimachus. Through Alexander, Philo had two nephews, **Tiberius Julius Alexander** (a high-ranking Beneral and governor) and Marcus Julius Alexander. The latter was the first husband of the **Herodian princess Berenice**, lover or secret wife of the general and later **Emperor Titus**. She was the daughter of King Herod Agrippa II who was a friend of **Emperor Claudius** as well as of **Titus Flavius Josephus**, having supplied him with information for his history books. And the Roman historian Titus Flavius Josephus was none other but the Jewish general **Yosep bar Matityahu**, Joseph the son of Matthew.



The new material of the time was bronze, a durable alloy made of copper and either tin or arsenic. Mining and Metal production was boosting early trade in the Ancient Middle East and around; 3rd millenium BC.



With Ahmose's reconquest of Lower Egypt, his New Kingdom soon gained power over Canaan, Phoenicia, and Amurru (the Amorites who now ruled over Babylonia). The international language was Akkadian written in cuneiform script; it was closely related to the Semitic languages Canaanite, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Amorite. The Amarna Letters give us a detailed image of political and personal relationships. 16th - 14th centuries BC.



Unknown to the rest of the World, the Hebrews created their own states far away from the Middle East. The most successful of those people were two distinct groups: the Bene Israel (Sons of Israel) of India and the Beta Israel (House of Israel), also known as Ethiopian Jews (Hebrew: Yehudey Etyopyah; Ge'ez: ye-Ityoppya Ayhudi). The Beta Israel are a Jewish community that developed and lived for possibly over 2500 years in the area of the Kingdom of Aksum in the North of Ethiopia. They are also known as Falasha (nomads, which points to an earlier era). Documents of the early Hebrews in Ethiopia are rare, and if there are any, they give us different stories.

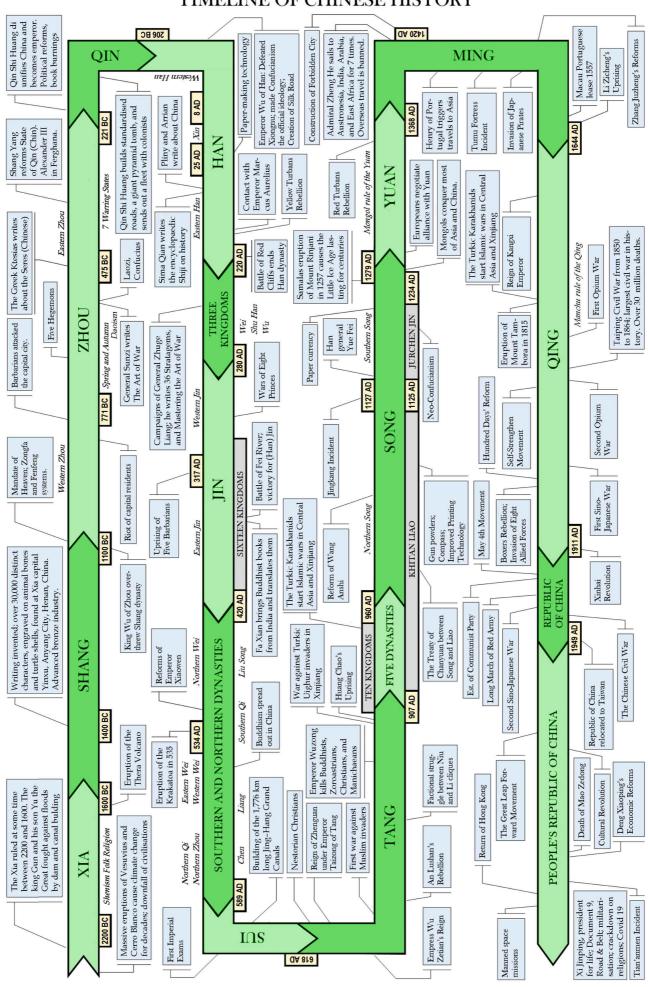
Many of the Beta Israel's accounts of their own origins state that they stem from the very ancient migration of some portion of the Tribe of Dan to Ethiopia, were led by the sons of Moses, perhaps at the time of the Exodus. A Christian account points to of Menelik's return to Ethiopia. Menelik is considered the first Solomonic Emperor of Ethiopia, and is traditionally believed to be the son of King Solomon of ancient Israel, and Makeda, ancient Queen of Sheba (Saba, which was on the eastern coast of the Red Sea). Alternative timelines include the later crises in Judaea, e.g., the split of the northern Kingdom of Israel from the southern Kingdom of Judah after the death of King Solomon. Then there are rumours about prisoners of war of the Assyrians and the Babylonians who migrated to Yemen, India and Ethiopia.

According to another account, the forefathers of the Beta Israel are supposed to have arrived in Ethiopia by coming from the North, independently from Menelik and his company: "The Falashas migrated like many of the other sons of Israel to exile in Egypt after the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians in 586 BC the time of the Babylonian exile. This group of people was led by the great priest On. They remained in exile in Egypt for a few hundred years until the reign of Cleopatra. When she was engaged in a war against Augustus Caesar, the Jews supported her. When she was defeated, it became dangerous for the small minorities to remain in Egypt so there was another migration (between approximately 39–31 BC). Some of the migrants went to South Arabia and settled in Yemen. Some of them went to the north of Ethiopia.

In 1893, the New York journalist Charles Edwin Wilbour acquired some documents. He stored them in a warehouse where they were found more than 50 years later. The documents turned out to be papyri from the antique City of Elephantine near the border to Sudan. Up to this day, thousands of ancient documents in hieratic and demotic Egyptian, Greek, Latin and Coptic have been found in Aswan and Elephantine, once called Rabau, Jubau or Yaba. Among them are a collection of Hebrew manuscripts from the 5th century BC. And they tell us amazing stories. The largest number of papyri are written in Aramaic, the language of the Hebrews and lingua franca of the Achaemenid Persian Empire. They belong to a community of Hebrew mercenaries stationed at Elephantine under Achaemenid rule, 495–399 BC. The papyri include letters and legal documents, and are thus an invaluable source of knowledge for scholars of varied disciplines such as epistolography, law, society, religion, and language. The Elephantine papyri pre-date all extant manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, and thus give scholars a very important glimpse at how Judaism was practised in the fifth century BC. They show clear evidence of the existence in c. 400 BC of a polytheistic sect of Jews, who seem to have had no knowledge of a written Torah or the narratives described therein (Arthur Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC, p. 23). The Jews had their own Temple to Yahweh. Excavation work done in 1967 revealed the remains of the Jewish colony seem to have been worshiped by these Jews, evincing polytheistic beliefs. The papyri suggest that here the veneration of a female deity endured. The texts were written by a group of Hebrews whose religion was almost identical to Phoenician-Canaanite religion". These Hebrews were worshipping Anat-Yahu, the wife of Yahweh.

There are two significant questions: Where did the Beta Israel originally come from? and: Where did the Hebrew mercenaries and their families go to when they left Elephantine? The answer could well be that the Beta Israel came from the north, as some legends suggest, namely from Elephantine. We can even figure out the travel route. They went by boat upstream the Nile, then they travelled up the Blue Nile, into the River Dindar or the River Rahad. Both, the Blue Nile as well as the Black Nile, begin exactly in the mountainous region of the Lake Tana, the original settlement area of the Beta Israel in northen Ethiopia. They founded cities such as Bethel and they also have a Mount Tabor. Most of the Beta Israel community emigrated to Israel in the late 20th century due to ruthless persecution by the Communists who in general, just like Muslims, Nazies and Fascists, hate Jews in their doctrines.

# TIMELINE OF CHINESE HISTORY





Chinese folk religion, also known as Chinese popular religion (Chinese: minsu zongjiao or zhonghuajiao, "Chinese indigenous / ethnic religion" or just "Chinese religion" comparable to the usage of the term "Hinduism" for Indian religion), is a general term covering a range of traditional religious practices of Han Chinese, including the Chinese diaspora. In Chinese, it is known as "Shen" or "Shenjiao" or "Shenjiao" which could be in English interpreted as "Shenism" or "Shenxianism," literally, "religion of deities and immortals." This versatile religion has no scripture as they were destroyed already by Qin Shi Huangdi. It pervades all aspects of social life and is deeply embedded in family and civic life, rather than expressed in a separate organisational structure like a "church", as in the West. **Shenism** is indeed very similar to early Hinduism with its belief in the rational order of nature, balance in the universe and reality that can be influenced by human beings and their rulers, but also the veneration of shen (godlike spirits or angel-like gods), a universal god of creation, and ancestors. Any of those gods is just an individual expression of the Creator (Pangu), just like in Hinduism. The veneration does not happen in large mass gatherings but at home where many Chinese have a little shrine with either a statuette, picture or just a Chinese character representing a deity whose attributes are admired in the family. Little offerings are given to the family god, usually in form of recent purchased fruits laid in front of the shrine; occasionally, smoke candles are lit.

The Folk religion has absorbed contents of belief systems such as Daoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism and, vice versa, elements of Shenism can be found in Daoist and Confucian texts. This faith, however, has never been institutionalised or misused as state religion by using the people's religious feelings as political tools against them. Political activities of religious communities have always been frowned upon and merciless suppressed by any Chinese government. The Christianity-inspired Taiping Civil War, 1850-1864, with over 30 million dead the bloodiest civil war in world history, brought all Abrahamic religions into ill-repute. Political obligations and totalitarian ideas (and monotheism of any form belongs to that category too) like in Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, and in particular Islam, are despised. Chinese authorities are aware of the fact that Islamic scripture contain to over 80 % politics and hatred against non-Muslims. Western apologists for Islam, nutured by Islamic propagandists, repeat falsehoods of genocide committed upon the Uighurs. The truth is that hundreds of thousands are detained in re-education centres for breaking the Chinese law. Such centres have been established in the early 1950s due to evil experience with organised religions and other political groups in general; Puyi, the last emperor of China was detainee in such a centre for about 10 years. The Chinese Constitution states in Article No. 1, 2nd paragraph "Sabotage of the socialist system by any organisation or individual is prohibited." Demonstrating for Islam, usually performed by praying in the open streets, is considered an anti-socialist and anti-Chinese act and gets punished accordingly. Terrorists are swiftly convicted and executed. Here clash two equally evil and totalitarian systems, and there is no room for discussion. Kin liability is no direct part of Chinese law, however, in the mind of the Chinese public, a family or clan shares the responsibility for a crime or act committed by one of its members, justif

- 1. Tian (Heaven, the source of moral meaning). Tian, most widely known as Taidi ("Great Deity") and Shàngdi ("Primordial Deity"), is both the physical heavens, the home of the Sun, Moon, and stars, and also the home of the gods and ancestors. Pangu is another metaphor of the cosmos. He separated yin and yang, creating the earth (murky yin) and the sky (clear yang). All things were made from his body. Tianming, the Mandate of Heaven is granted to a ruler who is righteous, a ruler who is unjust and immoral can be overthrown.
- **2.** Qi (the breath or substance of which all things are made including inanimate matter, the living beings, thought and gods) It is represented by the continuum of energy and matter, and the polarity of yin and yang, meaning "shady" and "sunny", or "dark" and "light". Yin is the qi in its dense, dark, sinking, wet, condensing mode; yang denotes the light, and the bright, rising, dry, expanding modality. Described as Taiji (the "Great Pole"), they represent the polarity and complementarity that enlivens the cosmos, a concept that is also known in Hinduism and Zoroastrianism. They can also be conceived as "disorder" and "order", "activity" or "passivity", with act (yang) usually preferred over receptiveness (yin). As Qi also represents thought, it can also symbolise "Good" and "Bad," to speak with a western tongue.
- 3. The practice of *Jingzu* (the veneration of ancestors who watch us). Ancestors are means of connexion with the Tian ("God in Heaven"), the primordial god which does not have form. As ancestors have form, they shape the destiny of humans. Ancestors who have had a significant impact in shaping the destiny of large groups of people, creators of genetic lineages or spiritual traditions, and historical leaders who have invented crafts and institutions for the wealth of the Chinese nation (culture heroes), are exalted among the highest divine manifestations or immortal beings (xian). When ancestries are not properly cultivated the world falls into disruption, and they become gui (unsatisfied spirits); in simple words: Ignoring the continuation of good traditions, that once have been created by the ancestors, we will be punished by the consequences as we are only at the end of their line and therefore we are only the custodians of their heritage.
- 4. Bao Ying (moral reciprocity, outlined in the 5 Precepts and virtues, such as diligence, honesty, humility, the will to learn, and many others with are also virtues in the West). The Chinese traditional concept of Bao Ying ("reciprocity", "retribution" or "judgement"), is inscribed in the cosmological view of an ordered world, in which all manifestations of being have an allotted span (shu) and destiny, and are rewarded according to the moral-cosmic quality of their actions. It determines fate, as written in Zhou texts: "on the doer of good, heaven sends down all blessings, and on the doer of evil, he sends down all calamities."

These teachings bear universal truths in them which we also find in one or the other form in Hinduism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Stoicism, and Christianity.

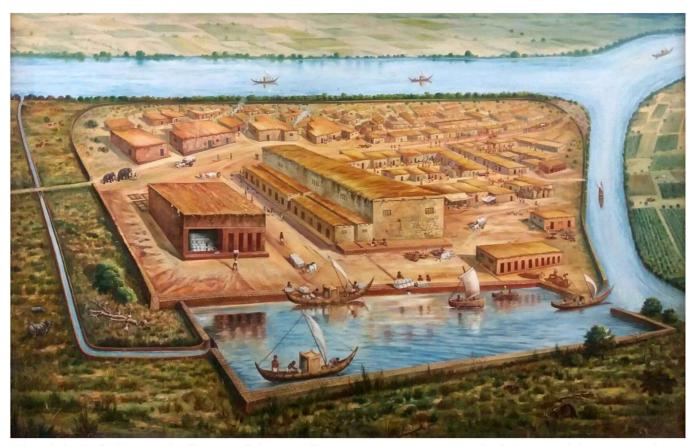
# APPENDIX B THE ADDITIONAL IMAGES



The National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, discovered marine microfossils and salt in the silt of this rectangular structure at Lothal, Gujarat, India, indicating that it was a dockyard of a sea port. >



The dock at Lothal had a canal lock that could be opened and closed to regulate the water level. >



Already in Antiquity, people discovered that travelling on waterways was much cheaper and three to ten times faster than on land. With the people, of course, travelled their language and their ideas, and every whim and attitude, each and every rule or law they learned from their parents and teachers. Not only goods and services went to other regions and civilisations but also religious and ideological teachings. These ideas can be an enrichment to an existing culture if applied slowly and carefully but all too often they were an undetected driving force in the destruction of a civilisation, besides infectuous deseases and other factors.

The picture above shows a reconstruction of a part of the City of Lothal and its sea port, Gujarat, India. It is one of the most ancient sea ports that ever have been found so far. Lothal was founded at around 2400 BC and was one of the southernmost cities of the ancient Indus Valley Civilisation, located in the Bhal region of the modern state of Gujarat. Construction of the harbour might have began around 2200 BC. Discovered in 1954, Lothal was excavated from 13 February 1955 to 19 May 1960 by the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), the official Indian government agency for the preservation of ancient monuments.

According to the ASI, Lothal had the world's earliest known dock, which connected the city to an ancient course of the River Sabarmati on the trade route between Harappan cities in Sindh and the peninsula of Saurashtra when the surrounding Kutch desert of today was a part of the Indian Ocean. This interpretation had been challenged by other archaeologists, who argued that the dock was an irrigation tank. However, the controversy was finally settled when scientists from The National Institute of Oceanography, Goa, discovered foraminifera (marine microfossils) and salt, gypsum crystals in the rectangular structure clearly indicating that sea water once filled the structure and it was definitely a dockyard. Resuming excavation in 1961, archaeologists unearthed trenches sunk on the northern, eastern and western flanks of the mound, bringing to light the inlet channels and nullah ("ravine", or "gully") connecting the dock with the river. The conclusive findings consist of a mound (a temple mound, a kind of temple pyramid like in Mohenjo Daro), a township, a marketplace, and the dock.

Althouth Lothal was relatively small, the ASI and other contemporary archaeologists assert that the city was a part of a major river or canal system on the trade route that provided direct access to sea routes. Although now sealed off from the sea, Lothal's topography and geology reflects its maritime past. Lothal has the largest collection of antiquities in the archaeology of modern India. It is a site of the Harappan culture. Lothal was the southern-most trade centre of the Indus Valley Civilisation, with its trade of beads, gems and valuable ornaments reaching Sumer in Mespotamia as well as Somalia, Ethiopia and Egypt in Africa. King Shulgi, the Augustus of Sumer, acquired several beads (found in Susa) engraved with cuneiform script showing his name and title.

After the core of the Indus civilisation had crumbled in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa at around 1900 BC due to the onslaught of the new Indo-Iranian emigrants (the ancestors of today's Indians), Lothal seems not only to have survived but to have thrived for many more years. Its constant threats - tropical storms and floods - caused immense destruction, which destabilised the culture and ultimately caused its end.

The people of the Indus Valley Civilisation were the predecessors of the Indo-Iranian or Indo-Aryan newcomers who soon would develop their own Vedic culture; they were the ancestors of the modern Indians. The Indus Valley Civilisation on the other hand was linguistically and culturally correlated with the State of Elam (capital: Susa) in southwestern Persia and Sumer in southern Mesopotamia. >



Carnelian (originally spelled cornelian, corneline and cornalyn) is a brownish-red mineral commonly used as a semi-precious gemstone. Carnelian beads were used to make jewellery and they were in fashion during the last half of the 3rd millenium BC. These carnelian beads were delivered to the king and "divine Augustus" Shulgi of Sumer who was the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur. He reigned for 48 years, from c. 2094-2046 BC. Due to their discovery in Sumerian archaeological sites, we know that Sumerians and people of the Indus Valley Civilisation had trade links with one another. Carnelian beads of this particular kind and style were only produced by the Indus Valley Civilisation.



The Indus Valley Civilisation was replaced by Indo-European migrants from Central Asia in the mid-2nd century BC. About a thousand years later, in the 1st century BC, they fought in the Mahabharata Wars (Kurukshetra Wars) against the Kuru (Kaurava), their Indo-European (or more precisely: Indo-Iranian) cousins who migrated to northwestern India, most likely from Iran. The ancient City of Ahichhatra was mentioned in the Hindu Epic Mahabharata because it served as the capital city of Northern Panchala. In the previous times, it was ruled by Drupada, the king of Panchala, a kingdom closely allied to the Kuru kingdom. General Drupada was defeated in a battle and the Kuru general Ashwatthama was made the ruler of Ahichhatra who ruled it for a long time. In the end, the Pandava defeated the Kuru. The remains of the ancient City of Ahichhatra, also known by the name of Ahi-Kshetra, and its massive temple pyramid were discovered near Ramnagar in Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, India.



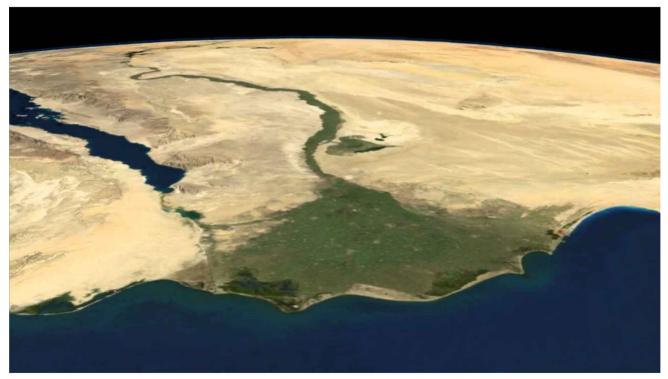


Somewhere at around 1995 BC, the Mount Vesusius in Italy erupted and caused a massive climate change for decades. The extreme weather conditions that followed led to drought, famine, and civil war. It brought civilisations like the Minoan or the Indus Civilisations to their end. Egypt, Canaan, and Mesopotamia were at the brink of collapse. The Hyksos have arrived in Egypt during Egypt's 12th Dynasty (1991–1802 BC),. Today they are identified with Canaanites. They have settled peacefully in "Goshen" (or Gosen) the Avaris area, Lower Egypt. At first, they seem to have been welcomed by Egypt because the site was originally founded by Amenemhat I (or at least with his consent) on an eastern branch of the Nile in the Delta. Soon, however, they have established their own kingdoms, so, the 14th Dynasty (c. 1725–1650 BC) and 15th Dynasty (1650–1550 BC) have been Canaanite dynasties in Lower Egypt, existing alongside the surviving 13th, 16th, and 17th Egyptian Dynasties (between 1803 BC and 1550 BC) in Upper Egypt, When the Hyksos / Canaanites tried to conquer Upper Egypt at the end of the 18th Dynasty (1550–1290 BC), they provoked the Egyptians to fight for their country which ended with the total defeat of the Hyksos / Canaanites and their expulsion from Egypt. These events match almost perfectly with events described in the Hebrew Bible when the tribes of Abraham have migrated to Egypt at around 1950 BC and, after the defeat of their successors by the kings Kamose and Ahmose, have been driven out, in an event known to us as "the Exodus" of Moses.

According to the Hebrew Bible, an unnamed Pharaoh (most likely Ahmose) ordered the Israelites to leave Egypt. In Exodus (12:37, 38, 40, 41) we read: "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses (Pi-Rameses), to Succoth (Sukkot), about six hundred thousand on foot that were men, beside children. And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks, and herds, even very much cattle. .... Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years. And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the selfsame day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt." The text was obviously written long after the exodus. Their starting point was not Rameses because that city was build by Rameses I. The author meant Avaris (the capital city of the Hyksos, meaning the Canaanites / Israelites in Egypt) which was at the very same location. When the author used the name Rameses several hundred years later, Avaris was already forgotten or shamefully replaced.

The name Succoth was chosen not incidential but on purpose. The Hebrew word sukkot is the plural of sukka, meaning hut, booth, tabernacle, or confinement, such as a canal lock. Today, Sukkot is known as a festival's name—"the Festival of Ingathering at the year's end" (Exodus 34:22)—and marks the end of the harvest time and thus of the agricultural year in the Land of Israel. People build a kind of hut or shed which is a walled structure covered with s'chach (plant material, such as overgrowth or palm leaves). The real religious reason is that of commemorating the Exodus: "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days; all that are Israelites born shall dwell in booths: That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God." God (Leviticus 23:42-43). What has this festival to do with confinement? The above mentioned name Succoth is not without significance. Succoth or Sukkot is the place where the Canal of the Pharaos (built by Pharaoh Senusret III between 1878–1839 BC) had locks (sukkot = water confinements, canal locks) that could "confine and divide the water" in order to keep the salty or "bitter" water (from the Bitter Lakes) separated from the valuable sweet water of the River Nile, which the canal was heading to: "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea; and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground: and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand, and on their left." (Exodus 14:21-22). These events took place at about 1530, perhaps 700 or 800 years before they were finally written down. To an attentive reader, this description brings canal locks into his mind, with walls of water and even with plant material swimming on the water surface. And "dividing the water" is is precisely what a water lock does. There is a high likelihood that the

The expulsion of the Canaanite Hyksos (or the children of Israel as the called themselves) was ordered by the Pharao most likely right after the Hyksos were defeated in the 18th or 19th year of Ahmose's reign; that was in c. 1530 BC. For 430 years did they lived in Egypt, which means since 1960 BC. On his Expedition to Egypt (1842-1845), Carl Richard Lepsius found the amazing wall painting (above) in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (a government official who died in c. 1950 BC) in Beni Hasan, an ancient Egyptian cemetery near Menefer (Memphis). It shows a man described in the text on the wall as "Abisha the Hyksos" (Heqa-kasut for "Hyksos"), leading a group of Aamu (Aramu, "Aramaeans, Canaanites"). This is not only one of the earliest known uses of the term "Hyksos" and the oldest picture that showed the Hyksos, but it matches exactly the date of arrival, 430 years before the defeat: 1960 BC! >



Egypt seen from a spaceship. The photographer was looking south when he took the photograph. We clearly can see the green Nile delta that has the shape of a triangle. From Nubia (modern Sudan) at the horizon (to the left), the River Nile winds itself through the Sahara Desert like a snake and approaches the corner of the triangle; this is the location of Cairo and the Giza Pyramids. Left of the triangle is the Suez Canal visible as a long green string leading from the Mediterranean (in front) to a dark spot, which is called the Bitter Lakes, before the canal resumes its journey to the Gulf of Suez in the Red Sea. Right at the dark spot, we can see another long string coming from the middle of the triangle. This is the Canal of the Pharaos, built in c. 1850 BC. This "ancient Suez Canal" is still green like the modern canal because it still contains water which feeds the plants above. It was once the end of a trade route from India leading right into the Egyptian heartland. >



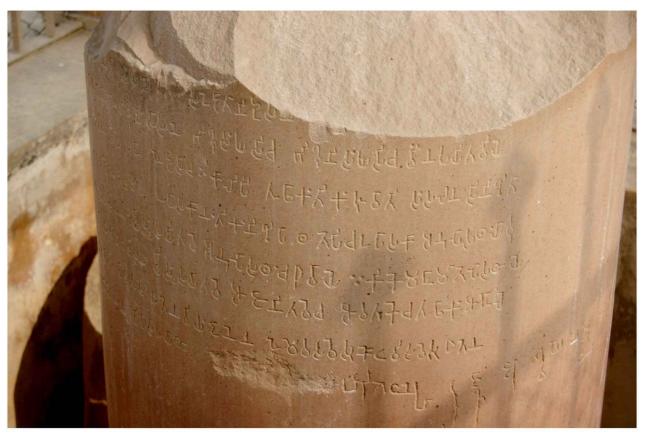
The Blue Nile in northern Ethiopia. The first Hebrews most likely used the water way of the River Nile (the Blue Nile) which brought them from their community in Elephantine directly into this green and fertile land in northern Ethiopia. Aramaic documents have been found in Elephantine and Aswan (southern Egypt). Most of these documents are marriage contracts, private letters, religious and business documents from a Hebrew community that lived there from about 500 to 400 BC. Later, these people disappeared from Elephantine. They might have moved to northern Ehiopia and are now known as Beta Israel (House of Israel or Community of Israel).



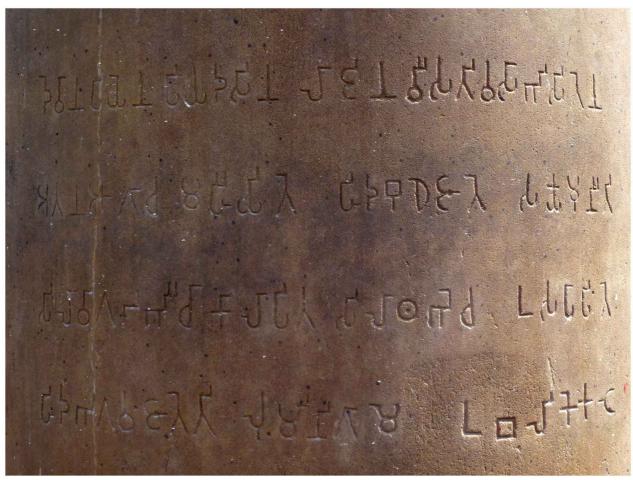
Carthage was settled around 800 BC by colonists from Tyre, a leading Phoenician Canaanite city-state in today's Lebanon. In Carthage, the Phoenicians preserved their freedom when the Neo-Assyrian Empire conquered the entire Middle East. The Phoenicians were the greatest adversaries of Greeks and Romans although, or because, they were also their greatest contributors. They brought them the alphabet, mass production of war ships, and the taste for trade with the World. For hundreds of years, Phoenician civilisation and technology was far superior to anyone elses. The circular War Harbour of Plato's Atlantis narration (in Timaeus, Critias, The Republic) has a perfect match in the War Harbour of Carthage. >



Atlantis (Greek: Atlantis nesos, "Island of Atlas") is a fictional island mentioned in an "allegory on the hubris of nations" in Plato's works, wherein it represents the antagonist naval power that besieges Ancient Athens. This antagonist was in real life the Phoenicians (Punics) and the allegory was an allusion to Phoenician power and the story was used as anti-Phoenician propaganda driven by Greek and Roman jealousy. It goes back to Solon (c. 630-560 BC). Hellanikos of Lesbos (c. 490-405 BC) mentions Atlantis in a papyrus fragment found in Egypt (P. Oxyrhyncus 1084, 2nd century AD). Carthage was one the largest cities in the world. Its walls were 13 m high, nearly 10 m thick. To the west, 3 parallel walls protected the peninsula of Carthage with her 500,000 people; the walls were 33 kilometres (21 mi) long. In 146 BC, Carthage fell to the Romans. The circular War Harbour of Carthage can be seen still today.



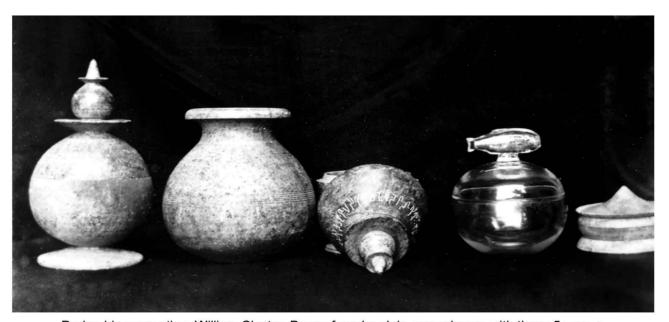
Pillar Edict of Emperor Ashoka in Brahmi script on Pillar, Sarnath. The Brahmi script was indroduced to India by Chandragupta Maurya in about 300 BC. Before that, the Indians had no script at all. Some Hebrews in northwestern India used Aramaic language and script; it was the Lingua Franca of the Persian Empire. Alexanders conquests convinced Chandragupta about the significance of writing. >



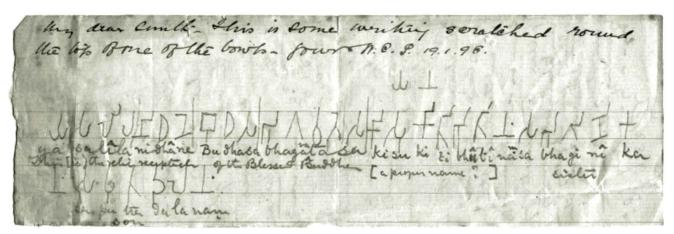
Pillar Edict of Emperor Ashoka in Brahmi Script, Lumbini, Nepal. Siddharta Gautama, the then future Buddha, was born at Lumbini. Buried were the ashes of the Buddha not far away in Piprahwa, India. >



This stupa pyramid was buried under earth and shrubs. William Claxton Peppe, a British colonial engineer and landowner of an estate at Piprahwa discovered and excavated it in January 1898. It turned out to be the tomb of Siddharta Gautama, better known as "the Buddha." The tomb was undisturbed and intact. >



During his excavation, William Claxton Peppe found a plain sarcophagus with these 5 urns. >



In this note, W.C. Peppe asks Vincent Arthur Smith what the inscription on one of vases might mean. >



One of the 5 vases (urns) at the excavated site. >

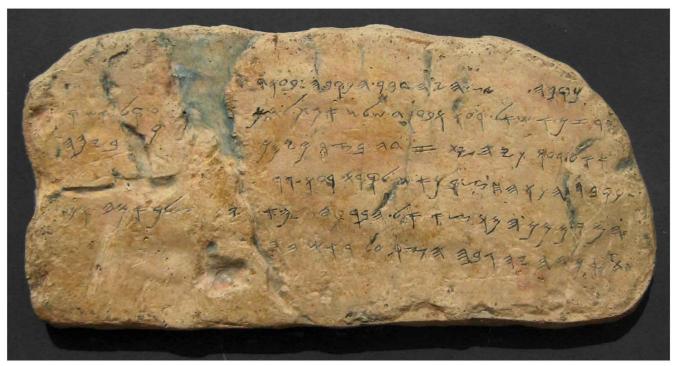


On the lid of this vase (or urn) was a text engraved in Brahmi script which was translated by Georg Bühler, a leading European epigraphist of the time, to mean: "This relic-shrine of divine Buddha is the donation of the Sakya-Sukiti brothers, associated with their sisters, sons, and wives,"

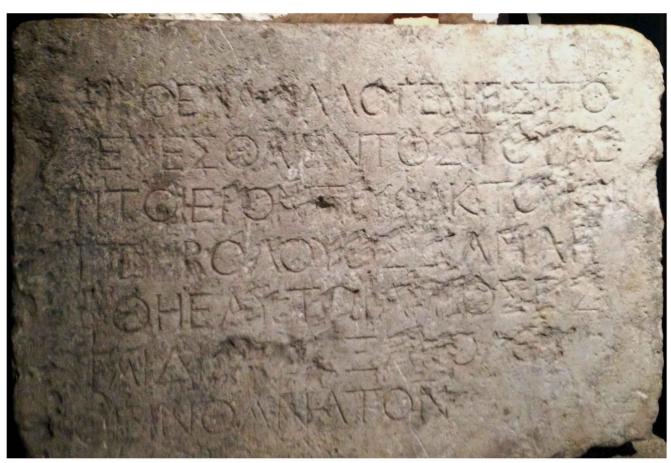
Over a hundred years later, in the 2013 documentary, Bones of the Buddha (hosted by historian Charles Allen), epigraphist Harry Falk of Freie Universität Berlin confirmed the original interpretation that the depositors believed these to be the remains of the Buddha himself. Falk translated the inscription as "These are the relics of the Buddha, the Lord . . ." and concluded that the reliquary found at Piprahwa did contain a portion of the ashes of the Buddha and that the inscription is authentic. That the Brahmi script was introduced by Emperor Ashoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya (reign: 321-297 BC) indicates that this tomb is a reburial of the Buddha and organised by Emperor Ashoka (reign: 268-232 BC) himself. >



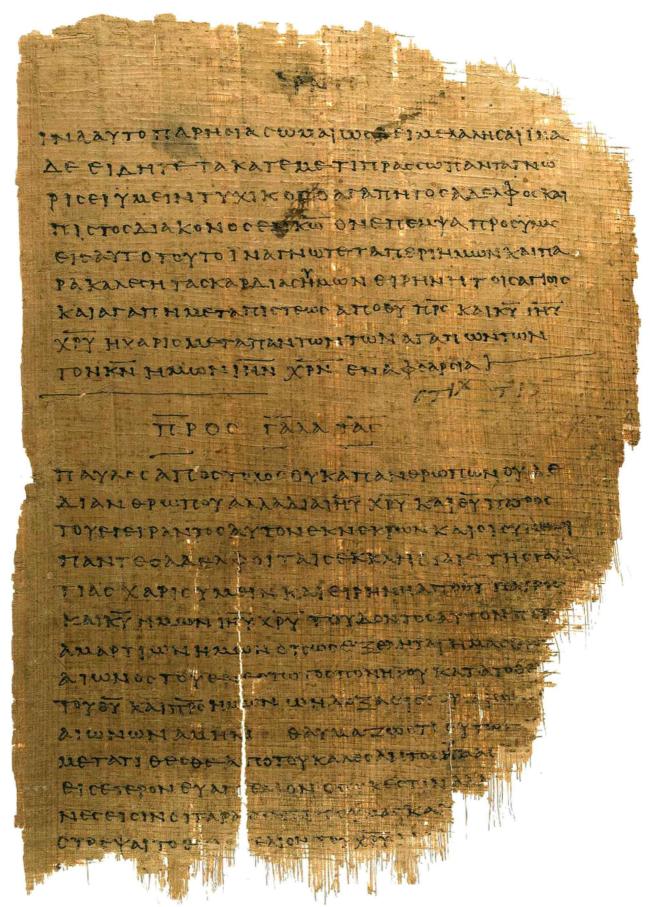
Among bone fragments and ashes of the Buddha found in the vases were these beautiful flowers of gold and gems.



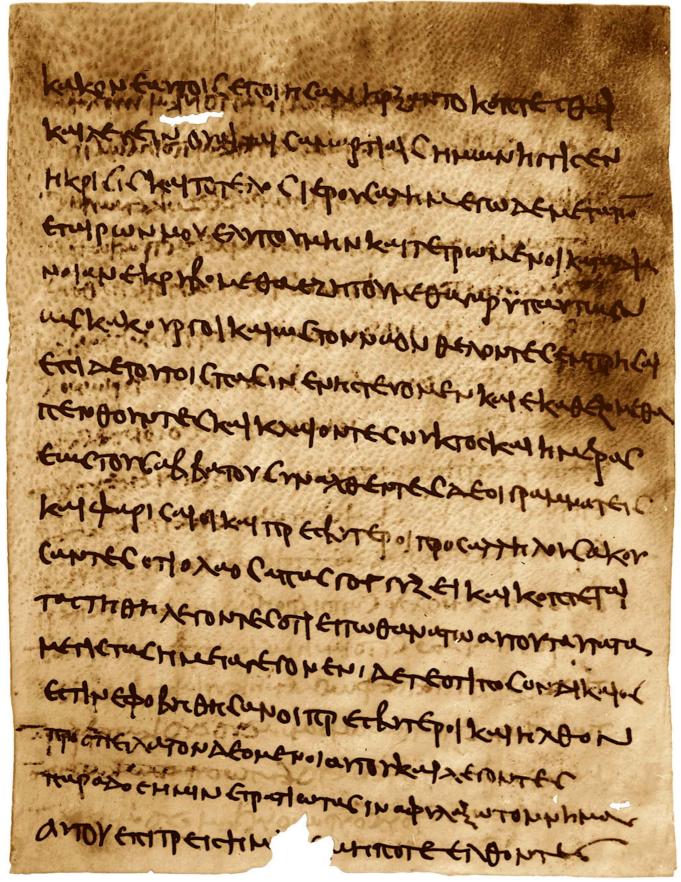
The Siloam (also Silwan or Shiloah) Inscription, known as KAI 189, is a Hebrew (Phoenician Aramaic) inscription found in the Siloam tunnel which brings water from the Gihon Spring to the Pool of Siloam, located in the City of David in East Jerusalem neighborhood of Shiloah or Silwan. The inscription records the construction of the tunnel, which has been dated to the 8th century BC on the basis of the writing style. Siloam Shiloah Silwan inscription, replica, City of David, East-Jerusalem. The passage reads: "... the tunnel ... and this is the story of the tunnel while ... the axes were against each other and while three cubits were left to (cut?) ... the voice of a man ... called to his counterpart, (for) there was ZADA in the rock, on the right ... and on the day of the tunnel (being finished) the stonecutters struck each man towards his counterpart, ax against ax and flowed water from the source to the pool for 1,200 cubits. and (...) cubits was the height over the head of the stonecutters ..."



The Temple Warning inscription (created c. 23 BC - 70 AD), also known as the Temple Balustrade inscription or the Soreg inscription, is an inscription that hung along the balustrade outside the Sanctuary of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. Two of these tablets have been found in 1871. The inscription was a warning to non-Jewish visitors to the temple not to proceed further. Both Greek and Latin inscriptions on the temple's balustrade served as warnings to pagan visitors not to proceed under penalty of death. Jerusalem Temple Warning Inscription translated into English: "No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the temple and enclosure. Whoever is caught will be himself responsible for his ensuing death." This inscription clearly shows the authority that the Temple priests have had. It clearly also questions the total Roman rule over the Hebrews.



Papyrus in Greek showing the end of Ephesians (verses 6,20–24) and the start of Galatians (verses 1,1–8), c.150-250 AD. Saul of Tarsos (Aramaic Hebrew: Sha'ul ha-Tarsi; Greek: Saulos Tarseus; c. 5-64 or 67 AD), commonly known as Saint Paul or Paul the Apostle (though not one of the 12 Apostles), was a Pharisee (a Jew affiliated to the Greek-Roman civilisation). In Galatians 1:13, Paul admitted that he "persecuted the church of God and tried to destroy it." In order to do that, he had to be a holder of Roman citizenship and to be a Roman official. The vision of "the Lord" on the road to Damascus (Acts 9; Galatians 1:23) is often interpreted as Paul's "conversion" to Christianity; it equally could be interpreted as event in which he had the idea to create a new Christian faith as opposed to the old Jewish-Christian faith represented by James the Just, the brother of Jesus. Hebrews always considered Paul as liar and traitor simply because with the version of Christianity he had created, in which Jesus was depicted as another god (the son of God), he had violated against the first three of the Ten Commandments (Hebrew: Aseret ha'Dibrot; Exodus 20:2–17 and Deuteronomy 5:6–21): 1. Thou shalt have no other gods before me; 2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image; 3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain. And so, Christianity as a religion is not viewed in a favourable light by Jews, even today; because they are still breaking The Law.



The Gospel of Peter. The Gospel of Peter or Gospel according to Peter, is an ancient narrative text concerning Jesus Christ, only partially known today. The Gospel of Peter explicitly claims to be the work of Saint Peter: "And I with my companions was grieved; and being wounded in mind we hid ourselves:" — GoP, 7. "But I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea;" — GoP, 14. However, the Gospel of Peter was condemned as heretical by ca. 200 AD for its alleged docetic elements and particularly because it ascribes responsibility for the crucifixion of Jesus to Herod Antipas and the Temple clergy rather than to Pontius Pilate. Peter or Simon Peter, that is Shimon bar Yonah (Simon the son of Yonah), Simon Bar-Jona (also: Simon Cephas, Kefa or Kepha; Aramaic: Simon, Simeon, "the Listener," Kefa, "stone, rock." The Gospel of Peter, which was assumed lost, was recovered in 1886 by the French archaeologist Urbain Bouriant in the modern Egyptian city of Akhmim (sixty miles north of Nag Hammadi) and published in 1892. The 8th- or 9th-century was the first non-canonical gospel to have been rediscovered, preserved in the dry sand of Egypt. Two other papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy 4009 and P.Oxy. 2949) were uncovered later and published in 1972.



Selihah (Selichah / Selichot; penitential poem or prayer) leaf written in Hebrew Aramaic. 8th or 9th century, found in the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang, Gansu, China in 1908 by sinologist Paul Eugene Pelliot. The Mogao Caves or Dunhuang Caves, also known as the Thousand Buddha Grottoes or Caves of the Thousand Buddhas, form a system of 500 temples 25 km (16 mi) southeast of Dunhuang, an oasis at a religious and cultural crossroads on the Silk Road, in Gansu province, China. The Silk Road went directly through Sepphoris c. 5km / 3 mi north of Nazareth. Dunhuang was established as a garrison outpost and gateway to the West by the Han Dynasty Emperor Wudi to protect against the Xiongnu (Huns) in 111 BC. From the 4th until the 14th century, caves were constructed by Buddhist monks and scholars. In 1900, the "Library Cave", which had been walled-up and camouflaged against Islamic raiders in the 11th century, was discovered. Up to 50,000 manuscripts may have been kept there, one of the greatest treasure troves of ancient documents ever found. While most of them are in Chinese, a large number of documents are in more than fifteen different scripts and languages such as Aramaic, Kharosthi, Brahmi, Persian, Tocharian, Uyghur, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Khotanese, Sanskrit, Tangut, Tibetan and Greek. For Britain and India, Aurel Stein bought 7,000 complete manuscripts and 6,000 fragments including the Diamond Sutra from 868 AD (the oldest printed book) and the Lotus Sutra. Then Paul Pelliot bought 10,000 documents for France including Nestorian (Jingjiao) documents, Chinese language texts connected with the 7th-century mission of Alopen (See: Nestorian Stele).



"Jesus with his mother Mary and the (three) Wise Men from the East (Matthew 2:1) celebrating a blood sacrifice and Eucharist" — This, or something similar, could have been the title of this relief, but it is not! Indeed, it shows a Eucharist, and a blood sacrifice, and even three men from the East. Their Persian hats identify them as such. They represent the origin of Mithras which was Zoroastrian, Persian. The name of this 2nd-3rd century Mithraic relief is "Mithras banquet" or "Mithras killing a bull." It is on an altarpiece found near Fiano Romano, near Rome in 1926. The Gospel of Matthew is the only one of the four canonical gospels to mention the Magi.

Mithraism, also known as the Mithraic mysteries, was a Roman religion in which the Persian (Zoroastrian) divine archangel Mithra became the Roman god Mithras. Numerous archaeological finds have contributed to modern knowledge about Mithraism in the Roman Empire. About 420 sites have yielded materials related to the cult. Among the items found are about 1000 inscriptions, 700 examples of the bull-killing scene, and about 400 other monuments. It is estimated that there would have been at least 680 mithraea in the city of Rome and several thousands of them within the entire territory of the Roman Empire. Interpretation of the physical evidence remains problematic and contested. It seems that the Greek-Roman followers of Mithras have had no scripture at all. However, there is one religious document that has survived. The "Mithras Liturgy" recorded in the Greek Magical Papyri (Number PGM IV.475-834) is the only authentic Mithraic text to have survived so far.

Worshippers of Mithras had a complex system of seven grades of initiation and communal ritual meals, Eucharists, to be precise. Initiates called themselves Syndexioi, those "united by the handshake". They met in their mithraea, which survive in large numbers as "crypts" under ancient church buildings. The cult appears to have had its centre in Rome, and was popular throughout the western half of the empire, as far south as Roman Africa and Numidia, as far north as Roman Britain, and to a lesser extent in Roman Syria in the east.

Mithraism is often viewed as a rival of early Christianity, but it is not that simple. For quite a long time, scholars thought that Mithraists faced persecution from Christians and the religion was subsequently suppressed and eliminated in the Roman empire by the end of the 4th century. This is not the entire truth either. When we look at the families of the Roman emperors a bit more closely, we can discover the astonishing fact that the female members were Christians while their husbands were followers of Mithras. This is true for the "Christian persecutor" Diocletian (Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus; c. 244-311 AD) whose wife Prisca and his daughter Galeria Valeria were Christians, as well as for Helena, (also known as Helena Augusta, or Saint Helena; c. 246-330 AD) who was the wife of Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great. How could that work out in their family lives? Paying attention to hictorical details, one gets aware of dozens of Christian movements florishing in the Empire. When we study the amazing book series Ante-Nicene Fathers (1867-1873; 10 Vols), and the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (1885; 14 Vols), published by Philip Schaff, we can read chilling details of those events that lasted for hundreds of years. The Church claims that Christians to be persecuted by the Romans. By studying all that material, it becomes quite clear that not Christianity as a whole was persecuted. It was the official "Roman Christianity" who sided with Roman authorities whilst persecuting dozens of different groups of Gnostics, Manichaeans, Mandaeans, Jews, and others.

In the first 4 centuries AD, Mithraism was popular among the Roman army officers while early Christianity among the common soldiers. This is the reason why worshippers of Mithras and Jesus usually celebrated their church service together, the officers downstairs in the underground crypt (called mithraeum; plural: mithraea), the soldiers upstairs in the room above, now called church. Helena the mother of Flavius Constantinus (c. 272-337 AD) was a Christian, while Constantinus became an army officer, who naturally worshipped Mithras like his father Constantinus Chlorus. This was not a contradiction at the time. He did not convert to Christianity at the time of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, this is just a legend made up by his friend and right-hand-man Eusebius of Caesarea Maritima (c.260-340 AD). He did much more: Either Constantinus or his father adopted the name Flavius to show that they follow the programme of Flavius Vespasianus. In order to gather all armed forces behind him, he fused Mithraism and Christianity together. The facts speak for themselves: the Eucharist is a Mithraist idea, so is the 25th of December the date of the Mithraist Winter Solstice and the birthday of their gods, the look-alike of the long-haired Jesus with a sun halo around his head, even the interiors of the Mithraea, they all are Mithraic but became part of Christian liturgy. The "Imperial Cult," the ministery of religion, with the Pontifex Maximus at its helm, turned into the Roman Catholic Church in the West and the Orthodox Church in the East. With the fusion of Mithraism and Christianity, Contantine led not only the masses celebrate him as a divine figure, like Caesar, Augustus, and Vespasian before him, but he laid the foundation of a unifying faith with which the Roman Empire survived for another 1,000 years. >



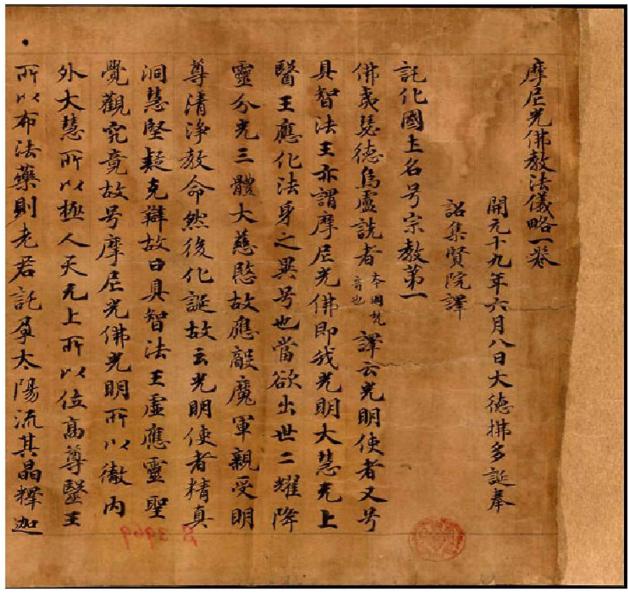
Mithraeum of the Baths of Mithras (Mitreo delle Terme del Mitra) in Ostia. Ostia at the mouth of the River Tiber was Rome's seaport and the western end of the Silk Road. It is located 15 mi (25 km) southwest of Rome. Due to lower ocean level and silting the site lies today 2 mi (3 km) from the sea. >



The mithraeum of Fort Brocolitia in Carrawburgh, Northumberland, England. In Roman times, it was the site of a 3 1/2-acre (1.5 ha) auxiliary fort on Hadrian's Wall in the Province Britannia. Flavius Constantinus I was stationed nearby for a year.



The Gospel of Jesus' Wife is a papyrus fragment with Coptic text that includes the words, "Jesus said to them, 'my wife...". The text was published in 2012. Lack of provenance, clumsy handwriting, grammar, shape of the papyrus, and the ink's colour and quality made it suspect. Radiocarbon analysis of the papyrus by Harvard University and the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution found a mean date of around 741 AD. The ink seems modern but imitating ancient carbon ink. The text seem to be a "patchwork of texts" from the Gospels of (Didymus Judas) Thomas, of Mary, and of Philip, whose texts suggest intimate relationship of Jesus and Mary of Magdala, which would have been normal anyway as all rabbis were married. The Gospel of Jesus' Wife is probably a forgery.



Chinese Manichean text fragment from Dunhuang, China: Compendium of the teachings of Mani, the Buddha of Light (Stein manuscript S 3969, British Library). The Faith of the Prophet Mani was from the 4th to the 6th centuries the largest world religion spreading from West Africa to eastern China. Manichaeism was considered a serious threat by established state religions because it combined teachings of Zarathustra, Mani, Buddha, and Jesus.

# APPENDIX C THE ADDITIONAL TEXTS

# TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE GRAND BIBLE

Contents of the GRAND BIBLE Appendix C in detail:

Name(s) Of The Book Or Manuscript	The Here Presented Translations	Comment On Origin, Circulation Or Influence	Page:
Ax C-1: The Laws of Eshnunna	Albrecht Goetze, 1948	Source: Iraq Museum Inventory No: 51059 and 52614	7475
Ax C-2: The Indika by Ktesias (Ctesias)	J. W. McCrindle. 1881	India as described by Ktesias of Knidos	7476
Ax C-3: Rabatak Inscription of Emperor Kanishka	Nicholas Sims-Williams, 1996	Found: Rabatak, Surkh Kotal, Afghanistan	7482
Ax C-4: The Mithras Liturgy	Marvin W. Meyer, 1976	Source: Paris Codex	7482
Ax C-5: The Cologne Mani-Codex	Ron Cameron, Arthur J. Dewey, 1979	Latin title: Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis	7484
Ax C-6: The Popol Vuh / The Counsel Book of the Maya	Goetz-Morley translation after Recinos	Origin: The Maya of Guatemala	7485
Ax C-7: A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace by M. Luther	Lord Henfield, 2017	20 points of Martin Luther's 95 Theses in German	7496
Ax C-8: The Obedience of A Christian Man	Original language: English	Author: William Tyndale	7496

# APPENDIX C-1 (to The Scriptures of Mesopotamia)

### THE LAWS OF ESHNUNNA

(Excavated at Tell Abu Harmal\* near Baghdad by the Iraq Directorate of Antiquities in Pre-Hammurabi layers.) Source: Iraq Museum Inventory number: 51059 and 52614 From: "The Ancient Near East, Volume I An Anthology of Texts and Pictures" Edited by James B. Pritchard Language: Akkadian; Script: cuneiform Translation: Albrecht Goetze, 1948 Estimated Range of Dating: 2000-1900 B.C.

[\* Abu Harmal formed part of the kingdom of Eshnunna—the Diyala region east of Baghdad—which flourished between the downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur (about 2000 B.C.) and the creation of Hammurabi's Amurrite (Canaanite Amorite that is) empire. Eshnunna was one of the numerous Canaanite Amurrite-controlled states of the period. The city of Eshnunna itself is located at Tell Asmar which was excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.]

(The Laws of Eshnunna are inscribed on two cuneiform tablets discovered in Tell Abū Harmal, Baghdad, Iraq. The Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities headed by Taha Baqir unearthed two parallel sets of tablets in 1945 and 1947. The two tablets are separate copies of an older source and date back to ca. 1930 BC. The differences between the Code of Hammurabi and the Laws of Eshnunna significantly contributed to illuminating the development of ancient and cuneiform law. Eshnunna was north of Ur on the Tigris River and became politically important after the fall of the third dynasty of Ur, founded by Ur-Nammu.

In distinction from the other Mesopotamian collections of law, this one got its name after the city where it had originated — Eshnunna, located on the bank of the Diyala River, tributary to the Tigris. This collection of laws is not a real systemised codex, nearly sixty of its sections are preserved. The Laws are written in Akkadian and consist of two tablets which are marked with A and B. In 1948, Albrecht Goetze of the Yale University had translated and published them. In some sources the Laws of Eshnunna are mentioned as the Laws of Bilalama due to the belief that the Eshnunnian ruler probably was their originator, but Goetze maintained that tablet B was originated under the reign of Dadusha. The text of the prologue is broken at the point where the ruler who promulgated the laws was specified.

Albrecht Goetze has noticed the specific style of expression. The laws were composed in a mode that facilitated memorising. A distinguished Israeli scientist and one of the foremost experts on this collection of laws, Reuven Yaron of the University of Jerusalem concerning this matter stated: "What matters to me – and might have mattered to those who fashioned them almost 4000 years ago – is the ease of remembering the text."

The conditional sentence ("If A then B" – as it also is the case with the other Mesopotamian laws) is an attribute of this codification. In 23 paragraphs, it appears in the form shumma awilum – "If a man ..." After the disposition, a precise sanction follows, e.g. LU42(A): "If a man bit and severed the nose of a man, one mina silver he shall weigh out."

The Laws clearly show signs of social stratification, mainly focussing on two different classes: the muškenum and awilum. The audience of the Laws of Eshnunna is more extensive than in the case of the earlier cuneiform codifications: awilum—free men and women (mar awilim and marat awilim), mushkenum, wife (ashatum), son (maru), slaves of both sexes—male (wardum) and female (amtum)—which are not only objects of law as in classical slavery, and delicts where the victims were slaves have been sanctioned, and other class designations as ubarum, apparum, mudum that are not ascertained.

Reuven Yaron has divided the offences of the Laws of Eshnunna into five groups. The articles of the first group had to be collected from all over the Laws and the articles of the other four were roughly ordered one after the other:

- 1. Theft and related offences,
- 2. False distraint,
- 3. Sexual offences,
- 4. Bodily injuries,
- 5. Damages caused by a goring ox and comparable cases.

The majority of these offences were penalised with pecuniary fines (an amount of silver), but some serious offences such as burglary, murder, and sexual offences were punished with death. It seems that the capital punishment was avoidable (in contrast to the Code of Hammurabi), because of the standard formulation: "It is a case of life ... he shall die".)

## Text

1: 1 kor of barley is priced at 1 shekel of silver; 3 qa of "best oil" are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah and 2 qa of sesame oil are priced at 10 shekel of silver; 1 seah and 5 qa of lard are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 1 seah of "river oil" are priced at 1

shekel of- silver; 6 minas of wool are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 2 kor of salt are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 1 kor . . . is priced at 1 shekel of silver; 3 minas of copper are priced at 1 shekel of silver; 2 minas of refined copper are priced at 1 shekel of silver.

- 2: 1 qa of sesame oil la nishatim—its (value in) barley is 3 seah; 1 qa of lard la nishatim—its (value in) barley is 2 seah and 5 qa; 1 qa of "river oil" la nishatim—its (value in) barley is 8 ga.
- 3: The hire for a wagon together with its oxen and its driver is 1 pan (and) 4 seah of barley. If it is paid in silver, the hire is one third of a shekel. He shall drive it the whole day.
- 4: The hire for a boat is 2 qa per kor (of capacity), 1 seah 1 qa is the hire for the boatman. He shall drive it the whole day.
- 5: If the boatman is negligent and causes the sinking of the boat, he shall pay in full for everything the sink-ing of which he caused.
- 6: If a man ... [Possibly "(who finds himself) in great peril."] takes possession of a boat which is not his, he shall pay lo shekels of silver.
- 7: The wages of a harvester are 2 seah of barley; if they are paid in silver, his wages are 12 grain.
  - 8: The wages of winnowers are 1 seah of barley.
- 9: Should a man pay 1 shekel of silver to a hired man for harvesting—if he (the hired man) does not place himself at his disposal and does not complete for him the harvest work everywhere, he [shall pay 10 shekels of silver. Should he have received 1 seah and 5 qa (of barley) as wages and leave the rations of barley, oil and cloth shall also be refunded.
- 10: The hire for a donkey is 1 seah of barley, and the wages for its driver are 1 seah of barley. He shall drive it the whole day.
- 11: The wages of a hired man are 1 shekel of silver; his provender is 1 pan of barley. He shall work for one month.
- 12: A man who is caught in the field of a muskenum\* in the crop during daytime, shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He who is caught in the crop at night, shall die, he shall not get away alive. [\* The muskenum is a member of a social class which at Eshnunna seems to be closely connected with the palace or the temple.]
- 13: A man who is caught in the house of a muskenum, in the house, during daytime, shall pay 10 shekels of silver. He who is caught in the house at night, shall die, he shall not get away alive.
- 14: The fee of a ... [The word must denote some kind of "money-lender" or "merchant."]—should he bring 5 shekels of silver the fee is 1 shekel of silver; should he bring 10 shekels of silver the fee is 2 shekels of silver.
- 15: The tamkarrum\* and the sabitum [The woman to whom trade in liquour is entrusted.] shall not receive silver, barley, wool or sesame oil from a slave or a slave-girl as an investment. [\* The official "finance officer" who has a state monopoly on certain commercial transactions.]
- 16: To a coparcener or a slave a mortgage cannot be furnished.
- 17: Should the son of a man bring bride-money to the house of (his) father-in-law, if one of the two deceases, the money shall revert to its owner.
- 18 A: If he takes her (the girl) and she enters his house, but afterward the young woman should decease, he (the husband) can not obtain refunded that which he brought to his father-in-law, but will retain the excess in his hand.
- 18 B: Per 1 shekel of silver there will accrue 1/6 shekel and 6 grain as interest; per 1 kor of barley there will accrue r pan and 4 seah as interest.
- 19: The man who gives a loan in terms of his retake shall make the debtor pay on the threshing floor.
- 20: If a man gives a loan . . . expressing the value of the silver in barley, he shall at harvest time receive the barley and its interest, 1 pan (and) 4(?) seah per kor.
- 21: If a man gives silver (as a loan) at face value, he shall receive the silver and its interest, one sixth (of a shekel) and [6 grain] per shekel.
- 22: If a man has no claim against another man, but (nevertheless) distrains the other man's slave-girl, the owner of the slave-girl shall [decla]re under oath: "Thou hast no claim against me" and he shall pay him silver in full compensation for the slave-girl.
- 23: If a man has no claim against another man, but (nevertheless) distrains the (other) man's slave-girl, detains the distrainee in his house and causes her death, he shall give two slave-girls to the owner of the slave-girl as a replacement.
- 24: If a man calls at the house of his father-in-law, and his father-in-law accepts him in servitude, but (nevertheless) gives his daughter to another man, the father of the girl shall refund the bride-money which he received twofold.
- 25: If a man gives bride-money for another man's daughter, but another man seizes her forcibly without asking the permission of her father and her mother and deprives her of her virginity, it is a capital offence and he shall die.
- 26: If a man takes another man's daughter without asking the permission of her father and her mother and concludes no formal marriage contract with her father and her mother,

even though she may live in his house for a year, she is not a housewife.

- 27: On the other hand, if he concludes a formal contract with her father and her mother and cohabits with her, she is a housewife. When she is caught with another man, she shall die, she shall not get away alive.
- 28: If a man has been made prisoner during a raid or an invasion or (if) he has been carried off forcibly and stayed in a foreign country for a long time, and if another man has taken his wife and she has born him a son—when he returns, he shall get his wife back.
- 30: If a man hates his town and his lord and becomes a fugitive, (and if) another man takes his wife—when he returns, he shall have no right to claim his wife.
- 31: If a man deprives another man's slave-girl of her virginity, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver; the slave-girl remains the property of her owner.

### ADOPTION RULES

- 32: If a man gives his son away for having him nursed and brought up, but does not give the nurse rations of barley, oil and wool for three years, he shall pay her 10 minas of silver for bringing up his son and shall take back his son.
- 33: If a slave-girl by subterfuge gives her child to another man's daughter, if its lord sees it when it has become older, he may seize it and take it back.
- 34: If a slave-girl of the palace gives her son or her daughter to a muskenum for bringing him / her up, the palace may take back the son or the daughter whom she gave.
- 35: Also the adoptant of the child of a slave-girl of the palace shall recompense the palace with its equivalent.
- 36: If a man gives property of his as a deposit to ... and if the property he gives disappears without that the house was burglarised, the sippu [Part of the house at or near the door.] broken down or the window forced, he the depository will replace his the depositor's property.
- 37: If the man's the depositary's house either collapses or is burglarized and together with the property of the deposit(or) which he gave him loss on the part of the owner of the house is incurred, the owner of the house shall swear him an oath in the gate of Tishpak [The main god of Eshnunna] saying: "Together with your property my property was lost; I have done nothing improper or fraudulent." If he swears him such an oath, he shall have no claim against him.
- 38: If one of several brothers wants to sell his share in a property common to them and his brother wants to buy it, he shall pay... [This expression seems to imply a preferential treatment.]
- 39: If a man is hard up and sells his house, the owner of the house shall be entitled to redeem it whenever the purchaser (re)sells it. [It would only be right to give the former owner, who fell into hard luck, the 1st chance to redeem buy back the house. If he does not have the price of redemption, then the house sells to another buyer.]
- 40: If a man buys a slave, a slave-girl, an ox or any other valuable good but cannot legally establish the seller, he is a thirt
- 41: If an ubarum, a naptarum or a mudum\* wants to sell his beer, the sabitum shall sell the beer for him at the current price. [\* Social classes who seem to be entitled to a ration of beer.]
- 42: If a man bites the nose of another man and severs it, he shall pay 1 mina of silver. For an eye he shall pay 1 mina of silver; for a tooth 1/2 mina; for an ear 1/2 mina; for a slap in the face 10 shekels of silver.
- 43: If a man severs a(nother) man's finger, he shall pay twothirds of a mina of silver.
- 44: If a man throws another man to the floor in an altercation and breaks his hand, he shall pay 1/2 mina of silver
  - 45: If he breaks his foot, he shall pay 1/2 mina of silver.
- 46: If a man assaults another man and breaks his . . . he shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.
- 47: If a man hits another man accidentally, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver.
- 48: And in addition, in cases involving penalties from twothirds of a mina to 1 mina, they shall formally try the man. A capital offence comes before the king.
- 49: If a man is caught with a stolen slave or a stolen slavegirl, he shall surrender slave by slave and slave-girl by slavegirl.
- 50: If the governor, the river commissioner or an-other official whoever it may be, seizes a lost slave, a lost slave-girl, a lost ox, a lost donkey belonging to the palace or a muskenum and does not surrender it to Eshnunna but keeps it in his house, even though he may let pass only seven days, the palace shall prosecute him for theft.
- 51: A slave or a slave-girl of Eshnunna which is marked with a kannum, a maikanum or an abbuttum [Markings that can easily be removed.] shall not leave the gate of Eshnunna without its owner's permission.
- 52: A slave or a slave-girl which has entered the gate of Eshnunna in the custody of a foreign envoy shall be marked

with a kannum, a malkanum or an abbuttum, but remains in the custody of its master.

### LIABILITY LAWS

- 53: If an ox gores an other ox and causes its death, both ox owners shall divide among themselves the price of the live ox and also the equivalent of the dead ox.
- 54: If an ox is known to gore habitually and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, but he does not have his ox dehorned, it gores a man and causes his death, then the owner of the ox shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.
- 55: If it gores a slave and causes his death, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver.
- 56: If a dog is vicious and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, if nevertheless he does not keep it in, it bites a man and causes his death, then the owner of the dog shall pay two-thirds of a mina of silver.
- 57: If it bites a slave\* and causes its death, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver. [\* Slavery is Not Condemned in the Bible. Politically correct Christians may think slavery abhorrent. But God and the Bible did not.]
- 58: If a wall is threatening to fall and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner, if nevertheless he does not strengthen his wall, the wall collapses and causes a free man's death, then it is a capital offence; jurisdiction of the king.
- 59: If a man divorces his wife after having made her bear children and takes another wife, he shall be driven from his house and from whatever he owns and may go after him who will accept him.
- [The following articles No. 60 and 61 are badly mutilated and therefore cannot be translated.]

# A P P E N D I X C-2 (to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

#### THE INDIKA

Ancient India as described by Ktesias of Knidos Translation: J. W. McCrindle. 1881 Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century B.C.

(There are three works called "Indika" (Indica) that were written in Antiquity: 1. Indika (by Ktesias of Knidos, 5th century BC, physician to Artaxerxes II), a recording of the beliefs of the Persians about India. 2. Indika (by Megasthenes, c. 350-290 BC, Greek ambassador to Chandragupta Maurya.), his account of his travels in India. 3. Indika (by Lucius Flavius Arrianus, c. 86-160 AD, general, senator, consul), Arrian's account of Nearchus' voyage from India.

The Indika (Latin form: Indica) is a book by the classical Greek physician Ctesias purporting to describe India. Written in the 5th century BC, it is the first known Greek reference to that distant land. Ktesias was the author of The Persika, a detailed (but now lost) treatise on the Persian Achaemenid Empire (23 books), and The Indika, an account of India, which is lost as well but has survived in fragments, mainly through the quotations of other authors. Written in the 5th century BC, it is the first known Greek reference to that distant land. The book is not based on his own experiences, but on stories brought to Persia by traders, along the Silk Road from Serica (Greek name for China) and India. The accounts deal with the parts of India which were not occupied by the Persian Empire and therefore not well known. Persian India encompassed today's Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Northwest of India.

Ktesias (or Ctesias, 5th century BC), also known as Ctesias of Cnidus or Ctesias the Cnidian, was a Greek physician and historian from the town of Cnidus in Caria, when Caria was part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire. Ktesias was physician to the Persian king Artaxerxes II, whom he accompanied in 401 BC on his expedition against his brother Cyrus the Younger. Ktesias was part of the entourage of the king at the Battle of Cunaxa (401 BC) against Cyrus the Younger and his Greek mercenaries called the Ten Thousand, and brought medical assistance to the king by treating his flesh wound. He reportedly was involved in negotiations with the Greeks after the battle.

The Indika does not survive, however, the excerpts and summaries depict some of the bizarre accounts which are highly distorted when it comes to real-life people, places, and animals. These distorted versions entered European lore and could be found in travelers' accounts down to the Renaissance. The book contains the first known reference to the unicorn, ostensibly an ass in India that had a single 1.5 cubit (27 inch) horn on its head, and introduces the European world to the talking parrot, and falconry, which was not yet practiced in Europe. Anecdotes like the description of a race of one-legged people called the Monosceli, another whose feet were so big they could be used as umbrellas (the Skiopolae), men with tails like satyrs, and the claim that people in Serica were 18 feet tall, were most likely misinterpretations. Despite the

weird stories, the book still contains valuable information such as:

- The River Indus is identified, and described as being up to twenty miles across.
- India is heavily populated, more than the rest of the world combined
- Indian elephants are first described, generations before Alexander the Great faced them while conquering part of India.
- While monkeys were well known in the Mediterranean, unusual types are described for India, including a tiny breed with a tail six feet in length
  - Indian dogs the size of lions
- Gigantic mountains (the Himalaya)
- The martikhora (manticore), a red creature with a face like a man's, three rows of teeth, and a scorpion's sting on its tail. This is the earliest known Western reference to the manticore
- Detailed descriptions of Indian customs, proclaiming them very just and honorable.
- Short, black men called pygmies, who live in the middle of India.

• Palm and date trees three times the size of those in Babylon (which was annexed by Persia)

The texts below were translated by J. W. McCrindle (1825-1913) in the Indian Antiquary in 1881. His translations were collected in book form the next year with additional supplementary material.)

### ANCIENT INDIA, AS DESCRIBED BY KTESIAS,

#### INTRODUCTION

The Life and Writings of Ktesias.

To Ktesias belongs the distinction of having been the first writer who gave to the Greeks a special treatise on India—a region concerning which they had, before his time, no further knowledge than what was supplied by the few and meagre notices of it which had appeared in the Geography of Hekataios of Miletos and in the History of Herodotos. This Ktesias was a native of Knidos, an important Lakedemonian colony situate on the sea coast of Karia, and was the son of Ktesiokhos (or Ktesiarkhos). His family, as we learn from Galen, was a branch of the Asklepiadai, a caste of priests settled principally in Kes and Knidos, with whom medicine was an hereditary profession. He was contemporary with Hippokrates, who like himself was an Asklepiad; but he was very much younger than his illustrious kinsman, though by how many years we know not, as the date of his birth cannot be ascertained. We may conclude, however, that he must have risen to eminence by the practice of his art before the year 416 B.C., for about that time he repaired to Persia, probably on the invitation of the king who appointed him physician to the royal court. Here he remained for 17 years, of which the first eleven were spent under Darius II, and the remaining six under his successor Artaxerxes Mnemon. He accompanied the latter when he took the field against Cyrus, and, as we learn from Xenophon, cured the wound which his royal master received in the battle of Kunaxa. Soon after this he appears to have left Persia and returned to his own country. This was in the year 398, after which we know nothing of his career.

Ktesias diversified his professional with literary pursuits and was the author of several works, of which the most important was his history of Persia. This was written in 23 books, of which the first six contained the history of the Assyrian monarchy down to the foundation of the kingdom of Persia. The next seven contained the history of Persia down to the end of the reign of Xerxes, and the remaining ten carried the history down to the time when the author left the Persian Court. This great work, whatever may have been its other merits, possessed this especial value, that the facts which it recorded were derived principally from the Persian staterecords which Ktesias was permitted by the king to consult. His statements, as might be expected, are frequently at variance with those of Herodotos whose sources of information were different. He is also in a few instances at variance with his contemporary Xenophon. The work unfortunately no longer exists, but we possess a brief abstract of its consents made by Photios, and some fragments which have been preserved by Diodoros and other writers.

Besides the History and the Treatise on India, Ktesias appears to have composed several minor works. These consisted, so far as is known, of treatise on the Revenues of the Persian Empire, two treatises of a geographical nature—one being on Mountains, and the other on Rivers, and some books of voyages entitled Periploi.

The Indika of Ktesias, like his other works, has been lost, but, like his great work on the History of Persia, it has been abridged by Photios, while several fragments of it have been preserved in the pages of other writers, as for instance Aelian. It was comprised in a single book, and embodied the information which Ktesias had gathered about India, partly from the reports of Persian officials who had visited that country on the king's service, and partly also perhaps from the

reports of Indians themselves, who in those days were occasionally to be seen at the Persian Court, whither they resorted, either as merchants, or as envoys bringing presents and tribute from the princes of Northern India, which was then subject to Persian rule. Ktesias unfortunately was not only a great lover of the marvellous, but also singularly deficient, for one of his profession, in critical acumen. He took, therefore, no pains to sift the accounts which were communicated to him, and the book which he gave to the world, instead of being, what a careful enquirer with his advantages might have made it-a valuable repertory of facts concerning India and its people, seemed to be little else than a tissue of fables and of absurd perversions or exaggerations of the truth, and was condemned as such, not only by the consentient voice of antiquity, but also by the generality of the learned in modern times. The work was nevertheless popular, and in spite of its infirm credit, was frequently cited by subsequent writers. Its 'tales of wonder' fascinated the credulous, while its style, which was remarkable alike for its ease, sweetness, and perspicuity, recommended it to readers of every stamp. It was the only systematic account of India the Greeks possessed till the time of the Makedonian invasion.

We must notice in conclusion the fact, that, as the knowledge of India, and especially of Indian antiquity, has increased, scholars have been led to question the justice of the traditional verdict which condemns Ktesias as a writer of unscrupulous mendacity. They do not indeed wholly exculpate him. but they have shown that many of his statements, which were once taken to be pure falsehoods, have either certain elements of truth underlying them, or that they originated in misconceptions which were perhaps less wilful than unavoidable. The fabulous races for instance which he has described are found, so far from being fictions of his own invention, to have their exact analogues in monstrous races which are mentioned in the two great national epics and other Brahmanical writings, and which, though therein depicted with every attribute of deformity, were nevertheless, not purely fictitious, but misrepresentations of such aboriginal tribes as offered a stout resistance to their Aryan invaders while still engaged in the task of conquering India.

These moderate views, which have been advocated by such authorities as Heeren, Bähr, C. Müller, Lassen, and others, will no doubt come eventually to be very generally accepted.

#### Notice of Photios.

Photios, to whom we are indebted for the abridgements of Ktesias, was the Patriarch of Constantinople, an office to which he was elected, though previously a layman, in the year 858 AD. Soon after the accession of Leo VI. as emperor (886 AD) he was accused of having conspired against his life, and was in consequence banished to a monastery in Armenia, where he ended his days. He was not only a scholar of wonderful erudition and sound judgement, but was the author of many works, the most important of which was that, entitled Myriobiblion or Bibliotheke-which was a review on an extensive scale of ancient Greek literature. It contained abstracts of the contents of 280 volumes, many of which are now known only from the account which he has given of them. His abridgment of the Persian history of our author is much more concise than that of his Indika. The latter is however a careless and unsatisfactory performance, for the passages summarised are chiefly those for which Ktesias was stigmatised as a fabulist and a liar.

As Lassen has devoted one of the leading sections' of his great work on Indian Antiquity to an examination of the reports which are yet extant of Ktesias upon India, and as his review is all but exhaustive, and reflects nearly all the light that learned research has yet been able to throw upon the subject, I have for this reason, as well as with a view to obviate the need which would otherwise occur, of having constant recourse to long foot-notes, thought it advisable to append to the translation of the Greek text a translation of this review. I have appended also a translation of some passages from Indikopleustes, which will serve to illustrate the descriptions given by Ktesias of certain Indian animals and plants.

## THE INDIKA OF KTESIAS.

# INTRODUCTION

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[\* Diodoros (1., 1) followed by Tzetzes (Chil. 1. 1, 82), writes that Ktesias fighting with his countrymen on behalf of Cyrus was taken prisoner at the battle of Kunaxa, and was thereafter on account of his skill in medicine taken into the king's service, in. which he remained for 17 years. A comparison however of well ascertained facta discredits this statement.]

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generality of the learned in modern times. The work was nevertheless popular, and in spite of its infirm credit, was frequently cited by subsequent writers. Its 'tales of wonder' fascinated the credulous, while its style, which was remarkable alike for its ease, sweetness, and perspicuity, recommended it to readers of every stamp\*. It was the only systematic account of India the Greeks possessed till tho time of tho Makedonian invasion.

[\* Ktesias, though a Dorian, used many Ionic forms and modes of expression, and these more in the Indika than in the Persika. His style is praised for tho qualities mentioned in the text by Photios, Dion. Halicarn, and Demet. Phaler, who does not hesitate to speak of him as a poet, the very demiurge of perspicuity.]

We must notice in conclusion the fact, that, as the knowledge of India, and especially of Indian antiquity, has increased, scholars have been led to question the justice of the traditional verdict which condemns Ktesias as a writer of unscrupulous mendacity. They do not indeed wholly exculpate him, but they have shown that many of his statements, which were once taken to be pure falsehoods, have either certain elements of truth underlying them, or that they originated in misconceptions which were perhaps less wilful than

unavoidable. The fabulous races for instance which he has described are found, so for from being fictions of his own invention, to have their exact analogues in monstrous races which are mentioned in the two great national epics (the Mahabharata and the Ramayana) and other Brahmanical writings, and which, though therein depicted with every attribute of deformity, were nevertheless, not purely fictitious, but misreprosontatious of such aboriginal tribes as offered a stout resistance to their Aryan (Persian) invaders while still engaged in the task of conquering India.

These moderate views, which have been advocated by such authorities as Herren, Baehr, C. Mueller, Lassen, and others, will no doubt come eventually to be very generally accepted.

#### FRAGMENT I.

Ecloga\* in Photii, Bibl. 72, p. 144 seqq. (\* A manual of Roman law, the Ecloga published by the emperors Leo III and Constantine V of Isauria at Constantinople 726 AD: rendered into English by Edwin Hanson Freshfield, 1926.)

- 1. Another work was read—the Indika of Ktesias, contained in a single book wherein the author has made more frequent use of lonic forms. He reports of the river Indus that, where narrowest, it has a breadth of forty stadia, and where widest of two hundred; and of the Indians themselves that they almost outnumber all other men taken together. He mentions the skolex, a kind of worm bred in the river, this being indeed the only living creature which is found in it. He states that there are no men who live beyond the Indians, and that no rain falls in India but that the country is watered by its river
- 2. He notices the pantarba, a kind of scalstone, and relates that when sealstones and other costly gems to the number of 477 which belonged to the Baktrian merchant, had been flung into the river, this pantarba drew them up to itself, all adhering together.
- 3. He notices also the elephants that demolish walls; the kind of small apes that have tails four cubits long; the cocks that are of extraordinary size; the kind of bird called the parrot and which he thus describes: it has a tongue and voice like the human, is of the size of a hawk, has a red bill, is adorned with a board of a black colour, while the neck is red like cinnabar, it talks like a man in Indian, but if taught Greek can talk in Greek also.
- 4. He notices the fountain which is filled every year with liquid gold, out of which are annually drawn a hundred earthen pitchers filled with the metal. The pitchers must be earthen since the gold when drawn becomes solid, and to get it out the containing vessel must needs be broken in pieces. The fountain is of a square shape, eleven cubits in circumference, and a fathom in depth. Each pitcherful of gold weighs a talent. He notices also the iron found at the bottom of this fountain, adding that he had in his own possession two swords made from this iron, one given to him by the king of Persia, and the other by Parysatis, the mother of that same king. This iron, he says, if fixed in the earth, averts clouds and hail and thunderstorms, and he avers that he had himself twice seen the iron do this, the king on both occasions performing the experiment.
- 5. We learn further that the dogs of India are of very great size, so that they fight even with the lion; that there are certain high mountains having mines which yield the sardinestone, and onyxes, and other seal stones that the heat is excessive, and that the sun appears in India to be ten times larger than in other countries; and that many of the inhabitants are suffocated to death by the heat. Of the sea in India, he says, that it is not less than the sea in Hellas; its surface however for four finger-breadths downward is hot, so that fish cannot live that go near the heated surface, but must confine themselves always to the depths below.
- 6. He states that the river Indus flows through the level country, and through between the mountains, and that what is called the Indian reed grows along its course, this being so thick that two men could scarcely encompass its stem with their arms, and of a height to equal the mast of a merchant ship of the heaviest burden. Some are of a greater size even than this, though some are of less, as might be expected when the mountain it grows on is of vast range. The reeds are distinguished by sex, some being male, others female. The male reed has no pith, and is exceedingly strong, but the female has a pith.
- 7. He describes an animal called the martikhora found in India. Its face is like a man's—it is about as big as a lion, and in colour red like cinnabar. It has three rows of teeth—ears like the human—eyes of a pale-blue like the human and a tail like that of the land scorpion, armed with a sting and more than a cubit long. It has besides stings on each side of its tail, and, like the scorpion, is armed with an additional sting on the crown of its head, wherewith it stings any one who goes near it, the wound in all cases proving mortal. If attacked from a distance it defends itself both in front and in rear—in front with its tail, by up-lifting it and darting out the stings, like shafts shot from a bow, and in rear by straightening it out. It can strike to the distance of a hundred feet, and no

creature can survive the wound it inflicts save only the elephant. The stings are about a foot in length, and not thicker than the finest thread. The name martikhora means in Greek "man-eater," and it is so called because it carries off men and devours them, though it no doubt preys upon other animals as well. In fighting it uses not only its stings but also its claws. Fresh stings grow up to replace those shot away in fighting. These animals are numerous in India, and are killed by the natives who hunt them with elephants, from the backs of which they attack them with darts.

- 8. He describes the Indians as extremely just, and gives an account of their manners and customs. He mentions the sacred spot in the midst of an uninhabited region which they venerate in the name of the Sun and the Moon. It takes one a fifteen days' journey to reach this place from Mount Sardous. Here for the space of five and thirty days the Sun every year cools down to allow his worshippers to celebrate his rites, and return home unscorched by his burning rays. He observes that in India there is neither thunder nor lightning nor rain, but that storms of -wind and violent hurricanes which sweep everything before them, are of frequent occurrence. The morning sun produces coolness for one half of the day, but an excessive heat during the other half, and this holds good for most parts of India.
- 9. It is not, however, by exposure to the sun that the people are swarthy, but by nature, for among the Indians there are both men and women who are as fair as any in the world, though such are no doubt in a minority. He adds that he had himself seen two Indian women and five men of such a fair complexion.
- 10. Wishing to assure us of the truth of his statement that the sun makes the temperature cool for five and thirty days, he mentions several facts that are equally strange—that the streams of fire which issue from Ætna leave unscathed amidst the surrounding havoc those lands which belong to just men—that in Zakynthos there are fountains with fish whence pitch is taken out—that in Naxos is a fountain which at times discharges a wine of great sweetness, and that the water of the river Phasis likewise, if kept in a vessel for a night and a day, changes into a wine which is also of great sweetness—that near Phaselis in Lykia there is a perpetual volcano, always flaming on the summit of the rock both by night and by day, and this is not quenched by water, which rather augments the blaze, but by casting rubbish into it—and in like manner, the volcanoes of Ætna and of Prusa keep always burning.
- 11. He writes that in the middle of India are found the swarthy men called Pygmies, who speak the same language as the other Indians. They are very diminutive, the tallest of them being but two cubits in height, while the majority are only one and a half. They let their hair grow very longdown to their knees, and even lower. They have the largest beards anywhere to be seen, and when these have grown sufficiently long and copious, they no longer wear clothing, but, instead, let the hair of the head fall down their backs far below the knee, while in front are their beards trailing down to their very feet. When their hair has thus thickly enveloped their whole body, they bind it round them with a zone, and so make it serve for a garment. Their privates are thick, and so large that they depend even to their ancles. They are moreover snubnosed, and otherwise ill-favoured. Their sheep are of the size of our lambs, and their oxen and asses rather smaller than our rams, which again are as big as their horses and mules and other cattle. Of the Pygmies three thousand men attend the king of the Indians, on account of their great skill in archery. They are eminently just, and have the same laws as the Indians. They hunt hares and foxes not with dogs but with ravens and kites and crows and vultures. In their country is a lake eight hundred stadia in circumference, which produces an oil like our own. If the wind be not blowing, this oil floats upon the surface, and the Pygmies going upon the lake in little boats collect it from amidst the waters in small tubs for household use. They use also oil of sesamum and nut oil, but the lake-oil is the best. The lake has also fish.
- 12. There is much silver in their part of the country, and the silver-mines though not deep are deeper than those in Baktria. Gold also is a product of India. It is not found in rivers and washed from the sands the like gold of the river Paktolos, but is found on those many high-towering mountains which are inhabited by the Griffins, a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and olaws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers except only on the breast where they are red. On account of those birds the gold with which the mountains abound is difficult to be got.
- 13. The sheep and the goats of the Indians are bigger than asses, and generally produce young by four and by six at a time. The tails grow to such a size that those of the dams must be cut off before the rams can get at them. India does not however produce the pig, either the tame sort or the wild. Palm-trees and their dates are in India thrice the size of those in Babylon, and we learn that there is a certain river flowing with honey out of a rock, like the one we have in our own country.

- 14. The justice of the Indians, their devotion to their king and their contempt of death are themes on which he loves to expatiate. He notices a fountain having this peculiarity, that when any one draws water from it, the water coagulates like cheese, and should you then detach from the solid lump a piece weighing about three obols, and having triturated this, put the powder into common water, he to whom you give this potion blabs out whatever he has done, for he becomes delirious, and raves like a madman all that day. The king avails himself of this property when he wishes to discover the guilt or innocence of accused persons. Whoever incriminates himself when undergoing the ordeal is sentenced to starve himself to death, while he who does not confess to any crime is acquitted.
- 15. The Indians are not afflicted with headache, or toothache, or ophthalmia, nor have they mouthsores or ulcers in any part of their body. The age to which they live is 120, 130, and 150 years, though the very old live to 200.
- 16. In their country is a serpent a span long, in appearance like the most beautiful purple with a head perfectly white but without any teeth. The creature is caught on those very hot mountains whose mines yield the sardine-stone. It does not sting, but on whatever part of the body it casts its vomit, that place invariably putrifies. If suspended by the tail, it emits two kinds of poison, one like amber which, oozes from it while living, and the other black, which oozes from its carcase. Should about a sesame-seed's bulk of the former be administered to any one, he dies the instant he swallows it, for his brain runs out through his nostrils. If the black sort be given it induces consumption, but operates so slowly that death scarcely ensues in less than a year's time.
- 17. He mentions an Indian bird called the Dikairon, a name equivalent in Greek to "just." It is about the size of a partridge's egg. It buries its dung under the earth to prevent its being found. Should it be found notwithstanding, and should a person at morning tide swallow so muoh of it as would about equal a grain of sesamum, he falls into a deep unconscious sleep from which he never awakes, but dies at the going down of the sun.
- 18. In the same country grows what is called the Parebon, a plant about the size of the olive, found only in the royal gardens, producing neither flower nor fruit, but having merely fifteen roots, which grow down into the earth, and are of considerable thickness, the very slenderest being about as thick as one's arm. If a span's length of this root be taken, it attracts to itself all objects brought near it-gold, silver, copper, stones and all things else except amber. If however a cubit's length of it be taken it attracts lambs and birds and it is in fact with this root that most kinds of birds are caught. Should you wish to turn water solid, even a whole gallon of it, you have but to throw into the water not more than an obol's weight of this root, and the thing is done. Its effect is the same upon wine which, when condensed by it, can be held in your hand like a piece of wax, though it melts the next day. It is found beneficial in the cure of bowel disorders.
- 19. Through India there flows a certain river, not of any great size, but only about two stadia in breadth, called in the Indian tongue Hyparkhos, which means in Greek "the bearer of all things good." This river for thirty days in every year floats down amber, for in the upper part of its course where it flows among the mountains there are said to be trees overhanging its current which for thirty days at a particular season in every year continue dropping tears like the almond-tree and the pine-tree and other trees. These tears on dropping into the water harden into gum. The Indian name for the tree is siptakhora, which means when rendered into Greek "sweet." These trees then supply the Indians with their amber. And not only so but they are said to yield also berries, which grow in clusters like the grapes of the vine, and have stones as large as the filbert-nuts of Pontos.
- 20. He writes that on the mountains just spoken of there live men having heads like those of dogs, who wear the skins of wild beasts, and do not use articulate speech, but bark like dogs, and thus converse so as to be understood by each other.63 They have larger teeth than dogs, and claws like those of dogs, only larger and more rounded. They inhabit the mountains, and extend as far as the river Indus. They are swarthy, and like all the other Indians extremely just men. With the Indians they can hold intercourse, for they understand what they say, though they cannot, it is true, reply to them in words, still by barking and by making signs with their hands and their fingers like the deaf and the dumb, they can make themselves understood. They are called by the Indians Kalystrioi, which means in Greek "dog-headed." Their food is raw flesh. The whole tribe numbers not less than 120,000 men.
- 21. Near the sources of this river there grows a certain purple flower, which is used for dying purple, and is not inferior to the Greek sort, but even imparts a far more florid hue. In the same parts there is a wild insect about the size of a beetle, red like cinnabar, with legs excessively long. It is as oft as the worm called skolex and is found on the trees which produce amber, eating the fruits of those trees and destroying them, as in Greece the wood-louse ravages the vine-trees. The

Indians grind these insects to a powder and therewith dye such robes, tunics, and other vestments as they want to be of a purple hue. Their dye-stuffs are superior to those used by the Persians

- 22. The Kynokephaloi living on the mountains do not practise any of the arts but subsist by the produce of the chase. They slaughter the prey, and roast the flesh in the sun. They rear however great numbers of sheep and goats and asses They drink the milk of the sheep and the whey which is made therefrom. They eat moreover the fruit of the Siptakhorathe tree which produces amber, for it is sweet. They also dry this fruit, and pack it in hampers as the Greeks do raisins. The same people construct rafts, and freight them with the hampers as well as with the flowers of the purple plant, after cleansing it, and with 260 talents weight of amber, and a like weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1000 talents more of amber. All this cargo, which is the season's produce, they convey annually as tribute to the King of the Indians. They take also additional quantities of the same commodities for sale to the Indians, from whom they receive in exchange loaves of bread and flour and cloth which is made from a treegrown stuff (cotton). They sell also swords such as they use in hunting wild beasts, and bows and javelins, for they are fell marksmen both in shooting with the bow and in hurling the javelin. As they inhabit steep and pathless mountains they cannot possibly be conquered in war, and the king moreover once every five years sends them as presents 300,000 arrows and as many javelins, 120,000 shields and 50,000 swords.
- 23. These Kynokephaloi have no houses but live in caves. They hunt wild beasts with the bow and the spear, and run so fast that they can overtake them in the chase. Their women bathe once a month at the time of menstruation, and then only. The men do not bathe at all, but merely wash their hands. Thrice a month, however, they anoint themselves with an oil made from milk, and wipe themselves with skins. Skins denuded of the hair, and made thin and soft, constitute the dress both of the men and their wives. Their richest men however use cotton raiment, but the number of Buch men is small. They have no bed but sleep on a litter of straw or leaves. That man is considered the richest who possesses most sheep, and in property of this sort consists all their wealth. Both men and women have, like dogs, tails above their buttocks but larger and more hairy. They copulate like quadrupeds in dogfashion, and to copulate otherwise is thought shameful. They are just, and of all men are the longest-lived, attaining the age of 170, and some even of 200 years
- 24. Beyond these again are other men who inhabit the country above the sources of the river, who are swarthy like the other Indians, do no work, and neither eat grain nor drink water, but rear a good many cows and goats and sheep, and drink their milk as their sole sustenance. Children are born among them with the anus closed up, and the contents of the bowels are therefore voided, it is said, as urine, this being something like curds, though not at all thick but feculent. When they drink milk in the morning and take another draught at noon, and then immediately after eat a certain sweet-tasted root of indigenous growth which is said to prevent milk from coagulating in the stomach, this root towards evening acts as an emetic, and they vomit up everything quite readily.
- 25. Among the Indians, he proceeds, there are wild asses as large as horses, some being even larger. Their head is of a dark red colour, their eyes blue, and the rest of their body white. They have a horn on their forehead, a cubit in length [the filings of this horn, if given in a potion, are an antidote to poisonous drugs]. This horn for about two palm-breadths upwards from the base is of the purest white, where it tapers to a sharp point of a flaming crimson, and, in the middle, is black. These horns are made into drinking cups, and such as drink from them are attacked neither by convulsions nor by the sacred disease (epilepsy). Nay, they are not even affected by poisons, if either before or after swallowing them they drink from these cups wine, water, or anything else. While other asses moreover, whether wild or tame, and indeed all other solid-hoofed animals have neither huckle-bones, nor gall in the liver, these one-horned asses have both. Their huckle-bone is the most beautiful of all I have ever seen, and is, in appearance and size, like that of the ox. It is as heavy as lead, of the colour of cinnabar both on the surface, and all throughout. It is exceedingly fleet and strong, and no creature that pursues it, not even the horse, can overtake it,
- 26. On first starting it scampers off somewhat leisurely, but the longer it runs, it gallops faster and faster till the pace becomes most furious. These animals therefore can only be caught at one particular time—that is when they lead out their little foals to the pastures in which they roam. They are then hemmed in on all sides by a vast number of hunters mounted on horseback, and being unwilling to escape while leaving their young to perish, stand their ground and fight, and by butting with their horns and kicking and biting kill many horses and men. But they are in the end taken, pierced to death with arrows and spears, for to take them alive is in no way possible. Their flesh being bitter is unfit for food, and

they are hunted merely for the sake of their horns and their huckle-hones.

- 27. He states that there is bred in the Indian river a worm like in appearance to that which is found in the fig, but seven cubits more or less in length, while its thickness is such that a boy ten years old could hardly clasp it within the circuit of his arms. These worms have two teeth—an upper and a lower, with which they seize and devour their prey. In the daytime they remain in the mud at the bottom of the river, but at night they come ashore, and should they fall in with any prey as a cow or a camel, they seize it with their teeth, and having dragged it to the river, there devour it. For catching this worm a large hook is employed, to which a kid or a lamb is fastened by chains of iron. The worm being landed, the captors hang up its carcase, and placing vessels underneath it leave it thus for thirty days. All this time oil drops from it, as much being got as would fill ten Attic kotylai. At the end of the thirty days they throw away the worm, and preserving the oil they take it to the king of the Indians, and to him alone, for no subject is allowed to get a drop of it. This oil [like fire] sets everything ablaze over which it is poured and it consumes not alone wood but even animals. The flames can be quenched only by throwing over them a great quantity of clay, and that of a thick consistency.
- 28. But again there are certain trees in India as tall as the cedar or the cypress, having leaves like those of the date palm, only somewhat broader, but having no shoots sprouting from the stems. They produce a flower like the male laurel, but no fruit. In the Indian language they are called karpion, but in Greek "unguent-roses." These trees are scarce. There oozes from them an oil in drops, which are wiped off from the stem with wool, from which they are afterwards wrung out and received into alabaster boxes of stone. The oil is in colour of a faint red, and of a somewhat thick consistency. Its smell is the sweetest in all the world, and is said to diffuse itself to a distance of five stadia around. The privilege of possessing this perfume belongs only to the king and the members of the royal family. A present of it was sent by the king of the Indians to the king of the Persians, and Ktesias alleges that he saw it himself, and that it was of such an exquisite fragrance as he could not describe, and he knew nothing whereunto he could liken it.
- 29. He states that the cheese and the wines of the Indians are the sweetest in the world, adding that he knew this from his own experience, since he had tasted both.
- 30. There is a fountain among the Indians of a square shape and of about five ells in circumference. The water lodges in a rock. The depth downward till you reach the water is three cubits and the depth of the water itself three orguiai. Herein the Indians of highest distinction bathe [both for purification and the averting of diseases] along with their wives and children; they throw themselves into the well foot foremost, and when they leap in the water casts them up again, and not only does it throw up human beings to the surface, but it casts out upon dry land any kind of animal, whether living or dead. and in fact anything else that is cast into it except iron and silver and gold and copper, which all sink to the bottom. The water is intensely cold and sweet to drink. It makes a loud bubbling noise like water boiling in a caldron. Its waters are a cure for leprosy, and scab. In the Indian tongue it is called Balladé and in Greek ophelyme (i. e. useful).
- 31. On those Indian mountains where the Indian reed grows. there is a race of men whose number is not less than 30,000, and whose wives bear offspring only once in their whole lifetime. Their children have teeth of perfect whiteness, both the upper set and the under, and the hair both of their head and of their eyebrows is from their very infancy quite hoary, and this whether they be boys or girls. Indeed every man among them till he reaches his thirtieth year has all the hair on his body white, but from that time forward it begins to turn black, and by the time they are sixty, there is not a hair to be seen upon them but what is black. These people, both men and women alike, have eight fingers on each hand, and eight toes on each foot. They are a very warlike people, and five thousand of them armed with bows and spears follow the banners of the King of the Indians. Their ears, he says, are so large that they cover their arms as far as the elbows while at the same time they cover all the back and the one ear touches the other.
- 32. There is in Ethiopia an animal called properly the Krokottas, but vulgarly the Kynolykos. It is of prodigious strength, and is said to imitate the human voice, and by night to call out men by their names, and when they come forth at their call, to fall upon them and devour them. This animal has the courage of the lion, the speed of the horse, and the strength of the bull, and cannot be encountered success fully with weapons of steel. In Eubœa about Khalkis the sheep have no gall, and their flesh is so extremely bitter that dogs even will not eat it. They say also that in the parts beyond the Maurusian Straits rain falls in the summer-time, while the same regions are in wintertime scorched with heat. In the country of the Kyonians there is, according to his account, a certain fountain, which instead of water has springs of oil—this oil being used by the people in the neighbourhood for all

kinds of food. In the region also called Metadrida there is another fountain, this being at no great distance from the sea. At midnight it swells with the utmost violence, and in receding casts forth fish upon dry land in such quantities that the people of the place cannot gather them, and are obliged to leave them lying rotting on the ground.

33. Ktesias thus writing and romancing professes that his narrative is all perfect truth, and, to assure us of this, asseverates that he has recorded nothing but what he either saw with his own eyes, or learned from the testimony of credible eye-witnesses. He adds moreover that he has left unnoticed many things far more marvellous than any he has related, lest any one who had not a previous knowledge of the facts might look upon him as an arrant story-teller.

The Seres and the natives of Upper India are said to be men of huge stature, so that among them are found some who are 13 cubits in height and who also live till they are above 200 years old. There are besides somewhere in the river called the Gaïtes men of a brute-like appearance who have a hide like that of a rhinoceros being quite impervious to darts, while in India itself in the central parts of an island of the ocean the inhabitants are said to have tails of extraordinary length such as satyrs are represented with in pictures.

#### FRAGMENT 2

From Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus; c. 86-160 AD), Anghasis Book 5 4 2

Anabasis, Book 5. 4, 2.

And Ktesias (if any one considers him a competent authority) asserts that the distance from the one bank of the Indus to the other where the stream is narrowest is 40 stadia, and where it is widest, so much even as 100 stadia, though its breadth in general is the mean between these two extremes.

#### FRAGMENT 3

Strabo (Strabon, a Greek-Roman geographer and historian; 64 BC - 24 AD), Geographica ("Geography") Book 15.

From this we can see how greatly the opinions of the others differ, Ktesias asserting that India is not less than all the rest of Asia, and Onesikritos that, etc.

From the Indika of Arrian, 30.

Ktesias the Knidian states that India is equal to the rest of Asia, but he is wrong.

#### FRAGMENT 4

Aelian (Claudius Aelianus, a Greek speaking Roman author; c. 175-235 AD), De Natura Animalium Book 17, 29.

When the King of the Indians goes on a campaign, one hundred thousand war-elephants go on before him, while three thousand more, that are of superior size and strength, march, I am told, behind him, these being trained to demolish the walls of the enemy. This they effect by rushing against them at the King's signal, and throwing them down by the overwhelming force with which they press their breasts against them. Ktesias reports this from hearsay, but adds that with his own eyes he had seen elephants tear up palm trees, roots and all, with like furious violence; and this they do whenever they are instigated to the act by their drivers.

# FRAGMENT 5

(A) Aristotle, De Gener. Anim. 2, 2.

What K tesias has said regarding the seed of the elephant is plainly false, for he asserts that when dry it turns hard so as to become like amber; and this it does not.

(B) From the same, towards the end of the 3rd Book of his History of Animals.

What K tesias has written regarding the seed of the elephant is false.

(C) Aelian, De Animal. 16, 2.

Cocks [in India] are of immense size, and their crests are not red like the crests of our own cocks, but many-hued, like a floral garland; their rump feathers are neither curved nor wreathed, but broad, and these they trail after them in the way the peacock drags his tail when he does not make it stand erect. The feathers of the Indian cocks are partly golden, and partly of a gleaming azure like the smaragdus stone.

# FRAGMENT 6

(A) Aelian, De Animal. Nat. 16, 31.

Ktesias in his account of India says that the people called the Kynamolgoi rear many dogs as big as the Hyrkanian breed, and this Knidian writer tells us also why they keep so many dogs, and this is the reason: From the time of the summer solstice on to mid-winter they are incessantly attacked by herds of wild oxen, coming like a swarm of bees or a flight of angry wasps, only that the oxen are more numerous by far. They are ferocious withal and proudly defiant, and butt most viciously with their horns. The Kynamolgoi, unable to withstand them otherwise, let loose their dogs upon them, which are bred for this express purpose, and these dogs easily overpower the oxen and worry them to death. Then come the masters, and appropriate to their own use such parts of the carcases as they deem fit for food, but they set apart for their dogs all the rest, and gratitude prompts them to give this share cheerfully. During the season when they are left

unmolested by the oxen, they employ their dogs in hunting other animals. They milk the bitches, and this is why they are called Kynamolgoi (dog-milkers). They drink this milk just as we drink that of the sheep or the goat.

(B) Polydeukes (Pollux), Onomastic. 5, 5, 41, p. 497.

The Kynamolgoi are dogs living about the lakes in the south of India and subsisting' upon cows' milk. They are attacked in the hot season by the oxen of India, but they fight these assailants and overcome them, as Ktesias relates.

(C) Aelian, De Animal. Nat. 4, 32.

It is worth while learning what like are the cattle of the Indians. Their goats and their sheep are, from what I hear, bigger than the biggest asses, and they produce four young ones at a time, and never fewer than three. The tails of the sheep reach down to their feet, and the tails of the goats are so long that they almost touch the ground. The shepherds cut off the tails of those ewes that are good for breeding to let them be mounted by the rams, and these tails yield an oil which is squeezed out from their fat. They cut also the tails of the rams, and having extracted the fat, sew them up again so carefully that no trace of the incision is afterwards seen.

### FRAGMENT 7

Tzetzes, Chil. 7, 5. 739, from the Third Book of the Arabikion of Uranius.

If any one thinks that the size of the Arabian reeds has been exaggerated, who, asks Tzetzes, would believe what Ktesias says of the Indian reeds—that they are two orguiai in breadth, and that a couple of cargo-boats could be made from a single joint of one of these reeds.

#### FRAGMENT 8

Aristotle, De Hist. Anim. 2, 1.

No animals of these species have a double row of teeth, though, if we are to believe Ktesias, there is one exception to the rule, for he asserts that the Indian beast called the Martikhora has a triple row of teeth in each of its jaws. He describes the animal as being equal in size to the lion, which it also resembles in its claws and in having shaggy hair, though its face and its ears are like those of a human being. Its eyes are blue and its hair is of the colour of cinnabar. Its tail, which resembles that of the land scorpion, contains the sting, and is furnished with a growth of prickles which it has the power of discharging like shafts shot from a bow. Its voice is like the sound of the pipe and the trumpet blended together. It runs fast, being as nimble as a deer. It is very ferocious and has a great avidity for human flesh.

# FRAGMENT 9

Pausanias (Boiot. 9. 21. 4) quoting Ktesias, thus describes the same animal.

The animal mentioned by Ktesias in his Indika, called by the Indians the Martikhora, but by the Greeks, it is said, "man-eater" is, I am convinced, the tiger. It is described as having three rows of teeth in each of its jaws and as having stings at the end of its tail, wherewith it defends itself against is assailants whether fighting at close quarters or at a distance. In the latter case it shoots its stings clean away from its tail like shafts shot from a bow-string.

[The Indians appear to me to have accepted this account, which is not true, through their excessive dread of this creature.]

# FRAGMENT 10

Pliny, H. N. 8, 21 (al. 30.)

Ktesias states that the animal which he calls the Martikhora is found among these people [the Indians or rather the Aethiopians]. According to his description, it has a triple row of teeth, ranged together like the teeth of a comb; its face and its ears are like those of a human being, while its eyes are blue and its hair of a blood-red colour. It has the body of a lion and its tail is armed with stings, with which it smites like the scorpion. Its voice is like the commingled sound of the pipe and the trumpet. It runs very fast, and is very fond of human flesh.

## FRAGMENT 11

From Aelian, De Animal. 4. 21; respecting the Indian Martikhora.

In India is found a wild animal called in the native tongue the Martikhora. It is of great strength and ferocity, being about as big as a lion, of a red colour like cinnabar, and covered with shaggy hair like a dog. Its face, however, is not bestial, but resembles that of a human being. It has both in the upper and the lower jaw a double row of teeth which are extremely sharp at the points and larger than the canine. Its ears in their conformation are like the human, but they are larger and covered with shaggy hair. Its eyes also are like the human, and of a blue colour. It has the feet and the claws of a lion, but its tail, which may be more than a cubit long, is not only furnished at the tip with a scorpion's sting but is armed on both sides with a row of stings. With the sting at the tip it smites any one who comes near it, and kills him therewith

instantaneously, but if it is pursued it uses the side stings, discharging them like arrows against the pursuer, whom it can hit even though he be at a good distance off. When it fights, having the enemy in front, it bends the tail upward, but when, like the Sakians, it fights while retreating, it straightens it out to the fullest length. The stings, which are a foot long and as slender as a rush (or a fine thread), kill every animal they hit, with the exception of the elephant only. Ktesias says that he had been assured by the Indians that those stings that are expended in fighting are replaced by a growth of new ones as if to perpetuate this accursed plague. Its favourite food, according to the same author, is human flesh, and to satisfy this lust, it kills a great many men, caring not to spring from its ambush upon a solitary traveller, but rather upon a band of two or three for which it is singly more than a match. All the beasts of the forest yield to its prowess, save only the lion, which it is impotent to subdue. That it loves above all things to gorge itself with human flesh, is clearly shown by its name-for the Indian word Martikhora means man-eater-and it has its name from this particular habit. It runs with all the nimbleness of a deer. The Indians hunt the young ones before the stings appear on their tails, and break the tails themselves in pieces on the rocks to prevent stings growing upon them. Its voice has a most striking resemblance to the sound of a trumpet. Ktesias says that he had seen in Persia one of these animals, which had been sent from India as a gift to the Persian king. Such are the peculiarities of the Martikhora as described by Ktesias, and if any one thinks this Knidian writer a competent authority on such subjects, he must be content with the account which he has given.

#### FRAGMENT 12

(A) Antigonos, Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist. c. 182.

He says that Ktesias gives an account of an undying fire burning on Mount Chimaera in the country of the Phaselitai. Should the flame be cast into water, this but sets it into a greater blaze, and so if you wish to put it out you must cast some solid substance into it.

(B) Pliny, Hist. Nat. 2, 106.

Mount Chimaera in Phaselisis volcanic, and burns night and day with a perpetual flame. According to Ktesias the Knidian, the fire is augmented by water, but extinguished by earth or hay.

(C) Aelian, De Anim. 16. 37.

Among the Indian Psylloi (who are so called to distinguish them from the Libyan Psylloi) the horses are no bigger than rams, while the sheep look as small as lambs. The asses are Likewise correspondingly small and so are the mules and the oxen, and in short all cattle of whatever kind.

# FRAGMENT 13

Aelian, Nat. An. 4, 26.

Hares and foxes are hunted by the Indians in the manner following. They do not require dogs for the purpose, but taking the young of eagles\*, of ravens and of kites, they rear and train them to pursue these animals by subjecting them to this course of instruction. Taking a pet hare and a tame fox, they fasten on to each a gobbet of flesh, and then making them run away, at the same time dismiss the birds to give them instant chase, and catch the alluring bait. The birds eagerly pursue, and catching up either the hare or the fox, pounce upon the flesh, with which they are allowed to glut their may in recompense for their activity in having captured it. When they have thus become adepts in hunting, they are taken out to pursue mountain hares and wild foxes, when, on sighting the quarry, they at once give it chase in hope of earning the customary dainty, and having quickly caught it bring it to their masters, as Ktesias acquaints us. From the same source we further learn that the entrails of the quarry are given them instead of the gobbets of flesh to which they had been formerly treated

[\*Additional Note: In fragment 13 it is stated that eagles were trained by the Indians to hunt hares and foxes, and Lassen expresses doubt as to whether eagles could be so far tamed. Here however Ktesias must be judged to have written according to fact, for in Upper India eagles are trained to this very day for the purpose mentioned. Sir Joseph Fayrer informs us that when the Prince of Wales visited Lahore, there were among the people collected about Government House some Afghans with huge eagles trained to pull down deer and hares. They were perched, he adds, on their wrists like hawks.]

## FRAGMENT 14

Aelian Nat. Anim. 4, 27.

The gryphon, an Indian animal, is, so far as I can learn, four-footed like the lion and has claws of enormous strength closely resembling his. It is described as having feathers on its back, and these black, while the breast feathers are red and those of the wing white. According to Ktesias its neck is variegated with feathers of a bright blue; its beak is like an eagle's; and its head like the representations which artists give of it in paintings and sculptures. Its eyes are said to be fiery red, and it builds its nest upon the mountains, and, as it is impossible to catch these birds when full grown, they are

caught when quite young. The Baktrians who are next neighbours to the Indians give out that these birds guard the gold found in the regions which they haunt, and' that they dig it out of the ground and build their nests with it, and that the Indians carry off as much of it as falls to the ground. The Indians however deny that the gryphons guard the gold, alleging, what I think is highly probable, that gold is a thing gryphons have no use for; but they admit that when these birds see them coming to gather the gold, they become alarmed for their young and attack the intruders. Nor do they resist man only, but beasts of whatever kind, gaining an easy victory over all except only the elephant and the lion, for which they are no match. The gryphons, then, being so formidable, the natives of these countries go not to gather gold in the day time, but set out under cover of night when they are least likely to be detected. Now the auriferous region which the gryphons inhabit is a frightful desert, and those who make a raid upon the gold, select a moonless night, and set out armed, the expedition being a thousand or even two thousand strong. They take with them mattocks for digging the gold and sacks in which to carry it away. If they are unobserved by the gryphons they have a double share of good luck, for they not only escape with their lives but bear a freight of gold in triumph home, where, the metal having been purified by those who are skilful in smelting ores, they are recompensed with overflowing wealth for all the hazards of the enterprise. Should they on the other hand be detected in the act of theft, certain death would be their fate. I have learned by enquiry that they do not return home till after an absence of three or four years.

FRAGMENT 15

(A) Aelian, Nat. An. 16, 37.

It is said that neither the wild nor the tame swine is found in India, and that the Indians so much abhor the flesh of this animal that they would as soon taste human flesh as taste pork.

(B) Aelian, De Nat. Anim. 3, 4.

The following also are peculiarities in the nature of animals. The swine, according to K tesias, whether wild or tame, is not found in India, and he somewhere states that Indian sheep have tails a cubit in breadth.

(C) Arist., De Hist. Anim. 8, 28.

In India, as Ktesias, a writer not to be depended on, tells us, the swine is not found either wild or tame.

[The animals of that country however which are bloodless and those that lie in holes are all large.]

(D) . Palladius, De Brachman, p. 5.

For the swine of the Thebaid, on account of the excessive heat, is no longer found either in the parts of India or of Aethiopia.

(E) Pallad., De Brach., p. 4.

It (India) has also palms and the largest of nuts, the Indian as well as the small nut which is aromatic.

(F) Antig. Mirab. Nar. 160.

Ktesias, he says, informs us that in Ethiopia there is a fountain whose waters are red like cinnabar, and make those who drink them mad.

(G) From the work of Sotion.

Ktesias relates that in Ethiopia there is a fountain of water resembling cinnabar in colour which deprives those who drink it of their reason, so that they confess all the misdeeds which they have secretly committed.

(H) Pliny, 31, 2.

In drinking this water due moderation must be observed lest it make you mad like those persons who drink of that red fountain in Æthiopia whereof Ktesias writes.

(I) Michael. Apostol. Proverb., 20, 6.10

A swine among the roses, a proverb applied by Krates to the intractable and uneducated. Ktesias asserts that the swine is not bred in India, either the wild or the tame kind, and he somewhere mentions that the sheep have tails a cubit in breadth.

FRAGMENT 16

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 17, 2.

Onesikritus says that in those parts of India where no shadows are cast there are men who are 5 cubits and 2 palms in stature and who live 130 years without becoming old, for if they die then they are cut off as it were in mid-life. Krates of Pergamus calls the Indians who live over a hundred years Gymnetae, but many writers call them Makrobii. Ktesias asserts that a tribe of them called Pandarae inhabiting the valleys live for 200 years, and have in their youth white hair, which turns black when they grow old.

FRAGMENT 17

Aelian, Nat. An. 4, 36.

Writers on India inform us that that country produces many drugs, and is astonishingly prolific of those plants that yield them. Many of these drugs are medicinal and cure snakebites, which are so dangerous to life, but others are deleterious and quickly destroy life. Among these may be reckoned the poison of a particular kind of serpent, one which

to appearance is about a span long. Its colour is purple of the deepest dye, but not on the head, which so far from being purple, is extraordinarily white, whiter even than snow or than milk. It is found in those parts of India which are most scorched by the sun. It has no teeth, and does not at all incline to bite, and hence one would think it to be of a tame and gentle nature, but nevertheless, wherever it casts its vomit, be it upon the limb of a man or of a beast, nothing can prevent the whole of that limb from mortifying. It is sought after for the sake of this poison, and is, when caught, suspended from a tree by the tail, so that the head may look downward to the ground. Below its mouth they place a casket made of brass, to receive the drops of poison as they fall. The matter thus discharged condenses and becomes a solid mass which might be mistaken for the gum which oozes from the almond-tree. When the snake is dead the vessel is replaced by another, which is also of brass, for the carcase then discharges a serous humour like water, which, after being allowed to stand for three days, takes also a solid form. The two masses differ from each other in colour, the one being jet-black and the other the colour of amber. If you take of the latter no more than what would equal the bulk of a sesame seed, and administer this to one either in his food or his drink, he is first of all seized with violent spasms, and his eyes in the next place become distorted, and his brain, forcing its way through his nostrils, runs out, when death ensues after a short but sharp agony. If a smaller dose is taken, death does not immediately ensue, but does so eventually. The black poison, again, which has oozed from the snake when dead, operates but slowly, for if one swallows the same bulk of it as of the other, it corrupts his blood and he falls into a consumption, of which he dies in a year's time. Many, however, survive for two years, dying inch by inch.

FRAGMENT 18

Aelian, De Nat. An. 4, 41.

There is a species of Indian bird of very diminutive size which may be thus described. It builds its nests on high and precipitous mountains, and is about as big as a partridge egg, and of a bright red colour like realgar. The Indians call it in their tongue dikairon, and the Greeks in theirs, as I am informed, dikaion (i. e. just). Its dung has a peculiar property, for if a quantity of it no bigger than a grain of millet be dissolved into a potion, it would be enough to kill a man by the fall of evening. But the death that comes thereby resembles a sleep, and is most pleasant withal and pangless, being like that death which the poets are wont to call lusimeles (limbrelaxing) and ablekhros (easy), for such a death is painless, and is therefore to those who wish to be rid of life, the sweetest of all deaths. The Indians accordingly spare no pains to procure this substance, which they regard as a genuine anodyne for all human ills. Hence it is included among the costly presents sent by the king of the Indians to the Persian king, by whom it is prized more than aught else, and who treasures it up as a sure defence in case of necessity against ills that are past all other remedy. No one in all Persia possesses it save only the king himself and the king's mother. Let us here then compare this Indian drug with the Egyptian so as to determine which is superior. The Egyptian we saw, had the effect throughout the day it was taken of restraining and checking tears, whereas the Indian induced an unending oblivion of all ills. The former was the gift of a woman, and the latter the gift of a bird, or rather of Nature, which, through the agency of this bird, unfetters man from the sternest bondage. And the Indians, they say, are happy in the possession of this, since they can by its means whenever they please, escape from their prison-house here below.

FRAGMENT 19

Apollonios (Dyskolos), Hist. Mirab. 17.

Ktesias says that in India is found a tree called the parybon. This draws to itself everything that comes near, as gold, silver, tin, copper and all other metals. Nay, it even attracts sparrows when they alight in its neighbourhood. Should it be of large size, it would attract even goats and sheep and similar animals.

FRAGMENT 20

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 37, 2

Ktesias says that in India is a river, the Hypobarus, and that the meaning of its name is the bearer of all good things. It flows from the north into the Eastern Ocean near a mountain well-wooded with trees that produce amber. These trees are called aphytacorae, a name which means luscious sweetness.

FRAGMENT 21

Tzetzes, Chi. 7, 5, 714.

Ktesias says that in India are the trees that produce amber, and the men called the Kynokephaloi, who, according to his account, are very just men living by produce of the chase.

FRAGMENT 22

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 7, 2.

On many mountains (of India) is found a race of men with heads like those of dogs, who are dressed with the skins of wild beasts, who bark instead of speaking, and who, being armed with claws, live by hunting and fowling. Ktesias says that in his time the number of these men was 120,000.

FRAGMENT 23

Aelian, 4, 46.

Among the Indians are found certain insects about the size of beetles and of a colour so red that at first sight one might mistake them for cinnabar. Their legs are of extraordinary length and soft to the touch. They grow upon the trees which produce amber, and subsist upon their fruit. The Indians collect them for the sake of the purple dye, which they yield when crushed. This dye is used for tinting with purple not only their outer and their under-garments, but also any other substance where a purple hue is required. Robes tinted with this purple are sent to the Persian king, for the Indian purple is thought by the Persians to be marvellously beautiful and far superior to their own. This we learn from Ktesias, who says well, for this dye is in fact deeper and more brilliant than the renowned Lydian purple.

In that part of India where the beetles ( $\kappa\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota$ ) are met with, live the Kynokephaloi, who are so called from their being like dogs in the shape of their head and in their general appearance. In other respects, however, they resemble mankind, and go about clad in the skins of wild beasts. They are moreover very just, and do no sort of injury to any man. They cannot speak, but utter a kind of howl. Notwithstanding this they comprehend the language of the Indians. They subsist upon wild animals, which their great fleetness of foot enables them to capture with the utmost ease. Having killed the prey they cut it into pieces, and roast it by the heat of the sun and not by fire. They keep goats however and sheep, whose milk supplies them with drink, as the chase with food. I have mentioned them among the brutes, and with good reason, for they do not possess articulate and intelligible speech like mankind.

FRAGMENT 24

Servius the Commentator on Virgil; Aeneid, 1, v. 653.

Acantho—i. e. with a flexible twig in imitation of which a robe is artificially adorned and wrought. Varius makes this statement. Ktesias says that there are trees in India which grow wool.

FRAGMENT 25

(A) Aelian, Hist. An. 4, 52.

I have ascertained by enquiry that wild asses are found in India as big as horses. The animal is entirely white, except about the head, which is of a reddish colour, while the eye gleams with azure. It has a horn upon its forehead about a cubit and a half long. This horn is white at the base, crimson at the tip, and jet black in the middle. These particoloured horns are used, I understand, as drinking cups by the Indians, not indeed by people of all ranks, but only by the magnates, who rim them at intervals with circlets of gold just as they would adorn with bracelets the arm of some beautiful statue. They say that whoever drinks out of this horn is protected against all incurable diseases, for he can neither be seized by convulsions nor by what is called the sacred disease (epilepsy), and neither can he be cut off by poison; nay if before drinking from it he should have swallowed anything deleterious, he vomits this, and escapes scatheless from all ill effects, and while, as has been believed, all other asses, wherever found, and whether wild or tame, and even all solid-hoofed animals, have neither a huckle-bone (ἀστραγαλος) nor a gall in the liver, the Indian horned asses have according to Ktesias both a huckle-bone and a gall in the liver. The huckle-bones are said to be black, not only on the surface but all throughout as may be proved by breaking one to pieces. They are fleeter not only than other asses but even than horses and deer. On first starting they run leisurely, but they gradually strengthen their pace, and then to overtake them, is, to use a poetic expression, the unattainable (τα ἀκίχητα). When the dams have brought forth and begin to lead out their young ones to the pastures, the males are in close attendance, and guard their offspring with devoted care. They roam about in the most desolate tracts of the Indian plain, and when the hunters come to attack them, they relegate their foals, being as yet but young and tender, to graze in the rear, while in front they fight to defend them. Their mode of attack is to charge the horsemen, using the horn as the weapon of assault, and this is so powerful, that nothing can withstand the blow it gives, but yields and snaps in two, or is perhaps shivered to pieces and spoiled for further use. They sometimes even fall upon the horses, and so cruelly rip up their sides with the horn that their very entrails gush out. The riders, it may well be imagined, dread to encounter them at close quarters, since the penalty of approaching them is a miserable death both to man and horse. And not only do they butt, but they also kick most viciously and bite; and their bite is much to be dreaded, for they tear away all the flesh they grasp with their teeth. It is accordingly impossible to take them alive if they be fullgrown; and hence they must be despatched with such missiles

as the spear or the arrow. This done, the Indians despoil them of their horns, which they ornament in the manner already described. The flesh is so very bitter that the Indians cannot use it for food.

(B) Aelian, 3, 41.

India, he says, produces unicorn horses and breeds likewise unicorn asses. Drinking cups are made from these horns. Should one who plots against another's life put a deadly poison into these cups no harm is done to the man who drinks therefrom. The horn of the horse and the ass, it would appear, is an antidote against evil.

FRAGMENT 26

Aelian, Nat. An. 5, 3.

The river Indus has no living creature in it except, they say, the Skolex, a kind of worm which to appearance is very like the worms that are generated and nurtured in trees. It differs however in size, being in general seven cubits in length and of such a thickness that a child of ten could scarcely clasp it round in his arms. It has a single tooth in each of its jaws, quadrangular in shape and above four feet long. These teeth are so strong that they tear in pieces with ease whatever they clutch, be it a stone or be it a beast, whether wild or tame. In the daytime these worms remain hidden at the bottom of the river, wallowing with delight in its mud and sediment, but by night they come ashore in search of prey, and whatever animal they pounce upon-horse, cow, or ass, they drag down to the bottom of the river, where they devour it limb by limb, all except the entrails. Should they be pressed by hunger they come ashore even in the daytime, and should a camel then or a cow come to the brink of the river to quench its thirst, they creep stealthily up to it, and having with a violent spring secured their victim by fastening their fangs in its upper lip, they drag it by sheer force into the water, where they make a sumptuous repast of it. The hide of the skolex is two fingerbreadths thick. The natives have devised the following method for catching it. To a hook of great strength and thickness they attach an iron chain, which they bind with a rope made of a broad piece of white cotton. Then they wrap wool round the hook and the rope, to prevent them being gnawed through by the worm, and having baited the hook with a kid, the line is thereupon lowered into the stream. As many as thirty men. each of whom is equipped with a sword and a spear fitted with a thong, hold on to the rope, having also stout cudgels of cornel lying ready to hand, in case it should be necessary to fell the monster with blows. As soon as it is hooked and swallows the bait, it is hauled ashore and despatched by the fishermen, who suspend its carcase till it has been exposed for 30 days to the heat of the sun. An oil all this time oozes out from it, and falls by drops into earthen vessels. A single worm yields ten kotulai (about five pints). The vessels having been sealed up, the oil is despatched to the king of the Indians, for no one else is allowed to have so much as one drop of it. The rest of the carcase is useless. Now this oil possesses this singular virtue, that if you wish to burn to ashes a pile of any kind of wood, you have only to pour upon it half a pint of the oil, and it ignites without your applying a spark of fire to kindle it, while if it is a man or a beast you want to burn, you pour out the oil, and in an instant the victim is consumed. By means of this oil also the king of the Indians, it is said, captures hostile cities without the help of rams or testudos or other siege apparatus, for he has merely to set them on fire with the oil, and they fall into his hands. How he proceeds is this. Having filled with the oil a certain number of earthen vessels which hold each about half a pint, he closes up their mouths, and aims them at the uppermost parts of the gates; and if they strike there and break, the oil runs down the woodwork, wrapping it in flames which cannot be put out, but with insatiable fury burn the enemy, arms and all. The only way to smother and extinguish this fire is to cast rubbish into it. This account is given by Ktesias the Knidian.

## FRAGMENT 27

(A) From Antigonos, Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist. 165.

It is said that Ktesias mentions certain lakes in India, one of which, like the lakes in Sicily and Media made everything that was cast into it sink down [float] except gold, copper, and iron. Moreover, should anything fall into it aslant, it is thrown up standing erect. It is said to cure the disease called the white leprosy. Another lake at certain seasons yields an oil which is found floating on the surface.

(B) From Sotion in scattered passages where he relates marvels about rivers, fountains and lakes.

There is a fountain in India which throws out upon its banks as if shot from an engine those who dive into its waters, as Ktesias relates.

(C) Strabo, Geog. 16, 4.

Ktesias the Knidian mentions a fountain which discharges into the sea water of a red colour and full of minium (redlead). FRAGMENT 28

Pliny, Hist. Nat. 31, 2.

Ktesias records that in India is a pool of water called Side in which nothing will float, but everything sinks to the bottom.

FRAGMENT 29

(A) Antigonos, Mirab. Nar. Cong. Hist. c. 182.

Ktesias mentions the water which falls from a rock in Armenia, and which casts out black fish which cause the death of the eater.

(B) Pliny, Hist. Nat. 31, 2.

Ktesias writes that in Armenia there is a fountain with black fish which, if taken as food, produce instantaneous death, and I heard the same said of the Danube, that where it rises, the same kind of black fish is found in it till you come to a fountain adjoining its channel, and that this fountain is therefore commonly believed to be the head of the river. They tell the same thing of the Nymph's pool in Lydia.

FRAGMENT 30

(A) Tzetzes, Chil. 7, 5. 638.

This Skylax (of Karyanda) writes other such stories by the myriads, stories of one-eyed men, and of men that sleep in their ears, and thousands of other wonderful creatures, all which he speaks of as really existing, and not fictitious; but for my part, as I have never met with any of them, I do not believe in them, although there are multitudes, such as Ktesias, lamboulos, Hesigonos, Rheginos, who not only believe that these, but that still greater monstrosities, are to be found in the world.

(B) Pliny, Hist. Nat. 7, 2.

And he affirms that there is a tribe of Indians whose women bear offspring once only in their lifetime, and whose hair turns white in the very childhood. He mentions also a race of men called Monosceli (one-legged), who, though they had but a single leg, could hop upon it with wonderful agility, and that they were also called Sciopodae, because that when they lay on their back in very hot weather, they shaded themselves from the sun with their feet. They lived not very far from the Troglodytes (cave-dwellers). To the west of these, he adds, lived men without a neck, and who had their eyes placed in their shoulders.

(C) From the same.

According to Ktesias the Indian people which is called Pandore and occupies the valleys, live for 200 years, and have in early youth hoary hair which turns black as they become old. There is a people on the other hand whose life-time does not exceed forty years. They are next neighbours to the Makrobii, and their women produce offspring once only. Agatharchides asserts the same, and adds that they live upon locusts and are fleet of foot. [To these Klitarchus gave the name of Mandi, and Megasthenes reckons the number of their villages at 300. Their women bear children when they are seven years old, and they are in their old age at forty.]

FRAGMENT 31

Gellius, Noct. Attic. 9. c. 4.

When we were returning from Greece into Italy, and had made our way to Brundusium, and having disembarked, were walking about in that famous seaport which Ennius, using a somewhat far-fetched but sufficiently well-known word, called the. fortunate (praepes), we saw a number of bundles of books lying exposed for sale. I lost not a moment, but pounced with the utmost avidity upon these books. Now, they were all in Greek and full of wonders and fables—containing relations of things unheard of and incredible, but written by authors of no small authority—Aristeas of Proconnesos and Isigonos of Nicaea, and Ktesias, and Onesikritos and Polystephanos and Hegesias. The volumes themselves however were musty with accumulated mould, and their whole condition and appearance showed that they were going fast to decay. I went up to the stall however, and enquired the prices, and being induced by the wonderful and unexpected cheapness. I bought a great lot of the books for a few coppers; and occupied myself for the next two days in glancing over the contents. As I read I made some extracts, noting the wonderful stories which none of our writers have as yet aimed at composing, and interspersing them with these comments of my own, so that whoever reads these books may not be found quite a novice in stories of the sort like one who has never even heard of them before. [Gellius now goes on to record many particulars regarding the Skythians, Arimaspians, Sauromatae and others of whom Pliny has written at length in his Natural History. These particulars have been evidently extracted from the Indika of Ktesias and are here subjoined]:-"On the mountains of India are men who have the heads of dogs, and bark, and who live by hunting and fowling. There are besides in the remotest regions of the East other strange creatures-men who are called Monocoli (onelegged), who run hopping upon their one leg with wonderful agility; others who have no necks but have eyes in their shoulders." All unbounded however is his astonishment on his learning from these writers about a race of men in the uttermost parts of India having shaggy bodies and plumage

like that of birds, who live not upon food, but on the perfume of flowers inhaled through the nostrils. Not far from these live the Pygmies, the tallest of whom do not exceed 2 1/4 feet. The books contained these and many similar absurd stories, and as we perused them we felt how wearisome a task it is to read worthless books which conduce neither to adorn nor to improve life.

FRAGMENT 32

Frag. IV. From Athenaios, lib. 10. [c. 9.]

Ktesias says that in India the king is not allowed to make himself drunk, but that the Persian king is allowed to do so on one particular day—that on which sacrifice is offered to Mithras.

FRAGMENT 33

Tzetzes, Chil. 8, v. 987.

Herodotus, Diodoros, Ktesias and all others agree that the Happy Arabia, like the Indian land, is most odoriferous, exhales a spicy fragrance, so that the very soil of the former, and the stones of the latter, if cut, emit a delicious perfume, while the people there, when made languid and faint by the rich odours, recover from the stupor by inhaling the smoke of certain bones and horns and strong-smelling substances.

FRAGMENT 34 (missing)

FRAGMENT 35

Lucian, Ver. Hist. 1, 3.

Ktesias the son of Ktesiokhos, the Knidian, wrote about India and its inhabitants what he neither himself saw nor heard from the report of others.

FRAGMENT 36

Strabo, Geog. 1. 2.

Theopompos professes in express terms that in his history he will tell fables better than such as have been related by Herodotus, and Ktesias and Hellanikos and those who wrote about India.

APPENDIX,

On Certain Indian Animals.

From Kosmas Indikopleustes\* [A monkish traveller of the 7th century.] De Mundo, 11, [\*Cosmas Indicopleustes (Indiavoyager') or Kosmas of Alexandria; also known as Cosmas the Monk. In his early life he was a Roman merchant, perhaps importing spices with which he could finance his journeys. He was a 6th-century Nestorian Christian, and therefore Aramaic speaking, traveller who made several voyages to India during the reign of Emperor Flavius Justinianus and wrote The Christian Topography (12 books).]

## 1 The Rhinoceros

This animal is called the rhinoceros from having horns growing upon its nose. When it walks about the horns shake, hut when it looks enraged it tightens them, and they become firm and unshaken so that they are able to tear up even trees by the roots, such especially as stand right in their way. The eyes are placed as low down as the jaws. It is altogether a most terrible animal, and is especially hostile to the elephant. Its feet and its skin closely resemble those of the elephant. Its skin, which is dry and hard, is four fingers thick-and from this instead of from iron some make ploughshares wherewith they plough their lands. The Ethiopians in their language call the rhinoceros arou or harisi, prefixing the rough breathing to the alpha of the latter word, and adding risi to it, so that the word arou is the name of the animal, while harisi is an epithet which indicates its connexion with ploughing arising from the configuration of its nose and the use made of its hide. I have seen a living rhinoceros, but I was standing somo distance off at the time. I have also seen the skin of one, which was stuffed with straw and stood in the king's palace, and I have thus been enabled to delineate the animal accurately.

2. The Taurelaphos or Ox-deer.

This is an animal found in India and in Ethiopia.

But those in India are tame and gentle, and are there used for carrying pepper and other stuffs packed in bags; these being slung over the back one on each side. Their milk is made into butter. We eat also their flesh, the Christians killing them by cutting their throat, and the Greeks by beating them with cudgels. The Ethiopian ox-deer, unlike the Indian, are wild and untameable.

3. The Camelopardalis or Giraffe.

This animal is found only in Ethiopia (meaning: East Africa), and is, like the hog-deer of that country, wild and untameable. In the royal palace, however, they bring up one or two from the time when they are quite young, and make them tame that the sight of them may amuse the king. In his presence they place before them milk or water to drink contained in a pan, but, then, owing to the great length of their feet, breast, and neck they cannot possibly stoop to the earth and drink unless by making their two forelegs straddle.

When they make them straddle they can of course drink. I have written this from my own personal knowledge.

4. The Agriobous or Wild Ox.

This is an animal of great size and belongs to India, and from it is got what is called the touplia, wherewith the captains of armies decorate their horses and their standards when taking the field. They say of it that if its tail be caught by a tree it no longer stoops, but remains standing through its unwillingness to lose even a single hair. On seeing this the people of the neighbourhood approach and cut off the tail, and then the creature flies off when docked entirely of its tail.

5. The Moskhos or Musk-deer.

This is a small animal, and is called in the native dialect the Kastouri [This is still its Indian name.]. Those who hunt it pierce it with arrows, and having confined the blood which collects at the navel, they cut the navel off, that being the part which has the pleasant fragrance known to us under the name of musk

#### 6. The Monokerus or Unicorn.

This animal is called the unicorn, but I have never set eyes upon it. I have however seen four brazen statues of it in Ethiopia, where they were set up in the royal palace-an edifice adorned with four towers. From these statues I have thus delineated the animal. They say of it that it is a terrible beast and invincible, having its power all lodged in its horn. When it perceives that its pursuers are many and that they are on the point of catching it, it springs down from the top of some precipice, and during the descent through the air turns itself in such a way that the whole shock of the fall is sustained by the horn which receives no damage thereby [The ibex is said to fall in such a way that its horns sustain the force of the impact.]. The scripture refers to this peculiarity, which says; save me from the mouth of lions and my humilly from the horns of unicorns; and again, the one beloved as the son of unicorns; and again in the blessings of Balaam wherewith he blessed Israel, he says twice over: God led him out of Egypt even as the glory of the unicorn, thus bearing witness to the strength and boldness and glory of the animal.

7. The Khoirelaphos or Hog-deer, and the Hippopotamus. The hog-deer I have both seen and eaten, hippopotamus however I have not seen, have had in my possession teeth of it so that they weighed about thirteen pounds. These teeth I sold

here. I saw many both in Ethiopia and in Egypt. 8. Piperi—Pepper.

This is a picture of the pepper tree. Each separate plant clings for support to some tall tree which does not yield fruit, being very weak and slender like the delicate tendrils of the vine. Each cluster is enveloped within a couple of leaves. It is perfectly green like the colour of rue.

9. Argellia\* or the cocoanut-tree.

[\* The initial n must have dropped out as the word no doubt transliterates the native term for the cocoa, narikel.]

There is another tree of this sort called argellia, that is—the tall nut-trees of India. It differs in no respect from the date-palm except in being taller and thicker and having larger leaves. It produces no other fruit than two or three and as many nuts. The taste is extremely sweet and pleasant, being like that of the kernels of green nuts. The nut is at first full of a deliciously sweet water which the Indians therefore drink instead of wine. This very sweet beverage is called rhongkhosoupha. If the fruit is gathered at maturity, then so long as it keeps its quality, the water in the course of time hardens upon the shell, while the water in the centre retains its fluidity till it finally disappears. If however it be kept too long without heing opened, the concretion on the shell becomes rancid and unfit for human food.

10. Phoke, Delphis, Khelone—The [Greek for] Seal, the Dolphin and the Tortoise.

When at sea we use the seal, dolphin and tortoise for food should they chance to be caught [According to the recipe for making hare-soup. "First catch your hare."], The dolphin and tortoise we kill by cutting their throat, but we cut not the throat of the seal, but despatch him with blows as we do large fish. The flesh of the tortoise, like that of the sheep, is dark-coloured; that of the dolphin like the pig's is dark coloured and rank: that of the seal like the pig's is white, but not rank.

APPENDIX C-3 (to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

# RABATAK INSCRIPTION OF EMPEROR KANISHKA THE GREAT

Source: Archaeological Find Location: Rabatak, Surkh Kotal, Afghanistan Translation: Nicholas Sims-Williams, 1996 Estimated Range of Dating: 120-160 A.D.

(The Rabatak inscription is an inscription written on a rock in the Bactrian language and the Greek script, which was found in 1993 at the site of Rabatak, near Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan. It was found near the top of an artificial hill (actually a Kushan site) along the main Kabul-Mazar highway, to the southeast of the Rabatak pass which is currently the border between Baghlan and Samangan provinces. It was found by Afghan mujahideen digging a trench at the top of the site, along with several other stone sculptural elements such as the paws of a giant stone lion, which have disappeared since.

An English relief worker of the HALO Trust demining organisation working in this province reported the discovery and photographed the inscription. A photograph was sent to the British Museum, where its significance as an official document of the Kushan kings, naming four of these kings, was recognised by Joe Cribb. He shared the photograph with one of the few people able to read the Bactrian language, Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams from the School of Oriental and African Studies. More photographs arrived from the charity workers of the HALO Trust and a first translation was made and published by Cribb and Sims-Williams in 1996.

The inscription relates to the rule of the Kushan emperor Kanishka the Great (reign: c.120-144 or 127-150 AD), and gives remarkable clues on the genealogy of the Kushan dynasty as well as of the god that were considered important. The phrase "Son of the Gods" sounds familiar to Christians and Buddhists alike.)

Translation [with remarks]:

. . . of the great salvation, [Emperor] Kanishka the Great [or the Kushan], the righteous, the just, the autocrat, the god worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from [the goddess] Nana and from all the gods, who has inaugurated the year one as the gods pleased.

And he issued a Greek edict and then he put it into Aryan [the Bactrian language].

In the year one it has been proclaimed unto India, unto the whole of the realm of the kshatriyas [one of the 4 Indian social orders brahmin, kshatriya, vaishya and shudra.], that as for them – both the city of . . . and the city of Saketa [south of today's Nepal], and the city of Kausambi [south of Saketa], and the city of Pataliputra [capital of the Maurya Empire, near today's Patna], as far as the city of Sri-Campa [today Janjgir-Champa district].

Whatever rulers, and other important persons they might have, he had submitted to his will, and he had submitted all India to his will.

Then King Kanishka gave orders to Shafar the Karalrang at this . . . to make the sanctuary which is called B . . . ab, in the plain of Ka . . . , for these gods, of whom the . . . glorious Umma leads the service here, namely: the lady Nana and the lady Umma, Aurmuzd, the gracious one, Sroshard, Narasa, and Mihr. [interlinear text: . . . and he is called Maaseno (or Kartikeya, the Hindu god of war), and he is called Bizago]

And he likewise gave orders to make images of these gods who are written above.

And he gave orders to make them for these kings: for King Kujula Kadphises [Chinese: Qiujiuque; reigned c. 30-90 AD.] his great grandfather, and for King Vima Taktu, his grandfather, and for King Vima Kadphises his father, and also for himself, King Kanishka.

Then, as the king of kings, the Devaputra [the Son of the Gods] . . . had given orders to do, Shafar the Karalrang made this sanctuary.

Then . . . the Karalrang, and Shafar the Karalrang, and Nukunzuk led the worship according to the king's command. As for these gods who are written here — may they keep the king of kings, Kanishka the Kushan, for ever healthy, secure, and victorious.

And when the devaputra [the Son of the Gods], the ruler of all India from the year one to the year one thousand, had founded the sanctuary in the year one, then also to the . . . , year . . . according to the king's command . . . and it was given also to the . . . , and it was given also to the . . . ,

And also to . . . the king gave an endowment to the gods, and . . .

[End of the document.]

# APPENDIX C-4 (to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

## THE MITHRAS LITURGY

from the Paris Codex Translation: Marvin W. Meyer, 1976 Estimated Range of Dating: 100 B.C. - 500 A.D.

(The Greek Magical Papyri (Latin Papyri Graecae Magicae, abbreviated PGM) is the name given by scholars to a body of papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt, written mostly in ancient Greek (but also in Old Coptic, Demotic, etc.), which each contain a number of magical spells, formulae, hymns, and rituals. The materials in the papyri date from the 100s BC to the 400s AD. The manuscripts came to light through the antiquities trade, from the 1700s onward. One of the best known of these texts is the Mithras Liturgy.

The texts were published in a series, and individual texts are referenced using the abbreviation PGM plus the volume and item number. Each volume contains a number of spells and rituals. Further discoveries of similar texts from elsewhere have been allocated PGM numbers for convenience.

Discovery

The first papyri in the series appeared on the art market in Egypt in the early 19th century. Another papyrus (PGM III) was acquired by the diplomat Jean-François Mimaut (1774–1837) and ended up in the French Bibliothèque Nationale. The major portion of the collection is the so-called Anastasi collection. About half a dozen of the papyri were purchased in about 1827 by a man calling himself Jean d'Anastasi, who may have been Armenian, and was a diplomatic representative at the Khedivial court in Alexandria. He asserted that he obtained them at Thebes (modern Luxor), and he sold them to various major European collections, including the British Museum, the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, and the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.)

Text:

Introduction

The so-called Mithras Liturgy is included in this series of texts and translations for several reasons. The Liturgy is frequently mentioned in secondary literature, and has been partially translated into English upon several occasions, but it has not previously been available in its entirety in English translation. Furthermore, the Mithras Liturgy deserves the attention of students of early Christian literature and the history of religions, particularly Graeco-Roman religion: the Liturgy reflects an important religious tendency of its day, a syncretistic piety utilizing astrology and magic and emphasizing the ecstatic ascent of the individual soul. Of additional interest is the relationship of the Mithras Liturgy to the previously known Hermetic literature and the recently discovered tractates from Nag Hammadi (cf., for example, page 3, note b, below).

The Mithras Liturgy is part of the great magical codex of Paris (Papyrus 574 of the Bibliotheque Nationale). Presumably compiled in the early fourth century AD, this codex contains a variety of tractates, hymns, recipes, and prescriptions, which were apparently collected for use in the working library of an Egyptian magician. Lines 475-834 of this codex constitute the Mithras Liturgy; these boundaries for the Liturgy are suggested by the continuity of thought within the Liturgy, by the punctuation utilised by the scribe, and by the apparent transition to a different section (lines 835-849: astrological calculations). Interestingly, lines 467-474 parallel lines 821-823 and 830-834: thus the Mithras Liturgy is placed between two closely related versions of spells utilizing lines from Homer.

The Mithras Liturgy received its name and fame from. A. Dieterich. in 1903 Dieterich published his valuable book, Eine MithrasLiturgie, in which he proposed that the text in question contains an official liturgy of the Mithras cult, a Mithraic ritual for the ascent and immortalisation of the soul. Although the Mithras Liturgy had been later adopted and somewhat adapted by Egyptian magicians, Dieterich concluded, the text still preserves the highest sacrament in which the Mithraic initiate could participate. However, since the publication of Dieterich's book, F. Cumont, R. Reitzenstein, and others have expressed skepticism concerning the Mithraic origin of the Liturgy. Thus, such scholars have suggested that more significant parallels to the Liturgy can be found in the hermetic writings, or in individualistic and private mysteries, or in Graeco-Egyptian syncretism, magic, and solar piety. Yet the evidence amassed by Dieterich cannot be easily dismissed, for he highlights important echoes of Mithraism in the Mithras Liturgy: particularly striking are the mention of "the great god Helios Mithras", the invocation of the elements, the description of the fire-breathing god Aion, and the portraits of Helios and the highest God. Furthermore, the accounts of Celsus (in Origen, Contra Celsum, 6. 21-22) and Porphyry (De antro nympharum, 5-6 etc.) on Mithraism verify the fact that such a liturgy for the soul's ascent as the Mithras Liturgy could be quite compatible with at least some expressions of Mithraism.

Consequently, it is advisable to conclude that the Mithras Liturgy may indeed represent some variety of Mithraism—though not, to be sure, Mithraism as it is usually presented. If there is Mithraism in this papyrus, it is a Mithraism on the fringe, a Mithraism preoccupied with individualism, syncretism, and magic. The Mithras Liturgy may thus illustrate a direction taken by those carrying on the Mithras tradition in Egypt.

The text of the Mithras Liturgy is composed of two main parts: a liturgical mystery of ascent, and a set of instructions for the use of the mystery. After the brief introduction, the mystery of ascent presents the seven liturgical stages for the soul's cestatic journey: the soul thus encounters the four elements, in their generative and regenerative aspects; the lower powers of the air, including the winds, bolts of thunder

and lightning, and meteors; Aion and the Aionic powers, as planetary guardians of the heavenly doors; Helios, young and fiery; the seven Fates and, next, the seven Pole-Lords, both groups from the region of the fixed stars, and both depicted in Egyptian fashion; and finally the highest God, portrayed like Mithras himself. After the conclusion to the mystery of ascent, the instructions for the use of the mystery present a scarab ceremony of the sun (lines 750-798) provide instructions for the obtaining of the kentritis herb and the fashioning of amulets and append two additional spells The predominant place of magic within the Mithras Liturgy deserves special mention. The entire text of the Liturgy is permeated with magic, including breathing techniques (drawing in breath from the rays), special recipes (preparing the cake for the scarab), magical rituals (burying the scarab) amulets (kissing the amulets), and magical formulae. The magical formulae themselves are diverse in character: some seem onomatopoetic (cf. line 488, PPP: making a popping sound, possibly like thunder), symbolic (cf. line 487, AEEIOYO: using the seven vowels in a series), or perhaps glossolalic (cf. line 492, EY EIA EE): some seem derived from or imitative of Greek (cf. line 562, PROPROPHEGGE: Primal Brightener?) Egyptian (cf. line 672, ARARRACHES: Horus of the two horizons; and line 717, PHRE: Re, the Sun), or Semitic words (cf. line 591, SEMESILAM: Eternal sun; and line 593, IAO: Yahweh).

The Greek text which follows is that of K. Preisendanz, though a few minor changes have been made (e.g., the paragraphing).

#### Actual Text PART 1 (lines 475-750)

Be gracious to me, O Providence and Psyche, as I write these mysteries handed down for gain but for instruction; and for an only child I request immortality, O initiates of this our power (furthermore, it is necessary for you, O daughter, to take the juices of herbs and spices, which will to you at the end of my holy treatise), which the great god Helios Mithras ordered to be revealed to me by his archangel, so that I alone may ascend into heaven as an inquirer and behold the universe.

This is the invocation of the ceremony [Or "spell"; note also, below, the translation of logos [lambda omicron gamma omicron signal with "prayer"]:

omicron sigma] with "prayer."]: "First -origin of my origin, AEEIOYO, first beginning of my beginning [Cf. On the Eighth and Ninth (Nag Hammadi Codex 6, tractate 6), page 60, line 20. With regard to the Mithras Liturgy in general, cf. this tractate as well as another Hermetic tractate, Corpus Hermeticum 13.]., PPP SSS PHR[] spirit of spirit ["Spirit," "breath," "wind": pneuma (pi nu eta upsilon mu alpha) as one of the four elements.], the first of the spirit in me, MMM, fire given by god to my mixture of the mixtures in me, the first of the fire in me, EY EIA EE, water of water, the first of the water in me, OOO AAA EEE, earthy substance, the first of the earthy substance in me, YE YOE, my complete body (I,\_\_\_\_\_whose mother is \_\_\_\_ [Here the initiate was supposed to introduce his own name and that of his mother. This formula appears several times in the Liturgy.]), which was formed by a noble arm and an incorruptible right hand in a world without light and yet radiant, without soul and yet alive with soul, YEI AYI EYOIE: now if it be your will, METERTA PHOTH (METHARTHA PHERIE, in another place) [one of the several variant readings suggested by a scribe. YEREZATH, give me over to immortal birth and, following that, to my underlying nature, so that [Preisendanz takes the ina-clauses [iota nu alpha] as independent clauses.] after the present need which is pressing me exceedingly, I may gaze upon the immortal beginning with the immortal spirit, ANCHRE PHRENESOYPHIRIGCH, with the immortal water, ERONOYI PARAKOYNETH, with the most steadfast air, EIOAE PSENABOTH; that I may be born again in thought, KRAOCHRAX R OIM ENARCHOMAI Apparently used here as part of the magical utterance, enarchomai [eta nu alpha rho chi omicron mu alpha iota.] is Greek for "I begin."], and the sacred spirit may breathe in me, NECHTHEN APOTOY NECHTHIN ARPI ETH; so that I may wonder at the sacred fire, KYPHE; that I may gaze upon the unfathomable, awesome water of the dawn, NYO THESO ECHO OYCHIECHOA, and the vivifying ,and encircling aether may hear me, ARNOMETHPH; for today I am about to behold with immortal eyes - I, born mortal from mortal womb, but transformed by tremendous power and an incorruptible right hand! - and with immortal spirit, the immortal Aion and and master of the fiery diadems-

I, sanctified through holy consecrations!— while there subsists within me, holy, for a short time, my human soulmight, which I will again receive after the present bitter and relentless necessity which is pressing down upon me—

I, \_\_\_\_ whose mother is \_\_\_ according to the immutable decree of god, EYE YIA EEI AO EIAY IYA IEO! Since it is impossible for me, born mortal, to rise with the golden brightnesses of the immortal brilliance, OEY AEO EYA EOE YAE 51AE, stand, O perishable nature of mortals, and at once me safe and sound after the inexorable and

pressing need. For I am the son PSYCHO[N] DEMOY PROCHO PROA, I am MACHARPH[.]N MOY PRO PSYCHON PROE!"

Draw in breath from the rays, drawing up three times as much as you can, and you will see yourself being lifted up and ascending to the height, so that you seem to be in mid-air. You will hear nothing either of man or of any other living thing, nor in that hour will you see anything of mortal affairs on earth, but rather you will see all immortal things. For in that day and hour you will see the divine order of the skies: the presiding gods [Moving, revolving heavenly bodies, which may influence human affairs and preside over the days.] rising into heaven, and others setting. Now the course of the visible gods will appear through the disk of god, my father; and in similar fashion the so-called "pipe", the origin of the ministering wind. For you will see it hanging from the sun's disk like a pipe. You will see the outflow of this object toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the East-and the other (viz. the west wind), similarly, toward its own regions. [or, with slightly different punctuation: "For you will see it hanging like a pipe from the sun's disk, toward the regions westward, boundless as an east wind, if it be assigned to the regions of the East; but if the . other (viz. the west wind) be assigned, similarly to its own regions, you will see the reverse of the sight."] And you will see the gods staring intently at you and rushing at you. So at once put your right finger on your mouth and say:

"Silence! Silence! Silence! Symbol of the living, incorruptible god! Guard me, Silence, NECHTHEIR THANMELOY!" Then make a long hissing sound, next make a popping sound, and say: "PROPROPHEGGE MORIOS PROPHYR PROPHEGGE NEMETHIRE ARPSENTEN PTTETMI MEOY ENARTH PHYRKECHO PSYRIDARIO TYRE PHILBA." Then you will see the gods looking graciously upon you and no longer rushing at you, but rather going about in their own order of affairs. So when you see that the world above is clear and circling, and that none of the gods or angels is threatening you, expect to hear a great crash of thunder, so as to shock you. Then say again: "Silence! Silence! (the prayer) I am a star, wandering about with you, and shining forth out of the deep, OXY [Perhaps OXY [omicron xi upsilon.], "brightly." O XERTHEYTH." Immediately after you have said these things the sun's disk will be expanded. And after you have said the second prayer, where there is "Silence! Silence!" and the accompanying words, make a hissing sound twice and a popping sound twice, and immediately you will see many five- pronged stars coming forth from the disk and filling all the air. Then say again: 'Silence! Silence!"

And when the disk is open, you will see the fireless circle, and the fiery doors shut tight. At once close your eyes and recite the following prayer. The third prayer:

"Give ear to me, hearken to me, \_\_\_\_ whose mother is , O Lord, you who have bound together with your breath the fiery bars of the fourfold root, O Fire-Walker, PENTITEROYNI, Light-Maker (others: Encloser), SEMESILAM, Fire-Breather, PSYRINPHEY, Fire-Feeler, IAO, Light-Breather, OAI [A permutation of the divine name IAO. cf. also AIO (below, line 598).], Fire-Delighter, ELOYRE, Beautiful Light, AZAI, Aion, ACHBA, Light-Master, PEPPER PREPEMPIPI, Fire-Body, PHNOYENIOCH, Light-Giver, Fire-Sower, AREI EIKITA, Fire-Driver, GALLABALBA, Light-Forcer, AIO, Fire-Whirler, PYRICHIBOOSEIA, Light-Mover, SANCHEROB, Thunder-Shaker, IE OE IOEIO, Glory-Light, BEEGENETEE Light-Increaser, SOYSINEPHIEN, Fire-Light-Maintainer, SOYSINEPHI AREN BARAZEI MARMA RENTEY, Star-Tamer: open for me, PROPROPHEGGE EMETHEIRE MORIO MOTYRE PHILBA, because, on account of the pressing and bitter and inexorable necessity, I invoke the immortal names, living and honored, which never pass into mortal nature and are not declared in articulate speech by human tongue or mortal speech or mortal sound: IE EO OO OE IEO OE OOE IEO OE IEEO EE IO OE IOE OEO EOE OEO OIE OIE EO OI III EOE OYE EOOEE EO EIA AEA EEA EEEE EEE EEE IEO EEO OEEEOE EEO EYO OE EIO EO OE OE EE OOO YIOE."

Say all these things with fire and spirit, until completing the first utterance; then, similarly, begin the second, until you complete the seven immortal gods of the world. When you have said these things, you will hear thundering and shaking in the surrounding realm; and you will likewise feel yourself being agitated. Then say again: "Silence!" (the prayer) Then open your eyes and you will see the doors open and the world of the gods which is within the doors, so that from the pleasure and joy of the sight your spirit runs ahead and ascends. So stand still and at once draw breath from the divine into yourself, while you look intently. Then when your soul is restored, say: "Come, Lord, ARCHANDARA PHOTAZA PYRIPHOTA ZABYTHIX ETIMENMERO PHORATHEN ERIE PROTHER PHORATHI."

When you have said this, the rays will turn toward you; look at the center of them. For when you have done this, you will see a youthful god, beautiful in appearance, with fiery hair, and in a white tunic and a scarlet cloak, and wearing a fiery crown. At once greet him with the fire-greeting:

"Hail, O Lord, Great Power, Great Might, King, Greatest of gods, Helios, the Lord of heaven and earth, God of gods: mighty is your breath; mighty is your strength, O Lord. If it be your will, announce me to the supreme god, the one who has begotten and made you: that a man —

After you have said these things, he will come to the celestial pole, and you will see him walking as if on a road. Look intently and make a long bellowing sound, like a horn, releasing all your breath and straining your sides; and kiss (660) the amulets and say, first toward the right: "Protect me, PROSYMER!!" After saying this, you will see the doors thrown open, and seven virgins coming from deep within, dressed in linen garments, and with the faces of asps. They are called the Fates of heaven, and wield golden wands. When you see them, greet them in this manner:

"Hail, O seven Fates of heaven, O noble and good virgins, O sacred ones and companions of MINIMIRROPHOR, O most holy guardians of the four pillars! The reference to the four pillars supporting heaven seems Egyptian. On the seven Fates of heaven, cf. [line of text missing in copy]

Hail to you, the first, CHREPSENTHAES!
Hail to you, the second, MENESCHEES!
Hail to you, the third, MECHRAN!
Hail to you, the fourth, ARARMACHES!
Hail to you, the fifth, ECHOMHIE!
Hail to you, the sixth, TICHNONDAES!
Hail to you, the seventh, EROY ROMBRIES!

There also come forth another seven gods, who have the faces of black bulls, in linen loin-cloths, and in possession of seven golden diadems. They are the so-called Pole-Lords of heaven, whom you must greet in the same manner, each of them with his own name: "Hail, O guardians of the pivot, O sacred and brave youths, who turn at one command the revolving axis of the vault of heaven, who send out thunder and lightning and jolts of earthquakes and thunderbolts against the nations of impious people, but to me, who am pious and god-fearing, you send health and soundness of body, and acuteness of hearing and seeing, and calmness in the present good hours of this day, O my Lords and powerfully ruling Gods!

Hail to you, the first, AIERONTHI!
Hail to you, the second, MERCHEIMEROS!
Hail to you, the third, ACHRICHIOYR!
Hail to you, the fourth, MESARGILTO!
Hail to you, the fifth, CHICHROALITHO!
Hail to you, the sixth, ERMICHTHATHOPS!
Hail to you, the seventh, EORASICHE!"

Now when they take their place, here and there, in order, look in the air and you will see lightning-bolts going down, and lights flashing, and the earth shaking, and a god descending, a god immensely great, having a bright appearance youthful, golden-haired, with a white tunic and a golden crown and trousers [Eastern, particularly Persian] attire.], and holding in his right hand a golden shoulder of a young bull: this is the Bear\* which moves and turns heaven around, moving upward and downward in accordance with the hour. [The constellation called the Great Bear was known in Egypt as the Bull, or the Bull's Foreleg. Cf. also, with Dieterich, the place of the bull in Mithraism.] Then you will see lightning-bolts leaping from his eyes and stars from his body. And at once produce a long bellowing sound, straining your belly, that you may excite the five senses: bellow long until the conclusion, and again kiss the amulets, and say: "MOKRIMO PHERIMOPHERERI, life of me, "stav!

## PART " (lines 750-834)

Dwell in my soul! Do not abandon me, for one entreats you, ENTHO PHENEN THROPIOTH."

And gaze upon the god while bellowing long; and greet him in this manner:

"Hail, O Lord, O Master of the water! Hail, O Founder of the earth! Hail, O Ruler of the wind!

O Bright Lightener, PROPROPHEGGE EMETHIRI ARTENTEPI THETH MIMEO YENARO PHYRCHECHO PSERI DARIO PHRE PHRELBA!

Give revelation 0 Lord, concerning the matter of \_

O Lord, while being born again, I am passing away; while growing and having grown, I am dying; while being born from a life-generating birth, I am passing on, released to death—as you have founded, as you have decreed, and have established the mystery. [According to Dieterich, here ends the Mithras Liturgy per se.]

I am PHEROYRA MIOYRI."

After you have said these things, he will immediately respond with a revelation. Now you will grow weak in soul and will not be in yourself, when he answers you. He speaks the oracle to you in verse, and after speaking he will depart. But you remain silent, since you will be able to comprehend all these matters by yourself; for at a later time you will remember infallibly the things spoken by the great god, even if the oracle contained myriads of verses. If you also wish to use a fellow-initiate, so that he alone may hear with you the things spoken, let him remain pure together With you for days, and abstain from meat and the bath. And even if you are alone, and you undertake the things communicated by the god, you speak as though prophesying in ecstasy. And if you also wish to show him, then judge whether he is completely worthy as a man: treat him just as if in his place you were being judged in the matter of immortalization, and whisper to him the first prayer, of which the beginning is "First origin of my origin, AEEIOYO." And say the successive things as an initiate, over his head, in a soft voice, so that he may not hear, as you are anointing his face with the mystery. This immortalization takes place three times a year. And if anyone, O child, after the teaching, wishes to disobey, then for him it will no longer be in effect. Instruction for the ritual:

Take a sun-scarab which has twelve rays [The scarab, the Egyptian god Kheper, represented the rising sun.], and make it fall into a deep, turquoise cup, at the time when the moon is invisible [Literally "at the seizure of the moon.] put in together with it the seed of the lotometra, and honey; and, after grinding it, prepare a cake. And at once you will see it (viz. the scarab) moving forward and eating; and when it has consumed it, it immediately dies. Pick it up and throw it into a glass vessel of excellent rose oil, as much as you wish; and spreading sacred sand in a pure manner, set the vessel on it, and say the formula over the vessel for seven days, while the sun is in mid-heaven:

"I have consecrated you, that your essence may be useful to me, to \_\_\_\_\_ alone, IE IA E EE OY EIA, that you may prove useful to me alone. For I am PHOR PHORA PHOS PHOTIZAAS (others: PHOR PHOR OPHOTHEI XAAS)."

On the seventh day pick up the scarab, and bury it with Myrrh and wine from Mendes and fine linen; and put it away in a flourishing bean-field. Then, after you have entertained and feasted together, put away, in a pure manner, the ointment for the immortalisation. If you want to show this to someone else, take the juice of the herb called "kentritis," and smear it, along with rose oil, over the eyes of the one you wish; and he will see so clearly that he will amaze you. I have not found a greater spell than this in the world. Ask the god for what you want, and he will give to you. [For examples of Jewish and Christian parallels to this familiar statement, cf. Matthew 7:7, and H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (Muenchen: Beck, 1926), vol. 1, 450ff.]

Now presentation [Presentation or introduction to the great god for the sake of attaining friendship and communion with the god.] before the great god is like this: obtaining the above-mentioned herb kentritis, at the conjunction (viz. of the sun and the moon) [That is, at the new moon.] occurring in the Lion, take the juice and, after mixing it with honey and myrrh, write on a leaf of the persea tree the eight-letter formula, as is mentioned below. And keeping yourself pure for three days before, set out early in the morning toward the East, lick off the leaf while you show it to the Sun, and then he (viz. the sun god) will listen to you attentively. Begin to consecrate this at the divine new moon [The new moon according to the heavens, made by god, in distinction from the new moon according to the calendar, made by man.], in the Lion. Now this is the formula:

"I EE 00 IAI."

Lick this up, so that you may be protected; and rolling up the leaf, throw it into the rose oil. Many times have I used the spell, and have wondered greatly. But the god said to me: "Use the ointment no longer, but, after casting it into the river, consult while wearing the great mystery of the scarab revitalised through the twenty-five living birds, and consult once a month, at full moon, instead of three times a year." The kentritis plant grows from the month of Payni, in the regions of the black earth, and is similar to the erect verbena. This is how to recognise it: an ibis wing is dipped at its black tip and smeared with the juice, and the feathers fall off when touched. After the Lord pointed this out, it was found in Menelaitis in Phalagry, at the river banks, near the Besas

plant. It is of a single stem, and reddish down to the root: and the leaves are rather crinkled and have fruit like the tip of wild asparagus. It is similar to the so-called talapes, like the wild beet. Now the amulets require this procedure: copy the right one onto the skin of a black sheep, with myrrh-ink, and after tying it with sinews of the same animal, put it on; and copy the left one onto the skin of a white sheep, and use the same procedure. The left one is very full of "PROSTHYMERI" (820), and has this text: "So speaking, he drove through the trench the single-hoofed horses." (Il. X. "And men gasping among grievous slaughters." (Il. X. 521) "And they washed off their profuse sweat in the sea." (II. X. 572) "You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." (IL. VIII.424) Zeus went up the mountain with a golden bullock and a silver dagger. Upon all he bestowed a share, only to Amara did he not give, but he said: "Let go of what you have, and then you will receive, PSINOTHER NOPSITHER THERNOPSI" (and so on, as you like). (830) "So Ares suffered, when Otos and mighty Epialtes\* ... him (II. V. 385) spell for restraining anger: "You will dare to lift up your mighty spear against Zeus." (II. 8.424) For friends: 'Let ... seize ..., lest we become a source of joy for our enemies." (II. 10. 193)

[\* Sic; but this giant's name is usually given as Ephialtes. He and his brother Otos imprisoned Ares in a bronze jar.]

# APPENDIX C-5 (to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

#### THE COLOGNE MANI-CODEX

Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis Translation: Ron Cameron, Arthur J. Dewey, 1979 Estimated Range of Dating: 5th century AD

(The Cologne Mani-Codex (Codex Manichaicus Coloniensis) is a minute parchment codex, dated on paleographical evidence to the fifth century AD, discovered in 1969 near Asyut (the ancient Lycopolis), Egypt; it contains a Greek text describing the life of Mani, the founder of the religion Manichaeism. It is the smallest ancient codex known to date. In the same year it came into the possession of the Institut für Altertumskunde at the university in Cologne. The seemingly hopeless task of restoring the codex was successfully completed a few months later by A. Fackelmann in Vienna. What emerged was the earliest extant original Manichean work written in Greek. The restored work comprises fragments of ninety-six leaves from one codex, measuring 4.5 x 3.8 cm, and a few other, even smaller fragments. The original number of leaves in the manuscript can no longer be determined, as the first and last pages are missing. Each page contains a single column of text, usually twenty-three lines long, written in a minute but clearly legible script. The Greek text bears traces that shows it has been translated from an Eastern Aramaic or Old Syriac Aramaic original. The logoi of Mani himself are repeatedly cited. That it is a compilation from earlier texts is suggested by the names, apparently of teachers that head each section of the text.

Publication: Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen [detailed references see Encyclopaedia Iranica] published an initial report on the work (1970), followed by the first edition of the text, in the years 1975-82. Scrutiny of this text revealed that in a number of instances fragments could be assembled to form longer passages (Koenen and Römer, 1985). This discovery led to their publication of a second edition of the complete codex in 1988, though the volume of commentary on pp. 121-192 of the codex and a glossary of terms for the entire edition have yet to appear. A concordance to the first edition was published in 1985 (Cirillo, Concolino Mancino, and Roselli).

Because of the great importance of the codex, it immediately became the subject of research by scholars of Manicheism. Aside from numerous interpretive essays by the editors, two symposia in Rende (Calabria) and Cosenza, in 1984 and 1988 respectively, have been devoted entirely to the codex. The papers presented at the first were published in 1986 by Luigi Cirillo and Amneris Roselli, those presented at the second by Cirillo.

Content: The fragmentary text preserved in the Cologne codex deals with Mani's youth and the beginning of his missionary activity, though, because of extensive damage to the leaves, particularly in the last sections, even the most elementary logical connections are often lacking. The account of Mani's introduction to the Elkesaite baptist sect provides the first verifiable date in his life. The child Mani is accompanied by guardian angels and "holy powers" during this whole period, and he experiences wonderful visions, which he still does not understand. The end of the period is marked by the "maturation" (to akmaion) of Mani's body, which was originally dated by the editors to his twenty-fifth year but later to the end of his twelfth year. The next certain date is that of the revelation of the teaching through Mani's spiritual companion and twin, the syzygos, during his twenty-fifth year. From that point on the description of Mani's life

becomes more detailed, including his initial teaching activities and conflict with the baptists, his failure in the debate, and his final separation from them. This section, which forms the main portion of the preserved text, also contains apologetic and exegetic homilies (e.g., on the truth of the paraclete's witness to the revelation and on the proper understanding of Mani's parousia). The final preserved section covers the beginning of the Manichean world mission in episodic and legendary terms. The concrete events mentioned include the conversion of Pattikios, Mani's father; the southern Mesopotamian port of Pharat on the Persian Gulf is mentioned, as is the "Median" Ganzak (Greek: Gounazak, The editors date Mani's appearance in the palace of the Sassanid emperor Shapur I to his twenty-sixth year.

The work bears the somewhat puzzling title Peri tes gennes tou somatos autou (On the origin of his body), which Koenen first interpreted in the Pauline sense, as a reference to the creation of Mani's church, his mystic body. The codex would thus be a hagiographical treatment of Mani as part of a comprehensive history of the church. Koenen has since retracted this interpretation, as in many instances the Greek word soma refers specifically to Mani's body and is thus used as a term for the earthly person of the founder of the religion. It can therefore be assumed that the title refers to the Manichean belief in a spiritual Mani who only temporarily assumed earthly form.

Form and Origin: The Cologne Mani codex is divided into sections, each beginning with a name (e.g., Abiesous, Ana, Innaios, Koustaios, Timótheos) or simply "the teachers." The editors identified these figures as the transmitters of the texts that follow; the work is thus obviously a compilation from older ones. As some of the transmitters' names (Innaīos, Koustaios) are known from Mani's circle and their successors, the sources must have been of the 3rd century, incorporated into the text of the codex at the beginning of the 4th century. That it was probably originally written in eastern Aramaic (Syriac) is strongly suggested by a number of linguistic features. The transmitters frequently cited the "words" or writings of Mani himself, for instance, his letter to Edessa. At the beginning of the "Living Teachings of Mani", the citation is demonstrably exact. This manuscript of the Greek translation has been dated to the 5th century on the basis of paleographic evidence. The language exhibits many postclassical features and imitates the diction of the Septuagint and the New Testament.

The sources, motifs, and components of the text have been analysed by Henrichs, using the methods of literary criticism, but as yet the literary function of the codex itself has not been studied. The contents and nature of the presentation suggest that it belonged to a popular genre aimed at a broad circle of readers and listeners. Literary works of this kind are otherwise unknown in the tradition of eastern Manicheism. Although there are some other texts with comparable hagiographical themes, it is doubtful that there is any other instance in which the transmissions of followers were integrated into continuous, conventionalised hagiographical description (Sundermann, 1986). In the west, however, the so-called "Coptic church history," found at Madinat Madi in Egypt but now lost, was comparable. The reports were also given under the "authors' names" (Schmidt and Polotsky, 1933). As the latter work deals with Mani's death and the subsequent fate of the church, it can be concluded that both compilations are parts of a more comprehensive Manichean church history in Aramaic, Greek, and Coptic, the first part of which is preserved in the Cologne Mani codex.

Importance for Research on Manicheism: The narrative contained in the Cologne Mani codex follows hagiographic convention, in many places based on the pattern of the lite of Christ and often incorporating popular themes, but it also includes historical material, which is of the greatest value for research on Manicheism. In the text it is asserted that Mani grew up in a Judeo-Christian community of which Alchasai was regarded as the founder. What had previously been known about this legendary figure was not always consistent with the known practices among the baptists Mani knew (e.g., rejection of marriage). The justification for describing these baptists as Elkesaites has thus been called into doubt a priori. Most scholars regard the testimony of the Cologne Mani codex as credible, with the proviso that the teaching of the founder of a sect can be subject to modification in actual practice among his followers.

It is certain that Alchasai was known in the Manichean tradition and that he was probably contrasted, ahistorically, with his own followers as an early advocate of Mani's ideas. This phenomenon can be traced back to widespread older traditions and probably to Mani's own teachings, as is confirmed by the reference to Alchasai ('lxs') in a Parthian Manichean fragment and by the identification in a 10th-century Arabic textof al-H-s-y-h as the founder of the Mogtasela, a southern Mesopotamian baptist sect related to the Manicheans.

There is, however, no reason to doubt the assertion in the Cologne Mani Codex that Mani grew up in a Christianoriented, rather than a Mandean, community, which is of

fundamental importance to an understanding of the intellectual and religious background of his teachings. His earliest teachers were not members of a decidedly anti-Christian sect under strong Persian influence but Jewish Christians who believed in the efficacy of rites and baptism. The gnostic ideas in the new teachings grew out of Mani's differences with those teachers. Mani's teachings were indeed originally what medieval orthodox Christians claimed, a Christian heresy.

The Cologne Mani codex is not a dogmatic tract. Its themes were drawn from fully developed Manichean dogma. The hope of finding in this text Mani's teachings in their original form, free of later ontological dualism, thus remains unfulfilled; in fact, the "[two] natures" are mentioned frequently in the codex.

Importance for Persian studies: From the point of view of Persian studies, the most important material in the codex is the synchrony provided by the account of Mani's twenty-fifth year: "[When I] was twenty-four years old, the year in which Ardašīr, king of Persia, subjugated the city of Hatra and in which his son King Shapur adopted the great crown (diadema megiston), on the 8th (?) day of the month of Pharmuti, according to the lunar calendar [i.e., on 17-18 April 240 AD, counting from the evening of the first day to that of the second] . . . ". Marie Louise Chaumont observed that the term diádema megiston corresponds to the expression LB'dydymy of the Paikuli inscription. There is no reason to doubt that these were Mani's own words, and it is clear that he was well informed about current events. Henrichs and Koenen interpreted this reference to the conquest of Hatra by Ardashir I, rather than by his son Shapur, as confirmation of the "late" chronology for the reign of Ardashir put forth by Theodor Nöldeke (Geschichte der Perser) and Hasan Tagizada, but they nevertheless acknowledged that both the early (239 AD) and the late (241 AD) dates suggested for the official beginning of Shapur I's reign are possible while considering the earlier date more probable.

The Cologne Mani codex thus appeared to the editors to confirm the early date (12 April / 1 Nisan 240 AD) for the coronation of Shapur I as ruler over Persia. It should be noted that the date itself is not given in the codex but was derived from a combination of the report there with Ebn al-Nadim's report of the date of Mani's first official public appearance. The respective accounts of the public appearance of Mani on 1 Nisan and his call to proclaim his teachings on 8 Nisan are in fact incompatible; it is possible that reports based on different historical attempts at synchronism were uncritically combined by Ebn al-Nadim.

An important argument for dating the coronation of Shapur I to the year 239-240 AD was put forth by Ruth Altheim-Stiehl on the basis of an examination of the inscription on the Bishapur Stele. Only the dates 223-224 AD for the accession of Ardashir and 239-40 for Shapur are compatible with the period of the stele and the dates in the inscription. On the other hand, it is clear from the Cologne Mani codex that such an early dating of the reign of Ardashir is incorrect, for he must still have been alive in the year April 240 AD-April 241 AD. A number of suggestions for resolving this dilemma have been put forth (for a summary, see Altheim-Stiehl, 1982), but the possibility of different dates for the "fire" (i.e., coronation) of the first two Sassanid kings (223-224 and 239-240 AD respectively) and their first years of official rule (226-227 and 241-242 AD) should be considered.

If Mani really appeared during his twenty-sixth year (241-242 AD, according to the reconstruction of the codex) in the palace of King Shapur I, who was mourning his father's death, that would lend credence to the frequently advanced hypothesis that Ardashir died during that year.)

# CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF HIS BODY

... [Page 1 is too fragmentary for translation].

- '. . . little by little [. . . I] have shown you [unholy . . .] from many [. . .]. But you will be able to behold that mystery magnificently and most lucidly." And then the angel was hidden [from] . . .
- 3.2 . . . I (Mani) was protected [through] the night of [the] angels and the powers of holiness who were entrusted with my safekeeping, and they nourished me with visions and signs which they made known to me, slight and quite brief, as far as I was able to bear.

For sometimes like a flash of lightning he [came].

4.3 . . . but he was reassuring me also about this power whch is steadfast in affliction.

Now very many are the visions and exceedingly great are the sights which he showed to me during all that time of my youth. But I [... remained] in silence. Except ...

5.3 . . . with wisdom and skill (I was) going about in their midst, keeping the Rest, neither doing wrong, nor inflicting pain, nor following the law of the Baptists, nor speaking in the way they did.

Salmaios the [Ascetic]

6.2 "... to [him]. But neither do you take [vegetables] from [the] garden, nor do you carry wood for his use.

But the Baptist constrained me, saying: "Get up and come with me to the place where there is wood; take it and carry it." We went away to a certain [date-palm tree], and he

- climbed up . . .

  7.2 . . "If you keep the [pain] away from us (trees), you wll [not perish] with the murderer," Then that Baptist, gripped feet and said: "I did not know that this secret mystery is with you. Whence was the [agony of the date-palm tree] revealed to
- 8.1 (Mani is now speaking) "[When the date-palm tree said] this to you, why did you become [greatly] frightened and change your complexion? How much more wll [that one]. with whom all the [plants] speak, be disturbed?" Thereupon he was dumbfounded, beside himself in amazement over me. He said to me: "Guard this mystery, tell it to no one, lest someone become envious and destroy you."
- 9.1 . . . [for the sake of the] Rest, one of the leaders of ther Law spoke to me, having observed that I did not take vegetable from der garden, but instead asked them (for the vegetables) as a pious gift. He said to me: "Why did you not take vegetables from the garden, but instead ask me (for them] as a pious gift? After that Baptist had spoken to [me] . . .
- 10.1 . . . [it] wasted away, [wailing] like human beings, and, as it were, like children, Alas! The blood was streaming down from the place cut by the pruning hook which he held in his hands. And they were crying out in a human voice on account of their blows. The Baptist was greatly moved by what he saw, and he came and fell down before me. When,
- 11.1 until the fourth year. Then I (Mani) gained entrance to the teaching of the Baptists in which I was reared, while my body was young, being guarded by the night of the Light-angels and the exceedingly strong powers, who had a command from Jesus, the Splendour, for (my) safekeeping. They, then, immediately . .
- 12.1 . . . [from] the waters [a face] of a man appeared to me, showing with his head the Rest, so that I might not sin and bring trouble to him. In this way, from my fourth year until I attained my bodily maturity, by the hands of the most pure angels and the powers of holiness I was protected [without anyone's notice] . . .
- 13.2 . . . st another time a voice, like that of the Twin (Didymos Thomas?) spoke to me out of the air, saying: "Strengthen your power, make your mind firm, and receive all that is about to be revealed to you." And again, he said the same: "Strengthen your power, make your mind strong, and submit to all that is about to come upon you."
  - 14.1 "... we have been sent out by the great [fathers]."

Baraies the Teacher

My lord (Mani) said thus: "Just as nowadays a young horse, used by a king, becomes the king's mount through the capability of the horse trainers, so that he might sit upon it in honour and glory and carry out his particular [task], in this same way [the mind possesses the] body, [in order to do the]

15.1 . . . of [. . .] place [. . .] for the kings rest; and a certain garment was fitted for the one who put it on; the ship was equipped for the best skipper so that he might catch valued treasures from the sea; the holy place was set up for glory of the mind; and the most holy shrine, for revelation of its wisdom; the [. . .] interest [. . .] has been paid fully . . .

16.1 . . . in (the) [body], (that) he might ransom those enslaved from the powers (of the other world) and set free their members from the subjection of the rebels and from the authority of those who keep guard, and through it (i.e., the body) he might disclose the truth of its own knowledge, and in it open wide the door to those confined within, [and through it] he might hold out [well-being] to those .

17.1 . . . and from all laws, and (that) he might free the souls from ignorance by becoming paraclete and leader of the apostleship in his generation. Then, ate the time when my body reached its full growth, immediately there flew down and appeared before me that most beautiful and greatest mirror-image of [my self] . . .

18.1 . . . [When] I was twenty[-four] years old, [in] the year in which Dariardaxar, the king of Persia, subdued the city Atra, also in which his son Sapores, the king, crowned himself with the grand diadem, in the month of Pharmouthi, on the eighth day of the lunar month, the most blessed Lord was greatly moved with compasson for me, called me into his grace, and immediately sent to me [from there my] Twin

[appearing in] great [glory] . . . 19.2 . . . [he] (is) mindful of and informer of all the best counsels from our Father and from the good first right hand far away '

Andagain, he (Mani) soke thus: "When my Father was pleased and had mercy and compassion on me, to ransom (me) from the error of the Sectarians, he took consideration of me through his very many [revelations], (and) he sent [to me] my [Twin]..

20.1 . . . [best hope and] redemption for (those who) suffer patiently, the truest instructions and counsels, and the laying on of hands from our Father. When, then, he (the Twin) came, he delivered separated, and pulled me away from te midst of that Law in which I reared. In this way he called, chose, drew, and severed me from their midst [. . .], drawing [me to the divinel side.

21.2 (the Twin is instructing Mani concerning) . . . who I am, what my body is, in what way I have come, how my arrival into this world took place, who I am of the ones most renowned for their eminence, how I was begotten into this fleshly bodym by what woman I was delivered and born according to the flesh, and by whose [passion] I was engendered.

22.1 . . . and how [. . .] came into being; and who my Father on high is; or in what way, severed from him, I was sent out according to his purpose; and what sort of commission and counsel he has given to me before I clothed myself in his instrument, and before I was led astray in this detestable flesh, and before I clothed myself wth its drunkenness and habits; and who [that one is, who] is himself [my ever-vigilant Twinl.

23.1 (the Twin showed Mani) . . . the secrets and [visions] and the perfections of my Father; and concerning me, who I am, and who my inseparable Twin is; moreover, concerning my soul, which exists as the soul of all worlds, both what it itself is and how it came to be. Beside these, he revealed to me the boundless heights and the unfathomable depths; he showed [me] all . .

24.3 . . . reverently [. . .]

and I acquired him as my possession.

I believed

that he belongs to me and is (mine) and is a good and excellent counselor.

I recognised him

and understood that I am that one

from whom I was separated. I testified

that I myself am that one

who is unshakable. . .

25.1 . . . And [again] he (Mani) said thus: "With the greatest possible ingenuity and skill I went about in that Law, preserving this hope in my heart; no one perceived who it was that was with me, and I myself revealed nothing to anyone during that great period of time. But neither [did I], like them, [keep] the fleshly custom.

26.1 I [revealed nothing] of what happened, or of what will happen, nor what it that I knew, or what it is that I had received.

The Teachers Say

When, then, that all-glorious and all-blessed one (the Twin) disclosed to me these exceeddingly great . . .

#### APPENDIX C-6 (to Artefacts and Historical Documents)

## THE POPOL VUH

The Counsel Book of the Maya of the Ouiche Maya of Guatemala. Goetz-Morley translation after Recinos Estimated Range of Dating: 1300-1550 A.D.

(The Popol Vuh (Quiché for "Council Book" or "Book of the Community"; Popol Wu'uj in modern spelling) is the only sacred text that has survived from the Americas. All other native American books have been destroyed during the Spanish conquest.

The book is written in the Classical Quiché language. It contains mythological stories and a genealogy of the rulers of the Post-Classic Quiché Maya kingdom of highland Guatemala

The book contains a creation myth followed by mythological stories of two Hero Twins: Hunahpu (Modern Quiché: Junajpu) and Xbalanque (Modern Quiché Xb'alanke). The second part of the book deals with details of the foundation and history of the Quiché kingdom.

The book is written in the Latin alphabet, but it is thought to have been based on an original Maya codex. The original manuscript which was written around 1550 has been lost, but a copy of another handwritten copy in the early 18th century exists today in Chicago.

The significance of the book is enormous since it is one of a small number of early Mesoamerican mythological texts is often considered the single most important piece of Mesoamerican literature

The Popol Vuh is a cultural parrative that recounts the mythology and history of the K'iche' people who inhabit the Guatemalan Highlands northwest of present-day Guatemala

The Popol Vuh is a creation narrative written by the K'iche' people before the Spanish conquest of Guatemala, originally

preserved through oral tradition until approximately 1550 when it was written down. The survival of the Popol Vuh is credited to the 18th century Dominican friar Francisco Ximénez who made a copy of the original text in Spanish. The name "Popol Vuh" translates as "Book of the Community", "Book of Counsel", or more literally as "Book of the People". The Popol Vuh includes the Mayan creation myth, beginning with the exploits of the Hero Twins Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. As with similar texts (Chilam Balam, being one example), a great deal of the Popol Vuh's significance lies in the scarcity of early accounts dealing with Mesoamerican mythologies due to the purging of documents by the Spanish Conquistadors.

The book begins with the creation myth of the K'ichee' Maya, which credits the creation of humans to the three water-dwelling feathered serpents:

There was only immobility and silence in the darkness, in the night. Only the Creator, the Maker, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers, were in the water surrounded with light. They were hidden under green and blue feathers, and were therefore called Gucumatz.

and to the three other deities, collectively called "Heart of heaven".

Then while they meditated, it became clear to them that when dawn would break, man must appear. Then they planned the creation, and the growth of the trees and the thickets and the birth of life and the creation of man. Thus it was arranged in the darkness and in the night by the Heart of Heaven who is called Huracán. The first is called Caculhá Huracán. The second is ChipiCaculhá. The third is Raxa-Caculhá. And these three are the Heart of Heaven.

who together attempted to create human beings to keep him company.

Their first attempts proved unsuccessful. They attempted to make man of mud, but man could neither move nor speak. After destroying the mud men, they tried again by creating wooden creatures that could speak but had no soul or blood and quickly forgot him. Angered over the flaws in his creation, they destroyed them by tearing them apart. In their final attempt, the "True People" were constructed with maize. The following is an excerpt of this myth:

They came together in darkness to think and reflect. This is how they came to decide on the right material for the creation of man. ... Then our Makers Tepew and Q'uk'umatz began discussing the creation of our first mother and father. Their flesh was made of white and yellow corn. The arms and legs of the four men were made of corn meal.

Summary

This is a very general summary; divisions of 3 or 4 parts (or books) depend on text version:

Gods create world.

Gods create first "mud" or clay humans. Secondly, Maker and Creator, create "wood" humans; they are imperfect and emotionless

Gods destroy first humans in a "resin" flood: they become monkeys.

Twin diviners Hunahpu and Xbalanque destroy arrogant Vucub-Caquix, then Zipacna and Cabracan.

Diviners Xpiyacoc and Xmucane beget brothers

HunHunahpu and Xbaquiyalo beget "Monkey Twins' Hun-Batz and Hun-Chouen.

Cruel Xibalba lords kill the brothers Hun-Hunahpu and Vucub-Hunahnu

Hun Hunahpu and Xquic beget "Hero Twins" Hunahpu and Xbalanque.

"Hero Twins" defeat the Xibalba houses of Gloom, Knives, Cold, Jaguars, Fire, and Bats.

The first four "real" people are made: Jaguar Quiché, Jaguar Night, Naught, and Wind Jaguar.

Tribes descend; they speak the same language and travel to TulanZuiva.

The tribes language becomes confused, and they disperse.

Tohil is recognised as a god and demands life sacrifices; later he must be hidden.

Tohil affects Earth Lords through priests, but his dominion destroys the Ouiche.

Priests try to abduct tribes for sacrifices; the tribes try to

Quiche finds Gumarcah where Gucumatz (the feathered serpent lord) raises them to power.

Gucumatz institutes elaborate rituals

Genealogies of the tribes)

## BOOK 1

# 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 1

This is the account of how all was in suspense, all calm, in silence; all motionless, still, and the expanse of the sky was

empty.

This is the first account, the first narrative. There was neither man, nor animal, birds, fishes, crabs, trees, stones, caves, ravines, grasses, nor forests; there was only the sky.

The surface of the earth had not appeared. There was only the calm sea and the great expanse of the sky.

There was nothing brought together, nothing which could make a noise, nor anything which might move, or tremble, or could make noise in the sky.

There was nothing standing; only the calm water, the placid sea, alone and tranquil. Nothing existed.

There was only immobility and silence in the darkness, in the night. Only the Creator, the Maker, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers,\* were in the water surrounded with light.\*\* They were hidden under green and blue feathers, and were therefore called Gucumatz. By nature they were great sages and great thinkers. In this manner the sky existed and also the

\*E Alom, literally, those who conceive and give birth, e Qaholom, those who beget the children. In order to follow the conciseness of the text here the two terms are translated as the 'Forefathers.'

\*\*They were in the water because the Quiché associated the name Gucumatz with the liquid element. Bishop Núniez de la Vega says that Gucumatz is a serpent with feathers, which moves in the water. The Cakchiquel Manuscript says that one of the primitive peoples which migrated to Guatemala was called Gucumatz because their salvation was in the water.

Heaven, which is the name of God and thus He is called. Then came the word. Tepeu and Gucumatz came together in the darkness, in the night, and Tepeu and Gucumatz talked together. They talked then, discussing and deliberating; they agreed, they united their words and their thoughts.

Then while they meditated, it became clear to them that when dawn would break, man must appear. Then they planned the creation, and the growth of the trees and the thickets and the birth of life and the creation of man. Thus it was arranged in the darkness and in the night by the Heart of Heaven who is called Huracán.

The first is called Caculhá Huracán. The second is ChipiCaculhá. The third is Raxa-Caculhá. And these three are the Heart of Heaven.

Then Tepeu and Gucumatz came together; then they conferred about life and light, what they would do so that there would be light and dawn, who it would be who would provide food and sustenance.

Thus let it be done! Let the emptiness be filled! Let the water recede and make a void, let the earth appear and become solid; let it be done. Thus they spoke. Let there be light, let there be dawn in the sky and on the earth! There shall be neither glory nor grandeur in our creation and formation until the human being is made, man is formed. So they spoke.

Then the earth was created by them. So it was in truth that they created the earth. Earth! they said, and instantly it was made.

Like the mist, like a cloud, and like a cloud of dust was the creation, when the mountains appeared from the water; and instantly the mountains grew.

Only by a miracle, only by magic art were the mountains and valleys formed; and instantly the groves of cypresses and pines put forth shoots together on the surface of the earth.

And thus Gucumatz was filled with joy, and exclaimed: "Your coming has been fruitful, Heart of Heaven; and you, Huracán, and you, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá!"

"Our work, our creation shall be finished," they answered.

First the earth was formed, the mountains and the valleys: the currents of water were divided, the rivulets were running freely between the hills, and the water was separated when the high mountains appeared.

Thus was the earth created, when it was formed by the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth, as they are called who first made it fruitful, when the sky was in suspense, and the earth was submerged in the water.

So it was that they made perfect the work, when they did it after thinking and meditating upon it.

# 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 2

Then they made the small wild animals, the guardians of the woods, the spirits of the mountains, the deer, the birds, pumas, jaguars, serpents, snakes, vipers, guardians of the thickets.

And the Forefathers asked: "Shall there be only silence and

calm under the trees, under the vines? It is well that hereafter there be someone to guard them."

So they said when they meditated and talked. Promptly the deer and the birds were created. Immediately they gave homes to the deer and the birds. "You, deer, shall sleep in the fields by the river bank and in the ravines. Here you shall be amongst the thicket, amongst the pasture; in the woods you shall multiply, you shall walk on four feet and they will support you. Thus be it done!" So it was they spoke.

Then they also assigned homes to the birds big and small. "You shall live in the trees and in the vines. There you shall make your nests; there you shall multiply; there you shall increase in the branches of the trees and in the vines " Thus the deer and the birds were told; they did their duty at once, and all sought their homes and their nests.

And the creation of all the four-footed animals and the birds being finished, they were told by the Creator and the Maker and the Forefathers: "Speak, cry, warble, call, speak

each one according to your variety, each, according to your kind." So was it said to the deer, the birds, pumas, jaguars, and serpents.

"Speak, then, our names, praise us, your mother, your father. Invoke then, Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth, the Creator, the Maker, the Forefathers; speak, invoke us, adore us," they were told.

But they could not make them speak like men; they only hissed and screamed and cackled; they were unable to make words, and each screamed in a different way.

When the Creator and the Maker saw that it was impossible for them to talk to each other, they said: "It is impossible for them to say our names, the names of us, their Creators and Makers. This is not well," said the Forefathers to each other.

Then they said to them: "Because it has not been possible for you to talk, you shall be changed. We have changed our minds: Your food, your pasture, your homes, and your nests you shall have; they shall be the ravines and the woods, because it has not been possible for you to adore us or invoke us. There shall be those who adore us, we shall make other [beings] who shall be obedient. Accept your destiny: your flesh shall be torn to pieces. So shall it be. This shall be your lot." So they said, when they made known their will to the large and small animals which are on the face of the earth.

They wished to give them another trial; they wished to make another attempt; they wished to make [all living things] adore them.

But they could not understand each other's speech: they could succeed in nothing, and could do nothing. For this reason they were sacrificed, and the animals which were on earth were condemned to be killed and eaten.

For this reason another attempt had to be made to create and make men by the Creator, the Maker, and the Forefathers.

"Let us try again! Already dawn draws near: Let us make him who shall nourish and sustain us! What shall we do to be invoked, in order to be remembered on earth? We have already tried with our first creations, our first creatures; but we could not make them praise and venerate us. So, then, let us try to make obedient, respectful beings who will nourish and sustain us." Thus they spoke.

Then was the creation and the formation. Of earth, of mud, they made [man's] flesh. But they saw that it was not good. It melted away, it was soft, did not move, had no strength, it fell down, it was limp, it could not move its head, its face fell to one side, its sight was blurred, it could not look behind. At first it spoke, but had no mind. Quickly it soaked in the water and could not stand

And the Creator and the Maker said: "Let us try again because our creatures will not be able to walk nor multiply. Let us consider this," they said.

Then they broke up and destroyed their work and their creation. And they said: "What shall we do to perfect it, in order that our worshipers, our invokers, will be successful?"

Thus they spoke when they conferred again: "Let us say again to Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, Hunahpú-Vuch, Hunahpú-Utiú: 'Cast your lot again. Try to create again.' " In this manner the Creator and the Maker spoke to Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

Then they spoke to those soothsayers, the Grandmother of the day, the Grandmother of the Dawn, as they were called by the Creator and the Maker, and whose names were Xpiyacoc and Xmucané.

And said Huracán, Tepeu, and Gucumatz when they spoke to the soothsayer, to the Maker, who are the diviners: "You must work together and find the means so that man, whom we shall make, man, whom we are going to make, will nourish and sustain us, invoke and remember us.

"Enter, then, into council, grandmother, grandfather, our grandmother, our grandfather, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, make light, make dawn, have us invoked, have us adored, have us remembered by created man, by made man, by mortal man. Thus be it done.

"Let your nature be known, Hunahpú-Vuch, Hunahpú-Utiú, twice mother, twice father, Nim-Ac, Nima-Tziís, the master of emeralds, the worker in jewels, the sculptor, the carver, the maker of beautiful plates, the maker of green gourds, the master of resin, the master Toltecat," grandmother of the sun, grandmother of dawn, as you will be called by our works and our creatures.

\*Here the text seems to enumerate the usual occupations of the men of that time. The author calls upon ahgual, who is evidently the one who carves emeralds or green stones; ahyamanic, the jeweler or silversmith; ahchut, engraver or sculptor; ahtzalam, carver or cabinetmaker; ahraxalac, he who fashions green or beautiful plates; ahraxazel, he who makes the beautiful green vases or gourds (called Xicalli in Náhuatl,)--the word raxá has both meanings; ahgol, he who makes the resin or copal; and, finally, ahtoltecat, he who, without doubt was the silversmith. The Tolteca were in fact skilled silversmiths who, according to the legend, were taught the art by Quetzalcoatl himself.

"Cast the lot with your grains of corn and the tzité.\*\* Do it thus, and we shall know if we are to make, or carve his mouth and eyes out of wood." Thus the diviners were told.

\*\*Erythrina corallodendron. Tzité, arbol de pito in Guatemala; Tzompanquahuitl in the Mexican language. It is used in both countries to make fences. Its fruit is a pod which contains red grains resembling a bean which the Indians used, as they still do, together with grains of corn, in their fortunetelling and witchcraft. In his Informe contra Idolorum Cultores, Sánchez de Aguilar says that the Maya Indians "cast lots with a large handful of corn." As is seen, the practice which is still observed by the Maya-Quiché is of respectable antiquity.

They went down at once to make their divination, and cast their lots with the corn and the tzité. "Fate! Creature!" said an old woman and an old man. And this old man was the one who cast the lots with Tzité, the one called Xpiyacoc. And the old woman was the diviner, the maker, called Chiracán Xmucané.

Beginning the divination, they said: "Get together, grasp each other! Speak, that we may hear." They said, "Say if it is well that the wood be got together and that it be carved by the Creator and the Maker, and if this [man of wood] is he who must nourish and sustain us when there is light when it is day!

"Thou, corn; thou, tzité; thou, fate; thou, creature; get together, take each other," they said to the corn, to the tzité, to fate, to the creature. "Come to sacrifice here, Heart of Heaven; do not punish Tepeu and Gucumatz!"

Then they talked and spoke the truth: "Your figures of wood shall come out well; they shall speak and talk on earth."

"So may it be," they answered when they spoke.

And instantly the figures were made of wood. They looked

And instantly the figures were made of wood. They looked like men, talked like men, and populated the surface of the earth.

They existed and multiplied; they had daughters, they had sons, these wooden figures; but they did not have souls, nor minds, they did not remember their Creator, their Maker; they walked on all fours, aimlessly.

They no longer remembered the Heart of Heaven and therefore they fell out of favor. It was merely a trial, an attempt at man. At first they spoke, but their face was without expression; their feet and hands had no strength; they had no blood, nor substance, nor moisture, nor flesh; their cheeks were dry, their feet and hands were dry, and their flesh was yellow.

Therefore, they no longer thought of their Creator nor their Maker, nor of those who made them and cared for them.

These were the first men who existed in great numbers on the face of the earth.

# 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 3

Immediately the wooden figures were annihilated, destroyed, broken up, and killed.

A flood was brought about by the Heart of Heaven; a great flood was formed which fell on the heads of the wooden creatures

Of tzité, the flesh of man was made, but when woman was fashioned by the Creator and the Maker, her flesh was made of rushes. These were the materials the Creator and the Maker wanted to use in making them.

But those that they had made, that they had created, did not think, did not speak with their Creator, their Maker. And for this reason they were killed, they were deluged. A heavy resin fell from the sky. The one called Xecotcovach came and gouged out their eyes; Camalotz came and cut off their heads; Cotzbalam came and devoured their flesh. Tucumbalam came, too, and broke and mangled their bones and their nerves, and ground and crumbled their bones.

This was to punish them because they had not thought of their mother, nor their father, the Heart of Heaven, called Huracán. And for this reason the face of the earth was darkened and a black rain began to fall, by day and by night.

Then came the small animals and the large animals, and sticks and stones struck their faces. And all began to speak: their earthen jars, their griddles, their plates, their pots, their grinding stones, all rose up and struck their faces.

"You have done us much harm; you ate us, and now we shall kill you," said their dogs and birds of the barnyard.

And the grinding stones said: "We were tormented by you; every day, every day, at night, at dawn, all the time our faces went holi, holi, huqui, huqui, because of you. This was the tribute we paid you. But now that you are no longer men, you shall feel our strength. We shall grind and tear your flesh to pieces," said their grinding stones.

And then their dogs spoke and said: "Why did you give us

And then their dogs spoke and said: "Why did you give us nothing to eat? You scarcely looked at us, but you chased us and threw us out. You always had a stick ready to strike us while you were eating.

"Thus it was that you treated us. You did not speak to us. Perhaps we shall not kill you now; but why did you not look ahead, why did you not think about yourselves? Now we shall destroy you, now you shall feel the teeth of our mouths; we shall devour you," said the dogs, and then, they destroyed their faces.

And at the same time, their griddles and pots spoke: "Pain and suffering you have caused us. Our mouths and our faces

were blackened with soot; we were always put on the fire and you burned us as though we felt no pain. Now you shall feel it, we shall burn you," said their pots, and they all destroyed their [the wooden men's] faces. The stones of the hearth, which were heaped together, hurled themselves straight from the fire against their heads causing them pain.

The desperate ones [the men of wood] ran as quickly as they could; they wanted to climb to the tops of the houses, and the houses fell down and threw them to the ground; they wanted to climb to the treetops, and the trees cast them far away; they wanted to enter the caverns, and the caverns repelled them.

So was the ruin of the men who had been created and formed, the men made to be destroyed and annihilated; the mouths and faces of all of them were mangled.

And it is said that their descendants are the monkeys which now live in the forests; these are all that remain of them because their flesh was made only of wood by the Creator and the Maker

And therefore the monkey looks like man, and is an example of a generation of men which were created and made but were only wooden figures.

### 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 4

It was cloudy and twilight then on the face of the earth. There was no sun yet. Nevertheless, there was a being called Vucub-Caquix who was very proud of himself.

The sky and the earth existed, but the faces of the sun and the moon were covered.

And he [Vucub-Caquix] said: "Truly, they are clear examples of those people who were drowned, and their nature is that of supernatural beings.

"I shall now be great above all the beings created and formed. I am the sun, the light, the moon," he exclaimed. "Great is my splendor. Because of me men shall walk and conquer. For my eyes are of silver, bright, resplendent as precious stones, as emeralds; my teeth shine like perfect stones, like the face of the sky. My nose shines afar like the moon, my throne is of silver, and the face of the earth is lighted when I pass before my throne.

"So, then, I am the sun, I am the moon, for all mankind. So shall it be, because I can see very far."

So Vucub-Caquix spoke. But he was not really the sun; he was only vainglorious of his feathers and his riches. And he could see only as far as the horizon, and he could not see over all the world.

The face of the sun had not yet appeared, nor that of the moon, nor the stars, and it had not dawned. Therefore, Vucub-Caquix became as vain as though he were the sun and the moon, because the light of the sun and the moon had not yet shown itself. His only ambition was to exalt himself and to dominate. And all this happened when the flood came because of the wooden people.

Now we shall tell how Vucub-Caquix was overthrown and died, and how man was made by the Creator and the Maker.

# 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 5

This is the beginning of the defeat and the ruin of the glory of Vucub-Caquix brought about by two youths, the first of whom was called Hunahpú and the second, Xbalanqué. They were really gods. When they saw the harm which the arrogant one had done, and wished to do, in the presence of the Heart of Heaven, the youths said:

"It is not good that it be so, when man does not yet live here on earth. Therefore, we shall try to shoot him with our blowgun when he is eating. We shall shoot him and make him sicken, and then that will be the end of his riches, his green stones, his precious metals, his emeralds, his jewels of which he is so proud. And this shall be the lot of all men, for they must not become vain, because of power and riches.

"Thus shall it be," said the youths, each one putting his

"Thus shall it be," said the youths, each one putting his blowgun to his shoulder.

Well, now Vucub-Caquix had two sons: the first was called Zipacná, the second was Cabracán; and the mother of the two was called Chimalmat, the wife of Vucub-Caquix.

Well, Zipacná played ball with the large mountains: with Chigag, Hunahpú, Pecul, Yaxcanul, Macamob, and Huliznab. These are the names of the mountains which existed when it dawned and which were created in a single night by Zipacná.

In this way, then, Cabracán moved the mountains and made the large and small mountains tremble.

And in this way the sons of Vucub-Caquix proclaimed their pride. "Listen! I am the sun!," said Vucub-Caquix. "I am he who made the earth!" said Zipacná. "I am he who shook the sky and made the earth tremble!" said Cabracán. In this way the sons of Vucub-Caquix followed the example of their father's assumed greatness. And this seemed very evil to the youths. Neither our first mother nor our first father had yet been created.

Therefore, the deaths of Vucub-Caquix and his sons and their destruction was decided upon by the youths.

#### 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 6

Now we shall tell how the two Youths shot their blowguns at Vucub-Caquix and how each one of those, who had become arrogant, was destroyed.

Vucub-Caquix had a large nantze tree and he ate the fruit of it. Each day he went to the tree and climbed to the top. Hunahpú and Xbalanqué had seen that this fruit was his food. And they lay in ambush at the foot of the tree, hidden among the leaves. Vucub-Caquix came straight to his meal of nantzes.

Instantly he was injured by a discharge from Hun-Hunahpú's blowgun which struck him squarely in the jaw, and screaming, he fell straight to earth from the treetop.

Hun-Hunahpú ran quickly to overpower him, but Vucub-Caquix seized his arm and wrenching it from him, bent it back to the shoulder. In this way Vucub-Caquix tore out Hun-Hunahpú's arm. Surely the two youths did well in not letting themselves be defeated first by Vucub-Caquix.

Carrying Hun-Hunahpú's arm, Vucub-Caquix went home, and arrived there nursing his jaw.

"What has happened to you, my lord?" said Chimalmat, his

"What could it be, but those two demons who shot me with blowguns and dislocated my jaw? For that reason my teeth are loose and pain me very much. But I have brought it [his arm], to put it on the fire. Let it hang there over the fire, for surely these demons will come looking for it." So said Vucub-Caquix as he hung up the arm of Hun-Hunahpú.

Having thought it over, Hun-Hunahpú and Xbalanqué went to talk with an old man who had snow-white hair and with an old woman, really very old and humble, both already bent, like very old people. The old man was called Zaqui-Nim-Ac and the old woman, Zaqui-Nima-Tziis. The youths said to the old woman and the old man:

"Come with us to Vucub-Caquix's house to get our arm. We will follow you, and you shall tell them: These with us are our grandchildren; their mother and father are dead; so they follow us everywhere we are given alms, for the only thing that we know how to do is take the worm from the teeth.'

"So Vucub-Caquix shall think we are boys and we shall also be there to advise you," said the two youths.

"Very well," answered the old man and woman.

Then they started out for the place where they found Vucub-Caquix reclining on his throne. The old woman and man walked along followed by the two boys, who stayed behind them. In this way they arrived at the house of the lord who was screaming because his tooth pained him.

When Vucub-Caquix saw the old man and the old woman and those who accompanied them, he asked, "Where do you come from, grandparents?"

"We come looking for something to eat, honorable sir," they answered.

"And what do you eat? Are those not your sons who are with you?"

"Oh, no, sir! They are our grandsons; but we are sorry for them and what is given to us, we share with them, sir," answered the old woman and the old man.

Meanwhile, the lord was suffering terrible pain from his tooth, and it was only with great difficulty that he could

"I earnestly beseech you to have pity on me. What can you do? What do you know how to cure?" the lord asked them.

And the old ones answered, "Oh, sir! we only take the worm from the teeth, cure the eyes, and set bones."

"Very well. Cure my teeth, which are really making me suffer day and night, and because of them and of my eyes I cannot be calm and cannot sleep. All of this is because two demons shot me with a pellet [from their blowgun] and for that reason I cannot eat. Have pity on me, then, tighten my teeth with your hands."

"Very well, sir. It is a worm which makes you suffer. It will end when these teeth are pulled and others put in their place."

"It is not well that you pull my teeth, because it is only with them that I am a lord and all my ornaments are my teeth and my eyes."

"We will put others of ground bone in their place." But the ground bone was nothing but grains of white corn.

"Very well, pull them out, come and relieve me," he replied.
Then they pulled Vucub-Caquix's teeth; but in their place
they put only grains of white corn, and these grains of corn
shone in his mouth. Instantly his features sagged and he no
longer looked like a lord. They removed the rest of his teeth
which shone like pearls in his mouth. And finally they cured
Vucub-Caquix's eyes, piercing the pupils of his eyes, and they
took all his riches.

But he felt nothing any more. He only watched, because at the advice of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, they took from him all of the things of which he had been so proud.

Then Vucub-Caquix died. Hun-Hunahpú recovered his arm. Chimalmat, the wife of Vucub-Caquix, also perished.

In this way Vucub-Caquix lost his riches. The healer took all the emeralds and precious stones which had been his pride here on earth.

The old woman and the old man who did this were miraculous beings; and having recovered the arm of Hun-Hunahpú, they put it in place, and it was all right again.

It was only to bring about the death of Vucub-Caquix that they did this, because it seemed wicked to them that he should become so arrogant.

And then the two youths went on, having in this way carried out the order of the Heart of Heaven.

#### 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 7

Here now are the deeds of Zipacná, the elder, son of Vucub-Caquix.

"I am the creator of the mountains," said Zipacná

Zipacná was bathing at the edge of a river when four hundred youths passed dragging a log to support their house. The four hundred were walking, after having cut down a large tree to make the ridge-pole of their house.

Then Zipacná came up, and going toward the four hundred

youths, said to them: "What are you doing, boys?"
"It is only this log," they answered, "which we cannot lift and carry on our shoulders

"I will carry it. Where does it have to go? What do you want it for?"

"For a ridge-pole for our house."

"All right," he answered, and lifting it up, he put it on his shoulders and carried it to the entrance of the house of the four hundred boys

'Now stay with us, boy," they said. "Have you a mother or father?"

'I have neither," he answered.

"Then we shall hire you tomorrow to prepare another log to support our house.

"Good." he answered.

The four hundred boys talked together then, and said:

"How shall we kill this boy? Because it is not good what he has done lifting the log alone. Let us make a big hole and push him so that he will fall into it. 'Go down and take out the earth and carry it from the pit,' we shall tell him, and when he stoops down, to go down into the pit, we shall let the large log fall on him and he will die there in the pit.'

So said the four hundred boys, and then they dug a large very deep pit. Then they called Zipacná.

"We like you very much. Go, go and dig dirt, for we cannot reach [the bottom of the pit]," they said.

"All right," he answered. He went at once into the pit. And calling to him as he was digging the dirt, they said: "Have you gone down very deep yet?"

'Yes," he answered, beginning to dig the pit. But the pit which he was making was to save him from danger. He knew that they wanted to kill him; so when he dug the pit, he made a second hole at one side in order to free himself

"How far [have you gone]?" the four hundred boys called down.

"I am still digging; I will call up to you when I have finished the digging," said Zipacná from the bottom of the pit. But he was not digging his grave; instead he was opening another pit in order to save himself.

At last Zipacná called to them. But when he called, he was already safe in the second pit.

"Come and take out and carry away the dirt which I have dug and which is in the bottom of the pit," he said, "because in truth I have made it very deep. Do you not hear my call? Nevertheless, your calls, your words repeat themselves like an echo once, twice, and so I hear well where you are." So Zipacná called from the pit where he was hidden, shouting from the depths.

Then the boys hurled the great log violently, and it fell quickly with a thud to the bottom of the pit.

"Let no one speak! Let us wait until we hear his dying screams," they said to each other, whispering, and each one covered his face as the log fell noisily. He [Zipacná] spoke then, crying out, but he called only once when the log fell to the

"How well we have succeeded in this! Now he is dead." said the boys. "If, unfortunately, he had continued what he had begun to do, we would have been lost, because he already had interfered with us, the four hundred boys.

And filled with joy they said: "Now we must make our chicha within the next three days. When the three days are passed, we shall drink to the construction of our new house, we, the four hundred boys." Then they said: "Tomorrow we shall look, and day after tomorrow, we shall also look to see if the ants do not come out of the earth when the body smells and begins to rot. Presently we shall become calm and drink our chicha," they said.

But from his pit Zipacná listened to everything the boys said. And later, on the second day, multitudes of ants came, going and coming and gathering under the log. Some carried Zipacná's hair in their mouths, and others carried his fingernails.

When the boys saw this, they said, "That devil has now perished. Look how the ants have gathered, how they have come by hordes, some bringing his hair and others his

fingernails. Look what we have done!" So they spoke to each other.

Nevertheless, Zipacná was very much alive. He had cut his hair and gnawed off his fingernails to give them to the ants.

And so the four hundred boys believed that he was dead, and on the third day they began the orgy and all of the boys got drunk. And the four hundred being drunk knew nothing any more. And then Zipacná let the house fall on their heads and killed all of them.

Not even one or two among the four hundred were saved; they were killed by Zipacná, son of Vucub-Caquix.

In this way the four hundred boys died, and it is said that they became the group of stars which because of them are called Motz,\* but it may not be true.

\*A mass, the Seven Little Sisters, the Pleiades, Brasseur de Bourbourg notes that Omuch qaholah, the four hundred young men who perished in an orgy, are the same as those who were worshipped in Mexico under the name Centzon-Totochtin, the four hundred rabbits who were implored as gods to protect the pulque and the drunkards.

#### 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 8

Now we shall tell how Zipacná was defeated by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Now follows the defeat and death of Zipacná, when he was overcome by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué

The boys' hearts were full of rancor because the four hundred young men had been killed by Zipacná. And he only hunted fish and crabs at the bank of the river, which were his daily food. During the day he went about looking for food, and at night he carried mountains on his back.

With a leaf of the ec plant which is found in the forest, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué quickly made a figure to look like a very large crab.

With this they made the stomach of the crab: the claws, they made of pahac, and for the shell, which covers the back, they used a stone. Then they put the crab at the bottom of a cave at the foot of a large mountain called Meaguán, where he was overcome

Then the boys went to find Zipacná on the river bank.

"Where are you going, young man?" they asked him.
"I am not going anywhere," Zipacná answered, "only

looking for food, boys.

"And what is your food?"

"Fish and crabs, but there are none here and I have not found any; I have not eaten since day before yesterday, and I am dying of hunger," said Zipacná to Hunahpú and Xhalanqué

"Over there in the bottom of the ravine there is a crab, a really large crab, and it would be well if you would eat it! Only it bit us when we tried to catch it and so we were afraid. We wouldn't try to catch it for anything," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Have pity on me! Come and show it to me, boys," begged Zipacná.

We do not want to. You go alone, you will not get lost. Follow the bank of the river and you will come out at the foot of a large hill; there it is making a noise at the bottom of the ravine. You have only to go there," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

"Oh, unfortunate me! Won't you accompany me, boys? Come and show it to me. There are many birds which you can shoot with your blowguns and I know where to find them,' said Zipacná.

His meekness convinced the boys. And they asked him: "But, can you really catch him? Because it is only for you that we are returning; we are not going to try to get it again because it bit us when we were crawling into the cave. After that we were afraid to crawl in, but we almost caught it. So, then, it is best that you crawl in," they said.

"Very well," said Zipacná, and then they went with him. They arrived at the bottom of the ravine and there, stretched on his back, was the crab, showing his red shell. And there also in the bottom of the ravine was the boys' hoax

"Good! Good!" said Zipacná happily. "I should like to have it in my mouth already!" And he was really dying of hunger. He wanted to try to crawl in, he wanted to enter, but the crab was climbing. He came out at once and the boys asked, "Did you not get it?"

"No," he answered, "because he was going up and I almost caught him. But perhaps it would be good if I go in from above," he added. And then he entered again from above, but as he was almost inside, with only the soles of his feet showing, the great hill slid and fell slowly down on his chest.

Zipacná never returned and he was changed into stone

In this way Zipacná was defeated by the two boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; he was the elder son of Vucub-Caquix, and he, according to the ancient legend, was the one who made the mountains

At the foot of the hill called Meaguán he was vanquished. Only by a miracle was he vanquished, the second of the arrogant ones. One was left, whose history we shall tell now.

#### 1 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 9

The third of the arrogant ones was the second son of Vucub-Caquix who was called Cabracán.

"I demolish the mountains," he said.

But Hunahpú and Xbalanqué also defeated Cabracán. Huracán Chipi-Caculhá, and Raxa-Caculhá talked and said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué:

"Let the second son of Vucub-Caquix also be defeated. This is our will, for it is not well what they do on earth, exalting their glory, their grandeur, and their power, and it must not be so. Lure him to where the sun rises," said Huracán to the two youths.

"Very well, honored sir," they answered, "because what we see is not right. Do you not exist, you who are the peace, you, Heart of Heaven?" said the boys as they listened to the command of Huracán.

Meanwhile, Cabracán was busy shaking the mountains. At the gentlest tap of his feet on the earth, the large and small mountains opened. Thus the boys found him and asked Cabracán:

"Where are you going, young man? "
"Nowhere," he answered, "here I am moving the mountains, and I am leveling them to the ground forever," he answered.

Then Cabracán asked Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, "What did you come to do here? I do not recognize you. What are your names?" said Cabracán.
"We have no names," they answered, "we are nothing more

than shooters of blowguns and hunters with bird-traps on the mountains. We are poor and we have nothing, young man. We only walk over the large and small mountains, young man, and we have just seen a large mountain, over there where you see the pink sky. It really rises up very high and overlooks the tops of all the hills. So it is that we have not been able to catch even one or two of the birds on it, boy. But, is it true that you can level all the mountains?" Hunahpú and Xbalanqué asked Cabracán.

"Have you really seen the mountain of which you speak? Where is it? If I see it, I shall demolish it. Where did you see it?"

"Over there it is, where the sun rises," said Hunahpú and Xbalangué

'Very well, show me the road," he said to the two boys.

"Oh no!" they answered. "We must take you between us. One shall go at your left and the other at your right, because we have our blowguns, and if there should be birds we can shoot them." And so they set out happily, trying out their blowguns. But when they shot with them, they did not use the clay pellets in the tube of the blowgun; instead they felled the birds only with the puff of air when they shot them, which surprised Cabracán very much.

Then the boys built a fire and put the birds on it to roast, but they rubbed one of the birds with chalk, covering it with a white earth soil.

"We shall give him this," they said, "to whet his appetite with the odor which it gives off. This bird of ours shall be his ruin, as we cover this bird with earth so we shall bring him down to the earth and bury him in the earth.

"Great shall be the wisdom of a created being, of a being fashioned, when it dawns, when there is light," said the boys.

"As it is natural for man to wish to eat, so Cabracán desires food," said Hunahpú and Xbalangué to each other.

Meanwhile the birds were roasting, they were beginning to turn golden brown, and the fat and juice which dripped from them made an appetizing odor. Cabracán wanted very much to eat them; they made his mouth water, he yawned, and the saliva and spittle drooled because of the smell which the birds gave off.

Then he asked them: "What is that you eat? The smell is really savoury. Give me a little piece," he said to them.

Then they gave a bird to Cabracán, the one which would be his ruin; and when he had finished eating it, they set out toward the east where the great mountain was. But already Cabracán's legs and hands were weakening and he had no strength because of the earth with which the bird he had eaten was rubbed, and he could do nothing to the mountains. Neither was it possible to level them.

Then the boys tied him, they tied his hands behind him and also tied his neck and his feet together. Then they threw him to the ground and there they buried him.

In this way Cabracán was overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. It would be impossible to tell of all the things they did here on earth.

Now we shall tell of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, having first told of the destruction of Vucub-Caquix and that of Zipacná and of Cabracán, here on earth.

## 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 1

Now we shall also tell the name of the father of Hunahnú and Xbalanqu\é. We shall not tell his origin and we shall not tell the history of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. We shall tell only half of it, only a part of the history of his father.

Here is the story. Here are the names of Hun-Hunahpú [and Vucub-Hunahpú], as they are called. Their parents were

Xpiyacoc and Xmucané. During the night Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú were born of Xpiyacoc and Xmucané

Well now, Hun-Hunahpú had begotten two sons; the first was called Hunbatz and the second Hunchouén.

The mother of the two sons was called Xbaquiyalo. Thus was the wife of Hun-Hunahpú called. As for the other son, Vucub-Hunahpú, he had no wife; he was single.

By nature these two sons were very wise, and great was their wisdom; on earth they were soothsavers of good disposition and good habits. All the arts were taught to Hunbatz and Hunchouén, the sons of Hun-Hunahpú. They were flautists, singers, shooters with blowguns, painters, sculptors, jewelers, silversmiths; these were Hunbatz and Hunchouén.

Well, Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did nothing but play dice and ball all day long; and when the four got together to play ball, one pair played against the other pair.

And Voc, the messenger of Huracán, of Chipi-Caculhá, of Raxa-Caculhá came there to watch them, but Voc did not stay far from the earth nor far from Xibalba, and in an instant he went up to heaven to the side of Huracán.

They were still here on earth when the mother of Hunbatz and Hunchouén died.

And having gone to play ball on the road to Xibalba, they were overheard by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, the lords of

'What are they doing on earth? Who are they who are making the earth shake, and making so much noise? Go and call them! Let them come here to play ball. Here we will overpower them! We are no longer respected by them. They no longer have consideration, or fear of our rank, and they even fight above our heads," said all the lords of Xibalba.

All of them held a council. Those called Hun-Camé and All of them held a council. Those called Hun-Camé and

Vucub-Camé were the supreme judges. All the lords had been assigned their duties. Each one was given his own authority by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

They were, then, Xiquiripat and Cuchumaquic lords of these names. They were the two who caused the shedding of blood of the men

Others were called Ahalpuh and Ahalganá, also lords. And their work was to make men swell and make pus gush forth from their legs and stain their faces vellow, what is called Chuganal. Such was the work of Ahalpuh and Ahalganá.

Others were Lord Chamiabac and Lord Chamiaholom, constables of Xibalba, whose staffs were of bone. Their work was to make men waste away until they were nothing but skin and bone and they died, and they carried them with their stomach and bones stretched out. This was the work of Chamiabac and Chamiaholom, as they were called.

Others were called Lord Ahalmez and Lord Ahaltocob; their work was to bring disaster upon men, as they were going home, or in front of it, and they would be found wounded, stretched out, face up, on the ground, dead. This was the work of Ahalmez and Ahaltocob, as they were called

Immediately after them were other lords named Xic and Patán whose work it was to cause men to die on the road, which is called sudden death, making blood to rush to their mouths until they died vomiting blood. The work of each one of these lords was to seize upon them, squeeze their throats and chests, so that the men died on the road, making the blood rush to their throats when they were walking. This was the work of Xic and Patán.

And having gathered in council, they discussed how to torment and wound Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. What the Lords of Xibalba coveted were the playing implements of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú--their leather pads and rings and gloves and crown and masks which were the playing gear of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú.

Now we shall tell of their journey to Xibalba and how they left behind them the sons of Hun-Hunahpú, Hunbatz, and [Hun] Chouén, whose mother had died.

Then we shall tell how Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

# 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 2

The messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé arrived immediately.

"Go, Ahpop Achih!" they were told. "Go and call Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. Say to them, 'Come with us. The lords say that you must come.' They must come here to play ball with us so that they shall make us happy, for really they amaze us. So, then, they must come," said the lords. "And have them bring their playing gear, their rings, their gloves, and have them bring their rubber balls, too," said the lords. "Tell them to come quickly," they told the messengers.

And these messengers were owls: Chabi-Tucur, Huracán-Tucur, Caquix-Tucur and Holom-Tucur. These were the names of the messengers of Xibalba.

Chabi-Tucur was swift as an arrow: Huracán-Tucur had only one leg; Caquix-Tucur had a red back, and Holom-Tucur had only a head, no legs, but he had wings.

The four messengers had the rank of Ahpop-Achih. Leaving Xibalba, they arrived quickly, bringing their message to the court where Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú were

playing ball, at the ball-court which was called Nim-Xob Carchah. The owl messengers went directly to the ball-court and delivered their message exactly as it was given to them by Hun-Camé, Vucub-Camé, Ahalpuh, Ahalganá, Chamiabac, Chamiaholom, Xiquiripat, Cuchumaquic, Ahaltocob, Xic, and Patán, as the lords were called who sent the message by the owls.

"Did the Lords Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé really say that we must go with you?"

"They certainly said so, and 'Let them bring all their playing gear,' the lords said."

"Very well," said the youths. Wait for us, we are only going to say good-bye to our mother.'

And having gone straight home, they said to their mother, for their father was dead: "We are going, our mother, but our going is only for a while. The messengers of the lord have come to take us. 'They must come,' they said, according to the messengers.

"We shall leave our ball here in pledge," they added. They went immediately to hang it in the space under the rooftree. 'We will return to play," they said.

And going to Hunbatz and Hunchouén they said to them: "Keep on playing the flute and singing, painting, and carving; warm our house and warm the heart of your grandmother.'

When they took leave of their mother, Xmucané was moved and burst into tears. "Do not worry, we are going, but we have not died yet," said Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú as they left.

Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú went immediately and the messengers took them on the road. Thus they were descending the road to Xibalba, by some very steep stairs. They went down until they came to the bank of a river which flowed rapidly between the ravines called Nuziván cul and Cuziván, and crossed it. Then they crossed the river which flows among thorny calabash trees. There were very many calabash trees, but they passed through them without hurting themselves.

Then they came to the bank of a river of blood and crossed it without drinking its waters; they only went to the river bank and so they were not overcome. They went on until they came to where four roads joined, and there at the crossroads they were overcome.

One of the four roads was red, another black, another white, and another yellow. And the black road said to them: "I am the one you must take because I am the way of the Lord." So said the road.

And from here on they were already overcome. They were taken over the road to Xibalba and when they arrived at the council room of the Lords of Xibalba, they had already lost the match.

Well, the first ones who were seated there were only figures of wood, arranged by the men of Xibalba. These they greeted

"How are you, Hun-Camé?" they said to the wooden man. "How are you, Vucub-Camé?" they said to the other wooden man. But they did not answer. Instantly the Lords of Xibalba burst into laughter and all the other lords began to laugh loudly, because they already took for granted the downfall and defeat of Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. And they continued to laugh.

Then Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé spoke: "Very well," they said. "You have come. Tomorrow you shall prepare the mask, your rings, and your gloves," they said.

"Come and sit down on our bench," they said. But the bench which they offered them was of hot stone, and when they sat down they were burned. They began to squirm around on the bench, and if they had not stood up they would have burned their seats.

The Lords of Xibalba burst out laughing again; they were dying of laughter; they writhed from pain in their stomach, in their blood, and in their bones, caused by their laughter, all the Lords of Xibalba laughed.

"Go now to that house," they said. "There you will get your sticks of fat pine and your cigar and there you shall sleep.

Immediately they arrived at the House of Gloom. There was only darkness within the house. Meanwhile the Lords of Xibalba discussed what they should do.

"Let us sacrifice them tomorrow, let them die quickly, quickly, so that we can have their playing gear to use in play, said the Lords of Xibalba to each other.

Well, their fat-pine sticks were round and were called zaquitoc, which is the pine of Xibalba. Their fat-pine sticks were pointed and filed and were as bright as bone; the pine of Xibalba was very hard.

Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú entered the House of Gloom. There they were given their fat-pine sticks, a single lighted stick which Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé sent them, together with a lighted cigar for each of them which the lords had sent. They went to give them to Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú.

They found them crouching in the darkness when the porters arrived with the fat-pine sticks and the cigars. As they entered, the pine sticks lighted the place brightly.

"Each of you light your pine sticks and your cigars; come and bring them back at dawn, you must not burn them up, but you must return them whole; this is what the lords told us ." So they said. And so they were defeated. They burned up the pine sticks, and they also finished the cigars which had been given to them.

There were many punishments in Xibalba; the punishments were of many kinds

The first was the House of Gloom, Quequma-ha, in which there was only darkness.

The second was Xuxulim-ha, the house where everybody shivered, in which it was very cold. A cold, unbearable wind blew within.

The third was the House of Jaguars, Balami-ha, it was called, in which there were nothing but jaguars which stalked about, jumped around, roared, and made fun. The jaguars were shut up in the house.

Zotzi-há, the House of Bats, the fourth place of punishment was called. Within this house there were nothing but bats which squeaked and cried and flew around and around. The bats were shut in and could not get out.

The fifth was called Chavim-há, the House of Knives, in which there were only sharp, pointed knives, silent or grating against each other in the house.

There were many places of torture in Xibalba, but Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did not enter them. We only mention the names of these houses of punishment.

When Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú came before Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, they said: "Where are my cigars? Where are my sticks of fat pine which I gave you last night?

"They are all gone, Sir."

"Well. Today shall be the end of your days. Now you shall die. You shall be destroyed, we will break you into pieces and here your faces will stay hidden. You shall be sacrificed," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

They sacrificed them immediately and buried them in the Pucbal-Chah, as it was called. Before burying them, they cut off the head of Hun-Hunahpú and buried the older brother together with the younger brother.

Take the head and put it in that tree which is planted on the road," said Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. And having put the head in the tree, instantly the tree, which had never borne fruit before the head of Hun-Hunahpú was placed among its branches, was covered with fruit. And this calabash tree, it is said, is the one which we now call the head of Hun-Hunahpú.

Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé looked in amazement at the fruit on the tree. The round fruit was everywhere; but they did not recognize the head of Hun-Hunahoú: it was exactly like the other fruit of the calabash tree. So it seemed to all of the people of Xibalba when they came to look at it.

According to their judgement, the tree was miraculous, because of what had instantly occurred when they put Hun-Hunahpú's head among its branches. And the Lords of Xihalha said:

"Let no one come to pick this fruit. Let no one come and sit under this tree!" they said, and so the Lords of Xibalba resolved to keep everybody away.

The head of Hun-Hunahpú did not appear again, because it had become one and the same as the fruit of the gourd tree. Nevertheless, a girl heard the wonderful story. Now we shall tell about her arrival

## 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 3

This is the story of a maiden, the daughter of a lord named Cuchumaquic.

A maiden, then, daughter of a lord heard this story. The name of the father was Cuchumaquic and that of the maiden was Xquic. When she heard the story of the fruit of the tree which her father told, she was amazed to hear it.

Why can I not go to see this tree which they tell about?" the girl exclaimed. "Surely the fruit of which I hear tell must be very good." Finally she went alone and arrived at the foot of the tree which was planted in Pucbal-Chah.

"Ah!" she exclaimed. "What fruit is this which this tree

bears? Is it not wonderful to see how it is covered with fruit? Must I die, shall I be lost, if I pick one of this fruit?" said the maiden.

Then the skull which was among the branches of the tree spoke up and said: "What is it you wish? Those round objects which cover the branches of the trees are nothing but skulls." So spoke the head of Hun-Hunahpú turning to the maiden.

"Do you, perchance, want them?" it added.
"Yes, I want them," the maiden answered.

"Very well," said the skull. "Stretch your right hand up
"Very well," said the maiden, and with her right hand reached toward the skull.

In that instant the skull let a few drops of spittle fall directly into the maiden's palm. She looked quickly and intently at the palm of her hand, but the spittle of the skull was not there.

"In my saliva and spittle I have given you my descendants," said the voice in the tree. "Now my head has nothing on it any more, it is nothing but a skull without flesh. So are the heads of the great princes, the flesh is all which gives them a

handsome appearance. And when they die, men are frightened by their bones. So, too, is the nature of the sons, which are like saliva and spittle, they may be sons of a lord, of a wise man, or of an orator. They do not lose their substance when they go, but they bequeath it; the image of the lord, of the wise man, or of the orator does not disappear, nor is it lost, but he leaves it to the daughters and to the sons which he begets. I have done the same with you. Go up, then, to the surface of the earth, that you may not die. Believe in my words that it will be so," said the head of Hun-Hunahpú and of Vuenb-Hunahpú.

And all that they did together was by order of Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, and Raxa-Caculhá.

After all of the above talking, the maiden returned directly to her home, having immediately conceived the sons in her belly by virtue of the spittle only. And thus Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were begotten.

And so the girl returned home, and after six months had passed, her father, who was called Cuchumaquic, noticed her condition. At once the maiden's secret was discovered by her father when he observed that she was preenant.

Then the lords, Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, held council with Cuchumaquic.

"My daughter is pregnant, Sirs; she has been disgraced," exclaimed Cuchumaquic when he appeared before the lords.

"Very well," they said. "Command her to tell the truth, and if she refuses to speak, punish her; let her be taken far from here and sacrifice her."

"Very well, Honorable Lords," he answered. Then he questioned his daughter:

"Whose are the children that you carry, my daughter," And she answered, "I have no child, my father, for I have not yet known a youth."

"Very well," he replied. "You are really a whore. Take her and sacrifice her, Ahpop Achih; bring me her heart in a gourd and return this very day before the lords," he said to the two owls

The four messengers took the gourd and set out carrying the young girl in their arms and also taking the knife of flint with which to sacrifice her.

And she said to them: "It cannot be that you will kill me, oh, messengers, because what I bear in my belly is no disgrace, but was begotten when I went to marvel at the head of Hun-Hunahpú which was in Pucbal-Chah. So, then, you must not sacrifice me, oh, messengers!" said the young girl, turning to them

"And what shall we put in place of your heart? Your father told us: 'Bring the heart, return before the lords, do your duty, all working together, bring it in the gourd quickly and put the heart in the bottom of the gourd.' Perchance, did he not speak to us so? What shall we put in the gourd? We wish too, that you should not die," said the messengers.

"Very well, but my heart does not belong to them. Neither is your home here, nor must you let them force you to kill men. Later, in truth, the real criminals will be at your mercy and I will overcome Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. So, then,, the blood and only the blood shall be theirs and shall be given to them. Neither shall my heart be burned before them. Gather the product of this tree," said the maiden.

The red sap gushing forth from the tree fell in the gourd and with it they made a ball which glistened and took the shape of a heart. The tree gave forth sap similar to blood, with the appearance of real blood. Then the blood, or that is to say the sap of the red tree, clotted, and formed a very bright coating inside the gourd, like clotted blood; meanwhile the tree glowed at the work of the maiden. It was called the "red tree of cochineal," but [since then] it has taken the name of Blood Tree because its sap is called Blood.

"There on earth you shall be beloved and you shall have all that belongs to you," said the maiden to the owls.

"Very well, girl. We shall go there, we go up to serve you; you, continue on your way, while we go to present the sap, instead of your heart, to the lords," said the messengers.

When they arrived in the presence of the lords, all were waiting.

"You have finished?" asked Hun-Camé.

"All is finished, my lords. Here in the bottom of the gourd is the heart."

"Very well. Let us see," exclaimed Hun-Camé. And grasping it with his fingers he raised it, the shell broke and the blood flowed bright red in color.

"Stir up the fire and put it on the coals," said Hun-Camé.

As soon as they threw it on the fire, the men of Xibalba began to sniff and drawing near to it, they found the fragrance of the heart very sweet.

And as they sat deep in thought, the owls, the maiden's servants, left, and flew like a flock of birds from the abyss toward earth and the four became her servants.

In this manner the Lords of Xibalba were defeated. All were tricked by the maiden.

## 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 4

Well then, Hunbatz and Hunchouén were with their mothers when the woman called Xquic arrived.

When the woman Xquic came before the mother of Hunbatz and Hunchouén, she carried her sons in her belly and it was not long before Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, as they were called, were to be born.

When the woman came to the old lady, she said to her: "I have come, mother; I am your daughter-in-law and your daughter, mother." She said this when she entered the grandmother's house.

"Where did you come from? Where are my sons? Did they, perchance, not die in Xibalba? Do you not see these two who remain, their descendants and blood, and are called Hunbatz and Hunchouén? Go from here! Get out!" the old lady screamed at the girl.

"Nevertheless, it is true that I am your daughter-in-law; I have been for a long time. I belong to Hun-Hunahpú. They live in what I carry, Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú are not dead; they will return to show themselves clearly, my mother-in-law. And you shall soon see their image in what I bring to you," she said to the old woman.

Then Hunbatz and Hunchouén became angry. They did nothing but play the flute and sing, paint, and sculpture all day long and were the consolation of the old woman.

Then the old woman said:

"I do not wish you to be my daughter-in-law, because what you bear in your womb is fruit of your disgrace. Furthermore, you are an impostor; my sons of whom you speak are already dead."

Presently the grandmother added: "This, that I tell you is the truth; but well, it is all right, you are my daughter-in-law, according to what I have heard. Go, then, bring the food for those who must be fed. Go and gather a large net [full of corn] and return at once, since you are my daughter-in-law, according to what I hear," she said to the girl.

"Very well," the girl replied, and she went at once to the cornfield which Hunbatz and Hunchouen had planted. They had opened the road and the girl took it and so came to the cornfield; but she found only one stalk of corn; there were not two or three, and when she saw that there was only one stalk with an ear on it, the girl became very anxious.

"Ah, sinner that I am, unfortunate me! Where must I go to get a net full of corn as she told me to do?" she exclaimed. Immediately she began to beg Chahal for the food which she had to get and must take back.

"Xtoh, Xcanil, Xcacau, you who cook the corn; and you, Chahal, guardian of the food of Hunbatz and Hunchouén!" said the girl. And then she seized the beards, the red silk of the ears of corn and pulled them off without picking the ear. Then she arranged the silk in the net like ears of corn and the large net was completely filled.

The girl returned immediately; the animals of the field went along carrying the net, and when they arrived, they went to put the load in a corner of the house, as though she might have carried it. The old woman came and when she saw the corn in the large net she exclaimed:

"Where have you brought all this corn from? Did you, perchance, take all the corn in our field and bring it all in? I shall go at once to see," said the old woman, and she set out on the road to the cornfield. But the one stalk of corn was still standing there, and she saw too where the net had been at the foot of the stalk. The old woman quickly returned to her house and said to the girl:

"This is proof enough that you are really my daughter-inlaw. I shall now see your little ones, those whom you carry and who also are to be soothsayers," she said to the girl.

## 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 5

Now we shall tell of the birth of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. Here, then, we shall tell about their birth.

When the day of their birth arrived, the girl named Xquic gave birth; but the grandmother did not see them when they were born. Instantly the two boys called Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were born. There in the wood they were born.

Then they came to the house, but they could not sleep.
"Go throw them out!" said the old woman, "because truly

"Go throw them out!" said the old woman, "because truly they cry very much." Then they went and put them on an anthill. There they slept peacefully. Then they took them from the ant-hill and laid them on thistles.

Now, what Hunbatz and Hunchouén wished was that they [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] would die there on the ant-hill, or on the thistles. They wished this because of the hatred and envy Hunbatz and Hunchouén felt for them.

At first they refused to receive their younger brothers in the house; they would not recognize them and so they were brought up in the fields.

Hunbatz and Hunchouén were great musicians and singers; they had grown up in the midst of trials and want and they had had much trouble, but they became very wise. They were flautists, singers, painters, and carvers; all of this they knew how to do.

They had heard about their birth and knew also that they were the successors of their parents, those who went to Xibalba and died there. Hunbatz and Hunchouén were diviners, and in their hearts they knew everything concerning the birth of their two younger brothers. Nevertheless, because

they were envious, they did not show their wisdom, and their hearts were filled with bad will for them, although Hunahpú and Xbalanqué had not offended them in any way.

These two [last] did nothing all day long but shoot their blowguns; they were not loved by their grandmother, nor by Hunbatz, nor by Hunbatz, nor by Hunbatz, nor by Hunbatz and Hunbatz and Hunbatz and Hunchouén had already eaten, then the younger brothers came to eat. But they did not become angry, nor did they become vexed, but suffered silently, because they knew their rank, and they understood everything clearly. They brought their birds when they came, and Hunbatz and Hunchouén ate them without giving anything to either of the two, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

The only thing that Hunbatz and Hunchouén did was to play the flute and sing.

And once when Hunahpú and Xbalanqué came without bringing any bird at all, they went into the house and their grandmother became furious.

"Why did you bring no birds?" she said to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

And they answered: "What happened, grandmother, is that our birds were caught in the tree and we could not climb up to get them, dear grandmother. If our elder brothers so wish, let them come with us to bring the birds down," they said.

"Very well," the older brothers answered, "we shall go with you at dawn."

The two younger brothers then discussed the way to overcome Hunbatz and Hunchouén. "We shall only change their nature, their appearance; and so let our word be fulfilled, for all the suffering that they have caused us. They wanted us to die, that we might be lost, we, their younger brothers. In their hearts they really believe that we have come to be their servants. For these reasons we shall overcome them and teach them a lesson." Thus they spoke.

Then they went toward the foot of the tree called Canté. They were accompanied by their two elder brothers and they were shooting their blowguns. It was not possible to count the birds which sang in the tree, and their elder brothers marveled to see so many birds. There were birds, but not one fell at the foot of the tree.

"Our birds do not fall to the ground. Go and fetch them down," they said to their elder brothers.

"Very well," the latter answered. And then they climbed the tree; but the tree became larger and the trunk swelled. Then Hunbatz and Hunchouén wanted to come down but they could not come down from the top of the tree.

could not come down from the top of the tree.

Then they called from the treetop. "What has happened to us, our brothers? Unfortunate we. This tree frightens us only to look at it. Oh, our brothers!" they called from the treetop. And Hunahpú and Xbalanqué answered: "Loosen your breechclouts; tie them below your stomach, leaving the long ends hanging and pull these from behind, and in this way you can walk easily "Thus said the younger brothers

can walk easily." Thus said the younger brothers.

"Very well," they answered, pulling the ends of their belts back, but instantly these were changed into tails and they took on the appearance of monkeys. Then they hopped over the branches of the trees, among the great woods and little woods, and they buried themselves in the forest, making faces and swinging in the branches of the trees.

In this way Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; and only because of their magic could they have done it.

Then they returned to their home, and when they arrived they spoke to their grandmother and their mother, and said to them: "What could it be, grandmother, that has happened to our elder brothers, that suddenly their faces turned into the faces of animals? "So they said.

"If you have done any harm to your elder brothers, you have hurt me and have filled me with sadness. Do not do such a thing to your brothers, oh, my children," said the old woman to Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

And they replied to their grandmother:

"Do not grieve, our grandmother. You shall see our brothers' faces again; they shall return, but it will be a difficult trial for you, grandmother. Be careful that you do not laugh at them. And now, let us cast our lot," they said.

Immediately they began to play their flutes, playing the song of Hunahpú-Qoy. Then they sang, playing the flute and drum, picking up their flutes and their drum. Afterward they sat down close to their grandmother and continued playing and calling back [their brothers] with music and song, intoning the song, called Hunahpú-Qoy.

At last, Hunbatz and Hunchouén came and began to dance; but when the old woman saw their ugly faces, she began to laugh, unable to control her laughter, and they went away at once and she did not see their faces again.

"Now you see, grandmother! They have gone to the forest. What have you done, grandmother of ours? We may make this trial but four times and only three are left. Let us call them lback again] with flute and with song, but you, try to control your laughter. Let the trial begin!" said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Immediately they began again to play. Hunbatz and Hunchouén returned dancing, and came as far as the center of the court of the house grimacing and provoking their grandmother to laughter, until finally she broke into loud laughter. They were really very amusing with their monkeyfaces, their broad bottoms, their narrow tails, and the hole of their stomach, all of which made the old woman laugh.

Again the [elder brothers] went back to the woods. And Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said: "And now what shall we do, little grandmother? We shall try once again, this third time."

They played the flute again, and the monkeys returned dancing. The grandmother contained her laughter. Then they went up over the kitchen; their eyes gave off a red light; they drew away and scrubbed their noses and frightened each other with the faces they made.

And as the grandmother saw all of this, she burst into violent laughter; and they did not see the faces [of the elder brothers] again because of the old woman's laughter.

"Only once more shall we call them, grandmother, so that they shall come for the fourth time," said the boys. They began again, then, to play the flute, but [their brothers] did not return the fourth time, instead they fled into the forest as quickly as they could.

The boys said to their grandmother: "We have done everything possible, dear grandmother; they came once, then we tried to call them again. But do not grieve; here we are, your grandchildren; you must look to us, oh, our mother! Oh, our grandmother! to remind you of our elder brothers, those who were called and have the names of Hunbatz and Hunchouén," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

They were invoked by the musicians and singers, and by the old people. The painters and craftsmen also invoked them in days gone by. But they were changed into animals and became monkeys because they became arrogant and abused their brothers.

In this way they were disgraced; this was their loss; in this way Hunbatz and Hunchouén were overcome and became animals. They had always lived in their home; they were musicians and singers and also did great things when they lived with their grandmother and with their mother.

### 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 6

Then they [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] began to work, in order to be well thought of by their grandmother and their mother. The first thing they made was the cornfield. "We are going to plant the cornfield, grandmother and mother," they said. "Do not grieve; here we are, your grandchildren, we who shall take the place of our brothers," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

At once they took their axes, their picks, and their wooden hoes and went, each carrying his blowgun on his shoulder. As they left the house they asked their grandmother to bring them their midday meal.

"At midday, come and bring our food, grandmother," they said.

"Very well, my grandsons," the old woman replied.

Soon they came to the field. And as they plunged the pick into the earth, it worked the earth; it did the work alone.

In the same way they put the ax in the trunks of the trees and in the branches, and instantly they fell and all the trees and vines were lying on the ground. The trees fell quickly, with only one stroke of the ax.

The pick also dug a great deal. One could not count the thistles and brambles which had been felled with one blow of the pick. Neither was it possible to tell what it had dug and broken up, in all the large and small woods.

And having taught an animal, called Xmucur, they had it climb to the top of a large tree and Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said to it: "Watch for our grandmother to come with our food, and

as soon as she comes, begin at once to sing, and we shall seize the pick and the ax."

"Very well," Xmucur answered.

And they began to shoot with their blowguns; certainly they did none of the work of clearing and cultivating. A little later, the dove sang, and they ran quickly, grabbing the pick and ax. And one of them covered his head and also deliberately covered his hands with earth and in the same way smeared his face to look like a real laborer, and the other purposely threw splinters of wood over his head as though he really had been cutting the trees.

Thus their grandmother saw them. They are at once, but they had not really done the work of tilling the soil, and without deserving it they were given their midday meal. After a while, they went home.

"We are really tired, grandmother," they said upon arriving, stretching their legs and arms before her, but without reason.

They returned the following day, and upon arriving at the field, they found that all the trees and vines were standing again and that the brambles and thistles had become entangled again.

"Who has played this trick on us?" they said. "No doubt all the small and large animals did it, the puma, the jaguar, the deer, the rabbit, the mountain-cat, the coyote, the wild boar, the coati, the small birds, the large birds; they, it was, who did it; in a single night, they did it."

They began again to prepare the field and to prepare the soil and cut the trees. They talked over what they would have to do with the trees which they had cut, and the weeds which they had pulled up.

"Now we shall watch over our cornfield; perhaps we can surprise those who come to do all of this damage," they said, talking it over together. And later they returned home.

"What do you think of it, grandmother? They have made fun of us. Our field, which we had worked, has been turned into a field of stubble and a thick woods. Thus we found it, when we got there, a little while ago, grandmother," they said to her and to their mother. "But we shall return there and watch over it, because it is not right that they do such things to us," they said.

Then they dressed and returned at once to their field of cut trees, and there they hid themselves, stealthily, in the darkness.

Then all the animals gathered again; one of each kind came with the other small and large animals. It was just midnight when they came, all talking as they came, saying in their own language: "Rise up, trees! Rise up, vines!"

So they spoke when they came and gathered under the trees, under the vines, and they came closer until they appeared before the eyes [of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué].

The puma and the jaguar were the first, and [Hunahpú and Xbalanqué] wanted to seize them, but [the animals] did not let them. Then the deer and the rabbit came close, and the only parts of them which they could seize were their tails, only these, they pulled out. The tail of the deer remained in their hands, and for this reason the deer and the rabbit have short tails

Neither the mountain-cat, the coyote, the wild boar, nor the coati fell into their hands. All the animals passed before Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, who were furious because they could not catch them.

But, finally, another animal came hopping along, and this one which was the rat, [which] they seized instantly, and wrapped him in a cloth. Then when they had caught him, they squeezed his head and tried to choke him, and they burned his tail in the fire, and for that reason the rat's tail has no hair. So, too, the boys, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, tried to poke at his eves.

The rat said: "I must not die at your hands. And neither is it your business to plant the cornfield."

"What are you telling us now?" the boys asked the rat.

"Loosen me a little, for I have something which I wish to tell you, and I shall tell you immediately, but first give me something to eat," said the rat.

"We will give you food afterward, but first speak," they answered.

"Very well. Do you know, then, that the property of your parents Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú, as they were called, those who died in Xibalba, or rather the gear with which they played ball, has remained and is hanging from the roof of the house: the ring, the gloves, and the ball? Nevertheless, your grandmother does not want to show them to you for it was on account of these things that your parents died."

"Are you sure of that?" said the boys to the rat. And they were very happy when they heard about the rubber ball. And as the rat had now talked, they showed the rat what his food would be

"This shall be your food: corn, chili-seeds, beans, pataxte, cacao; all this belongs to you, and should there be anything stored away or forgotten, it shall be yours also. Eat it," Hunahpú and Xbalanqué said to the rat.

"Wonderful, boys," he said; "but what shall I tell your

"Wonderful, boys," he said; "but what shall I tell your grandmother if she sees me?"

"Do not worry, because we are here and shall know what to say to our grandmother. Let us go! We shall go quickly to the corner of the house, go at once to where the things hang; we shall be looking at the garret of the house and paying attention to our food," they said to the rat.

And having arranged it thus, during the night after talking together, Hunahpú and Xbalanque arrived at midday. When they arrived, they brought the rat with them, but they did not show it; one of them went directly into the house, and the other went to the corner and there let the rat climb up quickly.

Immediately they asked their grandmother for food. "Prepare our food, we wish a chili-sauce, grandmother," they said. And at once the food was prepared for them and a plate of broth was put before them.

But this was only to deceive their grandmother and their mother. And having dried up the water which was in the water jar, they said, "We are really dying of thirst; go and bring us a drink," they said to their grandmother.

"Good," she said and went. Then they began to eat, but they were not really hungry; it was only a trick. They saw then by means of their plate of chile how the rat went rapidly toward the ball which was suspended from the roof of the house. On seeing this in their chile-sauce, they sent to the river a certain xan. an animal called xan. which is like a mosquito.

to puncture the side of their grandmother's water jar, and although she tried to stop the water which ran out, she could not close the hole made in the jar.

"What is the matter with our grandmother? Our mouths are dry with thirsty, we are dying of thirst," they said to their mother and they sent her out. Immediately the rat went to cut [the cord which held] the ball and it fell from the garret of the house together with the ring and the gloves and the leather pads. The boys seized them and ran quickly to hide them on the road which led to the ball-court.

After this they went to the river to join their grandmother and their mother, who were busily trying to stop the hole in the water jar. And arriving with their blowgun, they said when they came to the river: "What are you doing? We got tired [of waiting] and we came," they said.

"Look at the hole in my jar which I cannot stop," said the grandmother. Instantly they stopped it, and together they returned, the two walking before their grandmother. And in this way the ball was found.

#### 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 7

The boys returned happily to the ball-court to play; they were playing alone a long time and cleared the court where their parents had played.

And the Lords of Xibalba, hearing them, said: "Who are they who play again over our heads and disturb us with the noise they make? Perchance Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú did not die, those who wished to exalt themselves before us? Go at once and call them!"

So said Hun-Camé, Vucub-Camé, and all the lords. And sending the messengers to call them, they said to them: "Go and tell them when you get there: 'Let them come,' the lords have said; we wish to play ball with them here, within seven days we wish to play; tell them so when you arrive," thus said the lords. This was the command which they gave to the messengers. And they came then by the wide road which the boys had made that led directly to their house; by it the messengers arrived directly before [the boy's] grandmother. They were eating when the messengers from Xibalba arrived.

"Tell them to come, without fail, the lords commanded," said the messengers of Xibalba. And the messengers of Xibalba indicated the day: "Within seven days they will await them," they said to Xmucané.

"It is well, messengers; they will go," the old woman answered. And the messengers set out on their return.

Then the old woman's heart was filled with anxiety. "Whom shall I send to call my grandchildren? Was it not in this same way that the messengers of Xibalba came before, when they came to take the [boys'] parents?" said the grandmother, entering her house, alone and grieving.

And immediately a louse fell into her lap. She seized it and put it in the palm of her hand, and the louse wriggled and began to walk.

"My child, would you like that I sent you away to call my grandchildren from the ball-court?" she said to the louse. " 'Messengers have come to your grandmother,' tell them; come within seven days, tell them to come, said the messengers of Xibalba; thus your grandmother told me to say,"' thus she told the louse.

At once the louse swaggered off. Sitting on the road was a box called Tamazul, or the toad

boy called Tamazul, or the toad.
"Where are you going?" the toad said to the louse.

"I am carrying a message in my stomach, I go to find the boys," said the louse to Tamazul.

"Very well, but I see that you do not go quickly," said the toad to the louse. "Do you not want me to swallow you? You shall see how I run, and so we shall arrive quickly."

"Very well," the louse said to the toad. Immediately the toad swallowed him. And the toad walked a long time, but without hurrying. Soon he met a large snake, called Zaquicaz.

"Where are you going, young Tamazul?" said Zaquicaz to the toad.

"I go as a messenger; I carry a message in my stomach," said the toad to the snake.

"I see that you do not walk quickly. Would I not arrive sooner?" the snake said to the toad. "Come here," he said. At once Zaquicaz swallowed the toad. And from then on this was the food of snakes, who still today swallow toads.

The snake went quickly and having met Vac, which is a very large bird, the hawk, [the latter] instantly swallowed the snake. Shortly afterward it arrived at the ball-court. From that time, this has been the food of hawks, who devour snakes in the fields.

And upon arrival, the hawk perched upon the cornice of the ball-court where Hunahpú and Xbalanqué were amusing themselves playing ball. Upon arriving, the hawk began to cry: "Vac-co! Vac-co!" it said cawing. ["Here is the hawk! Here is the hawk!"]

"Who is screaming? Bring our blowguns!" the boys exclaimed. And shooting at the hawk, they aimed a pellet at the pupil of the eyes and [the hawk] spiraled to the ground. They ran to seize it and asked: "What do you come to do here?" they asked the hawk.

"I bring a message in my stomach. First cure my eye and afterward I shall tell you." the hawk answered.

"Very well," they said, and taking a bit of the rubber of the ball with which they were playing, they put it in the hawk's eye. Lotzquic they called it, and instantly the hawk's eye was perfectly healed.
"Speak, then," they said to the hawk. And immediately it

vomited a large snake.

"Speak, thou," they said to the snake.

"Good," the[snake] said and vomited the toad

"Where is the message that you bring?" they asked the toad.
"Here in my stomach is the message," answered the toad. And immediately he tried, but could not vomit; his mouth

only filled with spittle but he did not vomit. The boys wanted

to hit him then.

You are a liar," they said, kicking him in the rump, and the bone of the haunches gave way. He tried again, but his mouth only filled with spittle. Then the boys opened the toad's mouth and once open, they looked inside of it. The louse was stuck to the toad's teeth; it had stayed in its mouth and had not been swallowed, but only pretended to be swallowed. Thus the toad was tricked, and the kind of food to give it is not known. It cannot run; and it became the food of the snakes.

"Speak," they said to the louse, and then it gave its message "Your grandmother has said, boys: 'Go call them; the messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé have come to tell them to go to Xibalba, saying: "They must come here within seven days to play ball with us, and they must also bring their playing gear, the ball, the rings, the gloves, the leather pads, in order that they may amuse themselves here," said the lords. They have really come,' said your grandmother. That is why I have come. For truly your grandmother said this and she cries and grieves, for this reason I have come."

"Is it true?" the boys asked themselves when they heard this. And running quickly they arrived at their grandmother's side; they went only to take their leave of her.

"We are going, grandmother, we came only to say good-bye. But here will be the sign which we shall leave of our fate: each of us shall plant a reed, in the middle of the house we shall plant it: if it dries, this shall be the sign of our death, 'They are dead!' you shall say, if it begins to dry up. But if it sprouts again: 'They are living!' you shall say, oh, our grandmother. And you, mother, do not weep, for here we leave the sign of our fate, "thus they said.

And before going, Hunahpú planted one [reed] and Xbalanqué planted another; they planted them in the house and not in the field, nor did they plant them in moist soil, but in dry soil; in the middle of their house, they left them planted.

# 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 8

Then they went, each one carrying his blowgun, and went down in the direction of Xibalba. They descended the steps quickly and passed between several streams and ravines. They passed among some birds and these birds were called Molay.

They also passed over a river of corruption, and over a river of blood, where they would be destroyed, so the people of Xibalba thought; but they did not touch it with their feet, instead they crossed it on their blowguns.

They went on from there, and came to a crossway of four roads. They knew very well which were the roads to Xibalba; the black road, the white road, the red road, and the green road. So, then, they sent an animal called Xan. It was to go to gather information which they wanted. Sting them, one by one; first sting the one seated in the first place and then sting all of them, since this is the part you must play: to suck the blood of the men on the roads," they said to the mosquito.

'Very well," answered the mosquito. And immediately it flew on to the dark road and went directly toward the wooden men which were seated first and covered with ornaments. It stung the first, but this one said nothing; then it stung the next one, it stung the second, who was seated, but this one said nothing, either.

After that it stung the third; the third of those seated was Hun-Camé. "Ah!" he exclaimed when it stung him. "What is this, Hun-Camé? What is it that has stung you? Do you not know who has, stung you?" said the fourth one of the lords, who were seated.

"What is the matter, Vucub-Camé? What has stung you?" said the fifth.

"Ah! Ah!" then said Xiquiripat. And Vucub-Camé asked him, "What has stung you?" and when they stung the sixth who was seated [he cried], "Ah!"

"What is this, Cuchumaquic?" asked Xiquiripat. "What is it that has stung you?" And the seventh one seated said "Ah" when he was stung.

"What is the matter, Ahalpuh?" said Chuchumaquic.
"What has stung you? " And when it stung him, the eighth of
those seated said, "Ah!"

"What is the matter, Ahalcaná?" said Ahalpuh. "What has stung you?" And when he was stung the ninth of those seated said, "Ah!"

"What is this, Chamiabac?" said Ahalcaná. "What has stung you?" And when the tenth of those seated was stung, he said "Ah!"

"What is the matter, Chamiaholom?" said Chamiabac. "What has stung you?" And when the eleventh of those seated was stung he said, "Ah!"

"What happened? " said Chamiaholom. "What has stung you?" And when the twelfth of those seated was stung, he said 'Alas!

"What is this, Patán?" they said. "What has stung you?" And the thirteenth of those seated said "Alas!" when he was

"What is the matter, Quicxic?" said Patán. "What has stung you?" And the fourteenth of those seated when he was stung said. "Alas!"

"What has stung you, Quicrixcac?" said Quicré.

In this way they told their names, as they all said them one to the other. So they made themselves known by telling their names, calling each chief, one by one. And in this manner each of those seated in his corner told his name.

Not a single one of the names was missed. All told their names when Hunahpú pulled out a hair of his leg, which was what had stung them. It was really not a mosquito which stung them which went for Hunahpú and Xbalanqué to hear the names of all of them

They [the youths] continued on their way and arrived where the Lords of Xibalba were.

"Greet the lord, the one who is seated," said one in order to deceive them.

"That is not a lord. It is nothing more than a wooden figure," they said, and went on. Immediately they began to greet them:

"Hail, Hun-Camé! Hail, Vucub-Camé! Hail, Xiquiripat! Hail, Cuchumaquic! Hail, Ahalpuh! Hail, Ahalcaná! Hail, Chamiabac! Hail. Chamiaholom! Hail. Quicxic! Hail. Patán! Hail, Quicré! Hail, Quicrixcac!" they said coming before them. And looking in their faces, they spoke the name of all, without missing the name of a single one of them.

But what the lords wished was that they should not discover

their names.
"Sit here," they said, hoping that they would sit in the seat [which they indicated].

'That is not a seat for us; it is only a hot stone," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué, and they [the Lords of Xibalba] could not overcome them.

"Very well, go to that house," the lords said. And they [the youths] went on and entered the House of Gloom. And neither there were they overcome.

## 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 9

This was the first test of Xibalba. The Lords of Xibalba thought that [the boys'] entrance there would be the beginning of their downfall. After a while [the boys] entered the House of Gloom; immediately lighted sticks of fat pine were given them and the messengers of Hun-Camé also took a cigar to each one.

'These are their pine sticks,' said the lord; 'they must return them at dawn, tomorrow, together with the cigars, and you must bring them back whole,' said the lord." So said the messengers when they arrived.

"Very well," [the boys] replied. But they really did not [light] the sticks of pine, instead they put a red-colored thing in place of them, or some feathers from the tail of the macaw, which to the night watches looked like lighted pine sticks. And as for the cigars, they attached fireflies to their end.

All night [everybody] thought they were defeated. "They are lost," said the night watchmen. But the pine sticks had not been burned and looked the same, and the cigars had not been lighted and looked the same as before.

They went to tell the lords.

"How is this? Whence have they come? Who conceived them? Who gave birth to them? This really troubles us, because it is not well what they do. Their faces are strange, and strange is their conduct," they said to each other.

Soon all the lords summoned [the boys]. "Eh! Let us play ball, boys!" they said. At the same time they were questioned by Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé:

"Where did you come from? Tell us, boys!" said the Lords of Xibalba.

"Who knows whence we came! We do not know," they said, and nothing more. "Very well. Let us play ball, boys," said the Lords of

Xibalba.

"Good," they replied

"We shall use our ball," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"By no means, shall you use [your ball], but ours," the boys answered.

"Not that one, but ours we shall use," insisted the Lords of Xihalha

"Very well," said the boys.

"Let us play for a worm, the chil," said the Lords of Xibalba.

"No, but instead, the head of the puma shall speak," said the boys.

"Not that," said those of Xibalba.

'Very well." said Hunahpú.

Then the Lords of Xibalba seized the ball; they threw it directly at the ring of Hunahpú. Immediately, while those of Xibalba grasped the handle of the knife of flint, the ball rebounded and bounced all around the floor of the ball-court.

"What is this?" exclaimed Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. "You wish to kill us? Perchance you did not send to call us? And vour own messengers did not come? In truth, unfortunate are we! We shall leave at once," the boys said to them.

This was exactly what those of Xibalba wanted to have happen to the boys, that they would die immediately, right there in the ball-court and thus they would be overcome. But it did not happen thus, and it was the Lords of Xibalba who were defeated by the boys.

"Do not leave, boys, let us go on playing ball, but we shall use your ball," they said to the boys.

"Very well," the boys answered and then they drove their balls through [the ring of Xibalba], and with this the game ended.

And offended by their defeat, the men of Xibalba immediately said: "What shall we do in order to overcome them?" And turning to the boys they said to them: "Go gather and bring us, early tomorrow morning, four gourds of flowers." So said the men of Xibalba to the boys.

"Very well. And what kind of flowers?" they asked the men of Xibalba

"A branch of red chipilin, a branch of white chipilin, a branch of yellow chipilin, and a branch of carinimac," said the men of Xibalba.

"Very well," replied the boys.

Thus the talk ended; equally strong and vigorous were the words of the boys. And their hearts were calm when they gave themselves up to be overcome

The Lords of Xibalba were happy, thinking that they had already defeated them.

'This has turned out well for us. First they must cut them [the flowers]," said the Lords of Xibalba. "Where shall they go to get the flowers?" they said to themselves.

"Surely you will give us our flowers tomorrow early; go, then, to cut them," the Lords of Xibalba said to Hunahpú and Xbalangué.

"Very well," they replied. "At dawn we shall play ball again," they said upon leaving.

And immediately the boys entered the House of Knives, the second place of torture in Xibalba. And what the lords wanted was that they would be cut to pieces by the knives, and would be quickly killed; that is what they wished in their hearts.

But the [boys] did not die. They spoke at once to the knives and said to them:

"Yours shall be the flesh of all the animals," they said to the knives. And they did not move again, but all the knives were quiet.

Thus they passed the night in the House of Knives, and calling all the ants, they said to them: "Come, Cutting Ants, come, zompopos, and all of you go at once, go and bring all the kinds of flowers that we must cut for the lords."

"Very well," they said, and all the ants went to bring the flowers from the gardens of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

Previously [the lords] had warned the guards of the flowers of Xibalba: "Take care of our flowers, do not let them be taken by the boys who shall come to cut them. But how could [the boys] see and cut the flowers? Not at all. Watch, then, all night!

"Very well," they answered. But the guards of the garden heard nothing. Needlessly they shouted up into the branches of the trees in the garden. There they were all night, repeating their same shouts and songs.
"Ixpurpuvec! Ixpurpuvec!" one shouted.

"Puhuyú! Puhuyú!" the other answered.

Puhuyú was the name of the two who watched the garden of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. But they did not notice the ants who were robbing them of what they were guarding, turning around and moving here and there, cutting the flowers, climbing the trees to cut the flowers, and gathering them from the ground at the foot of the trees.

Meanwhile the guards went on crying, and they did not feel the teeth which were cutting their tails and their wings.

And thus the ants carried, between their teeth, the flowers which they took down, and gathering them from the ground, they went on carrying them with their teeth.

Quickly they filled the four gourds with flowers, which were moist [with dew] when it dawned. Immediately the messengers arrived to get them. " 'Tell them to come,' the lord has said, 'and bring here instantly what they have cut,' " they said to

"Very well," the [boys] answered. And carrying the flowers in the four gourds, they went, and when they arrived before the lord [of Xibalba] and the other lords, it was lovely to see the flowers they had brought. And in this way the Lords of Xibalba were overcome.

The boys had only sent the ants [to cut the flowers], and in a night the ants cut them and put them in the gourds.

Instantly the Lords of Xibalba paled and their faces became livid because of the flowers. They sent at once for the guardians of the flowers: "Why did you permit them to steal our flowers? These which we see here are our flowers," they said to the guardians.

"We noticed nothing, my lord. Our tails also suffered," they answered. And then the [lords] tore at their mouths as a punishment for having let that which was under their care be stolen.

Thus were Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé defeated by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. And this was the beginning of their deeds. From that time the mouth of the owl is divided, cleft as it is today.

Immediately they went down to play ball, and also they played several tie-matches. Then they finished playing and agreed to play again the following day at dawn. So said the Lords of Xibalba.

"It is well," said the boys upon finishing.

#### 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 10

Afterward they entered the House of Cold. It is impossible to describe how cold it was. The house was full of hail; it was the mansion of cold. Soon, however, the cold was ended because with [a fire of] old logs the boys made the cold disappear.

That is why they did not die; they were still alive when it dawned. Surely what the Lords of Xibalba wanted was that they would die; but it was not thus, and when it dawned, they were still full of health, and they went out again, when the messengers came to get them.

"How is this? They are not dead yet?" said the Lords of Xibalba. They were amazed to see the deeds of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Presently the [boys] entered the House of Jaguars. The house was full of jaguars. "Do not bite us! Here is what belongs to you," [the boys] said to the jaguars. And quickly they threw some bones to the animals, which pounced upon the bones.

"Now surely they are finished. Now already they have eaten their own entrails. At last they have given themselves up. Now their bones have been broken," so said the guards, all happy because of this.

But they [the boys] did not die. As usual, well and healthy, they came out of the House of Jaguars.

"What kind of people are they? Where did they come from?" said all the Lords of Xibalba.

Presently they [the boys] entered into the midst of fire in the House of Fire, inside which there was only fire; but they were not burned. Only the coals and the wood burned. And, as usual, they were well when it dawned. But what they [the Lords of Xibalba] wished was that [the boys] would die rapidly, where they had been. Nevertheless, it did not happen thus, which disheartened the Lords of Xibalba.

Then they put them into the House of Bats. There was nothing but bats inside this house, the house of Camazotz, a large animal, whose weapons for killing were like a dry point, and instantly those who came into their presence perished.

They [the boys] were in there, then, but they slept inside their blowguns. And they were not bitten by those who were in the house. Nevertheless, one of them had to give up because of another Camazotz that came from the sky, and made him come into sight.

The bats were assembled in council all night, and flew about: "Quilitz, quilitz," they said: So they were saying all night. They stopped for a little while, however, and they did not move and were pressed against the end of one of the blowguns.

Then Xbalanqué said to Hunahpú: "Look you, has it begun already to get light?"

"Maybe so. I am going to see," [Hunahpú] answered.

And as he wished very much to look out of the mouth of the blowgun, and wished to see if it had dawned, instantly Camazotz cut off his head and the body of Hunahpú was decapitated.

Xbalanqué asked again: "Has it not yet dawned?" But Hunahpú did not move. "Where have you gone, Hunahpú? What have you done?" But he did not move, and remained silent.

Then Xbalanqué felt concerned and exclaimed: "Unfortunate are we. We are completely undone."

They went immediately to hang the head [of Hunahpú] in the ball-court by special order of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé and all the people of Xibalba rejoiced for what had happened to the head of Hunahpú.

## 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 11

Immediately he [Xbalanqué] called all the animals, the coati, the wild boar, all the animals small and large, during the night, and at dawn he asked them what their food was.

"What does each of you eat? For I have called you so that you may choose your food," said Xbalanqué to them.

"Very well," they answered. And immediately each went to take his [own food] and they all went together. Some went to take rotten things; others went to take grasses; others went to

get stones. Others went to gather earth. Varied was the food of the [small] animals and of the large animals.

Behind them the turtle was lingering, it came waddling along to take its food. And reaching at the end [of Hunahpú's body] it assumed the form of the head of Hunahpú, and instantly the eyes were fashioned.

Many soothsayers came, then, from heaven. The Heart of Heaven, Huracán, came to soar over the House of Bats.

It was not easy to finish making the face, but it turned out very well; the hair had a handsome appearance and [the head] could also speak.

But as it was about to dawn and the horizon reddened: "Make it dark again, old one!" the buzzard was told.

"Very well," said the old one, and instantly the old one darkened [the sky]. "Now the buzzard has darkened it," the people say nowadays.

And so, during the cool of dawn, the [Hunahpú] began his existence.

"Will it be good?" they said. "Will it turn out to look like Hunahpú?"

"It is very good," they answered. And really it seemed that the skull had changed itself back into a real head.

Then they [the two boys] talked among themselves and agreed: "Do not play ball; only pretend to play; I shall do everything alone," said Xbalanqué.

At once he gave his orders to a rabbit: "Go and take your place over the ball-court; stay there within the oak grove," the rabbit was told by Xbalanqué; "when the ball comes to you, run out immediately, and I shall do the rest," the rabbit was told, when they gave him these instructions during the night.

Presently day broke and the two boys were well and healthy. Then they went down to play ball. The head of Hunahpú was suspended over the ball-court.

"We have triumphed! [said the Lords of Xibalba]. You worked your own destruction, you have delivered yourselves," they said. In this way they annoyed Hunahpú.

"Hit his head with the ball," they said. But they did not bother him with it; he paid no attention to it.

Then the Lords of Xibalba threw out the ball. Xbalanqué went out to get it; the ball was going straight to the ring, but it stopped, bounced, and passed quickly over the ball-court and with a jump went toward the oak grove.

Instantly the rabbit ran out and went hopping; and the Lords of Xibalba ran after it. They went, making noise and shouting after the rabbit. It ended by all of the Lords of Yibalba going.

Xibalba going.

At once Xbalanqué took possession of the head of Hunahpú; and taking the turtle he went to suspend it over the ball-court And that head was actually the head of Hunahpú and the two boys were very happy.

Those of Xibalba ran, then, to find the ball and having found it between the oaks, called them, saying:
"Come here. Here is the ball. We found it," they said, and

"Come here. Here is the ball. We found it," they said, and they brought it.

When the Lords of Xibalba returned, they exclaimed, "What is this we see?"

Then they began to play again. Both of them tied.

Presently Xbalanqué threw a stone at the turtle, which came to the ground and fell in the ball-court, breaking into a thousand pieces like seeds, before the lords.

"Who of you shall go to find it? Where is the one who shall go to bring it?" said the Lords of Xibalba.

And so were the Lords of Xibalba overcome by Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. These two suffered great hardships, but they did not die despite all that was done to them.

# 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 12

Here is the account of the death of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. Now we shall tell of the way they died.

Having been forewarned of all the suffering which the [Lords of Xibalba] wished to impose upon them, they did not die of the tortures of Xibalba, nor were they overcome by all the fierce animals which were in Xibalba.

Afterward they sent for two soothsayers who were like prophets; they were called Xulú and Pacam and were diviners, and they said unto them:

"You shall be questioned by the Lords of Xibalba about our deaths, for which they are planning and preparing because of the fact that we have not died, nor have they been able to overcome us, nor have we perished under their torments, nor have the animals attacked us. We have the presentiment in our hearts that they shall kill us by burning us. All the people of Xibalba have assembled, but the truth is, that we shall not die. Here, then, you have our instructions as to what you must say:

"If they should come to consult you about our death and that we may be sacrificed, what shall you say then, Xulú and Pacam? If they ask you: 'Will it not be good to throw their bones into the ravine?' 'No, it would not be well,' tell them, 'because they would be brought to life again, afterward!' If they ask you: 'Would it not be good to hang them from the trees?' you shall answer: 'By no means would it be well, because then you shall see their faces again.' And when for the third time they ask you: 'Would it be good to throw their

bones into the river?' If you were asked all the above by them, you should answer: 'It would be well if they were to die that way; then it would be well to crush their bones on a grinding stone, as corn meal is ground; let each one be ground [separately]; throw them into the river immediately, there where the spring gushes forth, in order that they may be carried away among all the small and large hills.' Thus you shall answer them when the plan which we have advised you is put int practice," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué. And when they [the boys] took leave of them, they already knew about their approaching death.

They made then, a great bonfire, a kind of oven; the men of Xibalba made it and filled it with thick branches.

Shortly afterward the messengers arrived who had to accompany [the boys], the messengers of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé.

"'Tell them to come. Go and get the boys; go there so that they may know we are going to burn them.' This the lords said, oh, boys!" the messengers exclaimed.

"It is well," they answered. And setting out quickly, they

"It is well," they answered. And setting out quickly, they arrived near the bonfire. There [the Lords of Xibalba] wanted to force the boys to play a mocking game with them.

"Let us drink our chicha and fly four times, each one, [over the bonfire] boys!" was said to them by Hun-Camé.

"Do not try to deceive us," [the boys] answered. "Perchance, we do not know about our death, oh lords! and that this is what awaits us here?" And embracing each other, face to face, they both stretched out their arms, bent toward the ground and iumped into the bonfire, and thus the two died together.

All those of Xibalba were filled with joy, shouting and whistling they exclaimed: "Now we have overcome them. At last they have given themselves up."

Immediately they called Xulu and Pacam, to whom they [the boys] had given their instructions, and asked them what they must do with their bones, as they [the boys] had foretold. Those of Xibalba then ground their bones and went to cast them into the river. But the bones did not go very far, for settling themselves down at once on the bottom of the river, they were changed back into handsome boys. And when again they showed themselves, they really had their same old faces.

## 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 13

On the fifth day they appeared again and were seen in the water by the people. Both had the appearance of fish-men; when those of Xibalba saw them, after having hunted them all over the river.

And the following day, two poor men presented themselves with very old-looking faces and of miserable appearance, [and] ragged clothes, whose countenances did not commend them. So they were seen by all those of Xibalba.

And what they did was very little. They only performed the dance of the puhuy [owl or churn-owl], the dance of the cux [weasel], and the dance of the iboy [armadillo], and they also danced the xtzul [centipede] and the chitic [that walks on stilts]

Furthermore, they worked many miracles. They burned houses as though they really were burning and instantly they were as they had been before. Many of those of Xibalba watched them in wonder.

Presently they cut themselves into bits; they killed each other; the first one whom they had killed stretched out as though he were dead, and instantly the other brought him back to life. Those of Xibalba looked on in amazement at all they did, and they performed it, as the beginning of their triumph over those of Xibalba.

Presently word of their dances came to the ears of the lords Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé. Upon hearing it they exclaimed: "Who are these two orphans? Do they really give you so much pleasure?"

"Surely their dances are very beautiful, and all that they do," answered he who had brought the news to the lords.

Happy to hear this, the [lords] then sent their messengers to call [the boys] with flattery. " 'Tell them to come here, tell them to come so that we may see what they do; that we may admire them and regard them with wonder,' this the lords said. 'So you shall say unto them,' " this was told to the messengers.

They arrived at once before the dancers and gave them the message of the lords.

"We do not wish to," the [boys] answered, "because, frankly, we are ashamed. How could we not but be ashamed to appear in the house of the lords with our ugly countenances, our eyes which are so big, and our poor appearance? Do you not see that we are nothing more than some [poor] dancers? What shall we tell our companions in poverty who have come with us and wish to see our dances and be entertained by them? How could we do our dances before the lords? For that reason, then, we do not want to go, oh, messengers," said Hunahpú and Xbalanqué.

Finally, with downcast faces and with reluctance and sorrow they went; but for a while they did not wish to walk, and the messengers had to beat them in the face many times, when they led them to the house of the lords.

They arrived, then, before the lords, timid and with head bowed; they came prostrating themselves, making reverences and humiliating themselves. They looked feeble, ragged, and their appearance was really that of vagabonds when they arrived.

They were questioned immediately about their country and their people; they also asked them about their mother and their father.

"Where do you come from?" [the lords] said.

"We do not know, Sir. We do not know the faces of our mother and father; we were small when they died," they answered, and did not say another word.

"All right. Now do [your dances] so that we may admire you. What do you want? We shall give you pay," they told them.

"We do not want anything; but really we are very much afraid," they said to the lord.

"Do not grieve, do not be afraid. Dance! And do first the part in which you kill yourselves; burn my house, do all that you know how to do. We shall marvel at you, for that is what our hearts desire. And afterwards, poor things, we shall give help for your journey." they told them.

Then they began to sing and dance. All the people of Xibalba arrived and gathered together in order to see them. Then they performed the dance of the cux, they danced the puhuy, and they danced the iboy.

And the lord said to them: "Cut my dog into pieces and let him be brought back to life by you " he said to them

him be brought back to life by you," he said to them.
"Very well," they answered, and cut the dog into bits.
Instantly they brought him back to life. The dog was truly full
of joy when he was brought back to life, and wagged his tail
when they revived him.

The Lord said to them then: "Burn my house now!" Thus he said to them. Instantly they put fire to the lord's house, and although all the lords were assembled together within the house, they were not burned. Quickly it was whole again, and not for one instant was the house of Hun-Camé destroyed.

All of the lords were amazed, and in the same way the [boys'] dances gave them much pleasure.

Then they were told by the lord: "Now kill a man, sacrifice him, but do not let him die," he told them.

"Very well," they answered. And seizing a man, they quickly sacrificed him, and raising his heart on high, they held it so that all the lords could see it.

Again Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé were amazed. A moment afterward the man was brought back to life by them [the boys], and his heart was filled with joy when he was revived

The lords were astounded. "Sacrifice yourselves now, let us see it! We really like your dances!" said the lords. "Very well, Sirs," they answered. And they proceeded to sacrifice each other. Hunahpú was sacrificed by Xbalanqué; one by one his arms and his legs were sliced off; his head was cut from his body and carried away; his heart was torn from his breast and thrown onto the grass. All the Lords of Xibalba were fascinated. They looked on in wonder, but really it was only the dance of one man; it was Xbalanqué.

"Get up!" he said, and instantly [Hunahpú] returned to life. They [the boys] were very happy and the lords were also happy. In truth, what they did gladdened the hearts of Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé, and the latter felt as though they themselves were dancing.

Then their hearts were filled with desire and longing by the dances of Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; and Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé gave their commands.

"Do the same with us! Sacrifice us!" they said. "Cut us into pieces, one by one!" Hun-Camé and Vucub-Camé said to Hunahoù and Xbalangué.

"Very well; afterward you will come back to life again. Perchance, did you not bring us here in order that we should entertain you, the lords, and yours sons, and vassals?" they said to the lords.

And so it happened that they first sacrificed the one, who was the chief and [Lord of Xibalba], the one called Hun-Camé, king of Xibalba.

And when Hun-Camé was dead, they overpowered Vucub-Camé, and they did not bring either of them back to life.

The people of Xibalba fled as soon as they saw that their lords were dead and sacrificed. In an instant both were sacrificed. And this they [the boys] did in order to chastise them. Quickly the principal lord was killed. And they did not bring him back to life.

And another lord humbled himself then, and presented himself before the dancers. They had not discovered him, nor had they found him. "Have mercy on me!" he said when they found him.

All the sons and vassals of Xibalba fled to a great ravine, and all of them were crowded into this narrow, deep place. There they were crowded together and hordes of ants came and found them and dislodged them from the ravine. In this way [the ants] drove them to the road, and when they arrived [the people] prostrated themselves and gave themselves up; they humbled themselves and arrived., grieving.

In this way the Lords of Xibalba were overcome. Only by a miracle and by their [own] transformation could [the boys] have done it

### 2 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 14

Immediately [the boys] told their names and they extolled themselves before all the people of Xibalba.

"Hear our names. We shall also tell you the names of our fathers, We are Hunahpú and Xbalanqué; those are our names. And our fathers are those whom you killed and who were called Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. We, those whom you see here, are, then, the avengers of the torments and suffering of our fathers. That is the reason why we resent all the evil you have done to them. Therefore, we shall put an end to all of you, we shall kill you, and not one of you shall escape," they said.

Instantly all the people of Xibalba fell to their knees, crying. "Have mercy on us, Hunahpú and Xbalanqué! It is true that we sinned against your fathers as you said, and that they are buried in Puchbal-Chah," they said.

"Very well. This is our sentence, that we are going to tell you. Hear it, all you of Xibalba:

"Since neither your great power nor your race any longer exist, and since neither do you deserve mercy, your rank shall be lowered. Not for you shall be the ball game. You shall spend your time making earthen pots and tubs and stones to grind corn. Only the children of the thickets and desert shall speak with you. The noble sons, the civilized vassals shall not consort with you, and they will forsake your presence. The sinners, the evil ones, the sad ones, the unfortunate ones, those who give themselves up to vice, these are the ones who will welcome you. No longer will you seize men suddenly [for sacrifice]; remember your rank has been lowered."

Thus they spoke to all the people of Xibalba.

In this way their destruction and their lamentations began. Their power in the olden days was not much. They only liked to do evil to men in those times. In truth, in those days, they did not have the category of gods. Furthermore, their horrible faces frightened people. They were the enemies, the owls. They incited to evil, to sin and to discord.

They were also false in their hearts, black and white at the same time, envious and tyrannical according to what was said of them. Furthermore, they painted and greased their faces.

In this way, then, occurred the loss of their grandeur and the decadence of their empire.

And this was what Hunahpú and Xbalanqué did.

Meanwhile, the grandmother was crying and lamenting before the reeds which they had left planted. The reeds sprouted, then they dried up when [the boys] were consumed in the bonfire; afterward [the reeds] sprouted again. Then the grandmother lighted the fire and burned incense before the reeds in memory of her grandchildren. And the grandmother's heart filled with joy when, for the second time, the reeds sprouted. Then they were worshipped by the grandmother, and she called them the Center of the House, Nicah [the center] they were called.

"Green reeds growing in the plains" [Cazam Ah Chatam Uleu] was their name. And they were called the Center of the House and the Center, because in the middle of the house they planted the reeds. And the reeds, which were planted, were called the plains, Green Reeds growing on the plains. They also were called Green Reeds because they had resprouted. This name was given them by Xmucané [given] to those [reeds] which Hunahpú and Xbalanqué left planted in order that they should be remembered by their grandmother.

Well, now, their fathers, those who died long ago, were Hun-Hunahpú and Vucub-Hunahpú. They also saw the faces of their fathers there in Xibalba and their fathers talked with their descendants, that is the ones who overthrew those of Xibalba.

And here is how their fathers were honored by them. They honored Vucub-Hunahpú; they went to honor him at the place of sacrifice of the ball-court. And at the same time they wanted to make Vucub-Hunahpú's face. They hunted there for his entire body, his mouth, his nose, his eyes. They found his body, but it could do very little. It could not pronounce his name, this Hunahpú. Neither could his mouth say it.

And here is how they extolled the memory of their fathers, whom they had left there in the place of sacrifice at the ball-court: "You shall be invoked," their sons said to them, when they fortified their heart. "You shall be the first to arise, and you shall be the first to be worshipped by the sons of the noblemen, by the civilized vassals. Your names shall not be lost. So it shall be!" they told their fathers and thus consoled themselves. "We are the avengers of your death, of the pains and sorrows which they caused you."

Thus was their leave-taking, when they had already overcome all the people of Xibalba.

Then they rose up in the midst of the light, and instantly they were lifted into the sky. One was given the sun, the other, the moon. Then the arch of heaven and the face of the earth were lighted. And they dwelt in heaven.

Then the four hundred boys whom Zipacná had killed, also ascended, and so they again became the companions of [the boys] and were changed into stars in the sky.

#### BOOK 3

#### 3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 1

Here, then, is the beginning of when it was decided to make man, and when what must enter into the flesh of man was sought.

And the Forefathers, the Creators and Makers, who were called Tepeu and Gucumatz said: "The time of dawn has come, let the work be finished, and let those who are to nourish and sustain us appear, the noble sons, the civilized vassals; let man appear, humanity, on the face of the earth." Thus they spoke.

They assembled, came together and held council in the darkness and in the night; then they sought and discussed, and here they reflected and thought. In this way their decisions came clearly to light and they found and discovered what must enter into the flesh of man.

It was just before the sun, the moon, and the stars appeared over the Creators and Makers.

From Paxil, from Cayalá, as they were called, came the yellow ears of corn and the white ears of corn.

These are the names of the animals which brought the food: yac (the mountain cat), utiú (the coyote), quel (a small parrot), and hoh (the crow). These four animals gave tidings of the yellow ears of corn and the white ears of corn, they told them that they should go to Paxil and they showed them the road to Paxil.

And thus they found the food, and this was what went into the flesh of created man, the made man; this was his blood; of this the blood of man was made. So the corn entered [into the formation of man] by the work of the Forefathers.

And in this way they were filled with joy, because they had found a beautiful land, full of pleasures, abundant in ears of yellow corn and ears of white corn, and abundant also in pataxte and cacao, and in innumerable zapotes, anonas, jocotes, nantzes, matasanos, and honey. There was an abundance of delicious food in those villages called Paxil and Cayalá. There were foods of every kind, small and large foods, small plants and large plants.

The animals showed them the road. And then grinding the yellow corn and the white corn, Xmucané made nine drinks, and from this food came the strength and the flesh, and with it they created the muscles and the strength of man. This the Forefathers did, Tepeu and Gucumatz, as they were called.

After that they began to talk about the creation and the making of our first mother and father; of yellow corn and of white corn they made their flesh; of corn meal dough they made the arms and the legs of man. Only dough of corn meal went into the flesh of our first fathers, the four men, who were

## 3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 2

These are the names of the first men who were created and formed: the first man was Balam-Quitzé, the second, Balam-Acab, the third, Mahucutah, and the fourth was Iqui-Balam.

These are the names of our first mothers and fathers.

It is said that they only were made and formed, they had no mother, they had no father. They were only called men. They were not born of woman, nor were they begotten by the Creator nor by the Maker, nor by the Forefathers. Only by a miracle, by means of incantation were they created and made by the Creator, the Maker, the Forefathers, Tepeu and Gucumatz. And as they had the appearance of men, they were men; they talked, conversed, saw and heard, walked, grasped things; they were good and handsome men, and their figure was the figure of a man.

They were endowed with intelligence; they saw and instantly they could see far, they succeeded in seeing, they succeeded in knowing all that there is in the world. When they looked, instantly they saw all around them, and they contemplated in turn the arch of heaven and the round face of the earth

The things hidden [in the distance] they saw all, without first having to move; at once they saw the world, and so, too, from where they were, they saw it.

Great was their wisdom; their sight reached to the forests, the rocks, the lakes, the seas, the mountains, and the valleys. In truth, they were admirable men, Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

Then the Creator and the Maker asked them: "What do you think of your condition? Do you not see? Do you not hear? Are not your speech and manner of walking good? Look, then! Contemplate the world, look [and see] if the mountains and the valleys appear! Try, then, to see!" they said to [the four first men].

And immediately they [the four first men] began to see all that was in the world. Then they gave thanks to the Creator and the Maker: "We really give you thanks, two and three times! We have been created, we have been given a mouth and a face, we speak, we hear, we think, and walk; we feel perfectly, and we know what is far and what is near. We also see the large and the small in the sky and on earth. We give you

thanks, then, for having created us, oh, Creator and Maker! for having given us being, oh, our grandmother! oh, our grandfather!" they said, giving thanks for their creation and formation.

They were able to know all, and they examined the four corners, the four points of the arch of the sky and the round face of the earth.

But the Creator and the Maker did not hear this with pleasure. "It is not well what our creatures, our works say; they know all, the large and the small," they said. And so the Forefathers held counsel again. "What shall we do with them now? Let their sight reach only to that which is near; let them see only a little of the face of the earth! It is not well what they say. Perchance, are they not by nature simple creatures of our making? Must they also be gods? And if they do not reproduce and multiply when it will dawn, when the sun rises? And what if they do not multiply?" So they spoke.

"Let us check a little their desires, because it is not well what we see. Must they perchance be the equals of ourselves, their Makers, who can see afar, who know all and see all?"

Thus spoke the Heart of Heaven, Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, Tepeu, Gucumatz, the Forefathers, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, the Creator and the Maker. Thus they spoke, and immediately they changed the nature of their works, of their creatures

Then the Heart of Heaven blew mist into their eyes, which clouded their sight as when a mirror is breathed upon. Their eyes were covered and they could see only what was close, only that was clear to them.

In this way the wisdom and all the knowledge of the four men, the origin and beginning [of the Quiché race], were destroyed.

In this way were created and formed our grandfathers, our fathers, by the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth.

#### 3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 3

Then their wives had being, and their women were made. God himself made them carefully. And so, during sleep, they came, truly beautiful, their women, at the side of Balam-Ouitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

There were their women when they awakened, and instantly their hearts were filled with joy because of their wives.

Here are the names of their wives: Cahá-Paluna was the name of the wife of Balam-Quitzé; Chomihá was the wife of Balam-Acab; Tzununihá, the wife of Mahucutah; and Caquixahá was the name of the wife of Iqui-Balam. These are the names of their wives, who were distinguished women.

They conceived the men, of the small tribes and of the large tribes, and were the origin of us: the people of Ouiché.

There were many priests and sacrificers; there were not only four, but those four were the Forefathers of us, the people of the Ouiché.

The names of each one were different when they multiplied there in the East, and there were many names of the people: Tepeu, Olomán, Cohah, Quenech, Ahau, as they called those men there in the East, where they multiplied.

The beginning is known, too, of those of Tamub and those of Ilocab who came together from there in the East.

Balam-Quitzé was the grandfather and the father of the nine great houses of the Cavec; Balam-Acab was the grandfather and father of the nine great houses of the Nimhaib; Mahucutah, the grandfather and father of the four great houses of Ahau-Quiché.

Three groups of families existed; but they did not forget the name of their grandfather and father, those who propagated and multiplied there in the East.

The Tamub and Ilocab also came, and thirteen branches of peoples, the thirteen of Teopán, and those of Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, those from Tziquinahá, and the Zacahá and the Lamaq, Cumatz, Tuhalhá, Uchabahá, those of Chumilahá, those of Quibahá, of Batenabá, Acul-Vinac, Balamihá, the Canchahel, and Balam-Colob.

These are only the principal tribes, the branches of the people which we mention; only of the principal ones shall we speak. Many others came from each group of the people, but we shall not write their names. They also multiplied there in the East.

Many men were made and in the darkness they multiplied. Neither the sun nor the light had yet been made when they multiplied. All lived together, they existed in great number and walked there in the East.

Nevertheless, they did not sustain nor maintain [their God]; they only raised their faces to the sky, and they did not know why they had come so far as they did.

There they were then, in great number, the black men and the white men, men of many classes, men of many tongues, that it was wonderful to hear them.

There are generations in the world, there are country people, whose faces we do not see, who have no homes, they only wander through the small and large woodlands, like crazy people. So it is said scornfully of the people of the wood. So they said there, where they saw the rising of the sun.

The speech of all was the same. They did not invoke wood nor stone, and they remembered the word of the Creator and the Maker, the Heart of Heaven, the Heart of Earth.

In this manner they spoke, while they thought about the coming of the dawn. And they raised their prayers, those worshipers of the word [of God], loving, obedient, and fearful, raising their faces to the sky when they asked for daughters and sons:

"Oh thou, Tzacol, Bitol! Look at us, hear us! Do not leave us, do not forsake us, oh, God, who art in heaven and on earth, Heart of Heaven, Heart of Earth! Give us our descendants, our succession, as long as the sun shall move and there shall be light. Let it dawn; let the day come! Give us many good roads, flat roads! May the people have peace, much peace, and may they be happy; and give us good life and useful existence! Oh, thou Huracán, Chipi-Caculhá, Raxa-Caculhá, Chipi-Nanauac, Raxa-Nanauac, Voc, Hunahpú, Tepeu, Gucumatz, Alom, Qaholom, Xpiyacoc, Xmucané, grandmother of the sun, grandmother of the light, let there be dawn, and let the light come!"

Thus they spoke while they saw and invoked the coming of the sun, the arrival of day; and at the same time that they saw the rising of the sun, they contemplated the Morning Star, the Great Star, which comes ahead of the sun, that lights up the arch of the sky and the surface of the earth, and illuminates the steps of the men who had been created and made.

#### 3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 4

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam said, "Let us await the break of day." So said those great wise men, the enlightened men, the priests and sacrificers. This they said.

Our first mothers and fathers did not yet have wood nor stones to keep; but their hearts were tired of waiting for the sun. Already all the tribes and the Yaqui people, the priests and sacrificers, were very many.

"Let us go, let us go to search and see if our [tribal] symbols are in safety; if we can find what we must burn before them. For being as we are, there is no one who watches for us," said Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

And having heard of a city, they went there.

Now then, the name of the place where Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and those of Tamub and Ilocab went was Tulán-Zuiva, Vucub-Pec, Vucub-Ziván. This was the name of the city where they went to receive their gods.

So, then, all arrived at Tulán. It was impossible to count the men who arrived; there were very many and they walked in an orderly way.

Then was the appearance of their gods; first those of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam, who were filled with joy: "At last we have found that for which we searched!" they said.

And the first that appeared was Tohil, as this god was called, and Balam-Quitze put him on his back, in his chest. Instantly the god called Avilix appeared, and Balam-Acab carried him. The god called Hacavitz was carried by Mahucutah; and Iqui-Balam carried the one called Nicahtacah.

And together with the people of the Quiché, they also received those of Tamub. And in the same way Tohil was the name of the god of the Tamub who received the grandfather and father of the Lords of Tamub, whom we know today.

In the third place were those of Ilocab. Tohil was also the name of the god who was received by the grandfathers and the fathers of the lords, whom we also know today.

In this way, the three Quiché [families] were given their names and they did not separate, because they had a god of the same name, Tohil of the Quiché, Tohil of the Tamub and [Tohil] of the Ilocab; one only was the name of the god, and therefore the three Quiché [families] did not separate.

Great indeed was the virtue of the three, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz.

Then all the people arrived, those from Rabinal, the Cakchiquel, those from Tziquinahá, and the people who now are called the Yaqui. And there it was that the speech of the tribes changed; their tongues became different. They could no longer understand each other clearly after arriving at Tulán. There also they separated, there were some who had to go to the East, but many came here.

And their clothing was only the skins of animals; they had no good clothes to put on, the skins of animals were their only dress. They were poor, they possessed nothing, but they had the nature of extraordinary men.

When they arrived at Tulán-Zuiva, Vucub-Pec, Vucub-Ziván, the old traditions say that they had traveled far in order to arrive there.

## 3 POPOL VUH CHAPTER 5

And they did not have fire. Only the people of Tohil had it. He was the god of the tribes which first created fire. It is not known how it was made, because it was already burning when Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab saw it.

"Ah, we have no fire yet! We shall die of cold," they said. Then Tohil said to them: "Do not worry! Yours shall be the lost fire which is talked of. Yours shall be what is spoken of as lost fire." Tohil said to them.

"Really? Oh, God, our support, our maintenance, thou, our God!" they said, returning thanks.

And Tohil answered: "Very well, certainly I am your God; so shall it be! I am your Lord; so let it be!" Thus it was told to the priests and sacrificers by Tohil. And in this manner the tribes received fire and they were joyful because of it.

Instantly a great shower began to fall when the fire of the tribes was burning. Much hail fell on all the tribes and the fire was put out because of it, and again the fire was extinguished.

Then Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab again asked Tohil for fire. "Oh, Tohil, we are truly dying of cold!" they said to Tohil

"Very well, do not worry," Tohil answered, and instantly he made fire, turning about in his shoe.

Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were at once happy and immediately they became warm.

Now, the fire of the peoples [of Vucamag] had also gone out and they were dying of cold. Immediately they came to ask Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam for fire. They could no longer bear the cold nor the ice; they were shivering and their teeth were chattering; they were numb; their legs and hands shook and they could not hold anything in them, when they came.

"We are not ashamed to come before you, to beg for a little of your fire," they said. But they were not well received. And then the tribes were very sad.

"The speech of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam is different! Oh! We have given up our speech! What have we done? We are lost. How were we deceived? We had only one speech when we arrived there at Tulán; we were created and educated in the same way. It is not good what we have done," said all the tribes under the trees, under the vines.

Then a man came before Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and [this man], who was a messenger of Xibalba, spoke thus: "This is, in truth, your God; this is your support; this is, furthermore, the representation, the memory of your Creator and Maker. Do not give your fire to the tribes until they present offerings to Tohil. It is not necessary that they give anything to you. Ask Tohil what they should give when they come to receive fire," said the man from Xibalba. He had wings like the wings of a bat. "I am sent by your Creator, your Maker," said the man of Xibalba.

They were filled with joy then, and Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz were also gladdened when the man from Xibalba spoke, who disappeared instantly from their presence.

But the tribes did not perish when they came, although they were dying of cold. There was much hail, black rain and mist, and indescribable cold.

All the tribes were trembling and shivering with cold when they came where Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam were. Their hearts were greatly troubled and their mouths and eyes were sad

In a moment the beggars came before Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam and said: "Will you not have pity on us, we only ask a little of your fire? Perchance, were we not [once] together and reunited? Did we not have the same home and one country when we were created, when we were made? Have mercy, then, on us!" they said.

"What will you give us so that we shall have mercy on you?" they were asked.

"Well, then, we shall give you money," the tribes answered.
"We do not want money," said Balam-Quitzé and Balam-Acab.

"And what do you want?" [asked the tribes]
"We shall ask now." [said Balam-Quitzé]

"Very well," said the tribes.

"We shall ask Tohil and then we shall tell you," they answered.

"What must the tribes give, oh, Tohil! who have come to ask for your fire?" said Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

"Well! Are they willing to give their waist and their armpits? Do they want me to embrace them? For if they do not want to do that, neither shall I give them fire," answered Tohil.

"Tell them that this shall come later, that they do not have to come now to give me their waist and their armpits. This is what Tohil orders us to tell you, you will say." This was the answer to Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Acab, Mahucutah, and Iqui-Balam.

Then they took Tohil's message. "Very well, we shall join you and we shall embrace him," they [the people] said when they heard and were told the message from Tohil. And they did not delay in acting. "Good," they said, "but may it be soon!" And immediately they received the fire. Then they became warm

APPENDIX C-7
(to Jewish and Christian Law)

### A SERMON ON INDULGENCES AND GRACE

An Abbreviation of the (Latin) 95 Theses Eyn Sermon von dem Ablass vnnd Gnade Author: Martin Luther Language: Late Middle High German Translation: Lord Henfield, 2016 Estimated Range of Dating: March, 1518 A.D.

(Martin Luther's Sermon on Indulgences and Grace (Middle German: Eynn Sermon von dem Ablasz und Gnade, modern German: Sermon Von Ablass Und Gnade) is a pamphlet written in Wittenberg in the latter part of March, 1518 and published in April of that year. It is a short version of his 95 Theses which he wrote in Latin for discourse of experts inside the Roman Catholic Church. Due the negative response of the Church, Luther did an extraordinary thing: He wrote this short version of the 95 Theses in German, the language of the ordinary people, for anyone to understand, and he ruthlessly used Gutenberg's new printing technology to spread this pamphlet in several thousand copies. By using the language of the people, he stepped over the invisible line of academic secrecy. In the Sermon, Luther addressed his audience directly. It stresses good works and sincere repentance over indulgences, with Luther criticising indulgences as non-scriptural and the Catholic clergy as being greedy and wasting money on St. Peter's Basilica when it could be better spent on the poor in their own neighbourhoods. With that what Luther said in the pamphlet, and also how he said it, he brought millions of people behind him. When the Church leaders grasped the magnitude of his linguistic and rhetoric skills, it was too late.

The sermon swept through the major centres of the Holy Roman Empire. It was an instant hit and was reprinted 14 times in 1518 alone. Thousands of copies ran quickly from hand to hand. It has been described as "the world's first printed bestseller" and is regarded by many as the true starting point of the Reformation.)

Text:

First of all, you should know that several new teachers, such as Petrus Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas and their successors, give three parts to penance, namely: repentance, confession, satisfaction. And although, in their opinion, this difference is difficult or even not at all to be found in the Holy Scriptures nor in the old, holy Christian teachers, we want to let it stay that way and speak in their own way.

**Secondly**, they say: indulgence does not take away the first or second part, that is: repentance or confession, but the third, namely the satisfaction.

Thirdly: the satisfaction is further divided into three parts, that is: praying, fasting, giving alms, namely as follows: "praying" means all works peculiar to souls, such as reading, thinking, hearing God's word, preaching, teaching and the like; "Fasting" means all works of mortification of his flesh, such as waking, working, hard bed, rough clothes, etc.; "Giving alms" means all works of love and mercy towards one's neighbour.

Fourth, it is unquestionable in all of them that indulgence takes away the works of satisfaction, which is established as necessary for sin to be done. Because if he were to take away all of these works, nothing good would remain that we could do

Fifth, it has been a great and as yet undecided question for many whether indulgence also takes away something more than such imposed works, namely, whether it also takes away the punishment that divine justice demands for sins.

Sixth, I leave your opinions undisputed for this time. That (but) I say that one cannot prove from the Scriptures that divine righteousness desires some punishment or satisfaction from the sinner or asks for his heartfelt and true repentance or conversion with the resolution to carry the cross of Christ from now on and to practice the above works (even if they are not prescribed by anyone). For God says through Ezekiel: If the wicked will turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and do that which is lawful and right, I will no longer remember his sin. (Ezek. 18:21; 14 ff.). He has also pardoned all of them himself: Mary Magdalene, the gout-frail, the adulteress, etc. I would like to hear who is supposed to prove something else, apart from the fact that a number of doctors thought so.

Seventh: One finds that God punishes some according to his righteousness or urges them to repent through punishments, as in Psalm 89, 31 ff.: "If my children break my statutes, I will visit their transgression with the rod, but my lovingkindness will I not utterly take from them." But to remit this punishment is in the power of no one but God alone; in fact, he does not want to remit it, but promises that he will impose it.

**Eighth:** That is why you cannot give the imagined punishment a name, and nobody knows what it is, unless it is this punishment, the good works mentioned above are not.

Ninth, I say: If the Christian Church is still resolving today and declaring that indulgence takes away more than the works of satisfaction, it would still be a thousand times better that no Christian would solve or desire the indulgence, but that they would rather do the works and suffered the punishment. For indulgences are nothing else, nor can they become a decree of good works and salutary punishments, which should be chosen more cheaply than abandoned (although some of the new preachers have invented two kinds of punishments: one for satisfaction, the other for improvement). But we have more freedom to despise such and similar chats (praise to God) than they have to invent; for all punishment, yes, everything that God imposes is useful and beneficial for Christians for improvement.

Tenth: That is not said that the punishments and works are too many, so that man, for the sake of the brevity of his life, cannot perform them, which is why the indulgence is necessary for him. To which I reply that there is no reason for it and that it is a mere fiction. For God and the holy church do not impose more on anyone than is possible for him to bear, as also Paul 1 Cor. 10, 13 says that God does not allow anyone to be tempted more than he can bear. And Christendom is not a little disgraced that it is blamed for putting on more than we can hear

Eleventh: Even if the penances stipulated in spiritual law were still valid, that seven years of penance would be imposed for every mortal sin, Christianity would have to let them be stipulated and not impose any further than they should be borne by everyone. The less one should pay attention to the fact that more is imposed than anyone can comfortably carry, since they are no longer valid now.

Twelfth: It is said that the sinner should be sent to purgatory or indulgence with the rest of the punishment, but more things are said without justification or proof.

The thirteenth: It is a great mistake that someone thinks he wants to do enough for his sins, although God always forgives them for free, out of priceless grace and desires nothing in return but that one leads a good life from now on. Christianity is asking for something; so it can and should also enact it and not impose anything difficult or unbearable.

Fourteenth: Indulgence is allowed for the sake of imperfect and lazy Christians who do not want to practice good works undauntedly or are intolerable. Because indulgence does not encourage anyone to improve, but rather tolerates their imperfection and allows it. That is why one should not speak against indulgences; but neither should one support them.

**Fifteenth:** It would be much safer and better to do something for God's sake for St. Peter's Church, or whatever is called, than to indulge in it. For it is dangerous that he should give such a gift for indulgence and not for God's sake.

Sixteenth: Much better is the good work done to a needy than that it is given to the building, also much better than the indulgence given for it. Because, as I said, it is better to do a good work than to leave a lot in place. But indulgences are the issuance of many good works, or nothing is left behind.

Yes, that I also teach correctly, so note: You should above all (neither look at St. Peter's Church nor indulgences) give your next poor man if you want to give something. But if it comes to the point that there is no one in your city who needs help (which, God willing, should never happen), then you should give, if you want, to the churches, altars, jewellery, chalices that are in your city are. And if that is no longer necessary, then - if you want - you can give to St. Peter's Church or something else. You should not do that for the sake of indulgences either. Because Paul says 1. Tim. 5:8: "Anyone who does not do his housemates good is not a Christian and is worse than a pagan." would be better to him than all souls.

If you ask: "I would never solve indulgences like that?" I answer: I have already said above that my will, desire, request and advice is that no one should solve indulgences. Let the lazy and sleepy Christians release indulgences, you go for yourself?

Regarding the seventeenth: Indulgence is neither required nor advised, but from the number of things that are permitted and permitted. Therefore it is not a work of obedience, not even meritorious, but an excuse for obedience. Although one should not prevent anyone from redeeming it, one should therefore withdraw all Christians from it and encourage and strengthen them to the works and punishments that are issued there.

Eighteenth: I do not know whether the souls will be drawn out of purgatory by the indulgence, and I do not yet believe either, although a number of new doctors say that. But it is impossible for them to prove it, nor has the Church decided yet. Therefore, for greater security, it is much better that you pray and work for them yourself; for this is more proven and is certain.

The nineteenth: I have no doubt on these points, they are sufficiently founded in the Scriptures. Therefore you should have no doubt, and let scholastic doctors be scholastics; they are all not enough with their school opinions that they should confirm a sermon

As for the twentieth: Even though some of them scold me for a heretic, for whom such truth in the cash register is very

harmful, I still do not pay much attention to such blaring, since no one else does that than a number of dark brains who never smelled the Bible, the Christian teachers never read, never understood their own teachers, but almost rotten in their riddled and torn school opinions. Because if they understood them, they would know that they should not blaspheme anyone unheard of and unconquerably. But God give them and us the right sense! Amen.

(Published by Luther probably February / March 1518 - underlining by Peter R. Seeber from: Kurt Aland (Martin Luther's 95 theses with the corresponding documents from the history of the Reformation, pp. 110f.) Writes: "When Luther on March 5, 1518 Schurl expresses the wish to write a German script that would replace the theses for the community, one would think that he had the sermon in mind here. However, the sermon would then have to be written down immediately after this letter (that would be no difficulty with Luther's fast working method) and printed (in view of the slowness of the printers and the printing at that time the main obstacle to this assumption lies. The question is also whether Luther would have called the little sermon "writing" - libellus.)

#### APPENDIX C-8 (to Artefacts)

THE OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.

Original title: The Obedience of a Christen Man Author: William Tyndale, 1528

(The Obedience of a Christen Man, and how Christen rulers ought to govern, wherein also (if thou mark diligently) thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty convience of all iugglers. is a 1528 book by the English Protestant author William Tyndale. The spelling of this title is now commonly modernized and abbreviated to The Obedience of a Christian Man. It was first published by Merten de Keyser in Antwerp, and is best known for advocating that the king of a country was the head of that country's church, rather than the pope, and to be the first instance, in the English language at any rate, of advocating the divine right of kings, a concept mistakenly attributed to the Catholic Church.

It is believed that the book greatly influenced Henry VIII's decision in declaring the Act of Supremacy, by which he became Supreme Head of the Church of England, in 1534. Tyndale's opposition to Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon earned him the king's enmity, but when Tyndale was arrested by the Roman Catholic authorities in Antwerp in 1535, Henry's chief minister Thomas Cromwell attempted unsuccessfully to intervene on his behalf. Tyndale was executed for heresy the following year.

# The Author

William Tyndale (sometimes spelled Tynsdale, Tindall, Tindill, Tyndall; c. 1494–1536) was an English scholar who became a leading figure in the Protestant Reformation in the years leading up to his execution. He is well known as a translator of the Bible into English, influenced by the works of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam and Martin Luther with whom he got in touch while he was in Germany.

A number of partial English translations had been made from the 7th century onwards, but the religious ferment caused by Wycliffe's Bible in the late 14th century led to the death penalty for anyone found in unlicensed possession of Scripture in English, though translations were available in all other major European languages.

Tyndale worked during a Renaissance of scholarship, which saw the publication of Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar in 1506. Greek was available to the European scholarly community for the first time in centuries, as it welcomed Greek-speaking intellectuals and texts following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Notably, Erasmus compiled, edited, and published the Greek Scriptures in 1516. Luther's German Bible appeared in 1522

Tyndale's translation was the first English Bible to draw directly from Hebrew and Greek texts, the first English translation to take advantage of the printing press, the first of the new English Bibles of the Reformation, and the first English translation to use Jehovah ("Iehouah") as God's name as preferred by English Protestant Reformers. It was taken to be a direct challenge to the hegemony of both the Catholic Church and the laws of England maintaining the church's position.

A copy of Tyndale's The Obedience of a Christian Man (1528), which some claim or interpret to argue that the king of a country should be the head of that country's church rather than the Pope, fell into the hands of the English King Henry VIII, providing a rationalisation for breaking the Church in England from the Catholic Church in 1534. In 1530, Tyndale wrote The Practyse of Prelates, opposing Henry's annulment of his own marriage on the grounds that it

contravened Scripture. Fleeing England, Tyndale sought refuge in the Flemish territory of the Catholic Emperor Charles V. In 1535, Tyndale was betrayed by Henry Phillips to authorities representing the Holy Roman Empire. He was seized in Antwerp in 1535, and held in the castle of Vilvoorde (Filford) near Brussels. Some suspect that Phillips was hired by Bishop Stokesley to gain Tyndale's confidence and then betray him. He was tried on a charge of heresy in 1536 and was found guilty and condemned to be burned to death, despite Thomas Cromwell's intercession on his behalf. Tyndale "was strangled to death while tied at the stake, and then his dead body was burned". His final words, spoken "at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice", were reported as "Lord! Open the King of England's eyes."

His dying prayer seemed to find its fulfilment just one year later with Henry's authorisation of the Matthew Bible, which was largely Tyndale's own work, with missing sections translated by John Rogers and Miles Coverdale. Tyndale's translation of the Bible was used for subsequent English translations, including the Great Bible and the Bishops' Bible, authorised by the Church of England. In 1611 after seven years of work, the 47 scholars who produced the King James Bible drew significantly from Tyndale's original work and the other translations that descended from his. One estimate suggests that the New Testament in the King James Version is 83% Tyndale's words and the Old Testament 76%. Hence, the work of Tyndale continued to play a key role in spreading Reformation ideas across the English-speaking world and eventually across the British Empire.

#### The Text

The Obedience of a Christian Man (from here on abbreviated as Obedience) was first printed in Antwerp on October 2, 1528 (viii). Despite being officially banned, Obedience was still widely read throughout England and, later on, was even mentioned in the works of Shakespeare (xxvii). Anne Boleyn, (later Henry VIII's second wife) owned a copy. As Henry was trying to obtain permission from the Pope to divorce his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, Anne asked Henry to read Obedience. Afterward, Henry exclaimed, "This is a book for me and all kings to read" (xxiv).

Obedience is divided into five overall sections. The first two are preliminary introductions: the first introduces Tyndale's central concept of experiencing God through the reading of scripture; the second discusses the church's disobedience (of God) in teaching ecclesiastical law rather than scripture. The book proper contains three overall topics: God's laws of obedience, how one should obey and rule in life (addressed to all of English society), and a discussion on the literal interpretation of scripture. Throughout the text, Tyndale also discusses the intrusion into daily life, on both local and national levels by the church and, especially, the Pope, and how the church actively distorts scripture to fulfill its own needs.

The tone of Obedience is low-key, despite containing radical ideology. For the first time, the concept of the supreme authority of the Bible in church is combined with the supreme authority of the king in state (the latter is what inspired Henry VIII). Although Tyndale complains about the lack of scripture in English life, his text features prose inspired by scripture and is abundant with direct quotes and references from the New Testament. He documents the origin of the direct quotes, but not his references, many of which would not have been recognized by the average person who read an original edition of Obedience, then or now.

# Advocacy of an English-language Bible

"How can we whet God's Word (that is put into practice, use and exercise) upon our children and household, when we are violently kept from it and know it not?" (16). Tyndale accuses the church of keeping the people away from, and claiming all authority over, scripture. He believes that the reading of scripture directly reveals the power of God to the individual, without any need of an intermediary, like a priest. One of his principal concerns revisited throughout the text is the availability of an English-language Bible for the common people to read. Latin was, at the time, the official language of the church: All services and ceremonies were conducted in Latin, and as a result, the Bible too was only available in Latin. In fact, the church discouraged people from reading the Bible at all. Tyndale criticizes the church for allowing the English people to be ignorant of the Bible, and replacing the teaching of scripture with ceremonies or ritual superstition. "On the holy days which were ordained to preach God's word, set up long ceremonies, long matins, long masses and long evensongs, and all in Latin that they understand not, and roll them in darkness, that ye may lead them whither ye will" (90). According to Tyndale, church authorities adduce that a man must have a pure and quiet mind to read and fully comprehend scripture, and that the average man is too encumbered with worldly matters to do so. Tyndale counters this argument stating no one is as occupied with worldly matters as the church. Authorities also postulate that if ever man were able to read scripture, every man would interpret it

for himself, leading to widespread non-conformity and insurrection. Tyndale considers this claim to be ridiculous. As an example in the text, Tyndale defends Martin Luther against the published criticisms of Thomas More, who accused Luther of being the impetus of the German Peasants' War (1524–1525)

Tyndale asks if the church is so concerned about Biblical misinterpretation, why does it not teach scripture? Would teaching scripture be more effective if every man possessed a copy of the Bible from which he could study? Tyndale asserts the true reason the church does not provide scripture in English is that the people might determine how the church manipulates scripture to its own benefit: that, in fact, the church does not practice what it preaches. Tyndale goes as far as to claim the church is as interested in scripture as "the Turks" (17). He states that Jesus had commanded the people to read scripture for themselves so they would know if "false prophets" (22) were trying to deceive them and reminds us that the apostles preached in local languages, and therefore, as a matter of custom, the English people should receive scripture in English.

Tyndale asks if (Saint) Jerome could translate scripture into his own language, why not the English people? Tyndale says the church authorities feel that English is "rude" (19), i.e., undeveloped. He responds by asking if indeed did not God "make the English tongue?" (24), and reminds us that an earlier English monarch, King Athelstan, had scripture translated into Old English. He also states that God Himself provided His law to the Israelites in Hebrew. Tyndale quotes Paul from scripture, "And yet Paul [...] forbiddeth to speak in the church or congregation save in the tongue that all understand" (90).

English Society Realigned to Coincide with Biblical Law

"Who slew the prophets? Who slew Christ? Who slew his Apostles? Who the martyrs and all the righteous that ever were slain? The kings and the temporal sword at the request of the false prophets" (98).

As indicated by its title, the central theme of Obedience is obedience, as designated by scripture onto all levels of English society. The first three sections discuss obedience as it applies to the family: Tyndale says that wives must be subordinate to their husbands, always, and that a "grudge against husband is a grudge against God" (34), and husbands are to help their wives overcome their "infirmities" (61). Servants must be obedient to their masters, not as sycophants, but as servants of Christ, as they are doing the will of God, and in return, their masters must be nurturing, "that they [servants] may see in Christ a cause why they ought lovingly to obey" (61).

More significantly, in the section titled, "The Obedience of Subjects unto Kings, Princes and Rulers," Tyndale states that the "powers that be" (36) are powers ordained by God, and that resistance to earthly authority is resistance to God's authority, but the bishops have usurped earthly authority from secular rulers, and therefore, they must be resisted, as God has appointed the kings, princes, and other secular leaders as his representatives on earth. He reiterates that whoever resists the king resists God, whether they are layman or clergy: "The higher powers are the temporal king and princes unto whom God hath given the sword to punish whosoever sinneth" (40–41). In "The Duty of Kings and of the Judges and Officers," Tyndale says that the people, the subjects of the English kingdom, belong to God, and not the king. All men, including the king, must perform their earthly duties or answer to God; but the king is controlled by the Pope, creating a situation for like that of living in two nations, not one; that split between church and state has allowed the church to intervene at every level of English society. Tyndale reminds us that the Pope claims to be authorized by the New Testament; a claim first challenged by, as Tyndale credits, Martin Luther.

Within Tyndale's political theories are the conceptual emergence of the modern state and nationalism. He says the state should not be divided into the monarchy and the church, with each fighting for supremacy, although he is not what is termed an "Erastian" (but neither was Erasmus himself): someone who believes that the church should be subordinate to the state. But Tyndale does not call for sedition. In Tyndale's political system, the king is supreme in the state: "To preach God's Word is too much for half a man. And to minister a temporal kingdom is too much for half a man also. Either other requireth an [sic] whole man" (68). The king is to enforce the law as it is written in scripture. The king is not more important than the church: he is its facilitator and supreme authority. The king is to ensure that ministers are preaching properly and to maintain the integrity of the church. Tyndale states that it is the king's responsibility to serve others and not for others to serve him but the hishons have corrupted kings into considering otherwise. The king is required to swear his allegiance to the bishops and the Pope, which causes Tyndale to ask, "How hath the Pope the such temporal authority over king and emperor?" (124).

"Let the temporal power to whom God hath given the sword to take vengeance, look or ever that they leap, and see what they do. Let the causes be disputed before them, and let him that is accused have room to answer for himself" (106). Tyndale restates the king's authority over the kingdom, that the king "is ordained to take vengeance and hath a sword in his hand and not peacock's feathers. Fear him therefore and look on him as thou wouldest look on a sharp sword that hanged over thy head by an [sic] hair" (54–55). If the king is an evil king, he is evil because God has deemed it so. "And whatsoever is done unto us by them, that doeth God, be it good or bad" (55). Resisting an evil king is as evil as a child resisting his parents. If the people overthrow their king, a new, non-ordained king will replace him.

Tyndale then asks what to do with the Pope's false authority. He accuses the Pope (then Clement VII) of inverting God's law: making what is a sin not, and that which is not a sin, sin. The Pope has unrightfully taken the authority to damn people to purgatory. "How hath he authority above God's laws and to command the angels, the saints and God himself?" (124). Tyndale asks the church, "Who gave the Pope the authority to command God to damn " Tyndale states that God commanded the clergy to people? bless the people, and the church asks God to damn them. "Paul also in many things which God had made free, gave pure and faithful counsel without tangling of any man's conscience and without all manner commanding under pain of cursing, pain of excommunication, pain of heresy, pain of burning, pain of deadly sin, pain of hell and pain of damnation" (77).

#### Criticisms of the Church

"Make themselves holier than the lay people and take so great lands and goods" (112).

In his third argument, Tyndale lists the abuses of the common people by the church. Tyndale accuses the church of being more concerned with performing ceremonies than living by the laws set by Christ in scripture. In terms of sacraments, like other Protestant reformers, Tyndale believes that baptism and the Eucharist are the only true sacraments, as both were performed by Christ in the New Testament (227). Tyndale feels that the church should preach rather than perform superstitious ceremonies, like confession: "Moreover if any man have sinned yet if he repent and believe the promise, we are sure by God's word that he is loosed and forgiven in Christ" (124). In other words, acknowledge your sins to God. Priests should only preach and provide counseling, as they are not a mediator between the people and God. The clergy are only representatives of Christ, not Christ Himself, Tyndale, like Luther, believes that every Christian has a direct relationship with God; that a Christian's own salvation is within him. Only prayer can bring true faith. "Paul in every epistle warneth us that we put no trust in works, and to beware of persuasions or arguments of man's wisdom, of superstitiousness, of ceremonies of popeholiness and of all manner disguising. And exhorteth us to cleave fast onto the naked and pure word of God" (131).

Tyndale also condemns the church for creating and enforcing ecclesiastical law rather than teaching God's law, as it is written in scripture. As a result of ecclesiastical law, the church separates itself from the people it is supposed to serve. According to Tyndale, the New Testament, not church doctrine, contains all the laws by which a good Christian should abide. "[O]ne king, one law, is God's ordinance in every realm" (96). Tyndale states that, ironically, the church forbids that which Jesus promoted and promotes that which Jesus forbade. Unfortunately, Tyndale does not provide any specific examples to support this claim (however obvious it may appear), and this lack of evidence weakens the potential strength of his argument, even if we consider the historical context in which this argument was originally made.

"They preach it were better for thee to eat flesh on Good Friday than to hate thy neighbor: but let any man eat flesh but on a Sunday or break any other tradition of theirs, and he shall be bound and not loosed, till he have paid the utmost farthing, other with shame most vile or death most cruel, but hate thy neighbor as much as thou wilt and thou shalt have no rebuke of them, yea rob him, murder him, and then come to them and welcome" (99).

Tyndale denies the authority and infallibility of the Pope (and, indirectly, attacks the church hierarchy, too): according to Tyndale's interpretation of scripture, the foundation of the church is the apostle Peter's faith, not himself. Peter's successor has no authority other than to preach the gospel: "Our hypocrites boast themselves of the authority of Peter and of Paul and the other Apostles, clean contrary unto the deeds and doctrine of Peter, Paul and of all the other Apostles" (104). As Christians, Tyndale says, all are equal in the eyes of God, including the clergy. The clergy may have a special calling as preachers, but they are not superior to any other Christian: "So it was in the manner to call Peter chief of the Apostles for his singular activity and boldness, and not that he should be lord over his brethren contrary to his own doctrine" (76).)

Text:

The Obedience of a Christen man, and how Christen rulers ought to govern, wherein also (if thou mark diligently) thou shalt find eyes to percieve the crafty convience of all iugglers. Set forth by William Tyndall. 1528. Octob. 2.

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

In the last paragraph of his Practice of Prelates, dated 1530, and published some time before the end of that year, Tyndale says: 'Let them remember, that I well toward three years agone sent forth the True Obedience of a Christian Man. This gives probability to what Ames mentions in an irregular way, namely, that there is an edition of the Obedience of the date of Dec. 11, 1527. It was about that time that Tyndale removed from Worms to Marburg in Hesse, a city on the Lahn, where the landgrave Philip, the bold and uncompromising friend of the Reformation, had just founded an university, and Hans Luft had just established a printing press.

On the 8th of May, 1528, this Hans Luft sent forth an edition of the Obedience in 4to, of which Mr Offor has a copy; and on the 2nd of October in the same year, there came out another edition from his press in small 12mo, of which the Parker Society possesses a copy, which the editor has used for collation with the reprint in Day's folio of 1573, prepared by Foxe the martyrologist.

In the introductory notice to the treatise on the parable of the Wicked Mammon, the reader has had evidence that the Obedience shared in its circulation and influence, and in the consequent hostility of the ruling church. There are, however, two instances of its separate distribution and influence, which should not pass unnoticed. One of the meekest and holiest of the martyrs of Henry VIII.'s reign was Thomas Bilney, a fellow of Trinity hall, Cambridge. In 1529, he had been terrified and tempted by bishop Tonstal into abjuring the faith he really held: but his friend, bishop Latimer, tells us that this brought him 'into such anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, not even the communication of God's word, because he thought that all the whole scriptures sounded his condemnation, till God endued him with such strength,' that he took leave of his Cambridge friends, and said that he would go to Jerusalem; and departing into Norfolk, he there preached publicly the doctrine which he had

Having done this, he entered Norwich, and 'gave to an anchoress, whom he had converted to Christ, a New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nix sent up for a writ to burn him.' It seems to have been about the time of Bilney's abjuration, that Anne Boleyn had well nigh been brought into difficulty, by lending the Obedience to one of her attendants. As Strype tells the story from a MS. left by Foxe, and now in the British Museum, she had 'lent it for perusal to a fair young gentlewoman in her service, named Mrs Gainsford; from whose hands it was playfully carried off by the young lady's suitor, a Mr George Zouch.'

Cardinal Wolsey had about the same time 'given commandment to the prelates, and especially to Dr Sampson, dean of the king's chapel, that they should have a vigilant eye over all people for such books; that so, as much as might be, they might not come to the king's reading.' But Mr Zouch was so delighted with what he read, that he could not refrain from reading it, not even in the king's chapel. His close attention to his book caught Dr Sampson's eye; and at length the dean called him up, took the book from him, and required to know what was his name, and 'whose man he was.'

The book was presently delivered over by the dean to the cardinal: but, in the mean while, 'the lady Anne asketh her woman for the book. She on her knees told all the circumstances. The lady Anne shewed herself not sorry, nor angry with either of the two: but, Well, said she, it shall be the dearest book that ever the dean or cardinal took away. So she goes to the king, and upon her knees she desireth the king's help for her book. Upon the king's token, the book was restored. And now, bringing the book to him, she besought his grace, most tenderly, to read it. The king did so, and delighted in the book: for, saith he, this book is for me, and all kings to read. 'Strype's Eccles. Mem. ch. 15, Vol. 1, p. 173. Oxf. Ed. 1822.

This story has received confirmation from Wyatt's Memoir, printed from a MS. in Cavendish's Life of Wolsey, by Singer, Vol. 2, pp. 202-5. Wyatt indeed represents the cardinal as bringing the book to the king, to point out what he thought Henry would dislike, and to complain of those who countenanced such books. But this is obviously not irreconcilable with the account given in Foxe's MS. Nor is the king's continued hostility to Tyndale incompatible with his being pleased for a time with a powerfully written book, pressed upon his notice by the lady Anne; nor yet with his clearly perceiving that the author had justly rebuked the inroads made upon the authority of princes by an usurping priesthood.]

WILLIAM TYNDALE, OTHERWISE CALLED HITCHINS, TO THE READER.

Grace, peace, and increase of knowledge in our Lord Jesus Christ, be with thee, reader, and with all that call on the name of the Lord unfeignedly and with a pure conscience. Amen.

Let it not make thee despair, neither yet discourage thee, O reader, that it is forbidden thee in pain of life and goods, or that it is made breaking of the king's peace, or treason unto his highness, to read the word of thy soul's health. But much rather be bold in the Lord, and comfort thy soul: forasmuch as thou art sure, and hast an evident token through such persecution, that it is the true word of God; which word is ever hated of the world, neither was ever without persecution, (as thou seest in all the stories of the Bible, both of the new Testament and also of the old,) neither can be, no more than the sun can be without his light; and forasmuch as contrariwise thou art sure that the pope's doctrine is not of God, which (as thou seest) is so agreeable unto the world, and is so received of the world; or which rather so receiveth the world and the pleasures of the world, and seeketh nothing but the possessions of the world, and authority in the world, and to bear a rule in the world; and persecuteth the word of God, and with all wiliness driveth people from it, and with false and sophistical reasons maketh them afraid of it; yea, curseth them, and excommunicateth them, and bringeth them in belief that they be damned if they look on it, and that it is but doctrine to deceive men; and moveth the blind powers of the world to slav with fire, water, and sword, all that cleave unto it: for the world loveth that which is his, and hateth that which is chosen out of the world to serve God in the Spirit, as Christ saith to his disciples, John "If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but I have chosen you out of the world, and therefore the world hateth you.'

Another comfort hast thou, that, as the weak powers of the world defend the doctrine of the world, so the mighty power of God defendeth the doctrine of God: which thing thou shalt evidently perceive, if thou call to mind the wonderful deeds which God hath ever wrought for his word in extreme necessity, since the world began, beyond all man's reason, which are written, (as Paul saith, Romans 15) "for our learning, (and not for our deceiving,) that we through patience and comfort of the scripture might have hope." The nature of God's word is to fight against hypocrites.

It began at Abel, and hath ever since continued, and shall, I doubt not, until the last day. And the hypocrites have alway the world on their sides; as thou seest in the time of Christ. They had the elders that is to wit the rulers of the Jews on their side: they had Pilate and the emperor's power on their side; they had Herod also on their side: moreover they brought all their worldly wisdom to pass, and all that they could think, or imagine, to serve for their purpose. First, to fear the people withal, they excommunicated all that believed in him, and put them out of the temple; as thou seest, John 9. Secondly, they found the means to have him condemned by the emperor's power, and made it treason to Caesar to believe in him. Thirdly, they obtained to have him hanged as a thief or a murderer, which, after their belly-wisdom, was a cause above all causes that no man should believe in him: for the Jews take it for a sure token of everlasting damnation, if a man be hanged; for it is written in their law, Deuteronomy 21 "Cursed is whosoever hangeth on tree." Moses also in the same place commandeth, if any man be hanged, to take him down the same day and bury him, for fear of polluting or defiling the country; that is, lest they should bring the wrath and curse of God upon them. And therefore the wicked Jews themselves, which with so venomous hate persecuted the doctrine of Christ, and did all the shame that they could do unto him, though they would fain have had Christ to hang still on the cross, and there to rot, (as he should have done by the emperor's law,) yet for fear of defiling their sabbath, and of bringing the wrath and curse of God upon them, begged of Pilate to take him down, John 19 which was against themselves.

Finally, when they had done all they could, and that they thought sufficient, and when Christ was in the heart of the earth, and so many bills and poleaxes about him to keep him down, and when it was past man's help, then holp God. When man could not bring him again, God's truth fetched him again. The oath that God had sworn to Abraham, to David, and to other holy fathers and prophets, raised him up again, to bless and save all that believe in him. Thus became the wisdom of the hypocrites foolishness. Lo, this was written for thy learning and comfort.

How wonderfully were the children of Israel locked in Egypt! In what tribulation, cumbrance, and adversity were they in! The land also that was promised them was far off, and full of great cities, walled with high walls up to the sky, and inhabited with great giants; yet God's truth brought them out of Egypt, and planted them in the land of the giants. This was also written for our learning: for there is no power against God's, neither any wisdom against God's wisdom: he is stronger and wiser than all his enemies. What holp it Pharaoh, to drown the men children? So little (I fear not)

shall it at the last help the pope and his bishops, to burn our men children; which manfully confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, and that there is no other name given unto men to be saved by, as Peter testifieth, Acts, in the fourth chapter.

Who dried up the Red sea? Who slew Goliath? Who did all those wonderful deeds which thou readest in the bible? Who delivered the Israelites evermore from thraldom and bondage, as soon as they repented and turned to God? Faith verily, and God's truth, and the trust in the promises which he had made. Read the 11 th to the Hebrews for thy consolation.

When the children of Israel were ready to despair, for the greatness and the multitude of the giants, Moses comforted them ever, saying, Remember what your Lord God hath done for you in Egypt, his wonderful plagues, his miracles, his wonders, his mighty hand, his stretched out arm, and what he hath done for you hitherto. He shall destroy them; he shall take their hearts from them, and make them fear and flee before you. He shall storm them, and stir up a tempest among them, and scatter them, and bring them to nought. He hath sworn; he is true; he will fulfill the promises that he hath made unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This is written for our learning: for verily he is a true God; and is our God as well as theirs; and his promises are with us, as well as with them; and he present with us, as well as he was with them. If we ask, we shall obtain; if we knock, he will open; if we seek, we shall find; if we thirst, his truth shall fulfill our lust.

Christ is with us until the world's end. Let his little flock be hold therefore.

For if God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us, be they bishops, cardinals, popes, or whatsoever names they will?

Mark this also, if God send thee to the sea, and promise to go with thee, and to bring thee safe to land, he will raise up a tempest against thee, to prove whether thou wilt abide by his word, and that thou mayest feel thy faith, and perceive his goodness. For if it were always fair weather, and thou never brought into such jeopardy, whence his mercy only delivered thee, thy faith should be but a presumption, and thou shouldest be ever unthankful to God and merciless unto thy neighbor.

If God promise riches, the way thereto is poverty. Whom he loveth, him he chasteneth: whom he exalteth, he casteth, down: whom he saveth, he danneth first. He bringeth no man to heaven, except he send him to hell first. If he promise life, he slayeth first: when he buildeth, he casteth all down first. He is no patcher; he cannot build on another man's foundation.

He will not work until all be past remedy, and brought unto such a case, that men may see, how that his hand, his power, his mercy, his goodness and truth, hath wrought altogether. He will let no man be partaker with him of his praise and glory. His works are wonderful, and contrary unto man's works. Who ever, saving he, delivered his own Son, his only Son, his dear Son, unto the death, and that for his enemies' sake, to win his enemy, to overcome him with love, that he might see love, and love again, and of love to do likewise to other men, and to overcome them with well doing?

Joseph saw the sun and the moon and the eleven stars worshipping him. Nevertheless, ere that came to pass, God laid him where he could neither see sun nor moon, neither any star of the sky, and that many years; and also undeserved; to nurture him, to humble, to meek, and to teach him God's ways, and to make him apt and meet for the room and honor against he came to it; that he might perceive and feel that it came of God, and that he might be strong in the spirit to minister it godly.

He promised the children of Israel a land with rivers of milk and honey; but brought them for the space of forty years into a land, where not only rivers of milk and honey were not, but where so much as a drop of water was not; to nurture them, and to teach them, as a father doth his son, and to do them good at the latter end; and that they might be strong in their spirit and souls, to use his gifts and benefits godly and after his will.

He promised David a kingdom, and immediately stirred up king Saul against him to persecute him; to hunt him, as men do hares with greyhounds, and to ferret him out of every hole, and that for the space of many years; to tame him, to meek him, to kill his lusts; to make him feel other men's diseases; to make him merciful; to make him understand that he was made king to minister and to score his brethren, and that he should not think that his subjects were made to minister unto his lusts, and that it were lawful for him to take away from them life and goods at his pleasure.

Oh that our kings were so nurtured now-a-days! Which our holy bishops teach of a far other manner, saying, Your grace shall take your pleasure; yea, take what pleasure you list, spare nothing; we shall dispense with you; we have power, we are God's vicars: and let us alone with the realm, we shall take pain for you, and see that nothing be well: your grace shall but defend the faith only.

Let us, therefore, look diligently whereunto we are called, that we deceive not ourselves. We are called, not to dispute, as the pope's disciples do; but to die with Christ, that we may live with him; and to suffer with him, that we may reign with

him. We be called unto a kingdom that must be won with suffering only, as a sick man winneth health. God, is he that doth all things for us, and fighteth for us; and we do but suffer only. Christ saith, "As my Father sent me, so send I you;" John and, "If they persecute me, then shall they persecute you." (John 15) And Christ saith, "I send you forth as sheep among wolves." (Matthew 10) The sheep fight not; but the shepherd fighteth for them, and careth for them. "Be harmless as doves, therefore," saith Christ, "and wise as serpents." The doves imagine no defense, nor seek to avenge themselves.

The serpent's wisdom is, to keep his head, and those parts wherein his life resteth. Christ is our head; and God's word is that wherein our life resteth.

To cleave, therefore, fast unto Christ, and unto those promises which God hath made us for his sake, is our wisdom. 'Beware of men," saith he; "for they shall deliver you up unto their councils, and shall scourge you; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake. The brother shall betray, or deliver, the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise against father and mother, and put them to death." Hear what Christ saith more: "The disciple is not greater than his master; neither the servant greater, or better, than his lord. If they have called the good man of the house Beelzebub, how much rather shall they call his household servants so!" And, Luke 14 saith Christ: "Which of you, disposed to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to perform it? Lest when he hath laid the foundation, and then not able to perform it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and was not able to make an end: so likewise none of you, that forsaketh not all that he hath, can be my disciple." Whosoever, therefore, casteth not this aforehand, 'I must jeopard life, goods, honor, worship, and all that there is, for Christ's sake,' deceiveth himself, and maketh a mock of himself unto the godless hypocrites and infidels. "No man can serve two masters, God and mammon;" that is to say, wicked riches also. Matthew 6. Thou must love Christ above all things: but that doest thou not, if thou be not ready to forsake all for his sake: if thou have forsaken all for his sake, then art thou sure that thou lovest him.

Tribulation is our right baptism; and is signified by plunging into the water. "We that are baptised in the name of Christ," saith Paul, "are baptised to die with him."

The Spirit through tribulation purgeth us, and killeth our fleshly wit, our worldly understanding, and belly-wisdom, and filleth us full of the wisdom of God. Tribulation is a blessing that cometh of God, as witnesseth Christ: "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Is not this a comfortable word? Who ought not rather to choose, and desire to be blessed with Christ, in a little tribulation, than to be cursed perpetually with the world for a little pleasure?

Prosperity is a right curse, and a thing that God giveth to his enemies. "Woe be to you rich," saith Christ, Luke 6 "lo, ye have your consolation: woe be to you that are full, for ye shall hunger: woe be to you that laugh, for ye shall weep: woe be to you when men praise you, for so did their fathers unto the false prophets:" yea, and so have our fathers done unto the false hypocrites. The hypocrites, with worldly preaching, have not gotten the praise only, but even the possessions also, and the dominion and rule of the whole world.

Tribulation for righteousness is not a blessing only, but also a gift that God giveth unto none save his special friends. The apostles rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul, in the second epistle and third chapter to Timothy, saith, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution:" and, Philippians 1 he saith, "Unto you it is given, not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake."

Here seest thou that it is God's gift, to suffer for Christ's sake. And Peter in the fourth chapter of his first epistle saith: "Happy are ye if ye suffer for the name of Christ; for the glorious Spirit of God resteth in you." Is it not an happy thing, to be sure that thou art sealed with God's Spirit to everlasting life? And, verily, thou art sure thereof, if thou suffer patiently for his sake. By suffering art thou sure; but by persecuting canst thou never be sure: for Paul, Romans 5 saith Tribulation maketh feeling;" that is, it maketh us feel the goodness of God, and his help, and the working of his Spirit. And, the twelfth chapter of the second epistle to the Corinthians <471201>, the Lord said unto Paul, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect through weakness." Lo, Christ is never strong in us till we be weak. As our strength abateth, so groweth the strength of Christ in us: when we are clean emptied of our own strength, then are we full of Christ's strength: and look, how much of our own strength remaineth in us, so much lacketh there of the strength of Christ, "Therefore," saith Paul, in the said place in the second epistle to the Corinthians, "very gladly will I rejoice in my weakness, that the strength of Christ may dwell

Therefore have I delectation," saith Paul, "in infirmities, in rebukes, in need, in persecutions, and in anguish for Christ's

sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong." Meaning, that the weakness of the flesh is the strength of the Spirit. And by flesh understand wit, wisdom, and all that is in a man before the Spirit of God come; and whatsoever springeth not of the Spirit of God, and of God's word. And of like testimonies is all the scripture full.

Behold, God setteth before us a blessing and also a curse: a blessing, verily, and that a glorious and an everlasting, if we suffer tribulation and adversity with our Lord and Savior Christ; and an everlasting curse, if, for a little pleasure sake, we withdraw ourselves from the chastising and nurture of God, wherewith he teacheth all his sons, and fashioneth them after his godly will, and maketh them perfect (as he did Christ), and maketh them apt and meet vessels to receive his grace and his Spirit, that they might perceive and feel the exceeding mercy which we have in Christ, and the innumerable blessings and the unspeakable inheritance, whereto we are called and chosen, and sealed in our Savior Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever. Amen.

Finally: whom God chooseth to reign everlastingly with Christ, him sealeth he with his mighty Spirit, and poureth strength into his heart, to suffer afflictions also with Christ for bearing witness unto the truth. And this is the difference between the children of God and of salvation, and between the children of the devil and of damnation: that the children of God have power in their hearts to suffer for God's word; which is their life and salvation, their hope and trust, and whereby they live in the soul and spirit before God. And the children of the devil in time of adversity fly from Christ. whom they followed feignedly, their hearts not sealed with his holy and mighty Spirit; and get them to the standard of their right father the devil, and take his wages, the pleasures of this world, which are the earnest of everlasting damnation: which conclusion the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews well confirmeth. saying, "My son, despise not thou the chastising of the Lord, neither faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth, him he chastiseth; yea, and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." Lo, persecution and adversity for the truth's sake is God's scourge, and God's rod, and pertaineth unto all his children indifferently: for when he said, he scourgeth every son, he maketh none exception.

Moreover saith the text: "If ye shall endure chastising, God offereth himself unto you as unto sons. What son is it that the Father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons."

Forasmuch, then, as we must needs be baptised in tribulations, and through the Red sea, and a great and a fearful wilderness, and a land of cruel giants, into our natural country; yea, and inasmuch as it is a plain earnest that there is no other way into the kingdom of life than through persecution, and suffering of pain, and of very death, after the ensample of Christ; therefore let us arm our souls with the comfort of the scriptures: how that God is ever ready at hand, in time of need, to help us; and how that such tyrants and persecutors are but God's scourge, and his rod to chastise us.

And as the father hath alway, in time of correction, the rod fast in his hand, so that the rod doth nothing but as the father moveth it; even so hath God all tyrants in his hand, and letteth them not do whatsoever they would, but as much only as he appointeth them to do, and as far forth as it is necessary for us. And as, when the child submitteth himself unto his father's correction and nurture, and humbleth himself altogether unto the will of his father, then the rod is taken away; even so, when we are come unto the knowledge of the right way, and have forsaken our own will, and offer ourselves clean unto the will of God, to walk which way soever he will have us, then turneth he the tyrants; or else, if they enforce to persecute us any further, he putteth them out of the way, according unto the comfortable ensamples of the scripture.

Moreover, let us arm our souls with the promises both of help and assistance, and also of the glorious reward that followeth. "Great is your reward in heaven," saith Christ, Matthew 5; and, "He that knowledgeth me before men, him will I knowledge before my Father that is in heaven;" and, "Call on me in time of tribulation, and I will deliver thee, Psalm 50; and, "Behold the eyes of the Lord are over them, that fear him, and over them that trust in his mercy, to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in time of hunger. Psalm 33. And in Psalm 34 saith David: "The Lord is nigh them that are troubled in their hearts, and the meek in spirit will he save. The tribulations of the righteous are many, and out of them all will the Lord deliver them. The Lord keepeth all the bones of them, so that not one of them shall be bruised. The Lord shall redeem the souls of his servants." And of such like consolation are all the psalms full. Would to God when ye read them ye understood them! And, Matthew 10 "When they deliver you, take no thought what ye shall say; it shall be given you the same hour what ve shall say: for it is not ve that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' The very hairs of your head are numbered," saith Christ also, Matthew 10. If God care for our hairs, he much more careth for our souls, which he hath sealed with his holy Spirit. Therefore saith Peter, "Cast all your care upon him; for he careth for you." (1 Peter 5) And Paul, 1 Corinthians 10 saith:

"God is true, he will not suffer you to be tempted above your might."

And Psalm 55 "Cast thy care upon the Lord."

Let thy care be to prepare thyself with all thy strength, for to walk which way he will have thee; and to believe that he will go with thee, and assist thee, and strengthen thee against all tyrants, and deliver thee out of all tribulation. But what way, or by what means he will do it, that commit unto him and his godly pleasure and wisdom, and cast that care upon him.

And though it seem never so unlikely, or never so impossible unto natural reason, yet believe stedfastly that he will do it: and then shall he (according to his old use) change the course of the world, even in the twinkling of an eye, and come suddenly upon our giants, as a thief in the night, and compass them in their wiles and worldly wisdom. "When they cry, Peace and all is safe, then shall their sorrows begin, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth with child:" and then shall he destroy them, and deliver thee, unto the glorious praise of his mercy and truth. Amen.

And as pertaining unto them that despise God's word, counting it as a fantasy or a dream; and to them also that for fear of a little persecution fall from it, set this before thine eyes; how God, since the beginning of the world, before a general plague, ever sent his true prophets and preachers of his word, to warn the people, and gave them time to repent. But they, for the greatest part of them, hardened their hearts, and persecuted the word that was sent to save them. And then God destroyed them utterly, and took them clean from the earth. As thou seest what followed the preaching of Noe in the old world; what followed the preaching of Lot among the Sodomites; and the preaching of Moses and Aaron among the Egyptians; and that suddenly, against all possibility of man's wit

Moreover, as oft as the children of Israel fell from God to the worshipping of images, he sent his prophets unto them; and they persecuted and waxed hard-hearted: and then he sent them into all places of the world captive.

Last of all, he sent his own Son to them, and they waxed more hardhearted than ever before: and see what a fearful example of his wrath and cruel vengeance he hath made of them to all the world, now almost fifteen hundred years.

Unto the old Britons also (which dwelled where our nation doth now) preached Gildas; and rebuked them of their wickedness, and prophesied both to the spiritual (as they will be called) and unto the lay-men also, what vengeance would follow, except they repented. But they waxed hardhearted; and God sent his plagues and pestilences among them, and sent their enemies in upon them on every side, and destroyed them utterly.

Mark also, how Christ threateneth them that forsake him, for whatsoever cause it be; whether for fear, either for shame, either for loss of honor, friends, life, or goods. "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven. He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." All this he saith Matthew 10. And in Mark 8 he saith: "Whosoever is ashamed of me, or my words, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father with his holy angels."

And Luke 9 also: "None that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of heaven."

Nevertheless yet, if any man have resisted ignorantly, as Paul did, let him look on the truth which Paul wrote after he came to knowledge. Also, if any man clean against his heart (but overcome with the weakness of the flesh), for fear of persecution, have denied, as Peter did, or have delivered his book, or put it away secretly; let him (if he repent,) come again, and take better hold, and not despair, or take it for a sign that God hath forsaken him. For God ofttimes taketh his strength even from his very elect, when they either trust in their own strength, or are negligent to call to him for his strength. And that doth he to teach them, and to make them feel, that in that fire of tribulation, for his word's sake, nothing can endure and abide save his work, and that strength only which he hath promised. For the which strength he will have us to pray unto him night and day, with all instance.

That thou mayest perceive how that the scripture ought to be in the mother tongue, and that the reasons which our spirits make for the contrary, are but sophistry and false wiles to fear thee from the light, that thou mightest follow them blindfold, and be their captive to honor their ceremonies, and to offer to their belly:

First, God gave the children of Israel a law by the hand of Moses in their mother tongue; and all the prophets wrote in their mother tongue, and all the psalms were in the mother tongue. And there was Christ but figured, and described in ceremonies, in riddles, and parables, and in dark prophecies. What is the cause that we may not have the old Testament, with the new also, which is the light of the old, and wherein is openly declared, before the eyes, that which there was darkly prophesied? I can imagine no cause verily, except it be that we should not see the work of antichrist and juggling of

hypocrites. What should be the cause that we, which walk in the broad day, should not see as well as they that walked in the night; or that we should not see as well at noon, as they did in the twilight? Came Christ to make the world more blind? By this means Christ is the darkness of the world, and not the light, as he saith himself.

Moreover Moses saith, Deuteronomy "Hear, Israel; let these words which I command thee this day stick fast in thine heart, and whet them on thy children, and talk of them as thou sittest in thine house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up; and bind them for a token to thine hand, and let them be a remembrance between thine eyes, and write them on the posts and gates of thine house."

This was commanded generally unto all men. How cometh it that God's word pertaineth less unto us, than unto them? Yea, how cometh it, that our Moseses forbid us, and command us the contrary; and threaten us if we do, and will not that we once speak of God's word? How can we whet God's word (that is, to put it in practice, use and exercise) upon our children and household, when we are violently kept from it and know it not? How can we (as Peter commandeth) give a reason of our hope; when we wot not what it is that God hath promised, or what to hope? Moses also commandeth in the said chapter, if the son ask what the testimonies, laws, and observances of the Lord mean, that the father teach him. If our children ask what our ceremonies (which are more than the Jews' were) mean; no father can tell his son. And in the eleventh chapter he repeateth all again, for fear of forgetting.

They will say haply, the scripture requireth a pure mind and a quiet mind; and therefore the lay-man, because he is altogether cumbered with worldly business, cannot understand them. If that be the cause, then it is a plain case that our prelates understand not the scriptures themselves: for no layman is so tangled with worldly business as they are. The great things of the world are ministered by them; neither do the lay-people any great thing, but at their assignment. 'If the scripture were in the mother tongue,' they will say, 'then would the lay-people understand it, every man after his own ways.' Wherefore serveth the curate, but to teach him the right way? Wherefore were the holy days made, but that the people should come and learn? Are ye not abominable schoolmasters, in that ye take so great wages, if ye will not teach? If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay-people have the scripture before them in their mother tongue? For then should they see, by the order of the text, whether thou jugglest or not: and then would they believe it, because it is the scripture of God. though thy living be never so abominable. Where now, because your living and your preaching are so contrary, and because they grope out in every sermon your open and manifest lies, and smell your unsatiable covetousness, they believe you not when you preach truth. But, alas! the curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the new or old Testament meaneth, than do the Turks: neither know they of any more than that they read at mass, matins, and evensong which yet they understand not: neither care they, but even to mumble up so much every day, as the pie and popinjay speak, they wot not what, to fill their bellies withal. If they will not let the lay-man have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it; which for a great part of them do understand no Latin at all, but sing, and say, and patter all day, with the lips only, that which the heart understandeth

Christ commandeth to search the scriptures. John 5. Though that miracles bare record unto his doctrine, yet desired he no faith to be given either to his doctrine, or to his miracles, without record of the scripture.

When Paul preached, Acts 17 the other searched the scriptures daily, whether they were as he alleged them. Why shall not I likewise see, whether it be the scripture that thou allegest? Yea, why shall I not see the scripture, and the circumstances, and what goeth before and after; that I may know whether thine interpretation be the right sense, or whether thou jugglest, and drawest the scripture violently unto thy carnal and fleshly purpose; or whether thou be about to teach me, or to deceive me?

Christ saith, that there shall come false prophets in his name, and say that they themselves are Christ; that is, they shall so preach Christ that men must believe in them, in their holiness, and things of their imagination, without God's word: yea, and that Against-Christ, or Antichrist, that shall come, is nothing but such false prophets, that shall juggle with the scripture, and beguile the people with false interpretations, as all the false prophets, scribes, and Pharisees did in the old testament. How shall I know whether ye are that Against-Christ, or false prophets, or no, seeing ye will not let me see how ye allege the scriptures? Christ saith, "By their deeds ye shall know them." Now when we look on your deeds, we see that ve are all sworn together, and have separated yourselves from the lay-people, and have a several kingdom among yourselves, and several laws of your own making; wherewith ye violently bind the lay-people, that never consented unto the making of them. A thousand things forbid ye, which Christ

made free; and dispense with them again for money: neither is there any exception at all, but lack of money. Ye have a secret council by yourselves.

All other men's secrets and counsels know yet and no man yours. Ye seek but honor, riches, promotion, authority, and to reign over all, and will obey no man. If the father give you ought of courtesy, ye will compel the son to give it violently, whether he will or not, by craft of your own laws. These deeds are against Christ.

When a whole parish of us hire a schoolmaster to teach our children, what reason is it that we should be compelled to pay this schoolmaster his wages, and he should have license to go where he will, and to dwell in another country, and to leave our children untaught? Doth not the pope so? Have we not given our tithes of courtesy unto one, for to teach us God's word; and cometh not the pope, and compelleth us to pay it violently, to them that never teach? Maketh he not one parson, which never cometh at us? Yea, one shall have five or six, or as many as he can get, and wotteth oftentimes where never one of them standeth. Another is made vicar, to whom he giveth a dispensation to go where he will, and to set in a parish priest, which can but minister a sort of dumb ceremonies. And he. because he hath most labor and least profit, polleth on his part; and setteth here a mass-penny, there a trental, yonder dirige-money, and for his beadroll, with a confession-penny and such like. And thus are we never taught, and are yet nevertheless compelled; yea, compelled to hire many costly schoolmasters. These deeds are verily against Christ. Shall we therefore judge you by your deeds, as Christ commandeth? So are ye false prophets, and the disciples of Antichrist, or

The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As, if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerom also translated the bible into his mother tongue: why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one; so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word; when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well-favoredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin and as it hath in the Hebrew A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child, thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that king Adelstone caused the holy scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto. Moreover, seeing that one of you ever preacheth contrary to another; and when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds; and forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor, and another that; one followeth Duns, another St Thomas, another Bonaventure, Alexander de Hales, Raymond, Lyre, Brygot, Dorbel, Holcot, Gorram, Trumbett, Hugo de Sancto Victore, De Monte Regio, De Nova Villa, De Media Villa, and such like out of number; so that if thou hadst but of every author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any warehouse in London, and every author is one contrary unto another. In so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know who lieth, and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I try and judge them?

Verily by God's word, which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see scripture?

Nay, say they, the scripture is so hard, that thou couldst never understand it but by the doctors. That is, I must measure the meteyard by the cloth.

Here be twenty cloths of divers lengths and of divers breadths: how shall I be sure of the length of the meteyard by them? I suppose, rather, I must be first sure of the length of the metevard, and thereby measure and judge of the cloths. If I must first believe the doctor, then is the doctor first true, and the truth of the scripture dependeth of his truth; and so the truth of God springeth of the truth of man. Thus antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the scripture, I trow, How know we that St Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best, that ever wrote upon the scripture) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily, by the scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again. He wrote of many things which he understood not when he was newly converted, ere he had thoroughly seen the scriptures; and followed the opinions of Plato, and the common persuasions of man's wisdom that were then famous.

They will say yet more shamefully, that no man can understand the scriptures without philautia, that is to say,

philosophy. A man must be first well seen in Aristotle, ere he can understand the scripture, say they.

Aristotle's doctrine is, that the world was without beginning, and shall be without end; and that the first man never was, and the last shall never be; and that God doth all of necessity, neither careth what we do, neither will ask any accounts of that we do. Without this doctrine, how could we understand the scripture, that saith, God created the world of nought; and God worketh all things of his free will, and for a secret purpose; and that we shall all rise again, and that God will have accounts of all that we have done in this life! Aristotle saith, Give a man a law, and he hath power of himself to do or fulfill the law, and becometh righteous with working righteously. But Paul, and all the scripture saith, That the law doth but utter sin only, and helpeth not: neither hath any man power to do the law, till the Spirit of God be given him through faith in Christ. Is it not a madness then to say, that we could not understand the scripture without Aristotle? Aristotle's righteousness, and all his virtues, spring of man's free will. And a Turk, and every infidel and idolater, may be righteous and virtuous with that righteousness and those virtues. Moreover, Aristotle's felicity and blessedness standeth in avoiding of all tribulations; and in riches, health, honor, worship, friends, and authority; which felicity pleaseth our spiritualty well. Now, without these, and a thousand such like points, couldst thou not understand scripture, which saith, That righteousness cometh by Christ, and not of man's will; and how that virtues are the fruits and the gift of God's Spirit: and that Christ blesseth us in tribulations, persecution. and adversity! How, I say, couldst thou understand the scripture without philosophy, inasmuch as Paul, in the second to the Colossians, warned them to 'beware lest any man should spoil them' (that is to say, rob them of their faith in Christ) 'through philosophy and deceitful vanities, and through the traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ?'

By this means, then, thou wilt that no man teach another; but that every man take the scripture, and learn by himself. Nay, verily, so say I not.

Nevertheless, seeing that ye will not teach, if any man thirst for the truth, and read the scripture by himself, desiring God to open the door of knowledge unto him, God for his truth's sake will and must teach him.

Howbeit, my meaning is, that as a master teacheth his apprentice to know all the points of the mete-yard; first, how many inches, how many feet, and the half-yard, the quarter, and the nail; and then teacheth him to mete other things thereby: even so will I that we teach the people God's law, and what obedience God requireth of us to father and mother. master, lord, king, and all superiors, and with what friendly love he commandeth one to love another; and teach them to know that natural venom and birth-poison, which moveth the very hearts of us to rebel against the ordinances and will of God; and prove that no man is righteous in the sight of God, but that we are all damned by the law; and then, when thou hast meeked them and feared them with the law, teach them the testament and promises which God hath made unto us in Christ, and how much he loveth us in Christ; and teach them the principles and the ground of the faith, and what the sacraments signify: and then shall the Spirit work with thy preaching, and make them feel. So would it come to pass, that as we know by natural wit what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the faith, and by the plain scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition, and all men's doctrine, and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I would have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakings of the scripture, and how to expound proverbs and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner doctors and philosophers, they could catch no harm: they should discern the poison from the honey, and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome.

But now do ye clean contrary: ye drive them from God's word, and will let no man come thereto, until he have been two years master of art. First, they nosel them in sophistry, and in benefundatum . And there corrupt they their judgments with apparent arguments, and with alleging unto them texts of logic, of natural philautia, of metaphysic, and moral philosophy, and of all manner books of Aristotle, and of all manner doctors which they yet never saw. Moreover, one holdeth this, another that; one is a Real, another a Nominal. What wonderful dreams have they of their predicaments, universals, second intentions, quiddities, hoecceities, and relatives; and whether species fundata in chimera be vera species; and whether this proposition be true, Non ens est aliquid; whether ens be oequivocum, or univocum. Ens is a voice only, say some. Ens is univocum, saith another, and descendeth into ens creatum, and into ens increatum, per modos intrinsecos. When they have thiswise brawled eight, ten, or twelve or more years, and after that their judgments are utterly corrupt, then they begin their divinity; not at the scripture, but every man taketh a sundry doctor; which doctors are as sundry and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are divers fashions and